

Labor Must Stop Freeze By Calling

GENERAL STRIKE ON NOVEMBER 12

Page 6

- * END THE WAGE FREEZE-
NO COOPERATION
WITH CONTROL BOARDS!
- * JOBS FOR ALL- 30 FOR 40!
- * SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES
AND ESCALATORS!
- * IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL
OF ALL U.S. TROOPS
FROM INDOCHINA!
- * NATIONALIZATION UNDER
WORKERS' CONTROL!
- * A LABOR PARTY FOR '72!



Longshoremen picket on Newark docks on first day of first national dock strike.

Nixon Hits Dockers With T-H

Page 16

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Farinas
Appeals To
Supreme Court**
Page 2

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER SIX (215)

OCTOBER 11, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

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INSTITUTION

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Page 6

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Farinas Appeals To Supreme Court

BY FRED MUELLER

ON SEPTEMBER 28TH a three judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit unanimously affirmed the conviction of Juan Farinas for violation of the Selective Service Act.

The conviction was affirmed on all counts, including refusal to cease and desist from speaking and leafleting, hindering and interfering with the Selective Service System, and refusal to report and submit for induction. Only a Supreme Court review now stands between Juan Farinas and two years in jail for the sole "crime" of opposing and speaking out against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

FRAMEUP

This frameup stems from an attempt by Farinas to distribute leaflets opposing the war as part of the war against the working class all over the world. In August of 1968 Juan reported for induction into the army and attempted to exercise his right to oppose the war inside the induction center.

In response to this the government constructed the most vicious charges. Because it knew how flimsy and politically motivated a simple charge of refusal to obey the orders of the Army personnel would look, it added to that charge the charges of hindering and interfering and refusal to report and submit. On any of these charges Farinas could have faced five years in jail. The government threw them all together in an effort to make its case appear to have some substance.

DOUBLE

Now the appeals court has upheld this open political attack. This is a clear example of the double standard of courtroom justice in the U.S. Workers and opponents of the capitalist system get one standard, the ruling class and those who do its bidding get another.

The upholding of Farinas' conviction follows the Attica massacre by only a few weeks. The government authorities have unlimited license to kill both at home and abroad while workers, socialists, opponents of the war have their rights squashed.

The trials following the notorious Mylai

massacre are another important example. When this mass murder could no longer be hidden from public view, a series of well-publicized trials were scheduled. The infamous system of military justice could come up with only one conviction. In that case, Lieutenant Calley admitted slaughtering defenseless women and children, the President of the United States himself released Calley from the stockade after his conviction and openly pressed for drastic reduction of sentence on review.

Yet Juan Farinas faces two years in jail simply for pointing out these mass murders in Vietnam and their meaning, and calling for a struggle against the system which perpetrates them.

Just as it is no accident that the Mylai murderers get kid glove treatment while opponents of the war are persecuted, it is also no accident that the appeals court decision comes just one month after Nixon's wage freeze and international economic moves.

Nixon and the government are trying to whip up racism and chauvinism in order to divert workers away from the real issues. This is also behind the recent scare stories on the "illegal aliens" who are allegedly taking jobs away from unemployed American workers.

RACIST

This chauvinist and racist scare against "aliens" was brought directly into the Farinas case by the government prosecutor himself. At the trial in December 1970, Prosecutor Truebner said that "Juan Farinas was no more ready to submit to induction that morning in August than was Cassius Clay three and a half years ago in Houston, Texas."

And at the sentencing of Farinas in January, 1971, Truebner said, "Briefly, your Honor, we have here a Cuban national who has been in this country for approximately ten years and as I understand has an application for citizenship pending...I think it is fair to say that society has conferred these benefits upon him, all the privileges and immunities it gives its own citizens, in the expectation that



Juan Farinas at his trial on December 10-11:

"There is a war going on right now in this very courtroom, if you like, and a war out in the street. There was a war going on yesterday during the railroad strike. What I mean by saying that is that in this war I take sides, that I take the side of the railroad workers and took the side of the postal workers when they went on strike and the side of the automobile workers. I am on their side, that is what that means."

Sanford Katz, the defense attorney:

"Now, Mr. Farinas is a Socialist, a Communist, a revolutionary. His views are very much in issue in this case. I suggest to you ladies and gentlemen, because I suggest that he would not be in this court as a defendant but for his views as expressed in this leaflet.

Juan Farinas's statement to the court at sentencing:

"I say that I am being sentenced not for any "criminal" or "illegal" behavior but for my political views, for my opposition to the war in Vietnam, for my being a socialist and for standing up and fighting for those principles. I say that I am innocent of the charges on which I was convicted and that you had to twist your own laws, you had to take off your pretenses of "impartiality," you had to charge the jury the way you did so as to be able to convict me, so as to be able to justify the criminal war in Vietnam.

"You and your government may brand me as a "criminal," but let me tell you this right now, no matter how much you try to do it, in my eyes and in the eyes of millions of working people and youth in this country and around the world, YOU ARE THE CRIMINALS."

he would be a good citizen, that he would perform those obligations incumbent upon him, and yet when the time came he spurned those obligations. He literally bit the hand that fed him."

Truebner also recommended that bail be denied because "We feel we have a Spanish-speaking individual who could easily disappear to any part of this country."

And yet the prosecution had the nerve to insist that this was not a political case!

POLITICAL

One further proof of the political nature of this case is the contrast between the sentence facing Farinas and that given in the Malament case which was tried just a few months later. In the latter case, the defendant, the son of a well-known lawyer, refused to step forward for induction.

While we certainly defend his rights as a principled opponent of the war, it should be understood that he was not a young worker or revolutionary socialist, and that he expressly did not intend to fight within the Army. He was sentenced to jail for six months. Yet Farinas, who did not refuse induction, was sentenced to two years for distributing a leaflet. In no other Selective Service case has the government prosecuted and jailed a defendant on such evidence.

In its decision the appeals court makes clear from the outset where its sympathies lie. First it reminds us that the evidence "must on appeal be viewed in the light most favorable to the government, with all permissible inferences drawn in its favor."

Farinas was convicted on the most flimsy evidence to begin with. The jury selection process is stacked against the defendant, especially in Federal Court. Yet the jury took nearly four hours to reach a verdict after a trial which lasted only a little longer than one day.

The prosecution's case was shot through with contradictions. Government witnesses admitted that Farinas did not refuse induction, that processing of inductees was not impeded and that there was no rule against distributing leaflets. One witness claimed that Juan had said he would not cooperate in any way in the induction center, but this same witness

could not even recall whether the defendant spoke with an accent.

LIE

An Army intelligence agent, refreshing his memory from a typewritten report, claimed that Farinas had said he would refuse induction. This lie was challenged by Farinas in his testimony, in which he emphasized that he had always stated he would fight for his views inside the Army.

At the original trial the judge had practically directed a verdict of guilty by instructing the jury that all that had to be proven was that Farinas had not obeyed certain orders in the induction center. The government was thus relieved of the obligation of proving that disruption had taken place. At the same time slanderous and distorted charges and statements on Farinas' allegedly boisterous conduct and his alleged intention to refuse to submit had been dragged in by the government with court approval in order to prejudice the jury as much as possible.

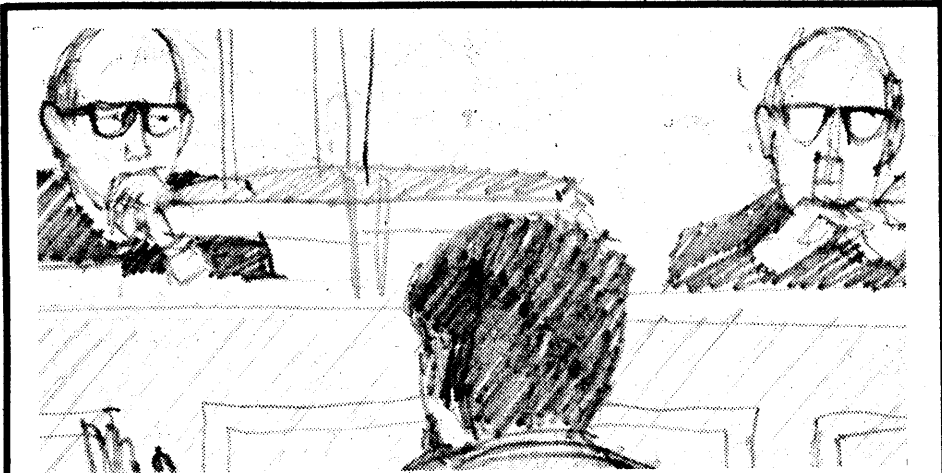
The appeals court ignored all the questions of evidence on the grounds that they were a "jury question," that they had been decided by the jury. It therefore in its decision simply repeats the entire story of the prosecution without taking any of its contradictions into account, and without paying any attention to the testimony of the defendant or the other defense witnesses.

CONSTITUTIONAL

On the constitutional question the appeals court completely upheld the government. The defense had claimed that the main constitutional question was the Selective Service Regulations which gave to the personnel in the induction center the right to issue all kinds of arbitrary orders where refusal to obey could lead to many years imprisonment. While there was no regulation against distributing leaflets, the rights of inductees were completely meaningless as long as they were subject to the arbitrary whims of the Army personnel.

The appeals judges upheld this regulation. They stressed that "the First Amendment is not a license to impede and disrupt the orderly performance of an essential function of government."

(Continued On Page 12)



Government Attorney Truebner at trial:

"Juan Farinas was no more ready to submit to induction that morning in August than was Cassius Clay three and a half years ago in Houston, Texas."

Truebner at sentencing:

"Briefly, your Honor, we have here a Cuban national who has been in this country for approximately ten years and as I understand it has an application for citizenship pending..."

"I think it is fair to say that society has conferred these benefits upon him, all the privileges and immunities that it gives to its own citizens, in the expectation that he would be a good citizen, that he would perform those obligations incumbent upon him, and yet when the time came he spurned those obligations.

"You Honor please, the government would ask that the defendant commence service of sentence forthwith and that he be remanded without bail pending appeal.

"We feel we have a Spanish speaking individual who could easily disappear to any part of this country.

Judge Moore, Feinberg and Mansfield on appeal:

"The evidence adduced at trial, which must upon appeal be viewed in the light most favorable to the Government, with all permissible inferences drawn in its favor..."

"...it appears to be reasonably essential to the performance of a basic government function, and sufficiently narrow and limited in scope to constitute a permissible restriction upon the exercise of First Amendment rights, which are not absolute..."

"The First Amendment is not a license to impede and disrupt the orderly performance of an essential function of government..."

ILA Shuts Down East Coast Ports

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, Oct. 5—Only five days after the International Longshoremen's Association closed down the East Coast Ports, President Nixon moved to invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction against the West Coast longshoremen in an attempt to send them back to work for an 80 day "cooling off" period.

This is a brazen attempt by Nixon and the shipowners to break the unity and power of the first nationwide dock strike in US history which has shut down tight virtually every port on all three coasts.

Facing a militant rank and file demanding no-compromise on their demands after a 96 day strike, the action came after ILWU President Harry Bridges was unable to come up with a sellout agreement as Nixon de-

manded. Nixon hopes the 80 days will give Bridges more time to overcome the militant rank and file.

STRATEGY

Nixon's use of Taft-Hartley is a first step in the strategy to destroy the wages and conditions of all longshoremen by isolating the East Coast from the West Coast while preparing the new wage freezing provisions of Phase II and special legislation to break dock and other "transportation" disputes with compulsory arbitration.

Baltimore ILA Fights To Extend Guarantee

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Oct. 1—5,000 Baltimore ILA members today joined the other eastern ports in the first nationwide dock stoppage.

Shipping interests in this port, in anticipation of the strike, worked dockers over-time or on double crews, in order to avoid a situation quite common in the last ILA strike here—when whole boat loads of bananas and other perishables were thrown overboard.

Steamship owners have claimed that they will not be able to last more than eight days of total stoppage. In this light, they are demanding total disbanding of the guaranteed wage system, which they claim the dockers are "abusing."

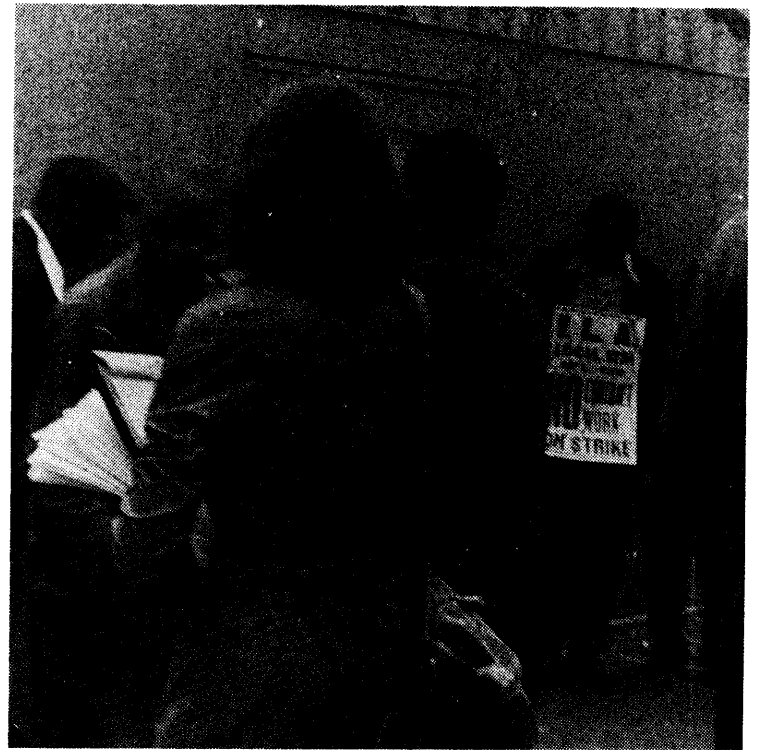
In this port many crews have already been cut by more than 40%, and an overall reduction of the work force by more than 60% is being planned. If there is any question of abuse, it is the ship owners that are abusing the rights of the ILA members to

work and earn a decent standard of living.

It was to compensate for the large reductions of jobs due to containerization and LASH that the GAI was instituted. Since that time, the Port of New York is the only port to have won a 40 hour guaranteed work week. In most cases, the number of hours needed to be eligible for the GAI is too high to cover all the men who have been affected by layoffs.

Gleason has been saying from the beginning of the freeze that no wage program would be discussed until the president wishes it. Now while a real fight is shaping up among the ranks as they are forcing this local leadership to make statements like, "We'll be out until we get a big wage increase," Gleason is taking an apologetic position towards Nixon and the shippers.

These are the same men who are already throwing their members onto the unemployment lines. Nixon's intentions to disarm and dismember the unions are clear. A leadership like Gleason's must be forced to fight or forced out!



Philadelphia longshoremen (Local 1291) picket as strike begins.

Philadelphia Docker Calls For General Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA — Longshoremen here have shut down the entire port, leaving seven ships at anchor.

Only a few hours after the strike began, the Philadelphia Marine Trade Association, representing the port employers, went straight for an injunction to end the strike. But for the first time in the recent history of the courts here, the injunction was turned down.

The ILA leadership is doing everything in its power to separate the Philadelphia locals from the national struggle and to undercut the militancy of the ranks.

On September 21st the Local 1291 bureaucracy signed an agreement with the PMTA to extend the old contract until the termination of the wage freeze. Now they reiterate that they have

no quarrel with the Philadelphia shippers and have pledged to call the men back to work as soon as the New York shippers agree to a contract extension.

Unless a large wage increase is won, and the 40 hour guarantee extended to all ports, Philadelphia's measly 34 hour guarantee will be ripped to shreds and the results will be mass unemployment on the waterfront.

One man, an ILA member for 17 years began to show how this fight must be taken forward. Regarding Nixon's threat of a Taft-Hartley, he said, "Go ahead, let him try it, then he'll see what he's up against. The people on the West Coast waited for us for three months. Now we're out and we should stay out. A general strike would be better yet. I want to tell all the guys who read this paper: your job may be coming to a head, say, three weeks from now, right? So you better start thinking in terms of a general strike."

EXPLODE

It is now up to the ILWU to explode the plans of Nixon and the shipowners by refusing to return to work on the basis of this strike breaking injunction. This will open the way for a victory over the shipowners based on a refusal of either the ILWU or the ILA to return to work until the full 40 hour weekly wage guarantee is won **FOR ALL MEN IN ALL PORTS.**

The empty talk by Bridges and ILA President Gleason about unity of the two unions must be replaced by the actual setting up of joint bargaining aimed at winning comparable wages and conditions on all coasts including the following demands:

- 40 hour guarantee to all men, all ports.
- \$7.50 /hour base wage; 6 hour day, double time after 8 hours.
- Retirement after 20 years at \$500 per month regardless of age.
- No cuts in gang size or other means of speed-up.
- Nationalize shipping and the docks under rank and file control without compensation to the owners.

'THE ONLY WAY WE CAN WIN IS WITH UNITY'

On the first day of the East Coast dock strike of the International Longshoremen's Association against the New York Shipping Association, a Bulletin reporting team spoke with a small group of pickets including an ILA assistant shop steward outside the huge Sea-Land Container Terminal at Port Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Bulletin: You say the big question in the strike is the guarantee (40 hour guaranteed weekly wage to New York longshoremen)?

Longshoreman: Yes, the companies don't want to use the Taft-Hartley because they don't want to continue the guarantee at all. The guaranteed wage has to be kept. We shouldn't give up anything that we've got. That would be defeating our own purpose—defeating what we worked for and fought for all these years.

Bulletin: The ILA had to go through two tremendous strikes, in 1964 and 1968, to force the agreement on the guaranteed wage. They agreed to it. They gave it in order to be able to get the agreement of the union to bring in containerization—but with the intention of preparing to take it back. In the meantime they tried to create rivalries and competition between the ports for jobs, to weaken the union.

Longshoreman: They're Indian givers. They knew what they were doing. In some parts of New

York port, big shipping outfits have pulled out because of containerization. They cut out three or four thousand men, and then they come up with "other" work in other areas they want the men to go to.

Bulletin: And wages too. Don't you think that this strike more than ever before, ties in with the efforts of the government to hold down wages and increase "productivity" through the wage freeze. It is not just a question for the longshoremen, but for the entire labor movement?

Longshoreman: It seems to me that under the wage freeze the companies would have extended the old contract and worked on that up until the end of the wage freeze (Nov. 13) and then we would have negotiated a new contract.

Bulletin: The New York Shipping Association is tied up with Washington directly. They know the government is going to move in with Phase II of the wage freeze. They're buying time now

during Phase I, knowing later that not only will Nixon attempt to put a ceiling on wage increases, but that some form of compulsory arbitration will be tried to actually take the settlement out of the hands of the longshoremen.

Longshoreman: The companies are crying "poverty" now over this guarantee. They say they can't afford it—which is a lot of bunk.

As far as the shippers' strategy, they're not going to put the Taft-Hartley on both coasts at the same time because then they're faced with the same situation later.

Bulletin: Their strategy is to divide the two unions and tackle them separately. They've always been able to get by because of the division between the two coasts during long strikes. If the wor-

kers for the first time in history defied the Taft-Hartley, on either coast, there would be a solid national dock strike with tremendous power. The Taft-Hartley is just a stopgap measure for the shippers. By saying it is "good" to bring it in Gleason is just trying to avoid a fight with the companies.

Longshoreman: You can't really blame Gleason, because we were willing to work on the old contract until November 13. What happens after that, then maybe we could put some blame on him. We have to have confidence in Mr. Gleason until he proves wrong, then maybe we could say something, but I don't think at this point.

Second Longshoreman: I feel like they're trying to divide us, though. If they get the West Coast to go back to work, then they'll send the ships to the West Coast and if they get us to go back then they'll bring the ships here. Now we're both out. Like you say, it's the first time in history that you've got both coasts out. Now, what I think is this. We should not go back to work until the West Coast does. We should all go back together. That's the game. They're trying to run a game. The West Coast shouldn't go back

(Continued On Page 12)



Bulletin reporter speaks with Newark dockers on first day of strike.

Ulster Talks Prepare Way For Bloodbath

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The September 28 talks between Tory leader Edward Heath and the Prime Ministers of North and South Ireland, Brian Faulkner and John Lynch, on the civil war in Ireland have solved nothing.

While issuing pious statements about bringing violence to an end Faulkner and Heath are preparing to unleash a new wave of terror against the Irish working class in Ulster.

The tripartite talks made one thing clear. All three leaders are bitter opponents of the working class. Lynch's first meeting with Heath ended with no agreement. Then suddenly he returns and finds the talks very "fruitful." All sides agreed that they had come to understand each other better.

The official statement released on the discussions stated: "It is our common purpose to bring violence and internment and all other emergency measures to an end without delay."

The joint statement also condemned "any form of violence as an instrument of political pressure."

This statement is a complete lie. Heath held the talks on his

grounds only. These grounds are that Lynch agree to crack down on the IRA in the South and accept internment of all opponents of the government.

INTERMENT

Lynch continues to oppose internment for only one reason. He knows that it will only strengthen the determination of Irish workers to fight back and could lead to a revolutionary situation which may very well bring down his whole government.

Following the talks, Faulkner held a news conference where he declared: "I would not be prepared to weaken on that (internment) and put back on the streets those ready to take lives." He stated that he would never allow a Cabinet which included advocates of a United Ireland.

The Social Democratic and Labour Party, the opposition parties in Ulster, have refused to participate in talks while intern-



British troops carry out terror campaign against Irish workers.

ment remained in effect.

The Tories could never even implement the proposal for a government in Ulster which included representatives of the Catholic minority. This phony concession is an attempt to buy off the opposition and win their agreement for the brutal repression of the British Army. Such an agreement would precipitate an offensive from the right wing around the Reverend Paisely.

The Tories can no more pull out their troops from Ireland than Nixon can pull U.S. troops out of Vietnam because their purpose is to maintain capitalism in Ireland no matter what. This is what the Irish working class

will not accept.

The British Army has launched new attacks against the Catholic workers. Faulkner has released a list of 219 men, all Catholics, already under arrest that are to be interned. New part time units of the Ulster Defense Regiment, a local police force, are being created. Pre-dawn raids have been renewed in which 16 Catholics were rounded up in 48 hours and sent off to the camps.

TORTURE

First hand reports from recently released prisoners on the conditions in these camps have been released by the Workers Press, the daily paper of the Socialist Labour League in England. The brutal torture of the prisoners reveals the real intentions of the Tories.

The British Army has been using the torture techniques developed by American imperialism in Vietnam and Latin America. These include keeping prisoners in total darkness until they lose all sense of time, being forced to sit or stand in one position for days, being kept awake by the noise of sticks beating on iron, and uninterrupted interrogation for days on end. It is reported that many IRA men have been broken by these methods. In addition they are beaten and fed only the worst slop.

DEVLIN

The failure of the tripartite talks brings Ulster closer than ever to the brink of civil war. Irish workers have been criminally misled by people like Bernadette Devlin, an independent MP from North Ireland who flip flops back and forth, one day calling the conflict religious and the next calling it a class struggle.

Devlin, for all her talk about defeating British capitalism and imperialism, proposes no program that could unite workers in Ireland and Britain in common action against the government. The Irish Trades Union Congress has refused to call for any united industrial action against the British occupation and internment policy.

STRIKE

The North Star strike represents the reaction of the 200,000 steelworkers in over 50 companies not covered under the basic steel contracts, and shows the road these 200,000 will have to take in order to break out of the straitjacket imposed on them by the wage freeze.

Steelworkers across the country must see the North Star Steel strikers taking up the fight that Abel ran away from on August 1st, and must give all-out support to this strike. The members of Local 7263, by winning this strike, can deal a powerful blow against the wage freeze, a blow that will be an invaluable aid to millions of trade unionists.

It is now doubly essential, in light of both the new basic steel contract and Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans' recent pronouncements, that the North Star Steel strikers fight any attempt to tie a productivity deal into their new contract, by which speedup will be intensified and big layoffs will follow.

Thieu: Army To Shoot Dissidents

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The "indigenous government" of South Vietnam, so carefully molded by its American bankrollers to provide some sort of semblance of "democracy," is splitting at the seams over the farcical one man election.

Thieu and other U.S. lackeys face a situation that is rapidly becoming impossible. In the past several days demonstrations of students, veterans and Buddhists protesting Thieu's election fraud burned election posters and U.S. Army busses and were broken up by police tear gas.

DESPERATE

In response, Thieu was forced to take desperate measures. He told the police to "shoot down anyone who attempts to burn vehicles in the streets." "We cannot tolerate a minority that sows confusion and creates disturbances among the people," he said. The only such minority of that description to most Vietnamese is the Vietnamese bourgeois military clique and its imperialist backers.

Meanwhile, Vice President Ky just before the election told a gathering of 300 anti-government figures, "I call on people of all walks of life to join with us in the armed forces to overthrow the present dictatorial regime."

Finally, Thieu attempted to mobilize a counterdemonstration, a pitiful affair of 100 veterans and their families on government pensions. At an opposition election eve rally, one dissident said, "We don't obey the Americans. Why should we obey their servant, Thieu?"

STALINISTS

With the Thieu regime completely discredited and its bourgeois opponents moving toward an actual uprising in order to try to save the desperate situation, the Stalinists offer no lead at all. Instead they swing their support to one or the other of the pirates like Ky who want to get rid of Thieu to save their own skins.

In fact the NLF leaders have made it clear that they would welcome a government of such "dissidents" as Ky, which would show "independence" from the Americans. Such a government could only be a bourgeois government.

The desperate crisis of American imperialism in Asia does not only expose such lackeys and front men as Thieu. It exposes those who work to save and make deal with such pirates instead of destroying them.

St. Paul Steel Strike Defies Wage Freeze

BY MICHAEL ROSS

ST. PAUL—Over 400 production and maintenance workers at North Star Steel here brought this mill to a halt on September 29 when negotiations with local management continuously stalled over the wage freeze.

Company officials made inferior wage offers, and are using the

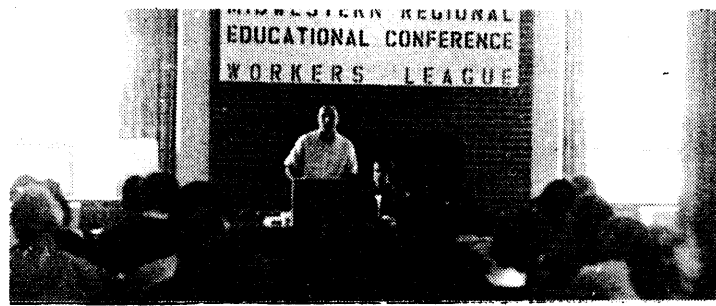
freeze as an excuse not to sign any sort of guarantee that money owed during the freeze will ever be paid.

It is protective clauses in the contract of this nature that the union, Local 7263 of the United Steelworkers of America, is demanding. At press-time, no official spokesman for the local had stated publicly what the union's wage demands were.

North Star is a relatively new "mini-mill," reprocessing scrap steel, and was unionized shortly after it commenced operations some three years ago. The vote to join the USWA at that time was unanimous.

This strike is significant in several respects. To begin with, members of Local 7263 have the right to vote on their own contracts. Had their fellow workers in the basic steel locals been able to do the same, they would have rolled up a big opposition vote on their 1971 contract.

MIDWEST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE



Lectures- Discussion- Dancing

A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

LECTURE I

The Fourth International in the Days of Leon Trotsky

LECTURE II

Fourth International Under Michel Pablo

LECTURE III

The International Committee of the Fourth International

U. of Wisc. (Madison) Student Union. Saturday-Sunday, Oct. 16-17, 9:30-5. For more information call Minneapolis — 612-336-9966 or Madison—608-256-5157.

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

6,000 March Against Freeze At 1199 Rally

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Over 6,000 hospital workers, responding to a call from their union, Local 1199, poured into Federal Plaza October 1st, in one of the first mass demonstrations held against the wage freeze here.

This rally, following the 8,000 strong labor demonstration in Detroit is a powerful display of the workers' determination to defeat this freeze.

The same day thousands of Federal workers marched up Broadway and filled Manhattan Center with shouts of "Strike" in protest against the freeze and the 5% cut in Federal jobs.

Federal Plaza was a sea of blue and white hats worn by the hospital workers as they marched around carrying signs "Freeze the Freeze." Many workers left work an hour early in defiance of management to attend the rally.

The New York Times, representing an important section of the ruling class, buried these events in one small article inside the paper. They are terrified of the power of the labor movement,

afraid that these demonstrations will give workers everywhere a lead to fight back.

Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, confronted with demands at the last delegates meeting to take direct action against the freeze stated that October 1st would be a test of the members' readiness to fight.

Davis has gotten his answer. Hospital workers who are immediately affected by the freeze want more than token protests.

The reaction of the leadership to this militancy and to a real showdown with the government is fear. This was shown even in the way the demonstration was organized.

Initially the leadership had called on workers to leave work early and leave only emergency crews. Hours before the rally however, the union backed off



Thousands of Local 1199 hospital workers rallied against Nixon's wage freeze, showing willingness to fight despite leadership.

from even this partial walk out. Many workers were told to ask "permission" to leave. If this was refused and the workers were threatened with being fired, the union claimed that they could not do anything. Despite this, the ranks came out in tremendous numbers.

BANNERS

As soon as the rally began the leadership quickly moved to suppress banners and signs brought by the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199 and by the Committee for New Leadership, a caucus of rank and file social service workers. These banners brought by rank and file

hospital workers called on the union leadership to "Defy the Freeze," "Call a General Strike," and "Build a Labor Party for 1972."

The bureaucratic attempt to stifle these slogans must be a warning to hospital workers. The 1199 leadership does not intend to organize massive strike action against the freeze but is seeking to rely on Democratic liberals to pressure Nixon.

The main speakers at the rally were William Fitz Ryan and Bella Abzug, both Democrats. The kind of leadership workers can expect from these people could be seen by Fitz Ryan's performance. He arrived at the demonstration ap-

parently so completely drunk that he had to literally cling to the speakers platform!

This is not just a personal matter. Fitz Ryan expresses the degeneration and crisis of the liberals who, faced with Nixon's sharp attacks on the working class are totally impotent. Fitz Ryan's behavior is a disgusting insult to thousands of workers faced with a serious struggle to preserve their living standards.

Abzug is no different for all her phony militant phrases. She attempted to pose as the "friend" of the working class by attacking Nixon for not making sacrifices. "There is no control on prices, profits and dividends," she said. "The workers in this country are not going to take a wage freeze. Your friends in the legislature won't let Nixon do it. If there are any controls at all there should be controls on prices and profits."

DEMOCRATS

Just before Abzug spoke Davis declared: "We know the Republicans are no good and we know that there are many Democrats who are no good. The wage freeze was given to Nixon by a Democratic Congress."

Precisely when the Democrats are being exposed for their complete support to the freeze, the

(Continued On Page 12)

Jefferson High School Witchhunts Militants

BY GIL GONZALEZ

BROOKLYN —The deepening crisis capitalism is in today has forced the ruling class to wage a vicious war against all sections of the working class. It is no coincidence that the murder of George Jackson and the murders at Attica State Prison occurred during the same time that Nixon unleashed his wage freeze upon the working class.

Understanding the important role the youth will play in current struggles against the go-

vernment, serious attention has to be paid to the attacks being made on students all across the country.

The situation at Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn is a perfect example of the kind of repression students are now facing. Since the beginning of last year, Jefferson has been a hotbed of political activity. The school was at the point of explosion when various youth groups attempted to literally take over the school and establish a "people's school" in its place.

At this point Principal Beard and Dean Blackman decided it was time to do battle with these militant youths.



The fight to unite youth (above, Brownsville), students and working class is the fight to mobilize around revolutionary program.

directly through the orders of Mrs. Beard, the school was turned into a virtual concentration camp. Detectives were stationed inside and outside the school to search and harass students on their way to and from classes. Mrs. Beard made it clear from the onset that this was only the beginning. Her next step was the disruption of political rallies held in the auditorium by using the football team to physically attack speakers and sympathizers.

She then made it clear that she would not stop short of expelling or suspending any dissidents who got in her way. A stu-

dent by the name of Farrel Adams, who was "coincidentally" a Black Panther organizer in Jefferson, was expelled for smoking in the cafeteria, which is commonly referred to by students as the "smoke lounge." He was later transferred to Jane High School where racism is used to divide the students.

This year at Jefferson the situation has gotten even more critical. The public address system which has a hands off policy for militants is conveniently at the disposal of all the conservatives in the school. Students have told this reporter that they are constantly being watched and

checked up on.

One student's mother was asked to come up to school because her daughter was caught cutting a class. The discussion the mother had with the administration was centered around the student's political activity and she was asked to discourage her daughter from any such further activity. This goes to show that the school administration will stoop to anything to stop the student movement in Jefferson.

With the movement of the youth at Jefferson, the question of leadership becomes central. Without Marxist leadership all the energy and revolutionary vigor of the youth will just channel off into one reformist movement or another.

The various Stalinist organizations have failed time and time again to provide leadership that is so desperately needed. This was very clearly pointed out at a meeting of Progressive Labor's Challenge Corps. At this meeting a PL spokesman talked about a youth movement which PL plans on initiating.

The center of this movement, he said, would be the demand for free bus passes for students. The political ties between PL and the Stalinists in the Communist Party can readily be seen in this demand. The Stalinists of the CP made the same demand the center of a rally against unemployment last month. It seems as though PL and the CP would be very satisfied with a few crumbs at a time when the whole pie is on the capitalist's table.

It is time now to make a break from all these revisionist groups and their reformist programs. It is time now to build a massive youth movement which will have deep roots in the working class. This will only be done with a fight for the youth program outlined by the Workers League.

We must fight for the 30 for 40

work week, full employment, real training in school under unions and student control. Students must be guaranteed all democratic rights to hold meetings, to form organizations, to distribute leaflets and petitions in schools. We must fight with trade unionists and unemployed against the wage freeze, against the war and repression and fight for a labor party to beat back the government and begin the struggle for power.

Thousands Lose Medicaid Benefits

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The Department of Social Services has put into effect the vicious slashes in health care passed by the state legislature last spring. The implementation of these cuts were held up when they were challenged by three court suits. The Appeals Court just vacated the restraining order.

One of the suits was brought by a retired worker who is 61 years old and afflicted with Parkinson's Disease. He must spend \$53 a month on drugs to control this crippling disease. He receives only \$2,770 a year in Social Security and union pension but is ineligible under the new law for benefits.

This reveals the criminal character of the cuts the state legislators have passed against the working people and unemployed. Medicaid under these cuts will drop over 165,000 people from benefits while coverage is slashed for the few who will remain eligible. Meanwhile the government is gloating about how much money it will "save."

At the same time, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has announced that on January 1st hospital costs under Medicare will rise \$8.00. Medicare recipients will now have to pay the first \$68 of their hos-

pital bill instead of \$60. The excuse given by the government is that this increase will "discourage overuse of hospitals."

Nixon has made sure that this rise will go through despite his so-called "price freeze."

While wages are frozen, such essential services go up. It is the working man and woman, and the unemployed who pay while the bosses and their politicians get fat.

In New York City now the cost of staying in a hospital can run up to \$150 a day. If a worker is hospitalized for even one week it can cost him close to 10% of his yearly wages.

Instead of pouring the billions of dollars now needed into an expansion of health programs and hospitals and free medical care, the Health Department is getting big grants from the federal and city government totalling over a million dollars to "study" the problem of health costs. Their answer is to increase "efficiency" by cutting staff and getting higher productivity from hospital workers.

The working class must now come into head on conflict with both the employers and their government as it ruthlessly slashes every gain, every benefit it has won in the past.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Answer Nixon Freeze With General Strike

It is time for American workers to take a stand on the Nixon wage freeze!

It is time for the labor movement to stop playing games with Nixon and demand a complete and unconditional end to the wage freeze on November 13th.

The labor movement must put teeth into this demand by calling and building a one day general strike shutting down every shop, factory, government office and place of business and holding mass labor rallies on Friday, November 12th.

This will be a warning to Nixon that if there is a continuation of the wage freeze or the setting up of any sort of wage-price review boards, the labor movement will call a general strike to continue until these measures are dropped.

The Workers League intends to carry a fight for this general strike action on November 12th onto the floor of every union meeting. We urge the rank and file of all AFL-CIO unions, the Teamsters, UAW, and other independent unions to join us in this fight.

This fight must also be taken to high school and university students and to all young workers—employed and unemployed—and into the antiwar movement demanding the fight against the war in Indochina be joined with the fight for the one day general strike.

We ask all these forces to help us prepare the most powerful intervention possible in the November 12th demonstrations around the demands:

- End the Wage Freeze—No cooperation with wage control boards in any way, shape or form.
- Substantial wage increases and cost of living escalators for all workers.
- Immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Indochina.
- Nationalization of basic industry under workers control.
- Build a Labor Party to dump Nixon and the Democrats in '72.

The present stand of the employers and the government now expressed most clearly in the conflict with the longshoremen's unions, the soft coal strike, and the continuing telephone strike in New York shows that they have absolutely no intention of making concessions on wages or anything else during Phase II of Nixon's wage freeze.

On the contrary, they are counting on the continuation of wage controls in some form or other to limit wage increases under Phase II of the freeze which begins after November 13th. Their perspective is to further bolster profits through increasing productivity, speed-up and layoffs.

At the same time, it is clear that the trade union rank and file are talking about getting what is due them after the end of the 90 day freeze on November 13th.

The patience of millions of workers is wearing thin as they still find themselves perpetually trying to make ends meet, as the Administration readily grants "exemptions" for higher prices to big business, as the millionaires continue to live off the fat of the land, and the Administration openly states that higher profits for the bosses are the key to a "healthy" economy.

Nixon is working day and night to strengthen the labor bureaucracy against the rank and file and get the cooperation of Meany and the other bureaucrats with some form of wage stabilization board to maintain a veto power over all union contracts in Phase II.

The experience of the labor movement in World War II was that the wage freeze and the no-strike pledge could be pushed on the rank and file only through the cooperation of this trade union bureaucracy.

Today the working class is not willing to sacrifice its hard won wages and conditions in the name of "the national interest" while the capitalists are making millions and Nixon continues the criminal war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The fight against cooperation with the freeze must now center on the struggle in every union for the general strike and mass demonstrations of labor, youth and unemployed on November 12th.



What we think

The SWP And The Wage Freeze

On November 15th Nixon plans to unveil Phase II of his wage freeze. As that day draws nearer, and as the anger and determination of the working class grows against the freeze, the Stalinists, the revisionists and the labor bureaucracy attempt to divert the working class and turn it away from the struggle against the government.

This is the meaning of the article in the current issue of the Militant, paper of the Socialist Workers Party, on "The Role of Students in the Fight Against the Wage Freeze."

What is posed to students in this article is bringing workers into the November 6th protests against the war. The fight against the wage freeze is completely subordinated to middle class protest.

The main thrust of the SWP's logic goes like this: wage increases do not cause inflation, war spending does. Ending the war will end the wage freeze. Therefore workers should demonstrate against the war.

This superficial outlook hinges on completely reformist conceptions—that the war is the cause of inflation, that the war can be ended by protest, and that ending the war will end inflation and solve the crisis. This is the same contention that the Stalinists make.

But the cause of inflation is not a "dislocation" of the economy due to war spending, but a result of the conscious decisions made by the capitalists at Bretton Woods to avoid a massive confrontation with the working class by inflating the dollar.

This laid the basis for a period of temporary stability which has now come to an end.

To tell students and workers that the cause of the wage freeze and inflation is the war is to completely avoid the fundamental nature of the crisis which now grips capitalism. "If only the war were stopped, capitalism could restabilize," the revisionists cry.

Jacquith and Hawkins state: "All students are hurt by the wage freeze and the rest of Nixon's economic package—as students, as consumers, as women, as Blacks, or Chicanos, or Puer-

to Ricans or Native Americans, as antiwar activists, and many as workers—and students have an interest in organizing against the freeze."

"Above all students have an interest in fighting the wage freeze because it is a measure taken by the rulers of this country to continue the devastating war against Vietnam. The fight against the wage freeze is a fight against the war."

But the fight against all the attacks on the working class, both in the US where the capitalists prepare for civil war, and in the imperialist war in Vietnam, means that capitalism itself must be destroyed.

This means the fight for a mass revolutionary party, based on all the theoretical and historical lessons of the Marxist movement, to fight for power.

It means the fight to mobilize the masses of workers organized in the trade unions, in defense of their rights and living standards, against the attacks of the government and employers.

The SWP attempts to separate out the students from this fight, to confine them to protest, and to bring workers into the protest movement.

Students do not fight the wage freeze because it affects them as workers. Whatever their class origins, they are not workers. Nor is it a matter of fighting the freeze because it affects them as "consumers, as women, as Blacks, or Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans, or Native Americans, as antiwar activists..."

With this the SWP attempts to divide and break up the movement of the working class, and the students who reflect that movement, along racial and other lines.

At the same time they assert that the wage freeze, and the war, are not class questions—that women, consumers, Blacks, etc. along with workers, can pressure Nixon to change his policies.

To stop the wage freeze and all the attacks on the working class requires the independent mobilization of the working class to stop the government. With everything heading toward November 15th and Phase II of the attack on the unions, this means

the fight for a one day general strike on November 12, to warn Nixon that the labor movement will not stand for a freeze in any way, shape or form.

The role of students in this fight must be to turn out to the working class and working class youth, to mobilize forces from the youth to take a political program for fighting back against the freeze, unemployment, the war and repression into the November 6th demonstrations.

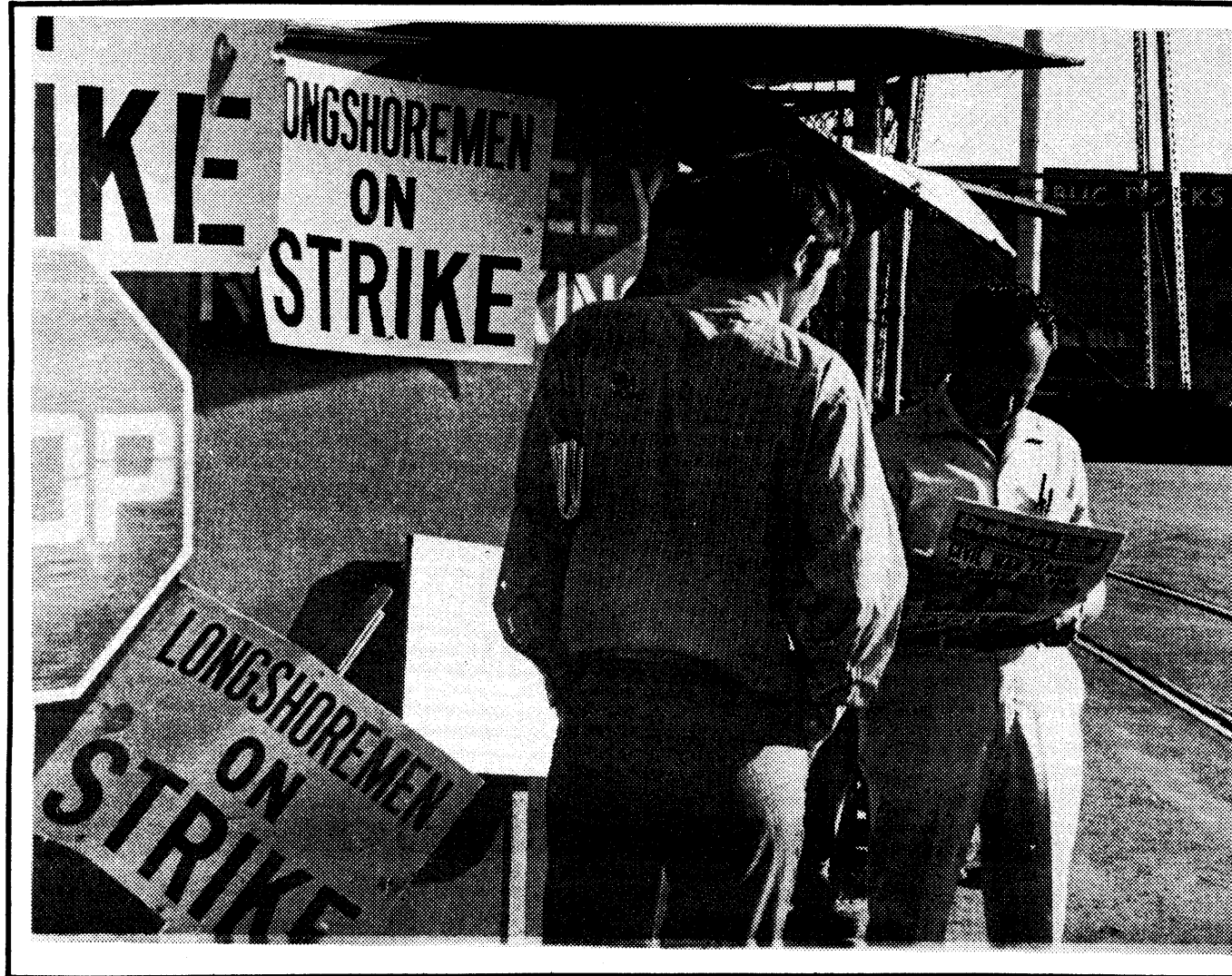
The revisionists see these demonstrations as a protest against the war. The students, the youth and the workers must fight to turn them into a preparation for class action November 12th. The November 5th demonstrations must be centered around the demand and preparation for a one day general strike and mass rally of labor on the 12th.

In this article the SWP also puts forward certain demands relating to the struggle of workers—for the shorter work week, no wage controls, and a labor party. But these are separated out completely from the struggle for power and from the mobilization of the working class. Above all they are abstracted from the massive developments that are building toward an explosion November 15th.

With the first national longshore strike in U.S. history, the use of Taft-Hartley, the telephone strike and miners strike, the capitalists are in effect locking out strikers, waiting for the 15th in hopes of some sort of permanent controls to force them back to work defeated.

The fight to smash Nixon's Phase II and wage controls in any form must be taken to every union, to every worker, youth and student for a massive labor demonstration and one day general strike on the eve of Phase II. The students must take this fight into the antiwar demonstrations on November 6th.

This must prepare the way for a political fight to defeat Nixon, the construction of a labor party to unite employed and unemployed, workers and youth in the fight for power.



SHOW DOWN ON THE DOCKS

BY DAN FRIED

THE CRISIS ON the docks in 1971 is coming to a head on both coasts in the form of an all-out war to take away whatever gains the longshoremen have won through struggle over the years.

The fight by rank and file longshoremen against this onslaught, now more than ever before a fight confronting the Federal Government head on, requires a thorough understanding of the history of the ILA, of the methods of its leadership and rank and file, of its relations with the government and its various agencies and repressive arms—all in the context of the technological changes and innovations on the docks and in shipping which have transformed the process of maritime transportation internationally—containerization.

We have already seen that the struggles of the East Coast dockworkers, particularly in the port of New York were carried out in the face of increasing government intervention against the ILA in the post-World War II period. This was not only in the continual use of the Taft Hartley injunction against strikes which has continued up through 1968, but also in the New York State Crime Committee investigations, the screening and registration of longshoremen, court fines and the AFL raid against the ILA and control of hiring and supervision of the docks in their entirety by the Waterfront Commission.

The "stability" and labor peace that was sought by the government and biggest employers, important as it was in this period, became even more vital to protect the shipowners profits under a containerized technology. Government control and "decasualization"—the elimination of the shapeup—has almost universally accompanied the introduction of containerization all over the world. Both the most efficient methods of hiring, now based on computers, and the desirability of uninterrupted production based on a "disciplined" work force has become the paramount goal of the employers under containerization.

The tremendous capital investment by the employers in containerized equipment, including berths, cranes, container moving vehicles, and ships, requires the most efficient application of labor to maximize profits. We need only note that a modern container ship requires \$5,000 per day in fixed costs alone for its maintenance to realize that the employers do not like to see their container ships or other facilities sitting around idle.

CONTAINERIZATION

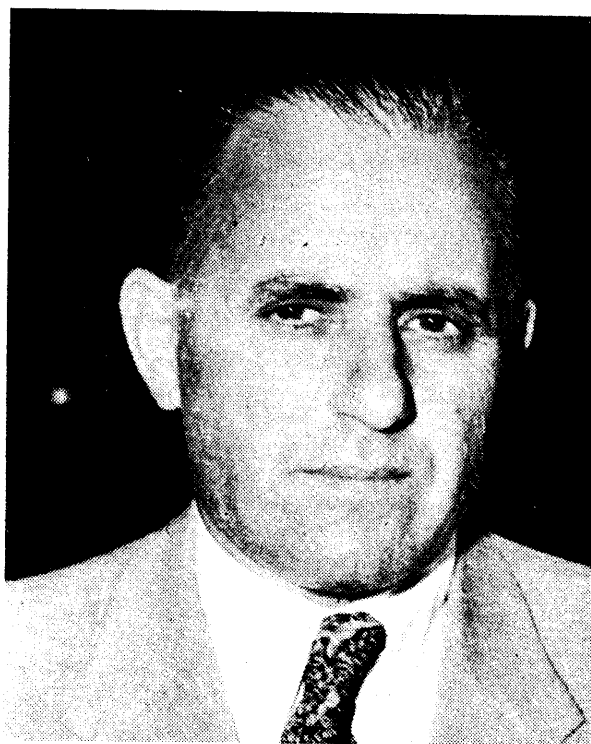
The ideal goal of the shipping bosses was spelled out in the 1968 ILO (International Labor Organization) report on the world's docks, as the creation of a dock labor force composed of "a small group of highly mobile men prepared to work shifts and keep the docks running 24 hours a day, preferably to be on call during this time." This setup would also include complete "flexibility" of labor where "there is no obstacle to shifting men from hatch to hatch, from one ship to another, from ship to shore, and from job to job." The report claimed that the institution of such a pro-

cess—which we can see amounts to complete enslavement of longshoremen—based on containerization could eliminate 75% of a ship's time in port.

While it is doubtful that the government and employers could have foreseen in detail the technological innovations of containerization in 1953, it is absolutely clear that the effect of the employer-government attack and imposition of controls, and the expulsion of the ILA from the AFL was part of the process of setting up the ILA for containerization. Actually the drive by the employers to wipe out jobs through the elimination of "restrictive practices," the reduction of gang sizes and the attempt to introduce no-strike clauses, being stepped up prior to the appearance of containerized cargo, as we have seen. The significance of containerization for the employers was that they could and would be forced by the nature of capitalist production to take these measures to undreamed of lengths—threatening the destruction of the jobs and livelihood of the vast numbers of dockworkers.

Joseph Goldberg, writing in the U.S. Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1968, tended to confirm our view of the aims of "housecleaning" and government controls over the ILA: "The ILA was in a state of flux and uncertainty, a state hardly conducive to the establishment of a stable labor-management relation geared to the consideration of basic changes in the existing practices. With changed leadership, closer scrutiny by the international officers, the adoption of standards for local union activities, and success in representational elections," the ILA was readmitted to the AFL-CIO in 1959.

The changed leadership that Goldberg talks about is represented by ILA President Thomas (Teddy) Gleason in an alliance with the Anastasia-Mafia forces from Brooklyn, reflected today in the leadership of Brooklyn



Anthony Anastasia, former Brooklyn ILA leader.

Local 1814, including Local 1814 President Anthony Scotto, the son-in-law of Anthony Anastasia, and Bobby Anastasia, another member of the family. Gleason and Scotto (to whom the label "Harvard educated" has been affixed) are supposedly "modern" labor leaders, according to their P.R. men. Not the old time gangsters that "used to" run the ILA.

Gleason, of course, came right out of the Tammany Hall tradition and apparatus of the Ryan machine. He was a close collaborator of Mr. Ryan's for many, many years. In the "old days" not only Mr. Ryan "sold" tickets at high prices to longshoremen for "testimonial dinners." These dinners were a form of kickback, organized by the union officials in collusion with the hiring foremen. Longshoremen who wanted to stay on the good side of the hiring foremen bought the tickets. According to Charles P. Larrowe, in his book "Shape Up and Hiring Hall", "in the late 1930s and early 1940s such ILA officials as Gene Sampson and Thomas Gleason, business agent of Local 1346, ran their own testimonial dinners."

Gleason was on the gravy train right along with Ryan. According to Larrowe, Gleason, in 1951 alone, "received a total of \$26,025 for his services to the ILA" while holding the following offices: acting president of Local 783, business agent of Local 1346, financial secretary of Local 1730, and international organizer.

What the employers and government liked about Gleason and recognized as a "modern" approach was that despite the rank and file resistance to the elimination of jobs in the ILA, Gleason in principle favored the new technology of containerization. At the ILA convention in July, 1959, Gleason stated:

"I believe that the ...container will be forced on the shipping lines through competition...I am convinced that it has got to come, and when it does come, its effects on us can be tremendous. It is not too far-fetched to estimate that we stand to lose, in the full force of the container use, 8,000 to 9,000 jobs in the New York area alone, and a proportional number in all other ports. This amounts to 30% of the membership. At stake, is the merit of a strong union..."

Apart from his underestimation of the loss of dock jobs if the employers have their way, Gleason's statement reflected that he had neither desire nor program to fight for an alternative to the use of containerization to destroy jobs. Then, as now, he was willing to bargain for the "best deal" over containers, but within the employers' framework that private owners and private profit come first, regardless of the consequences.

Containerization, introduced experimentally in the U.S. in 1955, has become a world wide phenomena, completely transforming shipping techniques, not only in ocean-going traffic, but on land via truck and rail as well. As we shall see, it is only since 1968 that U.S. container traffic has really climbed to a point as the major means of transporting ocean-going freight as opposed to the old "break-bulk" method.

The container is essentially a big box which is a portable cargo trailer that can be either rolled on and off ships and connected to truck tractors or, more commonly, lifted by means of huge gantry cranes on and off ships, stacked one on top of another and then further transported by tractor trailer or by

rail.

The new technology necessitated by containerization has required a staggering capital investment not only in the containers themselves, but also in container moving cranes and lifts, specially designed "container ships" and special berths and port facilities.

There is no doubt that despite the huge investment, containerization has paid off for the bosses even before its use on such a wide scale as today. The ILO report, issued in 1968 estimated that in New York, containerized loading costs were reduced from \$22 to \$6 per ton and terminal costs from \$12 and \$1 per ton as compared with conventional cargo handling. Estimates of the increase in output per man hour with containerized cargo are from twenty to thirty times greater than with conventional means. In other words, since a 25 ton container is loaded or unloaded in 2 1/2 minutes, the output with containerized cargo averages 600 freight tons per man week compared with only 25 tons per man week with conventional cargo handling.

Containerization means that the turn-around time of a container ship is only one tenth that of a conventional ship. With the continual production of container ships, including the barge-carrying LASH—a development vastly decreasing the employment of seamen as well as dock workers—it is estimated by the shipping bosses that only 25 modern container ships will be needed to carry the entire U.S.-European general cargo trade. One of the trade publications of the capitalists, *Chemical and Engineering News*, indicated the ravages that containerization would effect on longshoremen, when it matter-of-factly stated that, "intermodal (integrated land-sea-air) transportation of containerized cargo could reduce by 90% the number of dock workers that handle cargo."

THE CONTRACT STRUGGLES

The development of containerization, the supervision of the ILA by the Waterfront Commission and the reintegration of the ILA into the AFL-CIO in no way changed the post World War II pattern of strikes and wildcats on the East and Gulf Coast. Undoubtedly, after the Waterfront Commission Act was passed, every strike whether official or wildcat was even more than in the previous period, an object of direct government intervention. Since World War II, every new contract negotiation has led to a strike. The Taft-Hartley injunction under the "national emergency" provisions has been used against the ILA on seven consecutive occasions, and the ILA has struck after the expiration of the "cooling off" period six times.

At each point, containerization became a more central issue in the negotiations although at first, in 1955, the leadership accepted containerization in a matter-of-fact way (at that time there was an extremely small amount of container cargo), agreeing to work the first East Coast container operation of Sea-Land's roll-on-roll-off ships.

They went along with containerization without any special concessions at all until November, 1958 when they refused to handle containers, going into a struggle, not in opposition to containerization as such, but only over what the terms and conditions for working containers would be. The shipping bosses led by Sea-Land were now using two gangs on container operations rather than the five to seven for conventional ships and wanted a reduction in the size of the gang as well. The ILA agreed to work containers, and the employers agreed, as we now know, only for a time, to maintain the size of the gang at 20 men.

Basically the employers had gotten their fundamental demand which would open the way for them to make the enormous changes and cost savings that containerization has brought them. The ILA leadership, in addition, agreed to arbitration of the terms of a fund which supposedly would compensate dockworkers for containerization, the so-called container royalty fund. The arbitration award in 1960 determined the royalty that the employers would have to pay into the fund on each ton of cargo loaded or unloaded in containers by non-ILA members away from the pier.

In the struggle over the 1962 contract, the employers were now taking a new offensive against the union, aimed at a massive reduction in dock labor based on a leap in productivity, which they hoped to get out of a much greater use of containers which still only made up a small proportion of shipping. The NYSA (New York Shipping Association) openly demanded that the "unions join with us in re-evaluating present restrictive practices of more than a half a century—which have become outdated by new developments in the steamship industry." What they demanded was the reduction of gang size and a limit of any wage increase to increases in productivity.

The ranks of the ILA forced the leadership into a strike in a bitter struggle against the bosses' offensive. The government stood behind the employers, not only with a Taft-Hartley injunction as before, but with the constant threat of Congressional legislation for compulsory arbitration. Such a bill was actually introduced but not passed following the settlement. The imposition of Taft-Hartley did not make the slightest dent in the determination of the ranks to fight the bosses' "offer". They voted down the "last

offer" of the NYSA at the end of the 80 day "cooling off" period, and resumed the strike.

At the same time a three-man "fact-finding" Presidential Mediation Board headed by Senator Wayne Morse (who before and after had a long and notorious history of leading Congressional strikebreaking and anti-union actions) was appointed to make recommendations. The ILA leadership agreed to end the strike on the basis of what was then described as a "generous" wage package, in exchange for the agreement to negotiate the next (1964) contract on the basis of the recommendations of the fact finding board and the Department of Labor, based on a "comprehensive study of the problems of manpower utilization and job security."

The findings of this study formed the basis for the April, 1965 agreement which established a 1,600 hour yearly wage guarantee, a reduction of the basic gang size from 20 to 17, and the "easing of work rule restrictions". The employers now had a firm agreement on containerization based on the guarantee and the reduction of gang size, opening the way for a great expansion of containerization on the East Coast as well as on the West, where Bridges had made a basic agreement on containerization with considerably fewer concessions on jurisdiction and other conditions than the ILA had gotten.

It is not surprising that there was great suspicion and resistance by the ILA ranks to the 1964 contract. The agreement was only accepted after the Taft-Hartley was used twice, the second time under a special clause, 10j, which charged that the union was "refusing to bargain", and a wildcat strike in New York against the leadership's acceptance. Even then the agreement was ratified only after a massive campaign of "explanation of the terms" by the ILA bureaucrats near the end of January 1965.

Commenting on the agreement in the government's *Monthly Labor Review* of January, 1968, Philip Ross wrote:

"The 1965 contract was an exceptionally good one for the employers and its four year term was sufficiently long to enjoy new manpower flexibility..."

The employers then proceeded to "enjoy" this flexibility at very little cost to themselves despite the concessions they had made. A tremendous increase in containerized cargo following the 1964-5 agreement led to the demand by the ILA to reopen the container portion of the contract in 1966. This the employers refused to do, claiming that containerization had hurt no one, that there was full employment on the docks even for the newly registered 2,000 men ('66 men) who had been brought in without any protection of the guaranteed wage at all.

The intervention of the Federal government in bringing about the terms of the 1964 agreement was accompanied by a Presidential admonition that "if peaceful adjustments could not be reached in the future, appropriate legislation would be enacted." This threat was renewed in 1968, and again today forms the basis of the government's plan to supplement the Taft-Hartley with compulsory arbitration strikebreaking legislation in the Administration's Transportation Bill which Congress may attempt to bring out in order to break a dock strike this year.

The 1968-69 contract was in many ways a repeat of '64, but with the ILA leadership being forced to fight for better "terms" finally agreed to in the contract after a protracted struggle following the Taft-Hartley and an historic 57 day strike. The employers made concessions on tightening ILA jurisdiction over containers—including provisions for stripping and stuffing of many consolidated containers—and the increase of the wage guarantee to 2,080 hours per year (40 hour week) and on wages.

But the rank and file expressed their dissatisfaction with the contract and their fear both of containerization and of the attempts to weaken the union, by insisting that the port of New York stay shut until all the outports had settled. The outports, including Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans, were fighting for uniform terms with New York against the resistance of the shippers who wanted to intensify the competition between ports and workers in the different ports. Gleason himself had demanded as early as the 1967 ILA convention that the union would fight for an "all coast contract" from Maine to Texas, and the ranks were demanding he carry out this fight.

The ILA leadership at first appeared to carry out this fight, refusing to allow a ratification vote in New York until the outports had settled. When the Federal government through the NLRB stepped in to obtain an injunction forcing a ratification vote in New York, Gleason blustered, talking tough: "The only thing we can do if forced to it at this time is advise the men to vote against it." But Gleason had absolutely no intention of giving such advice when he bemoaned the fact that the unity of the ILA in all ports would be broken, saying:

"They'll have to go back—if the men want the contract, there's nothing I can say about it. It was a good offer."

By the "official" count 35% of the vote was against the contract in the face of a campaign by Gleason and Scotto (who attempted to buy time on the radio to

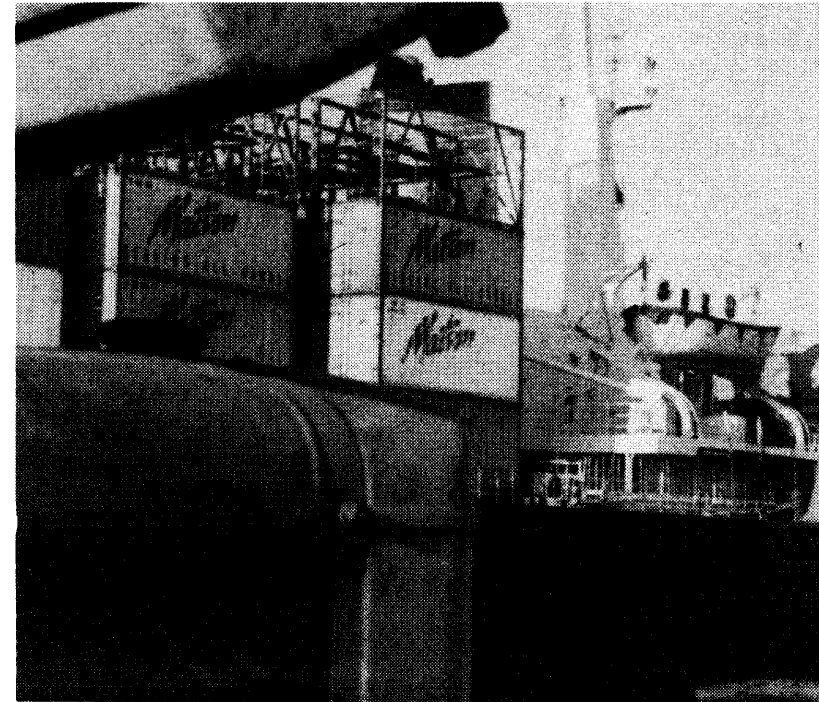
campaign for a "yes" vote) to "explain the contract" to the men. Dissidents in Brooklyn Local 1814 were bitter over the failure of the leadership to fight for more jobs through the 30 hour week.

Following the announcement of ratification, longshoremen in Manhattan claimed they had been "sold down the river" and that the vote was rigged. According to one Manhattan ILA member:

"It was like school kids playing at election. I could have voted four times. People were milling around, the managers were telling us how to vote, and I didn't know half of the people casting ballots."

Later Scotto "explained" why he and Gleason changed their minds. He gave as a reason, in an article in the *Brooklyn Longshoreman*, the threatened "new legislation" by Nixon to replace the "outmoded" Taft-Hartley in dealing with dock strikes. Scotto's reasoning then, just as today with Gleason's complete capitulation to Nixon's wage freeze and no-strike pledge, is that when the government threatens repression against the unions, the unions must cooperate rather than fight.

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With new container ships like one above, same amount of cargo can be unloaded with 20 times less manhours. Right: Brooklyn pickets in 1968 strike, when GAI was won against containerization.

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The concessions made to the ILA, especially over the question of the guaranteed wage, represent the absolute limit that the employers were able to go in paying a price for the acceptance of containerization. This means, as we shall see, that the present crisis in shipping, the overexpansion of container facilities, merges with the overall crisis of world capitalism that brought about Nixon's wage freeze, posing for the dockworkers on both coasts the most fundamental political fight to preserve their gains and unions themselves from the onslaught of the employers and government in 1971.

ROLE OF BRIDGES

In this fight, the relation of the East Coast and West Coast dockers, of the ILA and the ILWU is critical. The ILA and ILWU have developed unevenly and made important gains at different periods of their development. Today, despite this uneven development, they face a common struggle. Even though Bridges and Gleason have "talked" unity, Bridges not only has allowed shipping in Mexico and Vancouver, Canada, organized by the ILWU, to continue, and undermine the strike, but has conveniently allowed Gleason to continue the scabbing policy of handling goods destined for, or coming from the West Coast. Without this criminal action the West Coast shippers would have been crawling long ago, and demanding immediate government intervention, possibly provoking a national dock strike.

It is precisely Nixon's fear of a national dock strike and wildcat action on the East Coast following the contract expiration there that has sent him into a frantic effort to end the West Coast strike. The government is now threatening the direct use of scabs to replace strikers.

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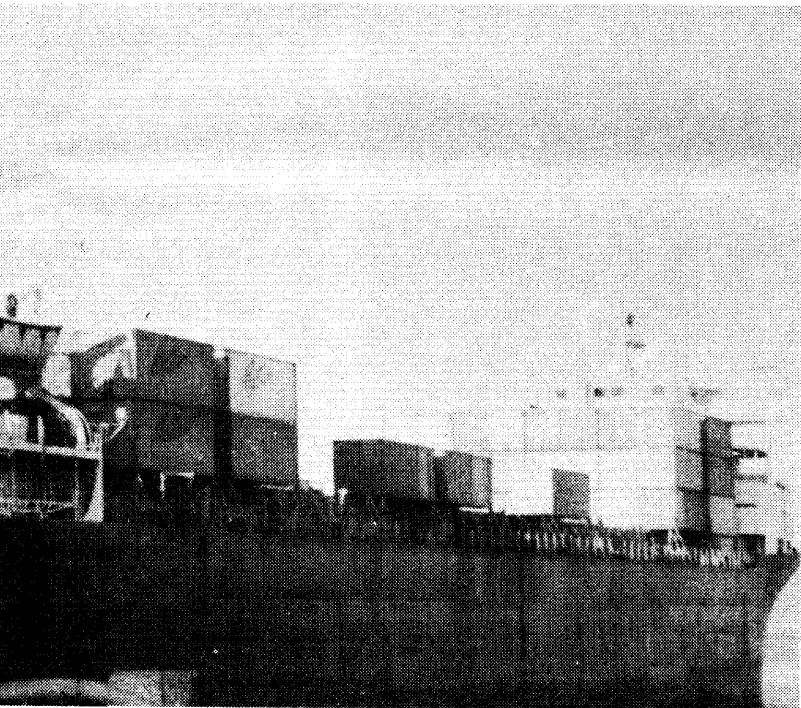
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It was only the tremendous threats that the recession and containerization posed to dock jobs that forced Bridges into the first strike since 1948. Bridges' current efforts to avoid at all costs a battle with the government, which are covered up for by the Stalinist Communist Party's newspaper *Peoples World*, can be traced back to the roots of Bridges' class collaboration flowing from his Stalinism.

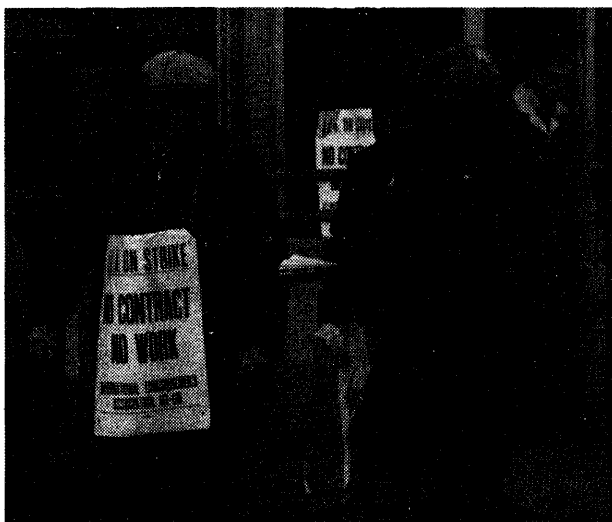
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With the introduction of containerization on the West Coast, the Bridges policy of class collaboration set up the ILWU for the tremendous crisis posed by the expansion of containerization at the expense of West Coast dockers today.

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The West Coast employers thus got even greater concessions than the East Coast on reduction of gang size, flexibility of employee assignments and elimination of "multiple handlings" and relative peace based on the cooperation of Harry Bridges. There were only two contracts in the space of 11 years! The PMA was quite satisfied with the agreement, reporting as early as 1964 that:

"The employers' consensus is that generally management has realised a good portion of what it hoped for...There have been roadblocks in changing entrenched, archaic work patterns. However, there have been sufficient annual man-hour savings for the plan to show a return to the participating companies."

Indeed, the employers made an estimated super-profit through mechanization of \$200 million over the life of the M & M agreement from 1960 to 1968, while the West Coast longshoremen were falling be-

hind their East Coast brothers on wages, conditions, and job security, after having moved out ahead for a whole period as a result of the historic 1934 and 1936 strikes whose gains included the union hiring hall.

THE CRISIS TODAY

The struggle on both East and West Coasts against Nixon and the shippers for new contracts in 1971 is the culmination of the sharp crisis that has developed on the docks since the 1968 ILA agreement. As late as 1968, the real attacks on jobs resulting from containerization had been somewhat cushioned by the fact that in that year only 12% of the dry cargo entering and leaving the port of New York was containerized and less than 13% of all U.S. trade was in containers. In 1970 more than 60% of this trade was containerized, with the "experts" predicting that by 1975, 85% of New York's general cargo will be containerized. This tremendous expansion of containerization is a world wide development of all the major capitalist nations which has been prepared over the last five years in particular by a massive investment in new port facilities, modern container fleets, cranes and other costly equipment for moving containers.

Between 1968 and 1970 there has been a world wide increase from 50 container ships to more than 300. It is possible that five of these new ships can handle the entire British-North American trade with only one terminal at each end. Along with this has been the development of rival shipping consortia and an international container war between the fleets of different companies and whole nations.

The formation of international cartels to corner particular trade routes has only been met by the formation of new combinations and blocs based on an investment in even more modern and productive techniques which are used to destroy jobs on the docks. The race for each port or section (within New York) to get ahead of the others in the construction of container terminals has meant a fierce competition between U.S. ports for the capture of the position of the leading terminals on each coast. In the South, the battle rages between Jacksonville, Charleston and Savannah. For the Mid-Atlantic route, New York and Hampton Roads are in the lead against Baltimore and Philadelphia, while in the North, Halifax, Nova Scotia has the edge. The same sort of rivalry has been raging within the port of New York.

On the West Coast, the same battle rages. In the early '60s Oakland took the plunge and made plans for the city's current sprawling container facilities, making it the West Coast's largest container port, second only to New York nationally. But the battle to catch up has led to plans for multi-million dollar container facility expansion in San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles. As a result of this competitive battle, as the *Wall Street Journal* admits, "dozens of ports are threatened by containerization," facing virtual destruction. These include Portland, Philadelphia, Boston, and the rest of the New England ports which have already been superceded, to name only a few.

The outcome of this competition is the wholesale elimination of jobs and the destruction of entire ports. The 1968 ILO report on the world's docks summed up the outcome of the competitive struggle:

"As there is at the outset no certainty as to which ports will be most used for this traffic, every port seeks to be in a position to handle a major share of the traffic going to its region. There is a serious risk of over-investment with the result that the yield on investment may be in some cases much below that which was planned for, and it is by no means impossible that some concerns, whether public or private, will find themselves operating at a loss."

What a striking confirmation we have here of Karl Marx's analysis of capitalism more than one hundred years ago, in which he pointed out that the unplanned anarchy of capitalist production leads to "overproduction," a general tendency toward the lowering of the rate of profit and the resulting destruction of jobs.

The "conference system," operating on the basis of the largest firms meeting regularly to reach agreement on rates and prices, as well as the attempt to partition trade routes is periodically doomed to break down, giving way to outbreaks of international rate wars between the various firms, nations and shipping consortia. These conferences and agreements cannot withstand the constant drive to invest and re-invest in ever more productive equipment and facilities, and the continual tendency for the formation of rival blocs and consortia in order to grab a bigger share of the profits. The recent "rate war pact," concluded between four of the largest American shipping giants and three European firms is an attempt to bring to an end a period of fierce rate cutting.

But the only solution that these firms are necessarily driven to by the laws of capitalist production is an attempt to increase the rate of profit through an all out war on the wages and conditions of the dock unions in order to further reduce their shipping costs.

As we have been warning for more than two years, the shippers led by the NYSA are determined to tear

up the agreement with the ILA on the 2,080 hour wage guarantee in New York and to refuse any increases in the guarantee in other East and Gulf ports in this year's contract. At the same time the PMA on the West Coast is determined to hold the guarantee down to its 35 hour weekly provision for a limited number of men while more and more jobs are eliminated.

THE STRUGGLE NOW

Gleason and Scotto as always, are only too happy to have the government bail them out of a fight in the face of Nixon's strong hint that any strike after September 30th would be met with quick court action for a possible Taft-Hartley injunction. The policy of Gleason, Scotto, et. al., is therefore to assist in the strategy of Nixon and the employers to use the time until November 13th to devise some sort of arbitration especially for the docks—an arbitrated settlement that grants the Shipping Associations their basic goal, taking away the gains that the ranks of the ILA have won in struggle over the last 25 years. Whether this strategy by Nixon and the employers takes the form of special legislation in transportation disputes or is part of the general union-busting machinery set up by the Administration in "Phase II"—the effect is the same.

What is at stake in this struggle is the continuation of the ILA and ILWU as unions, and the maintenance and needed improvement of the wages and conditions not to mention the very jobs of thousands of dock workers. At the same time, this struggle of the longshoremen now becomes key to the development of the entire class struggle. A struggle to break the Nixon wage freeze necessarily will have tremendous repercussions throughout the entire international labor movement in this period when the world's capitalists are forced to an all out war on their own working classes combined with the threat of all out trade war in order to protect their balance of payments.

The limited, but very real concessions that the ILA ranks could extract from containerization despite the opportunism of the Gleason leadership, can no longer even be maintained without the most fundamental struggle against the government, a struggle which must break with the pragmatic methods of Gleason and Scotto of trying to make capitalism work. The 1971 contract poses the necessity of the rank and file of the ILA to go beyond the militant "rank and file" struggle of previous years, to a fundamental alternative to Gleason and Scotto, based on a Marxist-Trotskyist program geared to the needs of the dock workers.

First and foremost, such a program must be aimed at the complete unity of all dock workers, East and West Coast, in all ports for a uniform master contract and a minimum 2,080 hour guarantee in all ports, and full union rights and benefits for all dock workers regardless of seniority, including the '69 men in the ILA. The policy of the leadership under Gleason and Scotto has been to hypocritically talk about unity while in reality encouraging divisions between sections and ports and between different seniority levels over employment and the apportionment of container royalty money.

This practice is the counterpart in the ILA of the divisions on the West Coast between the ILWU and Teamsters over jurisdiction which Bridges encourages rather than fighting for demands that can unite dockers and teamsters. With the current crisis posing the possibility of a showdown with the employers in a national dock strike, there is an increased danger that scabs can be recruited from among dockworkers who are left out in the cold by the union. The threat of U.S. Department of Labor mediator George Counts to "replace" striking West Coast dockworkers is a warning signal.

An example of the maneuvering, the wheeling and dealing "me-first" attitude of the leadership which is substituted for preparation for an all-out economic and political battle with the shippers is shown by ILA Local 1814 President Anthony Scotto who always says that he looks out for "Brooklyn" and only Brooklyn. A couple of years ago, Scotto demonstrated his method at a packed meeting of the local. To cover up the continual stalling of the container bonus payment, Scotto announced that he was fighting for the division of the bonus among ONLY the A, B and C men (highest seniority) and it was just too bad for the New Jersey longshoremen, most of whom are D and E men.

Equally damaging to the union is the competition for jobs between the regular men and the 2,000 New York "G" card ('69) men who do not get the guarantee, or travel time or the container bonus, or union medical and welfare benefits. These men were purposely brought in with a special registration by the Waterfront Commission in order to provide a "flexible" pool of labor required by containerization and to be used as a source of division within the union. Waterfront Commission regulations agreed to by the union permit these men in the port of New York to be "bumped" by other regular card longshoremen in other sections of the port who are sent over for work from one part of the port to another at certain times. Only recently, Manhattan Local 857 longshoremen walked out of the hiring hall in protest against the assignment of men to another borough, an assignment agreed to explicitly by Gleason. In October, 1969, the "G" men at Port Newark walked out and a near riot ensued after higher seniority men

the 80 day "cooling off" period. The "fact-finding" Presidential Commission by Senator Wayne McCulloch, a long and notorious strikebreaker and labor lawyer, agreed to end the strike then described as "a necessary exchange for the 1964 contract on the basis of the fact finding Commission on Labor, based on a number of problems of manpower shortage." The basis for the contract was established a 1,600 man reduction of the basic wage and the "easing of work rules" now had a firm basis on the guarantee of opening the way for a strike on the East Coast. Bridges had made a deal with considerably more favorable conditions

There was great suspicion of the 1964 contract. After the Taft-Hartley Act, the union was "re-organized" in New York City. Even then the union had a massive campaign by the ILA in 1965.

In the government's report, 1968, Philip Ross

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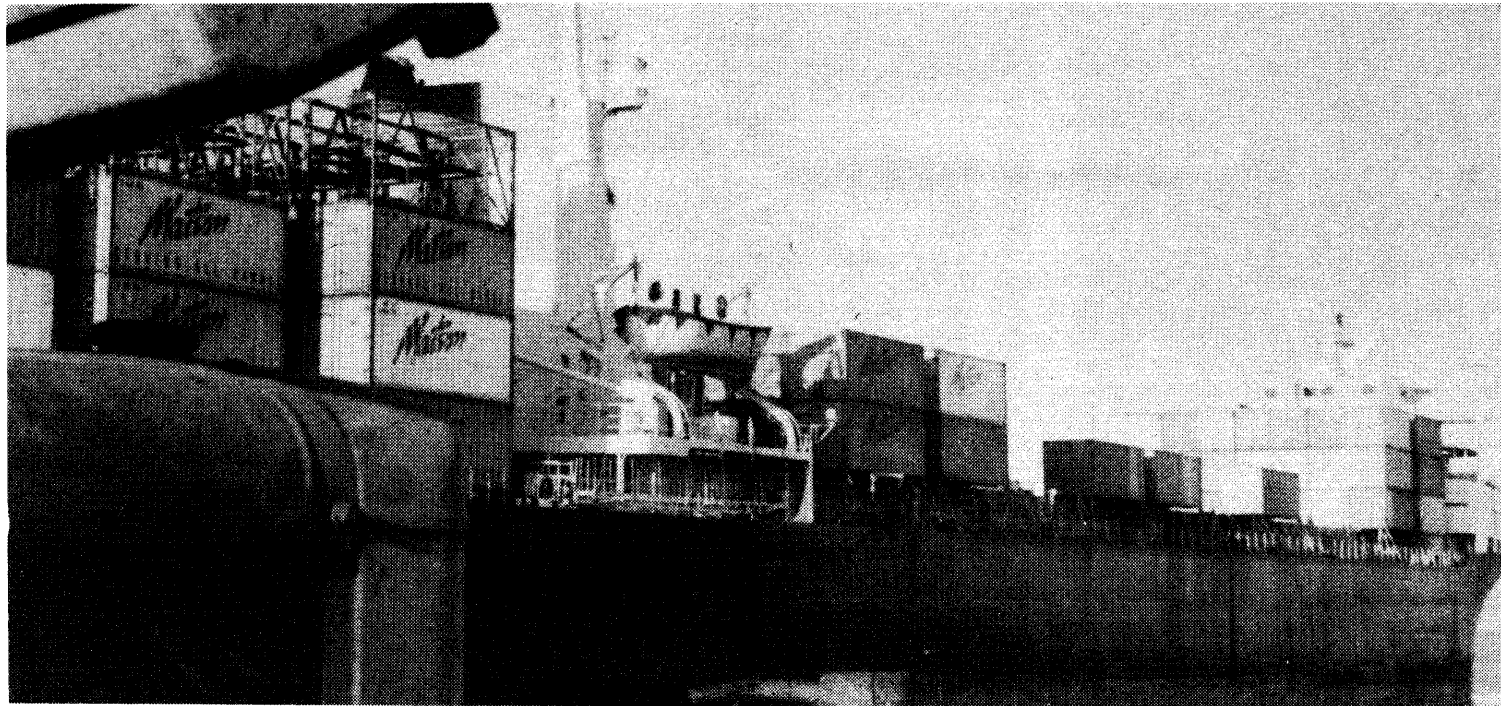
campaign for a "yes" vote) to "explain the contract" to the men. Dissidents in Brooklyn Local 1814 were bitter over the failure of the leadership to fight for more jobs through the 30 hour week.

Following the announcement of ratification, longshoremen in Manhattan claimed they had been "sold down the river" and that the vote was rigged. According to one Manhattan ILA member:

"It was like school kids playing at election. I could have voted four times. People were milling around, the managers were telling us how to vote, and I didn't know half of the people casting ballots."

Later Scotto "explained" why he and Gleason changed their minds. He gave as a reason, in an article in the *Brooklyn Longshoreman*, the threatened "new legislation" by Nixon to replace the "outmoded" Taft-Hartley in dealing with dock strikes. Scotto's reasoning then, just as today with Gleason's complete capitulation to Nixon's wage freeze and no-strike pledge, is that when the government threatens repression against the unions, the unions must cooperate rather than fight.

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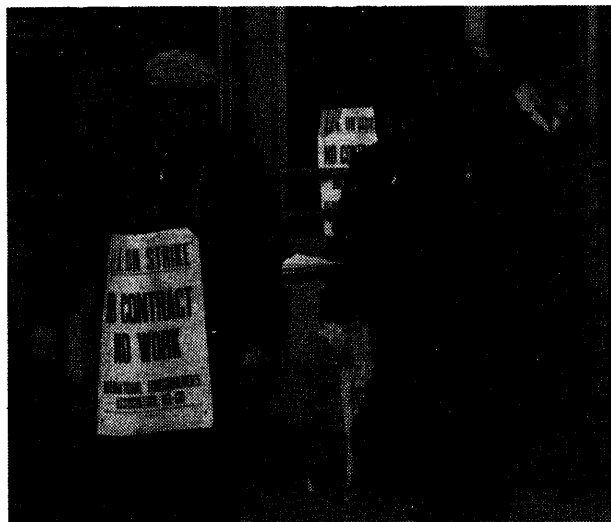
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hind their East Coast brothers on wages and job security, after having made a whole period as a result of the 1936 strikes whose gains included a 30% wage increase.

THE CRISIS TODAY

The struggle on both East and West Coast is the culmination of the sharper crisis on the docks since the 1968 ILA strike. As of 1968, the real attacks on jobs and wages by containerization had been somewhat contained in that year only 12% of the cargo was handled and leaving the port of New York and New Jersey and less than 13% of all U.S. trade. In 1970 more than 60% of this trade was handled, with the "experts" predicting a further expansion of New York's general cargo waterfront. This tremendous expansion of containerization has been prepared for by the world wide development of all the major nations which has been prepared for by years in particular by a massive expansion of port facilities, modern container facilities, and other costly equipment for moving cargo.

Between 1968 and 1970 there was a 300% increase in container cargo. It is possible that five of the largest ports in the world handle the entire British-North American trade. Only one terminal at each end. This has led to the development of rival ports and an international container war between different companies and whole nations.

The formation of international trade routes has only accelerated the formation of new combinations and techniques which are used to dominate the docks. The race for each port (New York) to get ahead of the competition of container terminals is a competition between U.S. ports for the position of the leading terminal. In the South, the battle rages between Charleston and Savannah. For the East Coast, New York and Hampton Roads are the main rivals, while Baltimore and Philadelphia, while Nova Scotia has the edge, the rivalry has been raging within New York.

On the West Coast, the same battle has been going on since the early '60s. Oakland took the plunge for the city's current sprawling container facility expansion in San Francisco and Los Angeles. As a result of this battle, as the *Wall Street Journal* reports, the ports are threatened by virtual destruction. These include Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, and the rest of the ports which have already been suffering.

The outcome of this competition is the elimination of jobs and the destruction of the ports. The 1968 ILO report on the world ports up to the outcome of the competitive struggle.

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But the only solution that these conferences have found is to be driven to by the laws of capitalism is an attempt to increase the rate of profit by an all out war on the wages and dock unions in order to further reduce costs.

As we have been warning for many years, the shippers led by the NYSA are

from Brooklyn and Jersey City were sent out to Newark-Elizabeth for work.

At the same time, the hedging by the Gleason leadership on the demand for a full 40 hour week guarantee based on a master contract for all East and Gulf Coast ports threatens to divide the ILA just as it enters into a battle where the unity of all ports is absolutely necessary.

Under pressure of the ranks, Gleason came up with a number of contract demands that are an absolute necessity for the improvement of wages and conditions. Experience has shown that he has no intention of fighting for these demands any more than Scotto has fought for "unity".

The struggle to realize these demands together with a full program based on the needs of the rank and file is now being raised by the I.L.A. Committee For A Decent Contract, along the following lines:

1. Wages—\$7.50 per hour base pay, \$11.25 p/h from 3 to 5 p.m. After 5 p.m.—double time.

2. 1 year contract

3. Extend the 40-hour guarantee to all men—increased as the average wage increases

4. Vacations—4 weeks after 1 year, 6 weeks after 5 years, 8 weeks after 10 years

Benefits—full benefits for all men including pensioners, regardless of seniority. Full hospital coverage for all men and their families

5. Pensions—20 years and out at \$500 per month, regardless of age.

—pro-rated for any member with 10 years of service or more

—increased as cost of living increases

6. No cut in gang size regardless of cargo handled.

7. 3% per ton divided among men as automation bonuses.

Once again, the ILA is faced with a Taft-Hartley strikebreaking injunction but this time more clearly than ever before as part of Nixon's strategy to freeze wages and bust the unions. Gleason brushes off the threat of Taft-Hartley, saying that the ILA has been hit with it so many times before, it doesn't matter. This is because Gleason is preparing to help Nixon put the longshoremen in chains in "Phase 2" of the wage freeze and would like to give Nixon the time he needs. But for longshoremen, defiance of the Taft-Hartley is an absolute necessity to stop Nixon's strategy and to win a decent contract.

The current showdown on the docks turns the strikes facing the nation's longshoremen into **POLITICAL** strikes involving the entire working class, on a scale never before experienced in the history of the ILA or ILWU. The longshoremen are in the front line of attack, not only against the shippers, but against Nixon, the Congress, both Democratic and Republican Parties and the entire capitalist class, now forced by its international crisis to try to take away everything the American workers have won in the last 35 years of struggle.

In this battle, the longshoremen must raise the need and lead the fight for the launching of a real workers party, a labor party to represent the unions, the unemployed and students in the 1972 election. We must end once and for all, the bankrupt maneuvering of Gleason and Scotto with Democratic politicians, including Scotto's man Lindsay who said Nixon should have brought in the wage freeze sooner.

The current showdown makes it absolutely clear that private ownership of the docks and the shipping industry is being used to strangle dockworkers—not to mention merchant seamen where unemployment is raging—while the owners cry "poverty" as the reason they want to scrap the guarantee and refused to provide decent wages and conditions. In answer to their cries of "poverty" and "bankruptcy" we say **NATIONALIZE** the docks and shipping without compensation to the owners, operate them under democratically elected workers committees in the interests of all maritime workers and the public. With containerization, the "poor" shipowners have made billions of dollars in profit off our sweat. The fight for nationalization is no longer a luxury, but has become a necessity which must be placed at the center of the labor party campaign in '72.

It is on the basis of this fight for a decent contract around this political perspective that a real rank and file leadership is being built in opposition to the Gleasons and Scottos and all those bureaucrats who think that the ILA is their personal property and whose policy is to "make mine" while the union is smashed and the rights of the workers trampled. The building of a nationwide caucus to fight for this program and a link-up with similar caucuses in the ILWU has now begun with the fight of the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract in New York. One of the fundamental aims of such a caucus, sharply evident in the present struggle, is to fight for a unified dockworkers union of East, Gulf and West Coasts as a first step to the creation of a single transportation union of all maritime workers, portworkers, railroad unions, airline unions and Teamsters—with the goal of uniform contract expirations.

The history of the ILA since World War II is a history more tied up with politics and conflict with the government than any other union. Yet the ILA has been able to squeeze by, as have other unions, without taking up any independent political struggle, but instead has relied on "favors" from politicians of both parties. This kind of approach has permeated the rank and file

as well as the leadership. Today, this approach spells disaster—there is no way out of a fundamental confrontation with Nixon, Congress, the Democrats and Republicans. This year, it is not, as Mr. Gleason would like to think, "Taft-Hartley once again, and then business as usual." Those days are gone forever.

Like it or not the rank and file must face up to political questions, must confront all the "ideological" questions which the pragmatist sneers at, must confront the question of the history and future of the working class, the very question of the fight for socialism against capitalism as raised by the Workers League. Only in this way can the history and role of Harry Bridges as a "progressive" ally of the Communist Party be understood. The support to "progressive" union leaders and to "progressive" Democratic and Republican politicians peddled by the Stalinist Communist Party has stood in the way of the development of a real opposition to Bridges in the ILWU where the Stalinists have completely covered up for Bridges' current betrayal.



Longshoreman pickets in 1968 strike, when ILA won 40 hour week guaranteed wage.

In the ILA there are also those "progressives" and "rank and filers" such as the authors of leaflets under the name of "Dockers News" who in their leaflet of September 20, 1971 raise one basic issue—"No contract—No work", and the need to strike on October 1. They also raise the issue of the scabbing by Gleason and the ILA bureaucrats on the West Coast strike, despite their talk of unity of the two coasts. But the leaflet, in raising this issue quite correctly, had nothing to say about the scabbing on his own strike by Bridges in allowing scab goods to enter and leave Mexican and Canadian Ports (Vancouver, B.C.)—a decisive factor in aiding the West Coast shippers.



Scotto (ILA) and Bridges (ILWU), standing, second and third from left, talk of "unity" but refuse to take up common fight to unite East and West coasts.

Both Gleason and Bridges have done all they could to hold back the workers and the strikes in order to avoid any confrontation with the government. While Gleason gladly scabs on the West Coast, Bridges doesn't say a peep—obviously he wants it this way.

Not only does this leaflet cover up for Bridges, but it avoids making any demands for the new contract. While it denounces Nixon and the wage freeze at length, it fails to take the obvious step of raising a real alternative—a labor party. Perhaps the authors think that the Democrats are a real alternative to Nixon.

Nor is it enough to warn about the wage freeze without raising the need for a fight **IN DEFIANCE OF ANY TAFT-HARTLEY INJUNCTION**. Finally, the leaflet, like all previous "Dockers News" leaflets does not raise the demand for nationalization of the docks and shipping. In short, this leaflet reflects an "opposition" that has no program to take up a political fight when it is clear that in every union, but especially in longshore, this is essential.

The days of rank and file longshoremen being bamboozled into participating in phoney "patriotic" demonstrations in support of Nixon and against student radicals and anti-war activists are over. Today, Nixon and the government are out to smash the longshoremen—in the name of "patriotism" and "national interest." The massacre at Attica is a grim warning for all workers, especially the longshoremen, that My Lai is being brought home against the American working class.

If Nixon & Co. hesitate to extend the type of actions of the Guard at Kent State, of the troopers at Attica, to the unions, it is only because of their fear of the tremendous power of the working class. But this hesitation is only a lull before the storm in which even more vicious attacks than in the '30s are launched against the trade unions, leading toward what George Meany correctly warned about, the corporate state and Fascism. There is a line of blood from the great battles of the San Francisco longshoremen's strike in 1934 in which police murdered two workers, Howard Sperry and Nick Bordoise, to the massacres at My Lai and Attica and the trade union battles about to erupt.

In this battle, only the Workers League, fighting for Trotskyism against 40 years of Stalinist betrayal has a program that can unify the working class in defense of the trade unions and can lead to the establishment of a workers government and socialism. The longshoremen are in the front line of this battle. Their union leaders, like the rest of the labor bureaucracy, by relying on the "good will" of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties or members or sections of them, by hoping that an agreement can be reached to "patch things up" within the system, will lead the workers to defeat and fascism.

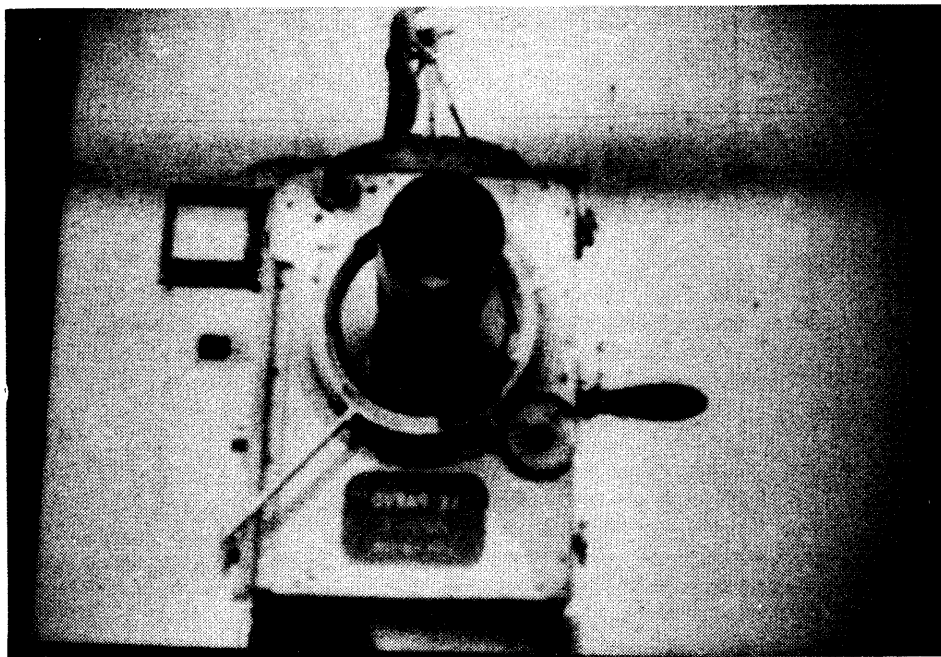
An alternative leadership must be built based on an all out struggle against the shipowners and the Nixon government around the following demands:

- Full wage and hour demands of ILA—\$7.50 per hour base pay, 6 hour day—
- Extend 40 hour guarantee to all dockworkers in all ports—
- \$500 monthly pension after 20 years, no cuts in gang size—
- Nationalization of Docks and Shipping under rank and file control—
- No cooperation with anti-strike injunctions, anti-union legislation; no participation in any form in any board or other arrangement aimed at imposing a wage freeze or ceiling on workers—
- General strike of labor to break the freeze and any "Phase 2" arrangements that follow—
- Construction of a labor party for '72 to fight for this program and a shorter work week for all workers, an end to inflation, nationalization of industries involved in layoffs or shutdowns.

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

Dziga Vertov



Scene from Dziga Vertov's "Man With The Movie Camera."

KINO-PRAVDA (Excerpt) and MAN WITH THE MOVIE CAMERA. Produced and directed by Dziga-Vertov. New York Cultural Center.

"Our immediate task is to look at life and listen to it, pick out its twists and turns, catch the crunch of the bones of the old way of life under the press of the Revolution, study the growth of the young Soviet organism, to record and arrange individual scenes and events taken from life in a concentrated whole, a meaningful synthesis." So wrote Denis Kaufman, or, as he was known in Russia, Dziga-Vertov. It was Vertov and others who, immediately after the seizure of power in October, 1917, understood the role that film could play in educating the Russian masses and in developing the cultural life of the Soviet power.

The New York Cultural Center recently presented two films made by Vertov, *The Man With The Movie Camera* (1929) and an excerpt from *Kino-Pravda* (1922). In spite of the extraordinary daring and poetic exuberance of *The Man With The Movie Camera*, it is the 1922 excerpt, part of the vast cinematic project *Kino-Pravda* that allows the viewer any insight politically into the Soviet regime.

SERIAL

Kino-Pravda was divided into twenty-three parts, much like the serials some of us have seen as school kids, which highlighted the civil war period, the beginnings of collectivization and the NEP, and important political events such as the Congresses of the Third International and the trial of the Social Revolutionaries, which is included in the excerpt.

This reviewer saw about seven hours of footage, in the original Russian titles version, in Paris; alas, such footage may not get to this country, precisely because the role of Trotsky both as leader of the Red Army and Petrograd is emphasized with such power and repetitiveness by Dziga-Vertov.

The excerpt shown at the Cultural Center was considerably truncated. In fact during the sequence on the trial of Social Revolutionaries, it is Lunacharsky who delivers the speech for the prosecution, but he appears only momentarily. So also with Kamenev, shown for a fraction of a second, with Lenin, on one of the early collective farms, inspecting the newly built tractors and motor-driven reapers.

Dziga-Vertov, during this period, experimented, among other things with titles and one can see the powerful use of titles as almost musical accompaniments to each carefully photographed sequence. As yet Vertov hadn't experimented with multiple images, superimpositions and poetic utilization of dissolves which is so ap-

parent in *The Man With The Movie Camera*. But the framing, the editing, the use of titles (slogans, moving titles, collage titles) is apparent immediately.

Up to the 1928-29 period, the period of Stalinist entrenchment and censorship, Dziga-Vertov is faithful to truth. He depicts in the excerpt the famine and starvation which racked Russia after the Civil War, and shows the street urchins, diseased and emaciated as harp-strings chasing after refuse and scraps. And juxtaposed with this the Civil War scenes.

The footage we witnessed in Paris saw Vertov making a trip to the front with Trotsky, and showed the artist's daring as he leaps into trenches to capture the flavor of the discipline of the Bolshevik troops under Trotsky. This is all missing in the excerpt.

During the civil war period Dziga-Vertov belonged to the Moscow Cinema Committee (which he eventually headed) and brought film programs, including *Kino-Pravda*, *Kinonedelya* (*Film Week*—his first attempt at direction and which covered 40 serials made just after the Revolution), *The Anniversary of the Revolution* (his early experiments with slow-motion and rapid shooting) to the front lines as well as to the peasants. The receptions were overwhelming and Vertov carefully edited his material according to which group of people would be spectators.

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

Sunday, Bloody Sunday

SUNDAY, BLOODY SUNDAY. Starring Glenda Jackson, Peter Finch, Murray Head. Produced by Joseph Janni. Directed by John Schlesinger.

Of all the films made by John Schlesinger ("*A Kind of Loving*," "*Darling*" and "*Midnight Cowboy*"), it is his newest work, "*Sunday, Bloody Sunday*," which seeks consciously to link the disintegration of the middle class to the crisis of capitalism and the fundamental class conflicts, particularly in Britain. It is this conflict between the employers and the workers which pushes this intermediate strata into such boundless and mindless frenzy and despair.

The film depicts a love triangle that is in fact polar love stories. Glenda Jackson plays Alex, estranged from her husband and daughter of a wealthy businessman. She works as a personnel manager re-employing company executives who've been laid off. Peter Finch appears as Daniel, a well-to-do doctor of Jewish background, thoroughly devoted to his profession and family, and who has a monomania about "possessing things." Both are in love with

He devised the first ever cine-installations (trucks, vans, even trains) for his travels both as photographer and exhibitor. We get only a glimpse of this in the excerpt of *Kino-Pravda*, but it is enough to assure the viewer that we are in the presence of not only a fantastically keen eye but as Dziga-Vertov himself said: "That series of newsreels, was something quite new in its perpetual dynamism and variety from one issue to the next...a new technique of editing was used and a new approach to the process of shooting as such."

The Man With The Movie Camera is of course the product of this vast experimental and aesthetic work. Vertov believed in the supremacy of documentary as perhaps no one else ever did. With *The Man With The Camera* we see the supreme use of documentary footage in order to convey emotional, intellectual, aesthetic impressions of life in Russia. As the picture accompanying the article conveys, "the sky is the limit." There is nothing Vertov did not experiment with cinematically and in the editing room.

In one sequence, for example, he shows the orchestra preparing to accompany the silent footage and it is hard to believe that there is no soundtrack. In fact Vertov has mastered the visual portrayal of sounds and music through footage so prodigiously that Chaplin remarked in 1931 after seeing *Enthusiasm*: "I never imagined that it was possible to arrange those industrial noises in such a way as to make them beautiful. I regard *Enthusiasm* as one of the most moving symphonies I have ever heard."

In all Vertov films the first sequence shows a projector projecting a documentary on to the screen. In *The Man With The Camera* we are first shown an empty movie theatre, then a dissolve to empty seats being mysteriously opened and closed, then a cut to patrons filing into the theatre and then finally Vertov himself, astride an enormous movie camera, looking out into the audience and cranking the handle of his own camera.

Bearing in mind that cameras in 1929 in Russia were crude affairs and lenses limited in pristineness and in scope, one can only be dazzled by the techniques in this film. It runs some 67 minutes and portrays a day in the life of Russia beginning with the start of the work day, and finishing with the blowing of the factory whistles at the end of the day and the trek to the beaches, the bars and the

places of entertainment.

Vertov lays bare social relations as well. He juxtaposes shots of the bureaucrats, the managers, well to do peasants, with the working class, the youth, the peasants, the pariahs. Yet one gets the feeling that the same political concern that showed itself in *Kino-Pravda* is absent here. Rather, Vertov seems to be contradicting his own statement that "the filmmaker must stop himself confusing his audience by indulging in unwarranted gimmicks and cinematic devices not demanded by the content of his material."

This film on the one hand reflects the entrenchment of the conservative bureaucracy, the pacification of the masses, the absence of revolutionary fervor. On the other hand it combines the whole panoply of techniques Vertov had mastered. His almost arch use of slow, quick and stop motions, the concentration, in an almost idealist sense, on human forms in motion as abstractions separated out from their environment. Yet there is also the extraordinary use of lighting to invoke the power of the working class in the steel factories, the coal mines, building the bridges.

He is given full rein to experiment, but it seems an end in itself. He even goes under the train itself to capture the sense of the power of transport and the speed of the train. He climbed mountains, and ensconced himself between trolley cars, camera in hand, to record motion. All sequences in *The Man With The Movie Camera* hark back to the editing room, to the camera, to the photographic process itself. Vertov lived documentary, lived film. It is a great pity that sound had not fully realized its potential while he created his documentaries.

After 1930, Vertov's works become hidden from view. Very little is known about his life and work after Stalin's "left" period. His early experiments with sound never came to fruition. He did not suffer death at the hands of the Thermidor (he died in 1954) but the murder of the old Bolsheviks, particularly Kalinin, with whom he had travelled to the civil war fronts, must have affected him deeply.

For our own part we can hope that the complete works of Vertov will be exhibited here someday. That is, if they have not perished. For these films reveal the profound value, as Lenin said, of the film medium, the untold possibilities which await future revolutionary movie makers and artists like Vertov.

Bob, played by Murray Head, a bi-sexual artist who fuses glass objects with electric currents to produce titillating objets d'art for, he hopes, "American tastes."

Just as the middle classes are economically salaried and rewarded out of surplus value, so they are also physically incapable of an independent role, they are second-hand in relation to the production process. No matter how many times the radio euphemistically bleats "The economic crisis will most certainly engender an exchange between government leaders and leaders of the TUC (British equivalent of the AFL-CIO)," these petty bourgeois elements are unconcerned.

There is nothing else for them but to possess—both property and each other. Schlesinger surrounds them with the whole panoply of the petty bourgeoisie.

OBJECTIVE

Schlesinger's direction is penetrating yet objective. He seeks to externalize all emotion and conflict and that gives the film both its shape and substance as well as its continuity without an intruding camera. The screenplay by Penelope Gilliat is quite original and natural. The dialogue and players are never at odds with each other. There are no florid

repartees, the actors say only what is necessary. The soundtrack is neither offensive nor intrusive and I think Schlesinger's use of music from Mozart's opera, "*Cossi Fan Tutti*," an aria which utilizes two male and one female voice, is novel, though symbolically unnecessary. The color photography by Billy Williams is focused quite softly and is non-spectacular, non-garish.

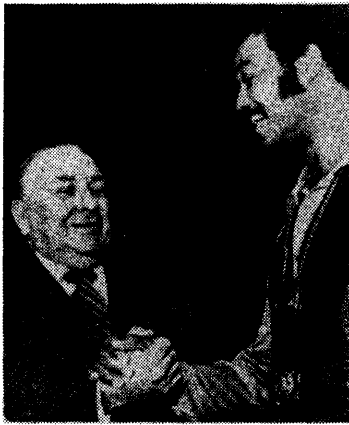
Finally the acting performances. Clearly Finch and Miss Jackson dominate and play their roles with great assurance and skill with the kind of fluidity that forces us to follow their every move and tonal inflection. Murray Head as Bob, the object of affection, is toned-down, almost subordinate and yet perfectly suitable for the almost-spoiled, almost adolescent artist who knows what he wants. In a sense he buffers both Finch and Jackson. He is yet another facet of the middle class' desire to possess, to "make it" so to speak.

"*Sunday, Bloody Sunday*" is most highly recommended as a work of seriousness, as a graphic attempt to present a class that is truly dying, truly impotent, truly a reflection of capitalist decay—with no future.

Editor's Notebook

Guess Who's A Soul Brother?

Some have said that a picture is worth a thousand words. In this case it might be true. There was one of the leading Black nationalist spokesmen, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, giving none other than Chicago's Mayor Daley the "soul" shake.



It was in Daley's Chicago that Bobby Seale was shackled to his chair in court. It was Daley's cops who murdered Black Panther Fred Hampton in cold blood.

One of Jackson's aides even remarked after the meeting: "It's easy to do. Something like that could happen to George Wallace." Need we say more?

Guess Who's Coming To Dinner?

"Guess who's coming for dinner," Keng Piao, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, must have said to the chef as he prepared an elaborate feast for some American visitors.

No, it was not Nixon this night. Keng was feting members of the super Maoist Stalinist Revolutionary Union and Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman, Minister of Information for the Young Lords Party and editor of its paper, *Palante*. Also visiting China is Huey P. Newton, although it was not known whether he was invited to the dinner.

It was a long distance to travel for a dinner for the RU and Guzman, but they came to pay their respects to their heroes in the Maoist bureaucracy.

Under the banquet table was rumbling the turmoil that is presently shaking China and the bureaucracy as it carries out its rightward turn against the workers and peasants inside and out-

side China. The RU and Guzman were supping with the leaders who have supported the mass repression of the youth in Ceylon, the murder of the Bengali people.

Then there is the question of the overtures with Nixon. The bureaucracy now moving internally against any opposition is very worried about the reaction to his visit. It's not going to be easy to mobilize the Chinese masses who for so long have heard their leaders talk about the "running dogs of imperialism" on the streets of Peking to cheer Nixon and wave American flags as he steps on China's shores. No doubt these were some matters that were not discussed.

The RU and Guzman by their visit now serve to give this Stalinist bureaucracy a left cover to youth in the US precisely as it heads onto the most reactionary road. Could their presence at the state dinner indicate they are prepared to take the same road in the US?

Guess Who's Doing The Wash?

No sooner had the army attempted to whitewash the Mylai massacre by setting free Captain Medina, than a certain Colonel Herbert raised his protest against the military's way of justice.

Colonel Herbert is not just any officer but was the Army's most decorated enlisted man in the Korean War. Herbert has four Silver Stars, three Bronze Stars, two Air Medals, the Army Commendation for Valor and a recommendation for the Distinguished Service Cross. Having piled up these ribbons, Herbert it would seem had a very promising career indeed.

But in the eyes of the Army and US imperialism he made one very big goof. In 1969 as a commander for the 173rd Airborne Brigade in Vietnam, Herbert reported inci-

dents of mass murder and torture of Vietnamese men, women and children to his officers. His officers, a General Barnes and General Franklin, called Herbert a cheat and a liar and told him to mind his own business.

Herbert was subsequently relieved of his command by Barnes and Franklin who prepared a report stating that he was "without integrity, moral courage or loyalty." Since then he has been denied promotions and is being forced to retire.

Right now Colonel Herbert with his chest full of medals is running the laundry service at Fort McPherson, Georgia.

This is ruling class justice even for the 173rd Airborne Brigade in protest. Herbert is now stuck with the Army's very dirty linen.

ILA INTERVIEW...

(Continued From Page 3)
before us either. That's the way I feel. If they put the Taft-Hartley Act on us, we shouldn't go back. If they put it on them, they shouldn't go back.

First Longshoreman: But we have to wait and see what the President is going to do. We have to see if he's going to send us both back.

Bulletin: What do you think the President's aim is as far as dockworkers and the rest of the working class is concerned? Can we look at him as a "friend"?

Second Longshoreman: He's got something up his sleeve. I don't know what it is, but he's got something. He's not in Florida going on vacation now. He's working on something for us right now.

First Longshoreman: Be careful what you say.

Second Longshoreman: Oh, no. He's working on something for us.

First Longshoreman: The President should have done something about the West Coast earlier.

Bulletin: But don't you think that the whole history of the past strikes of the ILA and other unions shows that the Taft-Hartley was brought in and used to help the companies get in a better position—not to help the workers?

Second Longshoreman: A strategy—I agree with that.

Third Longshoreman: As far as the workers are concerned—The workers are respecting Mr. Nixon. Big business is not respecting the President's wishes. They shut us out and that's all we know. They will not invoke the Taft-Hartley Act because the companies do not want it. They use that for their convenience only, as in the last seven contracts. They're so far ahead financially, they can afford to let a month go by.

Bulletin: The companies are willing to take a strike on the East Coast, but that's also part of their strategy. They count on bringing in some sort of wage

1199...

(Continued From Page 4)
labor bureaucracy rushes in to save these liberals and to preserve the whole alliance of labor with the Democratic Party.

Abzug's speech makes it very clear where she stands. She is not opposed to the idea of a wage freeze as long as there are controls on profits. In other words, she accepts the fact that workers must make sacrifices as long as it is "fair."

It is not, as Davis said, that there are good and bad Democrats. The Democrats, like the Republicans, stand on the principle of private property, on the basis that the rich must rule

stabilization board. Suppose the Taft-Hartley is invoked, and after the cooling off period ends, the men find that in order to get what they negotiated in wages and even in guarantees, it has to be approved by a "board" which is basically under Nixon's control. Are we going to say then, let's wait until we see what the President's going to do? Or are we going to say, the President is in a position of having dictatorial powers over the unions, and we won't stand for this. What power do unions have under these conditions? The whole question of the right to strike, of the existence of independent unions is at stake.

Third Longshoreman: I don't like this idea of "dictatorial" power of the President, but that's not what he has. He can't make us work before November 13. Dictatorial powers—that went out with the sweatshops years ago.

Bulletin: Well, don't you think they're trying to bring it back? Now, both the Republicans and Democrats have been trying to bring back these conditions over the last year in many areas. They have wanted teachers to work without a contract, for instance in Newark.

First Longshoreman: If they freeze wages, shouldn't the guarantee be frozen until November 13?

Bulletin: But the wage freeze applies only to increases.

First Longshoreman: You mean, they can't give you more but they can take something away from you! Mr. Nixon allows that.

Third Longshoreman: There's been plenty of exceptions on raising prices for the companies, so in many ways, why should we honor it? Nixon doesn't freeze profits and he gives the okay for all kinds of price raises. So who suffers?—The working man suffers.

Second Longshoreman: Nixon certainly is no friend of labor.

Bulletin: Many Democrats, including "liberals" like Lindsay,

and speak for the working class. According to Abzug, workers should trust their "friends" and patiently wait for them to change Nixon's mind.

It is a false and dangerous lie to tell workers that Nixon can be changed through pressure in Congress. Yes, as Davis himself stated it was a Democratic Congress that gave the wage controls to Nixon.

STRIKE

Davis must now make good on his statement that October 1st would be a first step. Preparations must be made immediately to mobilize the entire member-

ship of Local 1199 in a one day citywide strike of all hospitals. This will not be a protest but the beginning of a campaign to win support from the whole labor movement and to prepare for general strike action in November when Phase I ends.

As the longshore and coal strike are demonstrating, only the independent power of the unions can defeat the wage freeze. There must be a complete break with the Abzugs and McGovern who will lead the unions to Nixon's slaughterhouse. 1199 must take the lead and fight for a congress of labor to launch a labor party for the 1972 elections.

Third Longshoreman: All of these big politicians who are talking about the wage freeze own stock in these companies. These are your congressmen and senators. They aren't feeling the pinch. They own the railroads, your big trucking outfits—they've got money in big business—why should they care?

Bulletin: Rather than preparing for a strike Gleason has been counting on the government to bail him out. We have to look at Gleason's whole history. In 1969 he used the excuse of government intervention to push the New York longshoremen back to work while the "out ports" were still on strike. Today, the union and the strike is weakened because the Texas ports which have no guarantee at all, are working. They lack any confidence at all that the International leadership will fight for them.

Second Longshoreman: I want to say one thing about this guarantee being extended to all the men, including the '69 men, as you say. Because these are the youth—These are the men who have to do all the worst work; get stuck in the hold all the time. The only way we can win is with unity.

I know how they try to divide us—as in the example you gave of the Newark teachers strike—with racism.

Third Longshoreman: You said earlier that the government mediator had threatened to "replace" strikers. Well, they're playing with fire if they try anything like that there or here. That sort of thing is bad—it leads to violence. We're not going to let anyone take away anyone's union.

FARINAS...

(Continued From Page 2)

They upheld the government's right to restrict free speech to the point of non-existence in the induction center. They upheld the right of Army personnel to stop the expression of anti-war views while allowing the expression of pro-war opinions. This is the meaning of the appeals court decision.

This case is not yet over. After the appeal decision Farinas has 21 days in which to file for a stay of imprisonment and 30 days to file a petition for review to the Supreme Court. Decision on

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is launching the biggest campaign yet to fight for Supreme Court review. We recognize that this will be an uphill battle all the way both because of the

of this Court and Nixon's continuing attempts to stack it with out and out right-wingers and racists, and because of the relatively small percentage of cases upon which the Court agrees to rule. It is up to us to mobilize the greatest support possible, especially from the unions and the youth, so that the Supreme Court finds it most difficult if not impossible to avoid the political and constitutional issues raised by this case.

Money is needed immediately to get this stage of the campaign rolling. All sponsors and supporters of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee as well as those just finding out about this case are urged to send contributions immediately to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970; Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

- Title of Publication: Bulletin
- Date of Filing: Oct. 1, 1971
- Frequency of Issue: Weekly except last week of December, last week of July, first week of August.
- Location of known office of publication: 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.
- Location of the headquarters or general business office of the publishers: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.
- Names and addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor. Publisher: Labor Publications, Inc., 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Editor: Lucy St. John, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Managing Editor: none.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Tim Wohlforth, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011; Daniel Freeman, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.
- Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities (If there are none, so state). None.
- For optional completion by publishers mail-

ing at the regular rates.

- For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.
- Extent and nature of circulation. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (Net Press Run): 7,500; B. Paid Circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 4,842; (2) Mail subscriptions: 2,231; C. Total Paid Circulation: 7,073; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: (1) Samples, complimentary and other free copies: 197; (2) Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold: None; E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D): 10,498; F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 230; G. Total (Sum of E and F)—should equal net press run shown in A: 7,500.
- Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (Net Press Run): 10,500; B. Paid Circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 7,090; (2) Mail subscriptions: 3,187; C. Total Paid Circulation: 10,277; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means: (1) Samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 221; (2) Copies distributed to news agents but not sold: None; E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D): 10,498; F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2; G. Total (Sum of E and F)—should equal net press run shown in A: 10,500.
- I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Timothy Wohlforth
Business Manager

Scotland

Stalinists Lead UCS Occupation Into Tory Trap

BY MELODY FARROW

THE OUTCOME OF the continued occupation of the Upper Clyde Shipyards in Glasgow, Scotland is vital for the future of the whole Scottish and British working class.

The occupation began after the Tory government revealed its plans to close down the yards and throw over 8,000 workers out of work. It is part of a conscious strategy of the Tories to increase unemployment in order to weaken the unions and divide the working class.

The Upper Clyde workers are now at a critical stage. They have been led into a blind alley by the Stalinists and labor bureaucrats. After months of negotiations with the Tories, after months of firm resistance by the workers, the government has officially closed two of the four yards, the Clydeside and Scotstoun.

The Stalinists and reformists had left the workers completely unprepared for this with their policy of running after the Tories and begging for some kind of concessions.

The government has now found someone, a millionaire insurance man, Hugh Stenhouse, to run the remaining two yards, Govan and Linthouse. The reorganized

yards will only be maintained by the government if there are wage cuts and sharp productivity changes.

The Secretary of Industry, John Davies, spelled out Tory policy when he warned that refusal to cooperate with the new Stenhouse board would lead to the shut-down of all the yards.

Despite this threat the Upper Clyde workers have not budged an inch from their original position: No end to the occupation until all yards are reopened and all jobs are guaranteed.

At a mass meeting in the yards on September 24th, the workers voted for a resolution of no cooperation with the government board. When Stenhouse arrived the workers refused to allow him to enter.

The lesson of the closure of the first two yards must be clear. There is no solution to the UCS occupation as long as it is isolated on the Upper Clyde and as long as it is dependent on the Tories. The work-in organized by the leadership at the yards has perpetuated the illusion that there is a way to maintain the yards within the capitalist system.

Tory chief Heath has stated again and again that stability for British capitalism means more unemployment, the Industrial Relations Act, cuts in social services, racist attacks on immigrant workers, and rising prices.



8,500 workers at UCS mass meeting on the future of the Clyde docks.

The challenge facing the workers has been taken up by the Plessey workers at Alexandria who have occupied their plant since the September 1st decision to close it down. Their determination has been strengthened by the tremendous support the Plessey workers have received from workers throughout England and Scotland.

On September 17th 6,500 workers including busloads from the UCS converged on the Vale of Leven in Scotland to back the Plessey occupation. A three part resolution was unanimously passed which called

for:

1. Retention of the Plessey plant at Alexandria.
2. Full support to the Plessey occupation.
3. Removal of the Tory government and election of an administration to rule in the interests of the working class.

A district secretary of the Engineering union told the crowd that Plessey workers were facing two battles, one against the company and the other against the Tory government. As one Plessey worker expressed it: "I know from the history of the trade union movement that if workers unite, hard masters can be beaten."

This perspective, that the occupations are political and must be the beginning of a campaign to unite all workers to force the Tories to resign, is the only road forward on the Upper Clyde. The Socialist Labour League has consistently fought for this against the Stalinist shop stewards and Dan McGarvey, the main union leader at UCS.

Monetary Talks

A Warning Of World Slump

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

THE NEW YORK TIMES compared last week's meeting of the International Monetary Fund to a new Bretton Woods. Beneath the forced euphoria of the capitalist press, however, the fact of the matter is that the Washington conference of the IMF has failed just as dismally as the half dozen conferences that preceded it in reaching any solution to the world monetary crisis.

The resolution adopted by the board of governors of the 118 member Fund after a week of deliberations went no further than to pay lip service to necessity for international agreement on outstanding problems.

Its signatories agreed to seek agreement on a return to fixed exchange rates, the lifting of restrictive trade and exchange practices and the basic reform of the world monetary system.

As to just how these objectives were to be achieved, i.e., who was going to revalue their currency how much, what was to happen to the dollar price of gold, or on what terms the 10% surcharge would be lifted there was absolutely no agreement.

Secretary of the Treasury Connally made clear throughout the conference (in spite of a reported conciliatory tone) that the U.S. was not moving one inch from the hard line it had been taking since August 15th.

Midway through the conference Connally stated that the United States would lift the surcharge if other countries would show some "tangible progress" toward "dismantling specific trade barriers over the coming weeks" and would allow "market realities to determine exchange rates for their currencies for a transitional period."

This, however, represents no change of any substance in the U.S. position. A "pure float" (a currency float in no way limited by the supportive intervention of a country's central bank) would undoubtedly drive European currencies as high if not higher than a direct upward revaluation. In either case the 10% to 15% raise in exchange rates the United States is demanding still amounts to a demand that Europe and Japan commit economic suicide.

The same is true in relation to the vaguely worded call for a lifting of re-

strictive trade barriers to U.S. goods.

A dismantling of such institutions as, for example, the preferential Common Market farm price agreements would mean not only the devastation of European agriculture but the fall of existing European governments as well.

Accordingly IMF head Pierre-Paul Schweitzer responded to Connally by letting it be known that he viewed the likelihood of free floats by any European country with extreme scepticism. Meanwhile, another leader EEC official was quoted as saying in relation to trade concessions:

"We will not make unilateral trade concessions to get the American 10% surtax removed."

Under these conditions the likelihood for agreement coming in the negotiations which are to follow the IMF conference look bleak indeed.

At the same time the impasse itself is setting the stage for a major catastrophe for world capitalism.

The depth of the crisis the capitalists now face was by no means lost on Schweitzer himself who warned the conference on Monday:

"Real dangers are inherent in a prolongation of the present impasse. These dangers are essentially related to the possible development of serious disarray in international monetary and trade affairs and to an abandonment of rules of law providing for orderly and just international economic relations."

Behind the scenes in Washington there was the persistent rumor of the imminent bankruptcy of major German firms. The seriousness of the situation was driven home yet again by the speech to the conference by French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing. He warned of general recession within a few months with high levels of unemployment.

In spite of all the warnings and pleas for international cooperation from the IMF, the Group of Ten and other similar bodies, there can no longer be any question of a

peaceful solution to the crisis.

Nixon's action of August 15th, which broke the official link between the dollar and gold, opened up a whole new and qualitatively different period in world capitalism.

An internecine trade war is now on the agenda and in fact already under way amongst capitalist nations. This will be marked at each stage as Nixon's pressure for huge concessions from Europe shows, by the brunt of the crisis being passed onto the back of Europe and the colonial countries by American capitalism. This in turn must force open civil war between the classes all over Europe as we see already in North Ireland and as is on the agenda in conflicts like that on the Upper Clyde in Scotland. There is no other way out for capitalism.

The pet scheme of the United States and the European capitalists, whatever their difference over the issue of an immediate change in the price of gold, is to somehow phase gold out of a new monetary system to be based on SDRs or paper gold.

Connally, like many of his capitalist partners, thinks he can simply dispense with the law of value.

On October 1st Connally was in fact quoted as saying in relation to the price of gold that "the matter was unimportant..."

"We differ from the French," Connally said. "We don't want to protect the role of gold. Gold makes great jewelry."

The facts are that neither the IMF, Connally nor anyone else can suspend the law of value any longer.

Gold is and will remain under capitalism the international standard of value because it embodies huge quantities of human labor.

The lesson of the collapse of the dollar is that the period in which the correct relationship between paper money and gold could be suspended through inflation and the creation of credit is at an end. It is not as the exponents of SDRs and a new Bretton Woods proclaim, a new beginning.

The only method by which the capitalists can now maintain their system is through ferocious attacks on the working class, fascism, and a new world war.

STALINISTS

The responsibility for the dangerous situation facing the shipyard workers can be laid directly at the door of the Stalinists. They have completely deceived the workers with militant words when all the while they were holding behind the scenes talks with the government. Their policy from beginning to end has been to accept the break up of the yards.

The Stalinist stewards, Airlie and Reid, claimed they would not discuss anything but retention of the yards and all the jobs. Yet right after the workers vote of non-cooperation with any board, Airlie and Reid agreed to meet with Stenhouse if all four yards would be involved. In addition McGarvey also agreed to talks with Stenhouse and Secretary of Industry Davies.

On August 3rd Airlie stated: "We will welcome help from any Tory MP or any Tory constituency party in our fight to save the jobs at UCS." This help never came forward.

At the mass meeting on the yards the Stalinists declared they would "rather be on the dole" (unemployment) than work for the new reorganized yards.

This sums up their whole outlook in a nutshell. There are only two alternatives for them, either accept a reduced work force or have no jobs at all.

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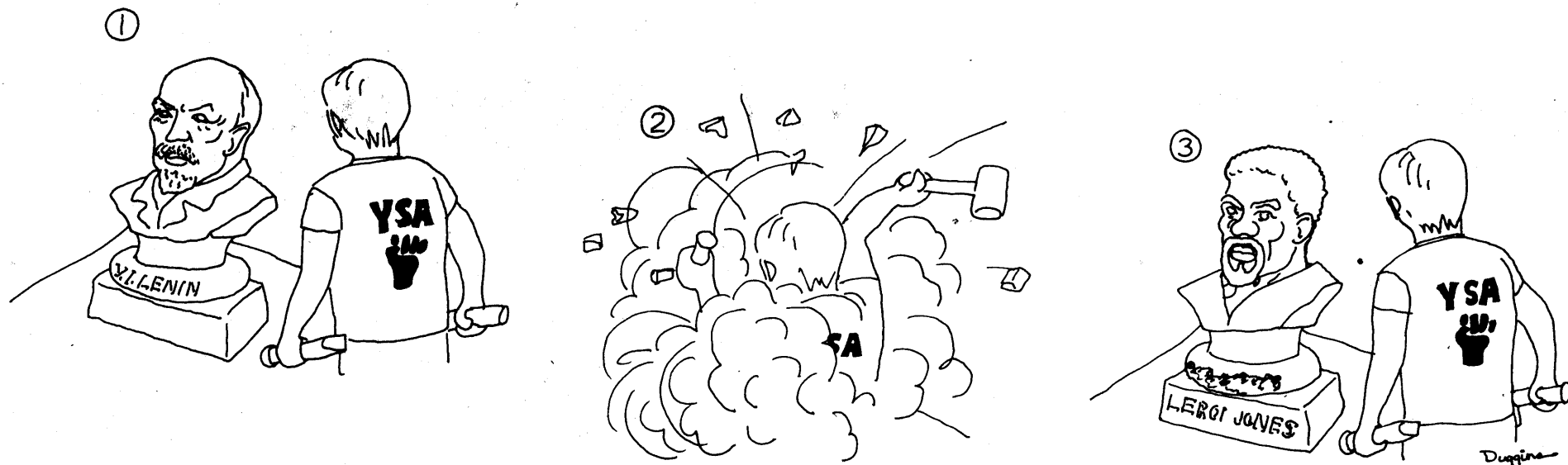
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Logic Of Black Nationalism

LeRoi Jones Turns On The SWP



BY BOB MICHAELSON
AS THE POLITICAL bankruptcy of the capitalist system is exposed more and more with the deepening crisis in the world economy, all sorts of diversionary movements are being thrown up in order to cloud over the essential class nature of the struggle against the system.

The middle class plays a crucial role in these diversions, blinded as it is by reformist illusions in the apparent strength of its capitalist masters and the nationalist ideology these illusions buttress.

This is expressed very sharply in recent attempts by Black middle class elements to organize a national Black political convention in early 1972 to prepare for the elections.

The call for this convention came out of a conference of the Congress of African Peoples (CAP) on September 2-6, a group of Black organizations. It includes LeRoi Jones' Committee for a Unified Newark (CFUN), Leslie Campbell's group at The East in Brooklyn, and others from cities along the Eastern seaboard.

Two weeks later, a group of 50 prominent Black politicians, including LeRoi Jones, Julian Bond, Jesse Jackson, Percy Sutton and mayor-slumlord Richard Hatcher met in Illinois and endorsed the call for a national Black convention for early 1972.

These politicians and poverty pimps and their supporters intend to divert any attempt by militant Black workers and youth to turn toward a class perspective in their struggle against exploitation and oppression.

The anti-working class nature of Black nationalism was most clearly shown during the Newark Teachers strike last winter when LeRoi Jones and his CFUN were used to help break the strike, even to the extent of physically assaulting the NTU pickets.

The danger posed in this unification of nationalists and Black Democratic politicians is that it plays right into the hands of the capitalist rulers.

The movement among Blacks against racism and repression is one of the most explosive and politically conscious movements that has developed out of the working class in the past period. The capitalist class has used frame-ups, jailings and murder over the years in its attempt to break the back of this movement, but it has not succeeded.

Now, as the working class as a whole, especially through the trade union movement, comes on to the political stage and confronts the attacks of the rulers and their government, the capitalists intensify their use of racism and reaction in order to separate the more militant Black workers out politically from the rest of the working class. Above all else, the working class cannot be allowed to organize politically as a class

if the capitalists are to maintain their domination.

HIDE

But Black politicians such as Gibson, Stokes and Chisholm and nationalists such as Jones and Sukumu are not able to build any viable movement among Black workers and youth. They can only seek to confuse these sections if they can find a way to hide the bankruptcy of their reformist methods and program.

Such a cover is precisely what the revisionist Socialist Workers Party has been trying desperately to give the nationalist movement.

The SWP gave Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson backhanded support in his mayoralty campaign in 1970 with the excuse that Gibson was nominated by a city-wide convention of Blacks and Puerto Ricans whose program was essentially correct.

Now, in his analysis of the CAP conference in the October 8th issue of the *Militant*, Derrick Morrison claims that "there was no assessment (on the part of LeRoi Jones—BM) of the city administration of Mayor Kenneth Gibson. CFUN played a major role in electing Gibson last year. And since then, there has been no substantial change in the institutions oppressing and exploiting the Black community. In fact, conditions have grown

worse while Gibson buys time by appointing Black faces here and there."

Morrison and the SWP have never made a serious assessment of Gibson and the role they played in his election. They can only now state after the fact that Gibson is doing exactly what we predicted he would have to do—attack the working class with a cover of "community control." And Jones has been more than willing the whole time to aid him in this.

MORRISON

What Morrison does not say is why Gibson does what he does and why Jones supports him. He refuses to draw the logic of the SWP's support to Black nationalism, community control and a Black political party. Such a party is inherently bourgeois, based on race, not class, uniting the Black workers with a section of the capitalist class. It will defend the capitalist system to the hilt.

So when LeRoi Jones, who was once the darling of the SWP, now mentions plans "to run 'African Nationalist Democrats' in the 1972 Democratic Party election primary," the SWP acts stunned, and Morrison insists that there is a principled political contradiction for the nationalists between their wish to work within the capitalist party, and a tendency to create their own Black political party.

There is no contradiction facing these

Black nationalists because their perspective is bourgeois to the core, and is based on the maintenance of the capitalist system of exploitation. The nationalists and Black politicians only want a little more of the wealth diverted to themselves. There is nothing revolutionary about this.

The true class nature of nationalism was most clearly expressed when the CAP leaders red-baited Morrison himself at the CAP meeting as he tried to make a helpful criticism by pointing out the "contradiction" they faced.

The SWP's adaptation to nationalism is now blowing up in its face as the nationalists rapidly head into their own bankrupt logic. They hold only the most rabid hatred for the working class and the Marxist movement, even as it is expressed in the SWP's revisionism. This is the fruit of the SWP's own liquidation into the petty bourgeois nationalist movement.

Morrison states at the end of his article: "Hopefully, the March '72 convention will serve as an arena to achieve some clarity on these questions."

It certainly will. It will show more than ever before the completely reactionary nature of nationalism. The only answer to Jones and the nationalists is to unite the working class and youth politically through the construction of a labor party to throw out Nixon and the ruling class.

Bangla Desh

Gandhi's Soviet Trip Threatens Bengalis

BY ED SMITH

THE STRUGGLE FOR the independence of Bangla Desh is menaced from two quarters. The threat comes not only from the genocidal military intervention of the bourgeois overlord Yahya Khan, but also from such "friends" as the Indian bourgeoisie and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin made this absolutely clear last week speaking in Moscow at a luncheon with his partner in this counterrevolutionary enterprise, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Said Kosygin: "The task is to prevent aggravation of the relations between India and Pakistan. It is necessary above all, to offer the refugees an opportunity to return home, to give them a full guarantee on the part of the Pakistani authorities that the refugees will not be persecuted and will have an opportunity to live and work in East Pakistan. Peaceable opinion (sic) in all countries and all friends of India and Pakistan expect from the Pakistani authorities an early political settlement in East Pakistan which would consider the legitimate interests of the popu-

lation, would safeguard its normal development and eliminate the threat of further aggravation of Pakistani-Indian relations. Such an approach, we are convinced, would accord with the interests of the Pakistani people and the cause of peace in that region." (*Daily World*, Sept. 29)

The Stalinists do not talk of Bangla Desh—only of "East Pakistan." It follows from this perspective that guarantees of the "normal development" and "legitimate interests" of the people of Bangla Desh lie not in the armed struggle of the Bengali people for national liberation against Yahya Khan and the Pakistani bourgeoisie, but rather by appealing to the same Khan to safeguard the liberties of the Bengalis.

So when Kosygin tells Khan to "take the most effective steps for the liquidation of the hotbed of tension," he does not mean the only real, progressive solution—i.e., the liquidation of the murderer Khan. He means the liquidation of Bangla Desh into Khan's Pakistan.

Continuing on this theme of an "early political settlement" in "East Pakistan," Kosygin says "the Soviet Union and India will continue pooling their efforts to attain this aim."

What concerns both the Pakistani and the Indian bourgeoisie and what brings the

Soviet bureaucracy to their aid in the cause of genocidal "stability" is the possibility that the movement for Bangla Desh will spill over into a general blow up of the entire imperialist partition of the Indian subcontinent.

The prospect of the mass struggle against capitalism and for social revolution is what roused Yahya Khan to his truly maniacal slaughter on the one hand and motivated Gandhi and Kosygin to their defeatist schemings on the other.

The greatest danger to the movement of the Bengali workers and peasants is that the leadership of the Bengali struggle is presently in the hands of the bourgeois nationalists and the Stalinists.

APTHEKER

Herbert Aptheker writing in the September 8 *Daily World* tells of the creation of a Consultative Committee of the Awami League, the Communist Party, and politicians close to Indira Gandhi. In other words this "leadership" following their international mentors Gandhi and Kosygin, will liquidate Bangla Desh for a reformed Pakistan.

The Bangla Desh liberation movement now requires a ruthless struggle against Stalinism if it is to survive and go on to victory.

Black Bosses Launch Attacks On Panthers

BY TOD ZWER

OAKLAND—For the past several weeks the Black business community here has been mounting a vicious campaign against the Black Panther Party. The Panthers in attempting to carry out their survival program, have asked these businesses to make regular weekly contributions. Their requests have been met with hostile silence and loud denunciations as "extortionists."

The overwhelmingly hostile response of the Black businesses led the Panthers to boycott a liquor store owned by one of their most outspoken foes. Since July 31 the Panthers have been carrying on a boycott of Bill's Liquors #2 in Oakland. The Oakland Black business community has responded by forming the "Ad Hoc Committee to Preserve Black Business" in order to escalate their slander campaign against the Panthers.

This campaign has taken the form of outright attacks through the bourgeois daily newspapers, and a campaign of poorly disguised slander in the Black newspapers, and on the local soul music station. These attacks come in the form of "public service announcements" and editorials calling for support to Black businesses, and an end to extortion of Black businesses by "Black hoodlums."

So far this slander campaign has fallen on its face. The boycott has been nearly 100% effective. But far from resolving the questions facing the unemployed and working people of Oakland the boycott has only served to emphasize that these questions are not solvable within the "Black community."

The Panthers' program of supporting the Black church and Black capitalism, its program for survival is being shown to be hopelessly inadequate to meet the needs of the Black community.

Despite the overwhelming support given to the Panthers' survival program, they have been unable to advance a program of demands and action to stop the colossal unemployment in the Black community, to stop the wage freeze, or to prevent the political oppression of which the Panthers have been the main target.

Such a program cannot be put forward on the basis of the survival and preservation of the ghetto. It can only be done by the Marxist movement based in the history of the entire international working class.

STANFORD. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

By directing his attacks against an imperialist institution in an imperialist war, Franklin is directly appealing to the liberal bourgeoisie for support. A group of faculty members have taken up his defense, seeing it as a problem of free speech and academic freedom, and seeking to intervene through slogans of "Try Lodge, Not Franklin."

The Workers League does not propose that Lodge be tried instead of Franklin, but that the whole capitalist class be smashed. All students must come to the defense of Franklin to pro-



Bobby Seale of Black Panthers.

The needs of Black workers and youth can be met not by shoe factories and free food programs, but by fighting for full employment through a shorter work week, for the unionization of the unorganized, including the unemployed, for a general strike to force Nixon to rescind his wage freeze, and by the building of a labor party to carry out this political fight. This program based on the needs of the entire working class, is the only answer to the mounting attacks of the businesses and their government, and it can only be taken forward through the building of a mass revolutionary party and its youth movement.

Reynolds Lays Off 180 In Portland Cutback

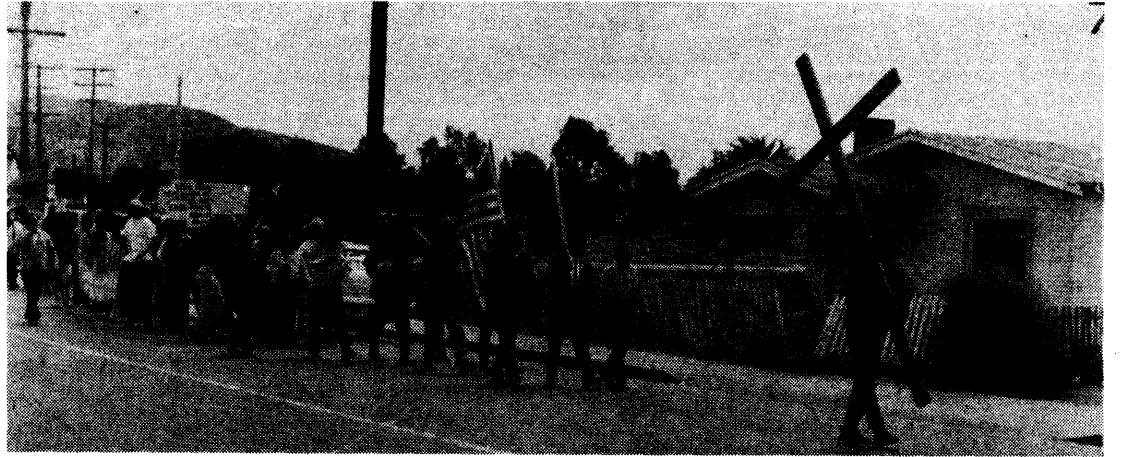
BY JOHN LOCK

PORTLAND—As Nixon attempts to resolve the international capitalist crisis at the expense of the working class, Reynolds Metal has continued its attacks on its employees with its recent layoff of 180 workers.

Before December 1971, there were 800 workers; but laying off 100 in December and 70 more before this most recent attack brings the number to almost half of the original work force. Some of the men axed had been working at Reynolds for 19 years.

The firm gave this excuse for the layoffs: "This cutback in production is part of a continuing effort by Reynolds to keep the aluminum inventory supply-demand situation in balance.

protect the democratic rights of both students and faculty now under attack. But students can only come to his defense by seeing Stanford as part of the struggle of the whole working class. It cannot be isolated out and seen just in the context of the war in Vietnam. The government has shown us at Attica that it was preparing to turn its guns on both students and workers. Only by fighting to build a revolutionary youth movement, turned to the working class to defeat capitalism, only in this way can Franklin and all who are being attacked be defended.



UFWOC here marches behind cross and American and Mexican flags. Under Chavez leadership, it refuses to take up fight for labor movement to support farm workers in strike action.

Chavez-UFWOC Betray Strikers

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN DIEGO—The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee recently held a march and rally here to celebrate its "six-month anniversary of organizing activities in San Diego County," drawing in its "organizers" boycotters, and priests from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California.

Behind the cross-bearing priests, the chants of "Viva la huelga!" and "Viva Chavez" lie six months of vicious betrayal of the farm workers. The six month history of UFWOC's activities in this area point out all the more clearly the absolutely bankrupt, deadly nature of the compromise leadership of Chavez, Cowan, and cohorts.

After a gruelling two and a half hour trek from San Ysidro, the 200 to 300 marchers arrived at the rally site, the fields of Egger-Ghio, where a month ago a

large crop of tomatoes were beginning to ripen; now the fields are empty, plowed for the next crop. When asked if Egger-Ghio finally gave up and plowed the crop under, an organizer informed the *Bulletin* that "scabs harvested the whole crop."

The harvest of that crop effectively marks the death of the months-long strike against Egger-Ghio and now the workers who so bravely risked everything are left with nothing. Yes, Chavez and Co. have plenty to celebrate; they have succeeded in temporarily heading off the very militant movement of these farm workers to unify across the national boundaries in their fight for wages and rights.

The *Bulletin* warned in the June 21, 1971 issue that the UFWOC plans for a general strike of all farms in the county was only a reflection of the pressure of the ranks, and that the UFWOC leadership was opposed to any such mobilization of the power of the

Cuts Hit San Jose State

BY A CORRESPONDENT
SAN JOSE—San Jose State College's 24,000 students have settled uneasily into the fall semester with schedules shaped more by the state's financial crisis than by the needs and wants of the students themselves.

The recently concluded registration procedures presented students with every possible dilemma, all of them the direct result of Reagan's massive budget cutbacks throughout higher education in California. S.J.S. absorbed about a third of the cuts aimed at the 19-college system, throwing 67 full-time professors out of work and leaving the remaining faculty with intense speedup. For the students, getting the necessary classes was nearly impossible in many areas after the first day of registration, due to the sorry combination of 260 fewer classes and 1000 new students. One student expressed the situation, saying, "I thought classes were packed last year—but this year I'm worrying about getting enough units to keep my

ranks. Later, UFWOC revised those plans, to base the call for a general strike on the "certain victory" that would come in the Egger-Ghio strike in early September when the tomatoes were ready to harvest. The *Bulletin* warned then that the only victory forthcoming out of such refusal to mobilize all the ranks immediately, to call for strike support from other sections of labor, would be the victory of the growers.

Now the crop has been harvested, there is no contract, and Egger-Ghio won't need any significant numbers of workers in their fields for some time. When the Federal Court stepped in at the very last minute before the crop was lost, to declare the strike illegal, and the "non-violent" traitors of UFWOC initiated appeals and prayers instead of a general strike call in San Diego County fields, the Chavez trap closed.

UFWOC now claims 3500 members in San Diego County who have shown their willingness to fight for their very livelihood.

The lessons of the last six months must be taken forward to build an alternative leadership prepared to carry this fight through.

2S (student draft deferment)."
Foreign students found fees hundreds of dollars higher while minority students faced the virtual elimination of the EOP scholarship program. Even the state employees at the college, which includes the teaching staff, are hard hit by the budget cut—which make no room for the second consecutive year for pay increases or an escalator clause.

Reagan's job has been thorough to this point, attacking students, teachers and state employees alike in his effort to stay above water financially.

Reagan can only be met and stopped through the building of a revolutionary youth movement rooted in the working class around the fight for no cutbacks in education, free admissions to the colleges for all qualified students, and no layoffs of instructors or state employees. The building of a student movement at S.J.S. as part of a national movement of youth and workers against the government's attacks is the only way Reagan and his red pencil can be countered.

West Coast News

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



Bruce Franklin, tenured professor at Stanford, and member of Venceremos. University is out to fire him for political activity.

Nixon Invokes Taft - Hartley

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Nixon today ordered the 15,000 members of the ILWU to return to work for 80 days with the Taft-Hartley Act. His action comes as over 60,000 members of the ILA and ILWU have for the first time in history shut down all shipping in the US.

This tremendous development is a powerful blow at all of Nixon's plans to go forward with his wage freeze and union busting legislation.

What Nixon and the employers are terrified of is the extreme resistance and militancy of thousands of dockers to any attempt

to bring them back to work without their demands being met.

This government is acting from a position of weakness in invoking the Taft-Hartley against the ILWU. The ILWU has now been on strike over 100 days, the longest strike in the history of the union, and large sections of the union are prepared to stay out all year in order to win a 40 hour guarantee and large wage increase.

Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, in the discussion with Nixon last week in Portland made it clear that his ability to maneuver striking dockers back to work rested on concessions being made by the employers.

In Local 10 of the ILWU, as well as others, attempts by Bridges and the rest of the union bureaucracy to remove cargo from the docks during the strike and to demoralize the strikers has been thrown back in their faces by the rank and file.

CRITICAL

Striking longshoremen must now take the most critical step in their history by defying the Taft-Hartley and fighting to bring millions of other workers out on

strike against the injunction and the rest of Nixon's policies.

UNITY

Every capitalist politician today is calling for a continued wage freeze and the use of Taft-Hartley against unions that refuse to concede to the pressure of the employers. Democratic Senators Allan Cranston and Vance Hartke both have endorsed the strike breaking tactics of the Nixon Administration and stand ready to assist as the unions are decimated by the government.

The fight today for unity of all labor in general strike action against Nixon and the employers is what is required to win the demands of the ILWU-ILA and the entire labor movement.

Daly City Court Moves To Crush Teachers Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DALY CITY—As this is being written, teachers here face the prospect of a complete betrayal of their strike. The teachers are threatened with injunctions, fines and possible jail sentences for their strike action.

What is now posed by the court is a settlement in which the teachers would return to work with none of their gains met simply in return for an agreement from the city that they will retain their jobs. This would mean in essence the destruction of their organization and the loss of all previous gains.

This "offer" comes after a boycott of the schools by several thousand pupils in support of the teachers' fight.

That the teachers' leadership would even consider discussing such proposals is a dangerous warning. So far this leadership has refused to mobilize any serious labor support for the strike, trusting instead to negotiations through the courts. In fact the Jefferson Classroom Teachers Association leadership has refused all offers for assistance from the AFT, while doing nothing to see to it that the rest of the school system is shut down. Above all the leadership fears the tremendous strength of the labor movement that could be brought behind this strike.

Daly City teachers will have to break completely with this rotten leadership and reject all court-imposed defeats. There must be a turn to the AFT in a fight to bring out the rest of the school system and to prepare the way for a total shutdown of the city unless the full contract demands are met.

Stanford Witchhunts Radical Professor

BY ANN LORE

PALO ALTO—Stanford University has begun a hearing of English Professor H. Bruce Franklin on charges of misconduct as a professor.

This is the most important attempt to fire a tenured professor in a major American university since the days of Joe McCarthy.

Franklin is charged with inciting acts of violence and leading the disruption of a speech by Henry Cabot Lodge at Stanford University.

If the University wins this case against Franklin it will set an important precedent for firing tenured professors for political reasons. And it becomes even more treacherous in the context of the crisis in capitalism today. Nixon and all his allies have already passed sentence on any revolutionary leadership which comes forward today and now enters onto the campuses and with threats of dismissals, attempts to intimidate and silence all opposition. This hearing is a further warning to the youth and to the working class of what it can expect in the way of justice as capitalism moves to smash the working class.

Professor Franklin is a mem-

ber of the central committee of Venceremos. He says he is being fired for his politics and his effectiveness in embarrassing Stanford about its war research and defense contracts. In his opening statement, he presented a lengthy analysis of the development of the medieval academy to the present-day university. His whole case centers around Stanford's involvement in the military-industrial-educational complex. But this analysis leaves out the role of the working class entirely, just at the very moment when the working class enters into major confrontations with the go-

vernment, with the threat of troops now being posed on the docks.

Venceremos sees the government and the banks doing as they please today. But just as capitalism is poised on the brink of total collapse, it is precisely the tremendous strength of the working class which forces Nixon to impose a wage freeze and which forces the government to brutally remove all threats to its class and which today brings Stanford to take its unprecedented action of trying to fire Franklin for his political stands.

(Continued On Page 15)

Navy Workers Strike The McCormick

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Before the movement was forcefully halted, a significant section of the Engineering Department on the guided missile destroyer McCormick, moored here, had abandoned their tools and walked off the job. The walkout was a protest against dangerous working conditions and intolerably long working hours aboard ship.

The engineers, who service steam boilers and other mechanical equipment on ships, said that they feared an accident with poorly maintained high-pressure boilers, and protested against the negligence of officers on the ship who do not care about safety or job conditions.

Also, fatigue contributes to the hazardous conditions. In addition to a regular workday of twelve hours, extra duty often forces crewmen to work around the clock.

This walkout is the fourth such incident in the Engineering De-

partment during the month of September. Several of those engineers have apparently decided not to return to military life.

The McCormick strike takes place simultaneously with the refusal of nine crewmen of the carrier Constellation to put to sea for duty in Vietnam.

It is demonstrations like this which show the G.I.s stand with industrial workers against a common enemy. From intolerable conditions in the factories and the military to the wage freeze and eventual widening of armed hostilities abroad and in the U.S., workers in industry and the military confront the capitalists who own the factories and the military power. It is they who force G.I.s to break the strikes of their class brothers; as in the recent Post Office strike.

But things are different now, G.I.s openly mutiny in Vietnam, and demonstrate against the wage freeze and the conditions under which they are forced to work. These things are of direct concern to all American workers as their living standard comes under greater attack. Servicemen are taking up struggles that have long been a part of the history of American labor. That is a very serious turn for the capitalists as they prepare for more wars that will follow world-wide financial disaster.

Workers League Educational in the Redwoods A History of the Fourth International

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Nov. 5-7



Bruce Franklin, tenured professor at Stanford, and member of Venceremos. University is out to fire him for political activity.

Nixon Invokes Taft - Hartley

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Nixon today ordered the 15,000 members of the ILWU to return to work for 80 days with the Taft-Hartley Act. His action comes as over 60,000 members of the ILA and ILWU have for the first time in history shut down all shipping in the US.

This tremendous development is a powerful blow at all of Nixon's plans to go forward with his wage freeze and union busting legislation.

What Nixon and the employers are terrified of is the extreme resistance and militancy of thousands of dockers to any attempt

to bring them back to work without their demands being met.

This government is acting from a position of weakness in invoking the Taft-Hartley against the ILWU. The ILWU has now been on strike over 100 days, the longest strike in the history of the union, and large sections of the union are prepared to stay out all year in order to win a 40 hour guarantee and large wage increase.

Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, in the discussion with Nixon last week in Portland made it clear that his ability to maneuver striking dockers back to work rested on concessions being made by the employers.

In Local 10 of the ILWU, as well as others, attempts by Bridges and the rest of the union bureaucracy to remove cargo from the docks during the strike and to demoralize the strikers has been thrown back in their faces by the rank and file.

CRITICAL

Striking longshoremen must now take the most critical step in their history by defying the Taft-Hartley and fighting to bring millions of other workers out on

strike against the injunction and the rest of Nixon's policies.

UNITY

Every capitalist politician today is calling for a continued wage freeze and the use of Taft-Hartley against unions that refuse to concede to the pressure of the employers. Democratic Senators Allan Cranston and Vance Hartke both have endorsed the strike breaking tactics of the Nixon Administration and stand ready to assist as the unions are decimated by the government.

The fight today for unity of all labor in general strike action against Nixon and the employers is what is required to win the demands of the ILWU-ILA and the entire labor movement.

Daly City Court Moves To Crush Teachers Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DALY CITY—As this is being written, teachers here face the prospect of a complete betrayal of their strike. The teachers are threatened with injunctions, fines and possible jail sentences for their strike action.

What is now posed by the court is a settlement in which the teachers would return to work with none of their gains met simply in return for an agreement from the city that they will retain their jobs. This would mean in essence the destruction of their organization and the loss of all previous gains.

This "offer" comes after a boycott of the schools by several thousand pupils in support of the teachers' fight.

That the teachers' leadership would even consider discussing such proposals is a dangerous warning. So far this leadership has refused to mobilize any serious labor support for the strike, trusting instead to negotiations through the courts. In fact the Jefferson Classroom Teachers Association leadership has refused all offers for assistance from the AFT, while doing nothing to see to it that the rest of the school system is shut down. Above all the leadership fears the tremendous strength of the labor movement that could be brought behind this strike.

Daly City teachers will have to break completely with this rotten leadership and reject all court-imposed defeats. There must be a turn to the AFT in a fight to bring out the rest of the school system and to prepare the way for a total shutdown of the city unless the full contract demands are met.

Stanford Witchhunts Radical Professor

BY ANN LORE

PALO ALTO—Stanford University has begun a hearing of English Professor H. Bruce Franklin on charges of misconduct as a professor.

This is the most important attempt to fire a tenured professor in a major American university since the days of Joe McCarthy.

Franklin is charged with inciting acts of violence and leading the disruption of a speech by Henry Cabot Lodge at Stanford University.

If the University wins this case against Franklin it will set an important precedent for firing tenured professors for political reasons. And it becomes even more treacherous in the context of the crisis in capitalism today. Nixon and all his allies have already passed sentence on any revolutionary leadership which comes forward today and now enters onto the campuses and with threats of dismissals, attempts to intimidate and silence all opposition. This hearing is a further warning to the youth and to the working class of what it can expect in the way of justice as capitalism moves to smash the working class.

Professor Franklin is a mem-

ber of the central committee of Venceremos. He says he is being fired for his politics and his effectiveness in embarrassing Stanford about its war research and defense contracts. In his opening statement, he presented a lengthy analysis of the development of the medieval academy to the present-day university. His whole case centers around Stanford's involvement in the military-industrial-educational complex. But this analysis leaves out the role of the working class entirely, just at the very moment when the working class enters into major confrontations with the go-

vernment, with the threat of troops now being posed on the docks.

Venceremos sees the government and the banks doing as they please today. But just as capitalism is poised on the brink of total collapse, it is precisely the tremendous strength of the working class which forces Nixon to impose a wage freeze and which forces the government to brutally remove all threats to its class and which today brings Stanford to take its unprecedented action of trying to fire Franklin for his political stands.

(Continued On Page 15)

Navy Workers Strike The McCormick

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Before the movement was forceably halted, a significant section of the Engineering Department on the guided missile destroyer McCormick, moored here, had abandoned their tools and walked off the job. The walkout was a protest against dangerous working conditions and intolerably long working hours aboard ship.

The engineers, who service steam boilers and other mechanical equipment on ships, said that they feared an accident with poorly maintained high-pressure boilers, and protested against the negligence of officers on the ship who do not care about safety or job conditions.

Also, fatigue contributes to the hazardous conditions. In addition to a regular workday of twelve hours, extra duty often forces crewmen to work around the clock.

This walkout is the fourth such incident in the Engineering De-

partment during the month of September. Several of those engineers have apparently decided not to return to military life.

The McCormick strike takes place simultaneously with the refusal of nine crewmen of the carrier Constellation to put to sea for duty in Vietnam.

It is demonstrations like this which show the G.I.s stand with industrial workers against a common enemy. From intolerable conditions in the factories and the military to the wage freeze and eventual widening of armed hostilities abroad and in the U.S., workers in industry and the military confront the capitalists who own the factories and the military power. It is they who force G.I.s to break the strikes of their class brothers; as in the recent Post Office strike.

But things are different now, G.I.s openly mutiny in Vietnam, and demonstrate against the wage freeze and the conditions under which they are forced to work. These things are of direct concern to all American workers as their living standard comes under greater attack. Servicemen are taking up struggles that have long been a part of the history of American labor. That is a very serious turn for the capitalists as they prepare for more wars that will follow worldwide financial disaster.

Workers League Educational in the Redwoods A History of the Fourth International

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE DAYS OF LEON TROTSKY: Lucy St. John

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL UNDER MICHEL PABLO: Tim Wohlforth

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL: Tim Wohlforth

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