

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Hansen  
Rewrites History  
Of The FI**  
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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER THIRTEEN (222)

NOVEMBER 29, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

## As Rank & File Miners Wildcat

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What  
we  
think

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## **Racist Mob Marches In Queens**

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# Castro Praises Strikebreaking Dictatorship In Peru

BY ED SMITH

On November 21st, Premier Fidel Castro ended his booster's tour of Chile for the Popular Unity government of Dr. Salvador Allende. Castro used his visit to reinforce Allende's attempt to contain the Chilean workers and peasants within "structural changes" via his Popular Unity regime and above all to prevent the establishment of their own class rule in the country.

Castro's strategy is actually directed against the independent movement of the Latin American workers and peasants, in order to obtain some sort of possibility of national development without a socialist revolution, balancing between imperialism and the Soviet bloc countries. The Castro regime is seeking a rapprochement, a "detente" with imperialism, through the Stalinist bureaucracy.

If we turn to the speech of Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa at the conference of the "Group of 77" underdeveloped nations held in Lima recently, we will find even more concretely what Castro is driving at.

Roa begins his address with the most extravagant eulogy for the Peruvian military junta, the hosts for this conference:

"The Lima in which we find ourselves today has ceased to be the signorial castle of the class who profited from underdevelopment, to become the shining bastion of a revolutionary movement whose main goal is the development of Peru from the coastline to the cordillera... and, to this effect, it has engaged in a series of structural transformations which are now returning to the Peruvian nation the resources and wealth previously exploited for the exclusive benefit of foreign monopolies and privileged minorities... Could there be a richer, more enlivening and immediate experience for those countries which make ready to join their thinking and action to face the great challenge of

liberation and development?"

It should be noted that on November 10th, five workers at the gigantic American-owned Cerro de Pasco mines were killed by troops of the self-same Peruvian government for refusing to release company officials held hostage to enforce demands for improvements in conditions. The junta of Gen. Velasco had earlier suspended constitutional guarantees to deal with such an "anarchical situation" caused by "counterrevolutionary left-wing elements."

"ENLIVENING"

No doubt Dr. Roa and the rest of Castro's regime find this spirited determination to clear out such recalcitrant obstacles to "national development" most "enlivening."

In fact they are not in the least disturbed about the capitalist nature of Peru and the Velasco government that makes such massacres inevitable:

"The time has come to say without subterfuge or beating about the bush: the

structural change urgently required by the underdeveloped states is, by its nature and extent, a revolutionary change; being it clearly understood, however, that such a change, even though revolutionary, need not be necessarily socialist. A case in point: the Peruvian experience." (our emphasis).

Further on:

"Experience has shown, and continues to show, that no government made up of representatives of the vacillating or submitting bourgeoisie, or made up of civilian or military spokesmen for the oligarchy and imperialism can attempt to put into effect structural changes that depend on popular support for the huge tasks involved."

But a civilian or military government, as in Peru, albeit one that is the brutal enemy of the working class and peasantry as well, that's a different story!

In fact Dr. Roa seems entirely willing to extend this counterrevolutionary and anti-working class theory to the heartland

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Young German workers of the IG Metall trade union marched recently under the banner of "Class war not collaboration." They went out on a nationwide strike Monday, Nov. 22. The strike opens up a new stage in the class struggle in Europe with the emergence of strong German working class.

## Nixon Backs Military Coup In Thailand

BY ED SMITH

The military situation in Southeast Asia has reached the disaster stage for imperialism. The struggle of the workers and peasants of the area has made a mockery of Nixon's plans for "Vietnamization" and "disengagement" and thrown his local servants into crisis.

At the end of last week, for example, liberation forces were battling Cambodian puppet troops not more than ten miles from downtown Pnomh Penh, Cambodia's capital, while the Pnomh Penh airport was subjected to rocket attacks.

A Cambodian column of 16,000 men had been earlier cut to ribbons by the liberation forces not 75 miles from the Cambodian capital and the South Vietnamese had to rush in 10,000 men in order to maintain any sort of control over the situation.

The main support for the beleaguered Cambodian puppets was of course massive U.S. air strikes called in on liberation army positions. Even with this aid the situation was described by U.S. armed forces spokesmen as "critical."

Here is the situation in a nutshell. Nixon's "disengagement" has been based on the hope that his Asian puppets could carry on without him. Yet already these

regimes are tottering on the abyss. Nixon can no more "disengage" in Indochina than he can accept cuts in his "foreign aid" appropriations which subsidize these puppets. The measures Nixon had to take on August 15 mean that the U.S. must increasingly take on the responsibility of maintaining the ramparts of world capitalism, not the reverse.

We can see this crisis from another angle in the military-police takeover recently in Thailand. At the same time the liberation forces were knocking on the gates of Pnomh Penh, Premier Thanom Kittikachorn and a group of military leaders announced the abolition of the government, the Cabinet, and the Constitution (in force for exactly two and a half years) and the setting up of a military junta. The junta cited "Communist insurrection in northern Thailand, student demonstrations, obstruction by members of Parliament, strikes, terrorism and subversion" as justification for its action.

The generals cleared the coup with Leonard Unger, the U.S. Ambassador, before advising the so-called head of government, the king of Thailand, of their action. A new "Revolutionary Party" to lead the country was formed, consisting of all members of the armed forces and police and several selected civilians, and all other parties were banned.

Thailand has always been con-

sidered a showcase of the type of "strong" local client states the U.S. attempted to build up in the colonial areas of the world. Now the "internal unrest" of the strikes, the demonstrations, the insurrections of the working class and peasantry has left the imperialists with no way out but the most iron dictatorship, nothing more than bodies of armed men against the struggles of the peoples of the colonial world. The Thai military coup is a last ditch preparation for civil war against the Thai workers and peasants.

## Tory Report Whitewashes Ulster Torture

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Compton Inquiry into Army brutality against prisoners in North Ireland concluded November 16th that there was "physical ill-treatment" but no evidence of brutality.

The three-man panel led by Sir Edward Compton has given the British government the whitewash they expected so that the wholesale murder of Irish Catholic workers can now proceed full speed ahead.

The report describes the use of hoods and high pitched sounds in the army camps, the diet of bread and water and the way the men are forced to stand against a wall for hours and then concludes:

"We think there was lack of judgment there but not cruelty or brutality. We consider that brutality is an inhuman or savage form of cruelty...we do not think it happened here."

The report even claims that the prolonged exhausting physical exercises the prisoners were forced to do "were devised to counterattack the cold and stiffness of which the arrested persons complained." So these exercises were only for the prisoners' own good!

The real truth of the brutal torture techniques used in Ulster, which far surpass anything in Vietnam, have been fully docu-

mented by the Workers Press, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League. Other accounts based on interviews with prisoners were published by the London Sunday Times and Amnesty International, a private organization.

SCREEN

The Compton Inquiry was a calculated cynical fraud from beginning to end. Its direct purpose was to provide a screen behind which the Army could continue to escalate its terror against prisoners.

In the first place, the Compton panel was set up by the very people it was investigating: the Tory government. Furthermore, the investigators were instructed to limit their study only to the period from August 8th to 9th, the first 48 hours after the internment policy was begun. Most of the tortures were initiated two to three weeks later.

Compton only visited the Long Kesh and Maidstone internment camps when the actual tortures were being carried out at the

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## POR Joins Popular Front With Torres

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The Bolivian Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) led by Guillermo Lora, has joined a so-called Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front (FRA) together with bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists.

The FRA is the crudest form of Popular Front, embracing ex-president Torres, whose refusal to arm the Bolivian workers ensured the victory of the extreme right, led by Colonel Banzer and nationalist army officers.

The POR has explicitly signed away its right to criticize Torres and the Stalinists—under the guise of combating "sectarianism."

Prensa Latina news agency reports that the Front's founding document, issued from underground in La Paz yesterday,

is signed by Major Ruben Sanchez for the revolutionary armed forces; former president Juan Jose Torres; the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR); the National Liberation Army (ELN); the Socialist Party; the Communist Party; the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party; the National Left Revolutionary Party (PRIN); the "Masses" Revolutionary Workers Party and the "Combat" Revolutionary Workers Party.

Masses is the paper of the

Lora group, Combat the paper of the Moscoso group of official Pabloites. The statement makes quite explicit the POR's complete abdication of the basic Leninist principle of the independence of the revolutionary party.

"SECTARIAN"

It states that any form of sectarianism is "counterrevolutionary" and stresses the "unquestionable need to build the fighting unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces to undertake the great battle in conditions offering a real prospect for popular and national power."

# Miners Wildcat Against Contract

BY BOB MICHAELSON

Rank and file coal miners remain on strike after refusing to accept the contract agreed to by both the United Mine Workers leadership and the mine owners.

The miners are wildcatting against the contract because the wage increase which the capitalist press screamed bloody murder about affected mainly the highly skilled workers—about one third of the total number of miners—while the rest received relatively meager increases.

Also, 4% of the 15% first year increase goes directly to the UMW welfare fund, and the ranks never see it in their paychecks.

## SELLOUT

At local union meetings over the week, rank and file members of the UMW were disgusted with the contract, the content of which the leadership had kept from them until just a few days ago. Many of the workers were saying of the leadership "They lied to us" and "It's a sellout."

## IUE Accepts Cuts In Wages For GM Appliance Workers

BY DAN FRIED

Despite the protests of many rank and file members of the union, the leadership of Local 801 of the IUE succeeded in railroading through what is probably the most vicious anti-labor contract in recent years.

Under this contract which covers more than 5,000 appliance division workers at General Motors' Dayton, Ohio Frigidaire plant, the workers have to accept an absolute wage freeze for the next 30 months. This is based on the union leadership's agreement to forego a 6% wage increase as well as all cost of living increases amounting to about 14 cents an hour over this period.

## EXCHANGE

In "exchange," the company agreed to rehire about 800 workers out of more than 3,400 that have been laid off. Perhaps the most humiliating agreement of all is that these workers and all new workers will be rehired at 25c an hour less than the current wage, listed as \$4.34 an hour.

This unprecedented sellout is justified by General Motors and the union leadership on the basis that the workers allegedly earn \$1 to \$2 more than appliance workers employed by other companies. So the workers are forced to yield to GM's blackmail threats that they will move their plant elsewhere, shut down operations and so forth.

## EXHORBITANT

Despite the complaints of General Motors that the workers are earning the "exorbitant" wage of

Sections of the UMW ranks who were once "Loyal to Boyle" are now joining the opposition which is staying out on strike. Boyle ordered the men back to work on Monday, November 22.

The wage increase accepted by the Pay Board is now being used by the coal mine owners to raise their prices. They are expected to request an immediate 8.5% increase in the price of coal.

## INCREASE

The reason given for the price increase is that the "increased labor costs" (the wage increase) require it. This is a fraud. The wage increase as it stands now, if accepted, is already tied to productivity clauses by which the owners will make up the increase through automation and speedups.

Any price increase now will sail straight into the pockets of the owners and stockholders. And workers will be made to pay for it through increases in the products of industries which use coal. Nixon's promise that profits will not be hurt by the freeze is certainly being carried out.

When the liberal, antiwar Senator Proxmire expressed "shock" at the way the Pay Board allowed the coal miners' wage increase to go through, Pay Board pre-

sident George Boldt stated that the contract would not set a precedent for future settlements.

## PRECEDENTS

It becomes clear that even these kinds of "concessions"—these kinds of "concessions"—are only being allowed for the time being in order to avoid a head-on confrontation with the union bureaucracies. Nixon and the bosses hope to set some more important "precedents" first. They want to legalize and consolidate the Pay Board which now chains the trade unions to the government of the bankers and corporations.

## APPROVAL

The tying of the approval of the wage increase to an increase in productivity in order to protect the bosses' profits is not only a continuation of the policy of massive unemployment and speedup that has hit the coal miners in recent years. It is also an attempt to have all wage gains allowed to the unions by the Pay Board pegged to deals on productivity. The aim of this pattern is not only to hold back wage gains to a guideline figure but to even further increase the bosses' profits under "Phase II" through massive unemployment and speedup measures against the entire working class. This attack is aimed right now at the miners and later at other sections of industry including the longshoremen.

## RATIFICATION

Rank and file miners cannot allow this to happen. It would mean a terrible defeat. The ranks must demand ratification of contracts and be prepared to throw out any which are against their interests, and continue the strike until they win their demands.

## Nixon OK's Big Price Increases

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Now that Phase II has begun the corporations, big and small, are rushing to raise their prices. Nearly fifty-one companies, including the biggest industrial giants in the country have applied for price increases.

The Price Commission, headed by C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., is gradually clearing up the "confusion" about price controls and is making clear that the 2.5% price guideline is only a general "national goal."

The first pronouncements about price controls were deliberately vague in order to give workers the impression that prices would really be controlled. But in the days that followed more information was released which has made it clear that prices will rise way beyond 2.5%.

In fact, Grayson admitted that there was strong opposition to any price guidelines by members of the Commission for fear that the 2.5% would be interpreted as a "ceiling."

The Price Commission has announced that all companies with sales above \$100 million must have price increases cleared first



Teachers at NYC parochial schools strike for better wages. The wage increase offered by schools was rejected by AFT. The raises would not have brought teachers up to par with other NYC teachers.

## Meatcutters Strike Against Nixon Board

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NOVEMBER 22—The Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union today shut down packing plants across the country. The work stoppage was called to protest Nixon's wage freeze and to defend the union's contract that Nixon and the Pay Board are ripping up.

The Meatcutters Union two weeks ago called for a nationwide one day general strike against the freeze and has been opposed to the labor leaders remaining on the Pay Board. The ranks of the union have been denied wage increases that were won in the last contract.

In South St. Paul Local T4 struck the Armour plant. Four union meetings were held throughout the day to hear the leadership of the union speaking on closed circuit TV from the AFL-CIO convention. In Madison, Wisconsin Local 538 closed the big Oscar Meyer plant. The ranks there intend to make sure that Feinglas, the president of the

union, carries out his promise to fight for a general strike against the freeze.

Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the union, said in the speech over closed circuit TV, that Nixon "made scraps of paper out of contracts which covered nearly 150,000 of our members and millions of workers in the rest of American industry."

Gorman said that the union plans to carry the fight into the courts. This perspective is a retreat from the union's call for a general strike which must now be taken up by the ranks combining it with the fight to build a labor party.

but promised that this would be handled within 72 hours.

The vast majority of businesses in the country will not have to clear price increases at all.

Ford has gone ahead and raised the price of the Pinto by 6% (or \$109) claiming that it had already shipped the cars at that price before Phase I. The government let them go ahead.

Grayson said that as far as retail prices are concerned, "there is no way the average consumer can know" if prices are raised. As soon as Phase II began retail and wholesale outfits jacked up their prices.

The soft coal companies announced they would apply for an 8.5% increase, steel for 7.8% and Chrysler 5.9%. Obviously, the bosses have gotten the message about the meaning of 2.5%.

Grayson and every member of the Democratic and Republican Parties knows that the real purpose of wage controls is to boost profits. Grayson is calling on employers to step up productivity and speedup, to extract more value out of the working class. The Price Commission issued a harsh warning to big business not to "rely" on them and instead to toughen up in their bargaining with the

unions.

Saturday it was revealed that prices went up in October by two-tenths of one percent. The officials quickly explained all the various factors to account for this. The fact is, as all workers know, there was no control on prices in Phase I and in Phase II all restraints will be let go.

The Price Commission is one gigantic fraud to give a cover to Nixon's real aim—to drive down wages. While companies who make tens of millions in profits will get a very sympathetic ear from the Price Commission, the unions are viciously denounced for every wage increase.

Nixon is not concerned with a price increase as long as it means a real rise in profits. This is a conscious policy and it cannot be defeated by wailing about "inequities" as the liberals and trade union leaders do.

As the decks are cleared for a confrontation over wages and the very existence of the trade unions, the labor bureaucracy which creates these illusions must be exposed and defeated in the fight for a labor party and the nationalization of industry under workers control.



A section of the demonstration sponsored by the UFT against the cuts in the vocational schools.

## 'Student Leaders' Divert Struggle At Jefferson High

BY NANCY VASQUEZ  
BROOKLYN—General Organization elections in Thomas Jefferson High School took place last Thursday, November 17. These elections select a small clique of students to "represent" the entire student body for the coming year.

The school administration uses these so-called "student leaders" to help divert the real problems of the schools and communities. While some of the candidates acknowledged that there is need for change in the school which is run down and overcrowded, they seek to unite the students under nationalism. This is done with the blessing of the administration.

One candidate claimed that the task is to fight the "white power structure," and for Blacks to fight white. He carried out the logic of his position which is to divide the students along racial lines, when he contemptuously said that the Puerto Rican students "were hung up because they did not know whether they were Black or white." When he was attacked for this reactionary perspective by student supporters of the Workers League, he tried to cover himself.

It is no wonder that the administration gives its silent support to such candidates. The administration and the City would

rather see the students fighting each other than the system which is responsible for the conditions.

The real cause of the crisis in the schools is the capitalist system itself which is attacking the working class and the youth with the wage freeze, unemployment, and the budget cuts. The only way these attacks can be fought is by uniting the students, Black, white and Puerto Rican.

The candidates talked about building a better foundation for a student-teacher relationship but said nothing about struggling against the budget cuts which force one teacher to instruct a class of forty or fifty students. Instead they beg for worthless reforms such as jukeboxes, while the entire question of the attacks on the schools is never taken up.

CONFERENCE  
The school's administration is subordinate to the Board of Education which in turn is subordinate to the Federal government. The only way to change the policies and structure of the schools as well as the country is by the youth joining forces with the working class under a Marxist leadership and program to fight back against these vicious attacks.

We urge all youth to attend the Workers League Youth Conference to be held on December 18 which will prepare us to take the most complete struggle against these inhuman attacks.

## Liberals Blunt Fight At Budget Cut Rally

BY JEANNIE COOPER

NEW YORK—On November 18th the United Federation of Teachers sponsored a protest demonstration at City Hall against the massive educational cutbacks in the vocational schools.

About 1000 students and teachers participated in the demonstration, almost all from the vocational and special high schools in New York City. As part of the increasing attacks on the working class and the youth, the vocational schools are facing a 43% cut in the schools, and the class time allotted for laboratory or shop work has already been cut by one period.

These schools are in tremendous danger now as the employers and the government prepare for more unemployment. These youth are being denied the right to decent job training and the right to a decent job after graduation.

Although the UFT sponsored the demonstration, the leadership did little to mobilize either teachers or students. Once at City Hall, the only thing the leadership could offer was a string of liberal Democrats and more calls for protest. Councilwoman Ruth Brenner urged all the students to write her letters so she could bring them to the City Council.

As supporters of the Workers League chanted "General Strike, Labor Party" and "Stop the Cuts with a General Strike," the UFT vice-president called for continued protest and proceeded to introduce the various capitalist

politicians.

The students are demanding no cuts and additional training for jobs for youth. There was an enthusiastic response among the students to the Workers League youth program which poses the fight against these cuts, against unemployment, for real job training at union wages and under student and union control, and the fight for a labor party to throw out these very Demo-

crats and Republicans who are responsible for the wage freeze and the cuts in education.

The students from the vocational schools must now take the fight for the program throughout the schools and into the teachers union.

Youth must take the lead in demanding that the union fight for these demands. The students who participated in the City Hall demonstration are urged to come to the Workers League Conference of Revolutionary Youth on December 18th to take this program back to the masses of youth and build a revolutionary youth movement.

## Meeting Commemorates Hungarian Revolution

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

State College, Pa., Nov. 20—The Penn State Workers League Club held a very successful meeting here on "The 15th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution—The Fight to Build the IV International Today."

In addition to the main talk, the Workers Press film "Ulster" was shown. In his talk, the speaker Frank Elliot explained that the Hungarian Revolution exposed not only the counterrevolutionary nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy but also the bankruptcy of the revisionists in the United Secretariat, that is, the Socialist Workers Party and their co-thinkers in

Europe.

The Hungarian Revolution is alive for us today as the working class is engaged in heightened struggle throughout the world, posing not only the possibility, but the necessity of the working class taking the road of the Hungarian Revolution and smashing imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy once and for all.

### CONTENT

The central aspect of the revolution was its clear class content. Throughout the uprising, the instruments of class struggle were employed: general strike and the creation of workers councils. The central demand of the workers and students was that all aspects of production, management and planning, be determined by the working class in the form of democratically elected workers councils to be established in every factory.

### STALINISM

The response of the Stalinist bureaucracy to these demands exposes the treacherous nature of any conception of self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Socialist Workers Party which minimizes the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism betrays the struggles of the Hungarian working class and helps to prepare the working class for bloody defeats. The response of the Stalinist bureaucracy was one of bloody slaughter. The repression in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1970 only gives tragic confirmation to the

counterrevolutionary nature of international Stalinism.

### IV INTERNATIONAL

The IV International was built in a life and death struggle against Stalinism and its betrayals in the late '20's, '30's and '40's. It was this struggle which developed both the theoretical capital and the cadres necessary to lead the working class in the new periods of struggle following the second World War. The revisionism that struck the IV International in the 1950's threatened to liquidate these developments. Today the SWP in its headlong flight away from the struggles of the working class is attempting to destroy every conquest of the Trotskyist movement in its struggles against Stalinism and revisionism.

### BETRAYALS

Today Stalinism is preparing new betrayals on a worldwide scale. The betrayals of the Stalinists in the Middle East, Vietnam, the Sudan, and Bangla Desh are just the beginning. The admission of China to the U.N. opens up a new stage of their treacherous role. The SWP, which covers up for the Stalinists in the peace movement and in the

trade unions, which hails the admission of China into the U.N., are only preparing new Hungarys on an international scale.

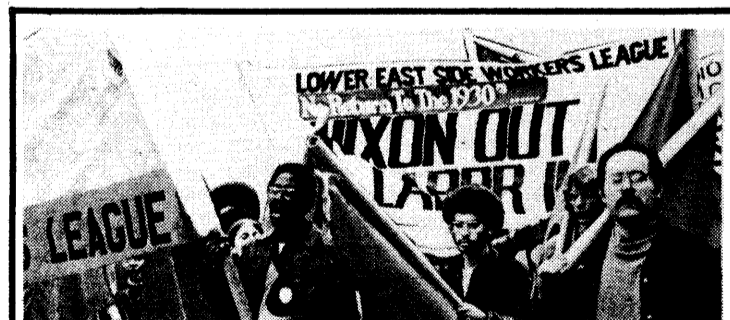
The talk was concluded with a call to everyone in attendance to take up the struggle of the Workers League and the International Committee which will smash Stalinism. This means today the fight for general strike action and the building of a labor party to take the working class on the road to power. This means the building of the upcoming Conference of Revolutionary Youth called by the Workers League. This is how the Workers League commemorates the 15th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution.

### ULSTER

The Workers Press film "Ulster" which was shown after the presentation was very well received, and gave rise to an intense discussion on the meaning of the events in north Ireland today.

### FIGHT

At the conclusion of the meeting several people including students at Penn State and workers from Pittsburgh came forward to take up the fight of the Workers League in the trade unions and on the campuses.



Workers League Dec. 18, 1971

CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH \$1.50

LABOR HALL 135 W. 14th St. NYC 924-0852

DISCUSSION FILMS DANCE

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jones  
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Middle class residents of Forest Hills, Queens mobbed in front of site of building of low income housing, lobbing torches and racist epithets.

# Racist Mob Launches Attack In Forest Hills

BY MELODY FARROW

FOREST HILLS, QUEENS—The construction of three low income apartment buildings in the prosperous white middle class area here is being used to whip the residents into a racist frenzy against integration by Black families.

On Thursday, November 18th hundreds of residents, their faces contorted with hate and rage packed a community meeting and wildly applauded speakers who denounced Mayor Lindsay and pledged to destroy his political career.

They surged out of the meeting, by now whipped up into an enraged lynch mob, and marched, torches in hand, with signs calling for "Community Control" to the construction site. Exhorting each other to burn down the construction trailers, they threw rocks and torches at the windows and shouted: "If this was Harlem it would have burned down a long time ago."

The residents claim that if the housing goes up as planned it will turn their neighborhood into a crime infested slum. None of them made any bones about their racist feelings:

One man said: "I've seen what happened in other parts of the city when they put in such projects. Whites want to be with whites and Blacks want to be with Blacks."

A high school girl who supported the project was immediately attacked by one of the marchers who shouted: "If you want integration, move to Harlem. They need integration there."

Significantly, the cops contented themselves with "pleading" with the residents but made no attempt to move against them. One cop who arrived on the scene when told what the demonstration was about said: "For once there's a crowd and its not a stick up."

## LYNCH

There is nothing surprising, as the liberals contend, in this transformation of seemingly

"peaceful" middle class people into a wild lynch fury. The frustrations of sections of the middle class can lay the basis for fascist developments directed against the working class and particularly against the Blacks.

## THREATENED

Feeling that their traditional stability and prosperity are threatened by the breakdown of the system, they desperately try to hold on to their privileges in a period of rising class struggle. Right wing figures such as Senator Buckley consciously direct this against the working class. The Nixon Administration has at the same time consciously encouraged these developments.

It is no accident then that members of the Jewish Defense League, a neo-fascistic and racist organization formed under the cover of fighting anti-semitism, turned up in Forest Hills. Despite community leaders attempts to disavow their presence, this group clearly expected to find support for its campaign of phy-

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# Gleason Offers Deal To Drop GAI Demand

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—As the long-shore strike nationally is gaining strength with the return to the picket lines of the Philadelphia strikers, and the walkout of some 6,000 dockers on the West Gulf Coast, the Gleason leadership is stepping up efforts to make a deal.

It is being rumored that Gleason has offered to give up the guaranteed annual wage to the shippers in exchange for the right of the ILA to strip all container cargo coming into port. The present agreement allows ILA men the right to strip only cargo destined for locations within a 50 mile radius of the port.

It is highly unlikely, and just about impossible economically for the shippers to agree to such a deal, as this would nullify almost all the gains made by the shippers originally when they won the right to use container shipping. However, the great danger in the offer is that Gleason is giving the signal to the shippers that he is willing to sell out the guarantee.

The guaranteed annual wage, with all its loopholes, was the

one thing won in the last contract which gave any protection to the men from mechanization of the shipping industry.

The maintenance of this guarantee, and its extension to all ports is the most important issue in this contract fight. It is this issue, two weeks before the men

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# Brooklyn Gas Workers Face Fight On Wages, Speedup

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER  
BROOKLYN—Phase II of Nixon's attacks on the unions came home sharply to Brooklyn Union Gas workers this week.

Not only are BUG workers being denied their progression raises won in the last contract but are now coming under increased harassment by the company as well as the police.

Meter readers are now being forced to step up productivity by bringing in low skip-counts (meters not read) on their books. If they do not, they are threatened with layoffs and black-listing.

Kirrane, the head of Local 101 in BUG, has refused to take a stand on Nixon's Phase II plans, stating that unions have nothing

to do with politics. He has done nothing to protect working conditions that are under attack.

In the last few days meter readers have been picked up by police, harassed and accused of burglary. This has occurred in primarily white neighborhoods where the cops have arrested Black meter readers as "criminals."

On Wednesday, November 17th, police picked up meter reader Johnson, threw him against the car and frisked him, accusing him of burglary. After finding that Johnson was not the man they were looking for, the police immediately proceeded to call the company demanding that another meter reader be placed under arrest for illegal entry.

On Saturday, November 21st, another meter reader was simi-

larly abused and was asked to produce evidence of employment with the company. He was then thrown into a police car and taken to the location of the incident where he was later found to be innocent of the charges of entering a home with intent to burglarize.

Clearly the union leadership is complicit in this situation. It has encouraged racism in the union with its attacks on the Local 101 Rank and File Caucus. At the same time it has allowed the company to run roughshod over working conditions. Meter men are being forced to go into open buildings because of the pressure for speedup.

Kirrane's refusal to take a stand against the wage freeze becomes treachery in the face of Nixon's Pay Board which gives

the government complete control over the unions. What Phase I and II mean is that unions are now thrown into the political arena whether they like it or not.

It is high time the ranks took a stand against this leadership that refuses to do anything about the wage freeze and the working conditions. The Local 101 Rank and File Caucus is fighting for a policy of two men on a book to prevent harassment and for the leadership of the union to call a general membership meeting to decide on action against the wage freeze and the speedup.

The Rank and File Caucus is fighting for the union to demand that the labor leaders get off the Pay Board and fight for a general strike against the freeze and the building of a labor party.

# MEDVEDEV SAYS 'LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM'

BY DAVID GREEN

A DOCTOR ENTERS an apartment accompanied by insolent police, asks the startled citizen about his "mental well-being," and then stands aside as the man is dragged off to a psychiatric ward—for the politically disturbed opponents of the Soviet bureaucracy.

This is the outline of A Question of Madness, an account of the 19 days spent by world-renowned Soviet biologist Zhores Medvedev in Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital during May and June of 1970. A condensation of the book (to be published in English next month) appeared in the November 7 issue of the New York Times.

During the terrible purge of the 1930s, it was often noted that the safest place in Russia was the insane asylum. The only way to escape the merciless torture and grueling interrogations of the Kremlin's secret police was to feign madness. Now, as preparations are made for the launching of a new attack against the Russian working class, the bureaucracy has closed even this escape hatch. The psychiatric ward has become a new Siberia as the heirs of Stalin have made insanity a political rather than medical category.

Medvedev has long been a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy. He was

first drawn into struggle against Stalinism when he waged his campaign to discredit L.D. Lysenko, the quack scientist who employed the favor of Stalin to establish a tyranny of idiocy over Russian research. After the fall of Lysenko, Medvedev continued his efforts to expose the crimes of Stalin. Last year, the ruling clique took its revenge. It revived the barbaric techniques of the bloodiest tyrant of the 19th century, Tsar Nicholas I, by having Medvedev locked up in a madhouse.

## DRUGS

In Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital, Medvedev made the acquaintance of other political "maniacs." One of them was a 24 year old man whose illness was discovered after he had criticized the bureaucratic organization of Komsomol, the youth movement of the Communist Party. Another prisoner was found guilty of "poor adaptation to the conditions of social environment" after he objected to the undemocratic methods of a local Party machine. Both of these "patients" were being treated with massive doses of depressant drugs which completely destroy the normal personality.

The Kremlin thought it could free itself from Medvedev by quietly subjecting him to a drug-induced lobotomy. However, this is not the 1930s and the bureaucracy was confronted with an over-

whelming wave of protest against Medvedev's detention. The novelist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn contributed to the campaign to free Medvedev with a dramatic open letter:

"It is time to understand that the imprisonment of sane persons in madhouses because they have minds of their own is spiritual murder, a variation on the gas chambers, and even more cruel; the condemned suffer torments more frightful and prolonged. Like the gas chambers, these crimes will never be forgotten, and those involved will be condemned for all time, during their life and after their death, without benefit of moratorium."

Faced with severe pressures, the bureaucracy ordered the release of Medvedev.

## HISTORY

But the "Affair Medvedev" is not over. It has been reported that the police are once again ransacking his apartment and placing him under surveillance. However, the object of their concern—a massive indictment of Stalin entitled Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism—is already in the hands of Western publishing houses. The most the Stalinist police can do at this point is to ruthlessly track down samizdat (secretly distributed copies of the book) circulating through the Soviet Union.



Zhores Medvedev

The citizens of the land of the October Revolution have been cut off from Marxism for over forty years, and therefore Medvedev—who asserts his dedication to Marxism—is working under great handicaps. In spite of this, Let History Judge must already be considered a work of great significance because it expresses the deep crisis of Stalinism in Russia itself; and the revulsion of the working class against the bureaucracy that usurped the power of the Bolshevik Party.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## AFL-CIO Convention Won't 'Hail The Chief'

The reaction to President Nixon at the AFL-CIO convention exposes the real relationship which is developing between the American labor movement and the capitalist government. This relationship is at the breaking point.

The reception Nixon received was probably a first in the history of the American presidency. When the White House asked that "Hail the Chief" be played, the convention refused. When Nixon claimed in his address that his economic policies were a success, there were giggles from the audience. When he tried to push on this line further, he was laughed at. The response was hostile to say the least as Nixon scurried out.

This reflects the confidence the labor movement has in its ability to defend its gains and unions against the attacks now lowered by the government in the interests of the employers and its contempt for the ruling class.

Now Nixon's sharpshooter, John Connolly, has launched out accusing Meany and the AFL-CIO of "arrogance" and "boorishness." But it is the arrogance of Nixon and the capitalist class who now demand that the 80 million working people, Connolly claims the AFL-CIO does not represent, starve, starve to protect the profits of the big corporations.

It was Mr. Connolly himself who travelled to Europe for Nixon putting his big Texan boots on the desks of the European capitalists and demanding that the European working class be decimated.

Well now, it is the American labor movement which has its boots up on the desk and is informing Nixon it will not take orders. This is what the capitalist class cannot tolerate and what it fears. There is no more room for a "gentleman's agreement" between the bosses' government and labor.

The determination of the ranks of labor to fight the wage freeze and the Pay Board has created an impossible situation for the labor leaders gathered in Bal Harbour. Meany is holding on to the Pay Board by the skin of his teeth. The day before Nixon spoke at the convention Meany announced that the labor representatives on the Board would not vote on most matters before it and would not instruct its organizations to abide by the decisions.

Nixon made it abundantly clear in his address that there can be no compromise. He said he would do what he must whether the labor bureaucracy cooperates or not.

So why is it that Meany and his friends remain on this Board? Meany claims there is still "hope." "We still hold on to the idea that maybe somebody will see the light." This "somebody" Meany is putting his faith in is the capitalist class and its government. Above all the labor leaders refuse to put their "hope" in the mobilization of the working class against capitalism.

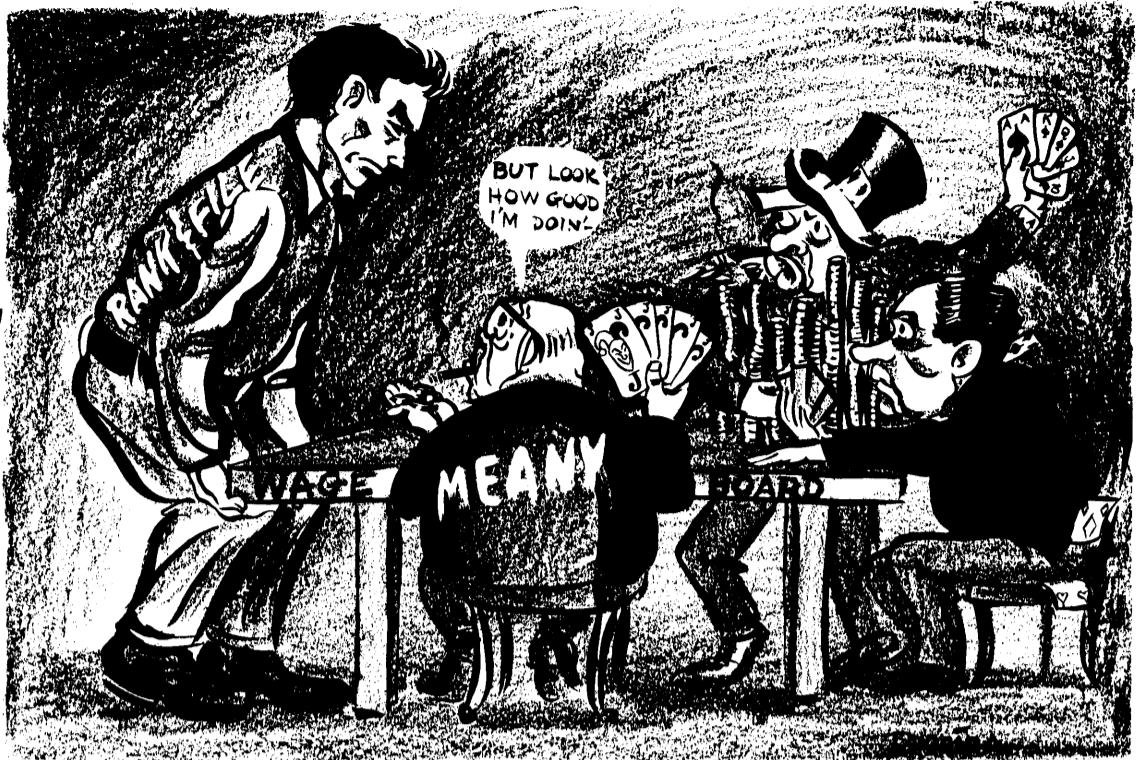
They, like Nixon, fear this movement. So while the bureaucrats laughed at Nixon, they can also laugh themselves and the working class into the destruction of the unions as independent organizations to defend the rights of the working class and into fascism.

This is why the working class cannot fight Nixon with any section of the labor bureaucracy. The labor bureaucracy bases itself on preserving its privileged position within the working class. This is what it begins with, and not with the interests of the rank and file.

So they are willing to accept seats on the Pay Board, the first step towards the incorporation of the unions into the state. At every step these "labor lieutenants of capital" subordinate the interests of the workers to the dictates of the capitalist state.

This is why the central question today is the construction of a conscious leadership in the unions, a Trotskyist leadership based on the principles developed by the Marxist movement which embody the interests of the working class. This leadership will fight uncompromisingly against any attempt to subordinate the unions to the capitalist state. It will fight for the INDEPENDENT mobilization of the working class against capitalism whose interests are irreconcilably opposed to the interests of the working class.

With this understanding and with the confidence in the power of the American working class that expressed its utter contempt for Nixon at Bal Harbour, we can fight to get the labor bureaucracy off the Board now and open the fight for a general strike against Nixon's attacks and the construction of a labor party.



## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)  
tempts to sell out the General Motors strike, has over the recent years placed Woodcock in the camp of the "progressive" labor leaders. The Communist Party has spent a good deal of time attacking Trotskyism for daring to take up a struggle against these "progressives." Today, not only does Woodcock end up on the right along with Fitzsimmons. The top favorites of the CP like Leon Davis of Local 1199 denounce those who call for a general strike and Stanley Hill of SSEU-371 who capitulates totally to Gotbaum, Wurf, and Meany.

Rather than starting from a principled struggle of the working class against the labor bureaucracy, the Stalinists begin with the search for alliances with one or another section of this bureaucracy, just as they look to support "progressive" capitalist politicians. Thus they end up at the UAW convention attempting to blunt at every point the opposition to Woodcock over the wage freeze and especially to weaken the movement for a general strike. When Woodcock called for a drive to "defeat Nixon in '72" on the basis of support to Democrats, he was speaking for the same "coalition" line put forward by the Communist Party.

At the same time, the Communist Party now renews its attack on the Workers League in the current issue of Political Affairs. In an article by George Morris, "Trotskyites" are again taken to task by Morris for calling for a "labor party now." For Morris and the Stalinists, it is really a question of liberal capitalist politicians now, and a labor party, never.

It is important to understand that the underlying hatred of the UAW ranks for the bureaucracy and their bitter resistance to the attacks of Nixon and the employers was reflected sharply in the fight over the financial question which dominated the convention, even though the major leaders of this opposition from UAW Region 9a had nothing to say on the question of the wage freeze itself. This opposition centered around Woodcock's proposal to raise the contributions of the locals to the International by 3% in order to get the International out of its financial crisis.

The connection between the issue of the wage freeze and the

financial question was brought out sharply by the delegate who began his remarks on the financial question with an attack on the wage freeze and on Woodcock's participation on the Pay Board, stating, "If somebody can take away a contract that we signed in good faith, then we don't have a union."

When challenged by Woodcock to "speak to the point," he continued: "I'm from a small local and in the small locals we're forced to go to arbitration which is very costly...Our finances are being drained...I recall in the last Special Convention, we said we'd go for broke in the fight against General Motors, and I say now, that we go for broke again to protect the integrity of our contracts."

The tremendous hostility to Woodcock expressed in this discussion had at its center the question of the locals being forced to go into arbitration resulting from the employers' continual attempt to undermine the contract by increased speedup, neglect of safety conditions and similar issues.

Now the wage freeze and Pay Board is brought in by Nixon to "abrogate" the contracts on the national level while the employers are encouraged to further destroy the integrity of contracts by the Pay Board's tying of wage increases to productivity deals.

This will mean an intensification of the speedup and layoffs that has allowed the Big Three auto makers, for example, to greatly increase their profits since last year's contracts. This has meant the permanent layoff of many workers through closing of "obsolete" plants, while preparations are made for entire new automated plants such as the General Motors, Lordstown Ohio, facility. This will mean a continual attempt to increase the speedup on the new '72 models such as has already occurred at Chrysler.

The attempt by the Pay Board to peg wage increases to productivity which is spelled out in the ruling on the Coal Miners Contract was fully prepared by Woodcock. It is clear that Woodcock made a deal with the Big Three and the Pay Board to allow the employers to step up this drive for speedup in auto and in fact, throughout American industry, in exchange for the Board's "concession" allowing the Big Three to get their scheduled 6%

increase. At the same time, the Big Three will be allowed price increases, allegedly justified by the 6% increase. But they long ago raised their prices and increased productivity in preparation for this wage increase!

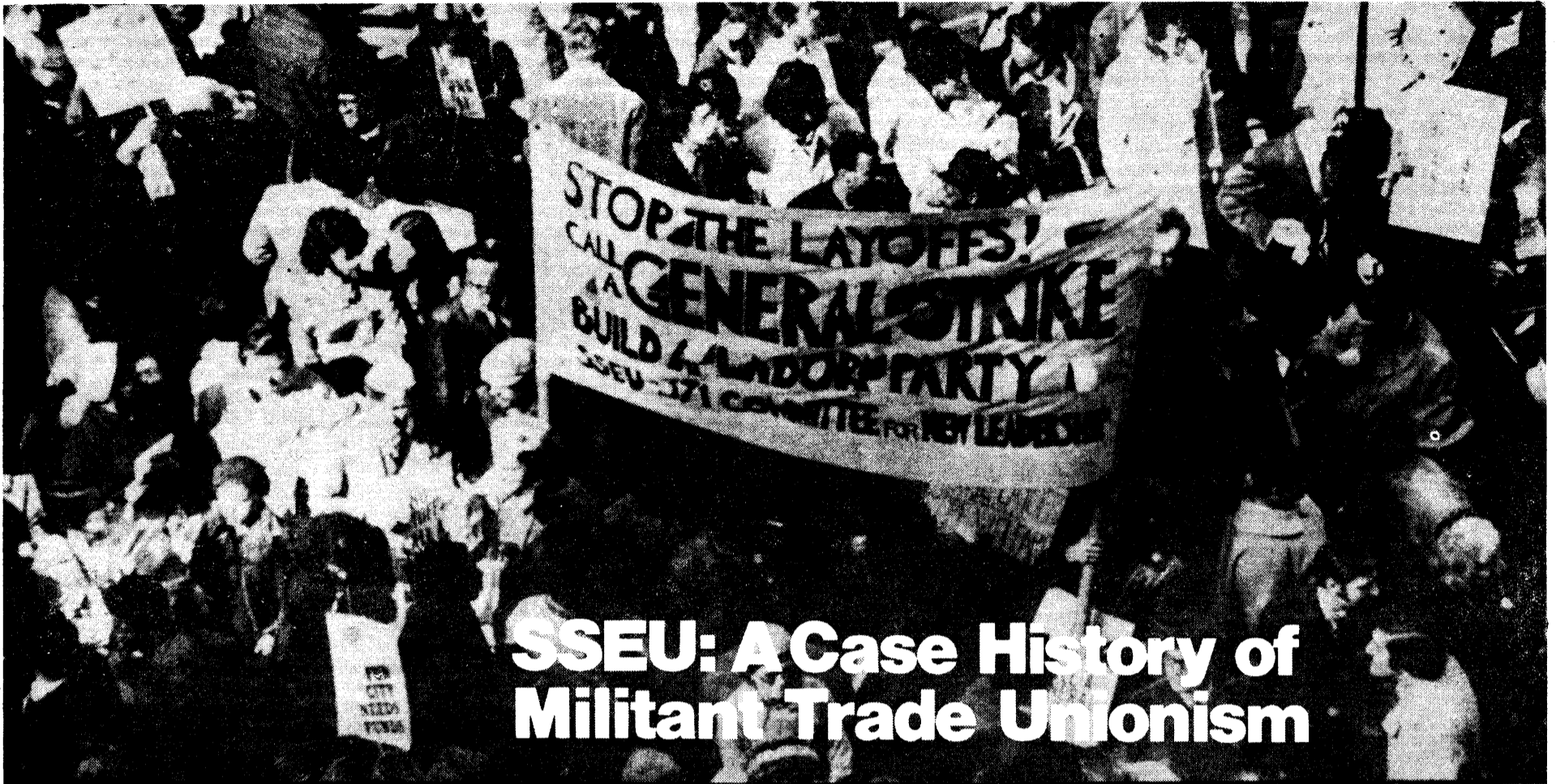
Woodcock brags about this "concession" by the Pay Board as a big victory and an example of the need to stay on the Board. A few more "victories" like this will put the unions out of business altogether.

In every way, we can see that the capitulation to the Pay Board and all the machinery of Nixon's attacks enables the employers to extract more profits by grinding the workers down.

The criminal capitulation of Woodcock to Nixon, aided by the Stalinists, raises the urgent need for defense of the most basic and elementary rights and conditions of the union movement. We must begin with needs and interests of the working class, not the profits of the bosses which are protected in every way possible by the Nixon government and supported entirely by the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. This means that regardless of what may appear to be temporary "concessions," the working class can only defend its own interests and fight for its needs through complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state apparatus. Absolutely no cooperation with wage freezes, Pay Boards and the like!

Secondly, the working class must take steps to use its enormous power to stop Nixon and the Pay Board entirely by calling for a general strike which can force Nixon to back down. This has to be combined with complete political independence. The attacks following Nixon's August 15th speech and the rulings of the Pay Board in Phase II confirm the struggle of the Workers League and the Trotskyist movement over the years for the setting up of a labor party by the unions with support of the unorganized, the unemployed, the students and youth, that will really have the power to stop Nixon in '72.

It is in the framework of this kind of struggle for working class principles carried out by the Marxist movement for 125 years that the Workers League alone has a perspective to build a caucus in the UAW to dump Woodcock and take up the fight in defense of the rank and file.



## SSEU: A Case History of Militant Trade Unionism

### 2 Reorganization and the SSEU

by Dennis O'Casey

WHILE THE SSEU was soundly defeated in the 1967 strike it was not destroyed. Its membership remained intact. What was now required was to learn the lessons of the 1967 defeat so that the struggle could begin to turn this defeat around.

The chief lesson of the 1967 defeat was that independent militant trade unionism had reached a dead end. Simple trade union militancy already from 1965 onward had no longer provided the basis even for the labor movement as a whole to move forward.

From that point real wages were eroded through inflation, the more and more virulent forms of speed-up were introduced, and the government politically intervened against the labor movement with legislation like the Taylor law and OCB. The position of labor as a whole was thus pushed backwards, in spite of sharper and sharper struggles on the picket line.

If labor as a whole was now being pushed back, it was no wonder that the independent SSEU, ten times more vulnerable because of its independence, was defeated. The conclusion that had to be drawn within the SSEU was that the SSEU must return to the mainstream of organized labor by merging with Local 371 and re-affiliating with District Council 37 AFSCME and within this framework confront the political issues facing the entire labor movement.

Merger would mean the creation again of one union in welfare uniting SSEU caseworkers with 371 supervisors and clerks who had crossed SSEU picket lines in the strike. It would give the SSEU an opening to the strength of the organized labor movement, breaking down the isolation that Gotbaum had been able to use against it in the strike. At the same time it would open the road for the SSEU to play a key role in the fight against Gotbaum and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy that now had to be taken up within the labor movement to prepare labor for the political attacks now coming down against it.

The Mage leadership and its revisionist supporters were, however, incapable of learning a single lesson from the 1967 defeat.

#### FIGHT FOR MERGER

It was the supporters of the Workers League in the original Rank and File Committee, who had first raised the question of merger in May of 1967 and who now drew the real lessons of this defeat. They had to battle the Mage leadership and its revisionist supporters for the next 18 months to finally get merger adopted and ratified by the SSEU rank and file.

The roles played by the various opponents of merger, including those who in the course of the fight moved over to the pro-merger camp, is an important case history in the bankruptcy of bureaucracy and revisionism. For 18 months all these forces proceeded to approach the question of merger from completely subjective considerations of their own personal or factional interests, never from the standpoint of principle, from the necessity for the unity of the working class or from the standpoint of how the 1967 defeat was to be overcome.

Leading the opposition to merger was the Mage leadership. Mage had toyed with the idea of some form of affiliation with the labor movement as early as the

second or third week of the 1967 strike. In particular she had toyed with the idea of some affiliation with Barry Feinstein of Teamsters Local 237. Later on Mage supporters toyed with the idea of affiliation with the Fur and Leather Workers.

But this was really a cover for Mage's adamant opposition to merger with Local 371.

When it became clear that merger with any other union than 371 would be an absurdity, perpetuating the divisions within the Department of Social Services, Mage used the terms of autonomy that would be granted the SSEU within such a merger to postpone merger.

Mage opposed merger and affiliation because she had no perspective whatsoever for the tasks confronting the SSEU and the labor movement as a whole. Mage never began with such considerations. She began rather with preserving the SSEU in the image in which she had sought to form it, as something apart and different from the labor movement as a whole, as a quasi-professional organization, as a union for radicals.

Mage and her supporters dreaded nothing more than the thought of merging the ranks of the SSEU into the broad layers of the labor movement which they viewed with the usual contempt of the radical petty bourgeoisie for the working class. The possibility of using the SSEU to mobilize the ranks of DC 37 against Gotbaum was completely alien to Mage's thinking who saw these workers as permanently and hopelessly conservative. The only basis on which Mage would even consider affiliation was by preserving the supposed uniqueness of the SSEU.

All the revisionists and other middle class radicals in the SSEU naturally lined up behind Mage.

First came the Progressive Labor backed rump Rank and File Committee which by now was openly functioning as part of the Mage clique. In early 1968, ten members of the PL-RAFC were summarily expelled for holding pro-merger views as part of a series of wholesale purges that PL was then to carry out against anyone who questioned its policy of unreserved support to the Mage leadership.

Next was the Black Caucus. This completely reactionary excrement, reflecting the pressure of nationalist ideology on the labor movement as a whole in this period, grew up directly out of the 1967 defeat. The SSEU's Black Caucus, in no way interested in any kind of fight against the City, saw in an independent SSEU an excellent arena for replacing white bureaucrats with Black.

Supporters in the union of the Peace and Freedom Party, largely a product of the International Socialist Clubs which was to have considerable voice amongst middle class radicals until the '68 elections, also supported the anti-merger line.

Though more isolated than these others, the force that more than any other set the ideological tone of the anti-merger forces was the Militant Caucus.

The Militant Caucus, a product of the Spartacist League, had long before come to the conclusion that there was no capitalist crisis, that the situation in the unions was one of an immobile bureaucracy and a quiescent rank and file. Starting from this perspective these people ruled out completely any possibility of themselves or anyone else actually leading struggle in the labor movement, of pitting the ranks against the bureaucracy and actually changing the course of the situation.

Instead they held the position that all you could do in the unions was pick off various individuals on the basis of socialist propaganda activity while making formally correct criticisms of the bureaucracy. Work in the unions was viewed as no more than a fishing expedition. As fishing in the more radical waters of the SSEU was better than in most other unions, the Militant Caucus fought for continued independence.

#### THE 1968 ELECTION

The supporters of the Workers League ran an all out battle against Mage and the radicals from September until the officers election of April 1968.

The issue then came to a head in this election. Judy Mage, who by the spring of 1968 began to see the handwriting on the wall in regard to merger, was now to turn over the leadership of the union to Martin Morgenstern, previously Mage's National Coordinator of the National Federation of Social Service Employees Unions. The only terms in which Mage or anybody in Mage's leadership including Morgenstern could conceive of merger was in terms of a complete retreat into the arms of the Gotbaum bureaucracy. As already noted the conception of using the SSEU as a wedge in DC 37 against the bureaucracy was completely alien to Mage's thinking.

Under these conditions Mage simply was not the one needed from the bureaucracy's standpoint for the job ahead. While Mage had abandoned every principle she had ever had, she had none the less been through a certain battle against Gotbaum and others in the DC 37 bureaucracy. A love feast with these elements now was to be more than even Mage could stomach. For this Morgenstern, a foot loose opportunist and careerist who had never heard of the word principle was required.

Mage now carried out the logic of her petty bourgeois radical position leaving the union immediately following the 1968 election and running for political office on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. The last that was heard from Mage was that she was alive and well on the "Ecology Ship" in New York harbor.

While Morgenstern emerged in the SSEU as a reflection of the turn of the union towards merger he did so in a contradictory way, reflecting more than anything else the turn of the SSEU bureaucracy to Gotbaum. In fact, Morgenstern's turn toward Gotbaum far from speeding merger up was now to impede it for almost an entire year.

In the 1968 election campaign Morgenstern's cynicism was unbounded. Morgenstern absolutely refused to take a position one way or the other on merger seeking to conciliate forces on both sides of the question.

In this election supporters of the Workers League ran Dennis Cribben for treasurer on an independent ticket against both the Morgenstern slate and the Militant Caucus.

The Cribben ticket while bringing forward the entire political perspective that the Workers League supporters had been battling for for the last two years centered the campaign on the demand that the SSEU immediately carry through merger with 371 and affiliation with DC 37. Only by immediately merging with 371, even if on unfavorable terms, could the SSEU membership hope to be in a position of strength from which to begin bargaining for the 1969 contract.

In this campaign the completely opportunist and unprincipled character of Progressive Labor and their rump RAFC was exposed more clearly than ever before.



Once again Stalinism, as in the 1966 election, intervened to save the bureaucracy's neck.

The PL led RAFC which had sharply opposed merger up until now suddenly reversed itself, coming out publicly for merger, with the full tacit support of Mage and Morgenstern. The purpose of this turnabout shortly became clear. With Morgenstern refusing to take a stand for merger during the campaign, he needed someone to prevent pro-merger sentiment in the union from being turned into anti-Morgenstern votes, particularly votes for Dennis Cribben.

The PL-RAFC now went into action. While announcing publicly that it was for merger it refused to back Cribben or even run its own slate. Instead it raised the cry that the election was a farce. Morgenstern might be a bureaucrat and an opportunist but his election or non-election was basically irrelevant to the issue of merger, so PL said.

PL then set about organizing hundreds of write in votes for various local delegates and hundreds more for Mickey Mouse turning the election into a kind of carnival. In this way the PL-RAFC dispersing the anti-Morgenstern and pro-merger vote made it possible for Morgenstern to win the election at a time when his popularity in the ranks was at rock bottom.

The criminal role of PL was born out in the election statistics. With 45% of the membership voting, Morgenstern got only 2000 votes in a union of over 6000. Cribben got 500 votes. Clearly had the more than 500 write-ins, and the 3000 uncast votes been channeled against Morgenstern he could have been defeated.

From the beginning of its campaign on merger in September of 1968 Workers League supporters had found tremendous support among the broad sections of the rank and file, who unlike the thin layer of middle class radicals at the top were more permanently dependent upon their jobs in the Department for a livelihood.

The tremendous pro-merger movement in the ranks that continued to grow through and after the election finally forced Morgenstern to come out publicly for merger. In June Morgenstern called a union wide referendum on the merger package that had finally been negotiated with DC 37 and Local 371. In the referendum the rank and file voted by a solid 62% for merger. But while this was a tremendous expression of the support for merger in the rank and file, it fell short of the two thirds vote required for passage.

The task now, of course, was to launch a fight for a new referendum and the additional margin of support needed for passage. But following the June referendum Morgenstern and the PL-RAFC which now became the PL Welfare Club were to play their most criminal role to date.

No sooner had the June referendum failed than Morgenstern and PL simply dropped the issue and gave up the merger fight. Staff for Merger, an unofficial caucus, was set up by Morgenstern for the ostensible purpose of launching a campaign for a new referendum. This committee soon came under the leadership of PL supporter Ray Agostini, the chief opponent of new referendum attempts.

Having dredged up from the Stalinist arsenal the theory of "unity from below," in the early fall PL advanced the position that what was required was not formal merger with 371 but unity in action on the rank and file level. PL used a number of completely isolated and limited work actions at various centers involving caseworkers, supervisors, and clerks as a diversion to attack those who wanted a new referendum. PL claimed that they wanted unity at the top, that is at the bureaucratic level. Without this diversion, one that only the Stalinists could have carried out, Morgenstern and the DC 37 bureaucracy could never have prevented merger for as long as they did.

#### AFFILIATION NOW CAUCUS

By the fall of 1968 it was clear that Morgenstern's refusal to proceed with a new referendum was directly bound up with conscious plans by he and Gotbaum to sell out the 1969 contract. Already throughout the spring and summer of 1968 Morgenstern and PL, while refusing to fight for a new referendum, consistently used the isolation of the SSEU to justify their betrayal of the struggle breaking out in the centers against the intolerable workload. Morgenstern now delayed merger hoping to use the union's continued isolation to justify a sellout of the contract in 1969.

Against this retreat the supporters of the Workers League now launched the Affiliation Now Caucus to take forward the fight for a new merger referendum. The Affiliation Now Caucus launched a massive petition campaign gathering the signatures of 20% of the membership required to force the leadership to call a special membership meeting to reconsider merger and set a new merger referendum date.

This membership meeting was held October 31, 1968. At the meeting a majority voted to reopen the merger question, defeating the anti-merger forces. Agostini, acting on behalf of Morgenstern, attempted to sabotage this victory by putting forward and carrying out a resolution that would refer the question of a new referendum back to the union's executive committee. But the momentum built up by the campaign of the Affiliation Now Caucus and the solid vote at this meeting to reconsider merger turned the tide forcing Morgenstern to act on the issue. A January 10th referendum date was set. In

the last days before the referendum most of the opportunists who like the Black Caucus, feared being caught on the losing side came over to a "yes" position. The referendum was then carried by a whopping 79%.

While Morgenstern and his supporters of course took the credit for this victory, the record shows that it was in fact only the principled eighteen month battle against Morgenstern and the revisionists on both sides of the issue by supporters of the Workers League that brought merger about.

#### REORGANIZATION THREATENS SSEU

No sooner was the merger completed than the SSEU was confronted with the gravest threat in its entire history, reorganization. Reorganization was in the first instance the reflection within the Department of Social Services in New York City of the whole new stage reached internationally in the crisis of world capitalism and the offensive of the capitalists against the working class that this required. If it was necessary for the City to defeat the SSEU in 1967, now the development of the capitalist crisis meant that a wholesale liquidation of jobs and an outright smashing of the SSEU together with the trade union movement as a whole was now required.

The surfacing of this crisis in 1967 and 1968 with the devaluation of the British pound and the May-June events in France forced the capitalist class to go over in every country to the creation of mass unemployment, wage freezing, and anti-union legislation of all kinds while preparing for openly dictatorial forms of rule, civil war and fascism just beneath the surface.

Reorganization, with its objective of reducing Public Welfare jobs nationally from 200,000 to 60,000, was brought forward first by Johnson and later by Nixon as part of this international offensive against the working class. It was a reflection of this offensive within one particular segment of the working class, viz., workers in Public Welfare.

What was involved in this scheme as it was introduced within the New York City Department of Social Services was a productivity agreement between the SSEU and the City. In return for the union's abandonment of all control of workload and job specifications, in particular its abandonment of the 60 caseload and in return for its agreement to allow attrition to eliminate 9,000 jobs in the Department, the City was willing to make monetary compensation in the form of various reorganization bonuses.

In short, wage hikes were now to become tied to Union agreements that would mean unprecedented speed-up, and would, either through attrition or layoff, swell the army of unemployed.

What was in fact involved was the same reactionary rationale now brought forward nationally as the basis for wage hikes under Phase II. Reorganization was in fact a precursor to the productivity policies which the capitalist class is now trying to impose on the American working class as a whole.

Today under Phase II American workers are being told that the only basis for exceptions to the 5.5% wage ceiling imposed by Nixon's Pay Board is for them to enter into productivity agreements whereby thousands of workers will be thrown onto the unemployment lines and those remaining will be sped up at an incredible pace. This was the essence of the City's reorganization scheme. The so-called "separation" of income maintenance and services functions of welfare staff has been merely the form the particular scheme has taken up until the present time.

The supporters of the Workers League who now changed the name of their caucus to the Committee for a New Leadership completely opposed this plan basing themselves on the fight for Marxist principle against Hill and the revisionists. The CNL held that what was involved in reorganization was part and parcel of the attempt by capitalism in the United States to foist its crisis on the back of the American labor movement. The CNL held that to agree to this scheme was nothing more than a matter of the union's collaboration with the government's drive to impose mass unemployment on the American working class to smash the unions.

The CNL opposed in particular the demagogic arguments whipped up by the Hill leadership and the City that the union had responsibility to support reorganization in order to reform the decrepit welfare system.

The CNL said that neither the union nor its members had any responsibility whatsoever for the crisis in which capitalism now found itself, nor capitalism's decaying welfare system. We said that the issue in the Department was not a question of reform of the welfare system but a fight of class against class. The CNL held that the responsibility of the union extended exclusively to a fight against the employer on wages and conditions as part of a political fight through the struggle for the labor party to smash up and replace the rotting capitalist system.

The CNL held further that any attempt to involve the union in patching up the system represented a reformist acceptance of capitalism and must inevitably lead the union and its members into a participation in their own exploitation and eventual layoff.

In short, the CNL fought from the standpoint of basic Marxist principles, for the complete independence of the working class from the capitalist class, for no compromise with capitalism's rotting state

apparatus and instead for an all out collision with the capitalists aimed at the conquest of power by the working class and its replacement with a workers government and socialism.

The Hill bureaucracy and Gotbaum proceeded on the other hand from a pragmatic acceptance of capitalism and acceptance of its crisis. They took the position that the SSEU must accept reorganization and work within it.

This position was in no way different from the position that is now taken by the labor bureaucracy as a whole on Nixon's Pay Board. All these bureaucrats to a man accept the board and maintain labor must work within it. The point, however, is that once reorganization or the Pay Board is accepted everything is granted to the capitalist class. The union becomes transformed into the agent of the employer acting to discipline and hold back the working class, accepting a framework of struggle which begins not with the needs of the working class but the needs of capitalism. The vicious counterrevolutionary character of such policies lies in the fact that the needs of capitalism are today to drive the working class back to the conditions of the 1930s. The role Hill and Gotbaum play, therefore, in accepting reorganization, just like the role of Meany and company in their present acceptance of the Pay Board, is to collaborate in capitalism's drive to resolve the crisis through the destruction of the labor movement.

PL, continuing to act as Morgenstern's chief bludgeon against the supporters of the Workers League, went so far in the course of this fight, particularly after it set up its so-called Worker-Client Alliance, to say that for welfare workers to be concerned about job security, was not only "economist" but racist. They held that the real issue was not the workers' demands but the City's attack on recipients which they counterposed to the fight by the union membership for jobs, wages, and conditions.

As for the rest of the leadership's arguments the CDC showed that all this talk of better services to the community was so much rubbish cooked up in the social work schools to cover up the City's ruthless attack on staff. The CDC moreover held that precisely because this attack was "mandated" by the Federal government, the fight against it had to be political. In particular the CDC exposed the demagoguery of PL's Worker-Client Alliance pointing out that the attack on recipients was part and parcel of the attack on the working class, an attack which found its central expression in the attack on the unions. The CDC said that outside of the fight to defend the unions, and in Welfare that meant the fight to defend the SSEU from reorganization, there could be no talk of the fight for welfare recipients. Outside of this the fight would be transformed, as in PL's Worker-Client Alliance, into a liberal diversion.

The strength of the support to the CDC's anti-reorganization campaign was revealed at a massive joint membership meeting of SSEU-371 and 1549 clerks, addressed by Victor Gotbaum at Manhattan Center on January 27, 1969. At this meeting a crowd of over 2,000 sat in stunned disbelief as Gotbaum and Morgenstern treated them to empty platitudes and said nothing about a fight to stop reorganization.

When the CDC got the floor it denounced the leadership's retreat and proposed a resolution to the meeting opposing reorganization and job cuts. Speaker after speaker from the CDC got huge ovations from the crowd. Seeing that this motion would surely pass if brought to a vote, Morgenstern suddenly recognized the East End delegate Bill Schleicher, one of the leadership's most notorious syncophants, who proposed a motion for adjournment which Morgenstern then rammed through from the dias forcing the meeting to break up in confusion without a vote.

#### SELLOUT OF THE 1969 CONTRACT

Morgenstern narrowly escaped defeat at this meeting and a subsequent joint meeting where the vote against reorganization was 197-244. He now set about wrapping up the sellout that was being prepared. On February 9th, he presented the membership with a fait accompli in the form of an 'interim agreement' with the City that accepted the City's terms on all the gut issues in return for a sizeable wage hike and two bonuses of \$400 and \$340 respectively to compensate for loss of promotion and overwork. In short for a few hundred dollars per member Morgenstern was selling away all the rights SSEU members had previously won.

Between the February 'interim agreement' and the actual ratification of the contract in June the CDC waged an all out struggle in the centers and in delegate assembly and membership meetings for a "no" vote on the contract as part of a strategy to turn the SSEU and the District Council around on this issue. Nevertheless the clear determination of Morgenstern and his revisionist backers to refuse to lead any struggle even if confronted with a "no" vote made it possible for Morgenstern to carry the June 6th contract referendum. The CDC was able, nevertheless, to mobilize a sizeable "no" vote of 875 against 3300 for the settlement.

The fight against the contract by no means ended just because the contract was signed. The struggle against this contract broke out sharply around the issue of excess caseloads which by the fall of '69 had again reached 80. The CDC, which became the Committee for New Leadership, was now to lead a whole series

of struggles against Morgenstern on this and related issues like the liquidation of the Hospital Care Investigator title and the backpay owed staff by the City. The struggle led by the CNL on backpay in the fall of '69 was instrumental not only in securing the money owed staff but in raising the confidence of the ranks in their ability to successfully take on the City.

The CNL now sought to turn the strength built up in the back pay victory directly towards a fight to reopen the 1969 contract on the reorganization and workload issues. Tremendous pressure was now on Morgenstern from the ranks particularly on the workload issue. Finally on December 22 Morgenstern called a mass membership meeting at which Gotbaum spoke. At this meeting Morgenstern and Gotbaum proposed a strike referendum for January 23rd unless the City agreed to limit the caseload to 75 or negotiated some other acceptable arrangement. The CNL now sought to bring the real issues to a head by proposing an amendment that called for reopening the contract and renegotiating it on the basis of a 60 caseload and no more reorganization. The CNL amendment got 40% of the vote before Morgenstern's main motion was carried.

The only opposition to the strike referendum came from the PL backed Worker-Client Alliance which now

course of the campaign Hill refused to take any stand whatsoever against reorganization or attrition. He made demagogic appeals on the job security issue while Morgenstern stood pat on his record insisting that job security was no issue at all.

On this basis Hill rallied 45% of the vote to Morgenstern's 46% in the first balloting. The CNL ran nearly a full slate headed by Dennis Cribben around the demands for a halt to reorganization in the experimental centers, renegotiation of the contract on the basis of a 60 caseload and on the political perspective centering on the labor party it had fought for all along.

While the Cribben slate was undercut by the split in the bureaucracy it emerged in the election with five to six percent of the vote and therefore held the balance of power in the runoff election that now had to take place.

The CNL came out for a vote for Hill in the runoff. The CNL explained very clearly in a leaflet to the ranks, to the 5% to 6% that had voted CNL, that Hill was just as much a betrayer of the ranks as Morgenstern. The CNL held, however, that the Hill vote reflected that section of the union that wanted to fight. It was necessary to use this section to drive Morgenstern out and place Hill in office to expose him for what he really was. It

"For whom are they really working? Whom does their splitting and disruption serve? Their basic approach is that the main fire should be directed against those in the labor movement who follow a progressive course on the grounds that their achievements of some success and reforms 'absorb' what they call the 'revolutionary' spirit. This of course makes them objectively in accord with George Meany who hates the progressive union leaders and finds the Trotskyist anti-Soviet line most pleasing."

Morris' attack amounts to a completely unprincipled slander on all accounts.

The trade union bureaucracy, whether of the "progressive" or Meany variety, like the Stalinist bureaucracy which Morris represents, is first and foremost a privileged social strata within the working class. This strata begins at every point from the standpoint of its privileges and the defense of capitalism upon which the maintenance of these privileges are based.

If in the period of the boom one wing of the trade union bureaucracy appeared to play a more progressive and militant role, the development of the present crisis, posing the necessity of the working class taking up a revolutionary fight against capitalism, draws all sections of the bureaucracy together in sharp opposition to such a revolutionary struggle.

This is the significance of the situation where George Meany is actually more critical of the Pay Board than Leonard Woodcock, who Morris and the CP have supported as part of the "progressive" wing of the labor bureaucracy.

Stan Hill is no exception. Hill has openly refused to break with Gotbaum while Gotbaum stands as a firm supporter of Meany's role on the Pay Board. Hill has refused to break with Gotbaum, Wurf and Meany. He will not demand that Meany get off the Board or call for general strike action against the Board.

What this shows is that it is precisely those who support one wing of the bureaucracy claiming that this is the way to fight the other wing that end up in support of the policies of the bureaucracy as a whole. It is Morris and his party who back up Meany through the so-called lefts in the labor bureaucracy.

The same must be said for his slanders of Trotskyism being anti-Soviet and his attempt to amalgamate our hostility to the Kremlin bureaucracy with Meany's support for the U.S. State Department. Just as we do not identify the labor bureaucracy with the labor movement so we do not identify the bureaucracy which rules the Soviet countries with the workers states. In fact it is our position that the main internal enemy to the workers states is precisely the sellout bureaucrats like Kosygin and Brezhnev who sacrifice the security of the Soviet countries in deals with the imperialists. It is the Stalinists who seek to compromise with the U.S. State Department while we seek to defend the workers of the world through revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Today the Stalinists seek to tie the rank and file rebellions in the unions to the bosses through the medium of a "left" labor bureaucracy. What must be done to defend the working class today is to break the working class from all sections of the bureaucracy and to construct a new leadership in a completely independent way. There is only one movement which can do this and that is the Trotskyist movement, precisely because Trotskyism has been able to develop Marxism against Stalinism which has distorted it and utilized these distortions to break the independent movement of the class. This is why only the Workers League can carry forward this fight in the unions. This is of course why Morris attacks us.

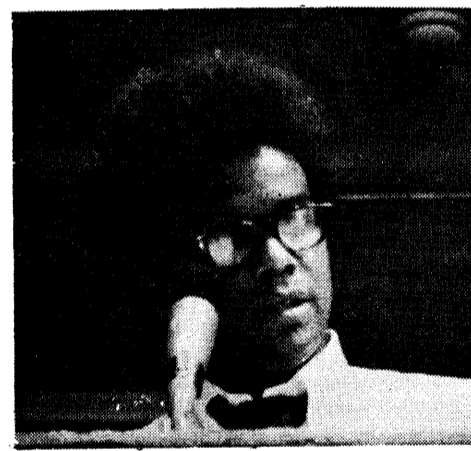
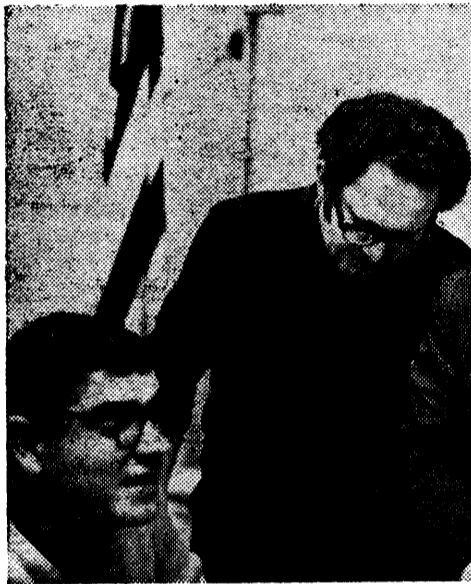
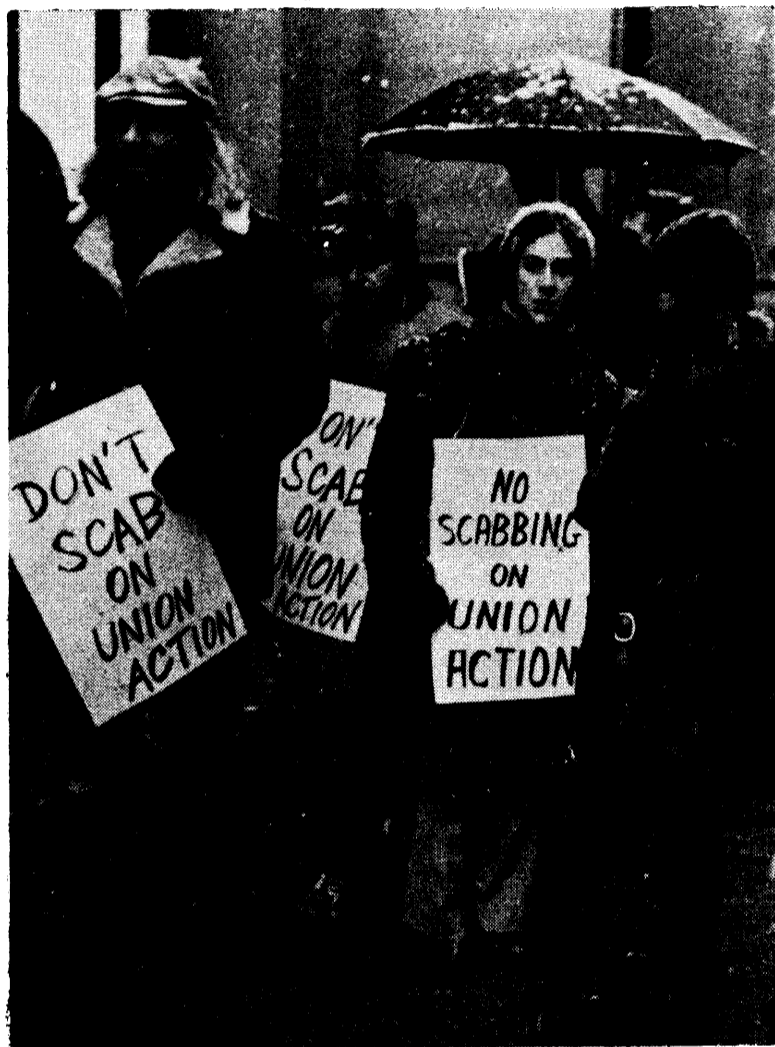
By the fall of 1970 the warning of the Workers League supporters that Lindsay's attrition scheme was only the preparation for layoffs was now born out. If the political and economic basis for compromise between Lindsay and City labor had been coming apart since 1967 as part of break up of reformism nationally, this process had now reached the breaking point in New York City.

#### BATTLE AGAINST REORGANIZATION

In October Lindsay suddenly announced that the financial crisis in which the City found itself would require not only payless paydays and a job freeze, but layoffs. Lindsay likewise ran a vicious day in-day out press campaign against the City unions making it clear that there were to be no wage hikes for police, firemen or welfare workers without huge concessions by the unions in the productivity area.

While Hill, Gotbaum and other City labor leaders tried to slough off these threats as only so much bargaining rhetoric from the City, Lindsay suddenly laid off 500 City workers on November 19th. This was the first time New York City employees had been laid off since the great depression of the 1930s.

With the City's plans out in the open the CNL took up the fight against Hill throughout the fall of 1970 and the spring of 1971 aimed at preparing to insure the job security of staff in the 1971 contract in the only way this could be done, by throwing out the whole job cutting reorganization scheme. The CNL fought around a program of demands for a 40% wage hike, for restoration of the 60 caseload in unreorganized centers, establishment of an 80 to one client-worker ratio in the reorganized sector and for the end of earmarking and transfers.



Demonstration last winter against reorganization of welfare centers (left). Top right, Victor Gotbaum and Martin Morgenstern. Lower right, Stanley Hill, now president of SSEU-371.

became an example of idealism and petty bourgeois revolutionism gone mad. At this meeting Gotbaum for the first time actually pledged his support to SSEU strike plans. PL, rather than grabbing hold of this and using it like the CNL in an attempt to throw out the sellout 1969 contract, simply booed Gotbaum and denounced the strike plans as "racist." The real issue they said was to build a Worker-Client Alliance. In the floor debate these people broke into frenzied chanting in unison from the speakers line.

The evolution of PL from its position of silent partner of the SSEU bureaucracy to frenzied proponent of the Worker-Client Alliance utterly exposed them as open opponents of the struggle of the working class. This was shortly to reduce PL's usefulness to the bureaucracy. Its role in the SSEU was in fact soon to be eclipsed by the Communist Party which was to emerge in the April election as the major force behind the Hill leadership.

In the meantime the strike referendum was no sooner set than Morgenstern began to sabotage it through total inaction. Then at the January 21 membership meeting a deal whereby members would continue to work on unlimited caseloads in return for an overwork bonus of \$720 for 1970 was presented. The CNL fought bitterly for a yes vote in the February 9 strike referendum that followed. In the course of this fight it mobilized a vote of 836 for strike action to 3231 against.

#### THE HILL LEADERSHIP

Morgenstern's betrayal combined with the growing fear that swept the ranks with the introduction of reorganization in three centers in March of 1970 now backfired on him setting the stage for his defeat in the April election.

In this election Stanley Hill, Morgenstern's first vice president, who had stood with Morgenstern on every major issue before the union since the day he became an officer suddenly split with a section of the Morgenstern leadership and together with supporters of the Communist Party threw up an alternative slate. In the

was necessary to break down the illusions in him to prepare the real alternative to Morgenstern represented by the CNL. In spite of the tacit support to Morgenstern given by the PL backed Agostini slate and by the Militant Caucus whose abstention in the runoff only fed the Morgenstern forces, the Stan Hill slate won, driving Morgenstern and the strong Gotbaum supporters on his slate from office.

As the CNL had predicted the treacherous character of the Hill leadership and its Stalinist backers was soon exposed. Hill betrayed the ranks on the issue of a departmental time and motion study the very week after his election. This was followed by the sellout of a series of local work actions on overwork that took place during the summer of 1971. In August even the delegates assembly came out in rebellion against Hill and passed a motion which initiated a citywide casedumping over Hill's head. In spite of a 12-1 membership referendum in favor of the action, Hill first openly encouraged scabbing on the action and then sold it out. But this was only the warm up for the much bigger betrayal to come on the 1971 contract.

Stalinist commentator George Morris in his pamphlet, *Rebellion in the Unions, a Handbook for Rank and File Action*, an apology throughout for the so-called liberal wing of the trade union bureaucracy, viciously denounces the Workers League for having the audacity to attack Stan Hill. Morris says:

"Another example (of the role of Trotskyism in the unions—D.O.C.) was the Bulletin of the Workers League that on May 25, 1970 carried a story headlined 'Hill Betrays SSEU Ranks in First Week of Office.' Hill was the newly elected president of Social Service Employees Union, Local 371, one of the most progressive units of District Council 37 State, County and Municipal Employees, New York. The story showered slanders like traitor against the young Black president who had been in office for only a week."

Then Morris continues with the most venomous slander:

The CNL insisted above all that the fight for the 1971 contract must be rooted in the fight to bring forward the united force of the entire City labor movement against Lindsay.

From January until April the Hill leadership stalled, evaded and compromised with the City in every way it could, constantly acceding to the ranks' demands for a fight only to drop the fight at the last minute before a scheduled showdown. Throughout this period the CNL, which first fought for no contract, no work and then waged a successful battle to prevent the City from implementing full reorganization before the '71 contract was signed, warned that delays and retreats were only strengthening the City's hand and increasing the danger of layoffs.

Then on April 15th, a membership meeting was held. This was one day after a massive 1500 strong SSEU-371 demonstration at City Hall and one day after the firemen's rejection of their latest contract offer. Hill and Gotbaum pushed through an agreement to give the City an indefinite bargaining hiatus as it requested to reconsider their general bargaining position.

The CNL fought against this retreat insisting that the firemen's rejection should now be followed up by the SSEU's planned strike action which should be aimed at shutting down all City labor. The CNL said that to allow the City to regain the offensive now would lead to layoffs. The CNL's warning was born out within days. On April 21st Lindsay announced his intention to layoff up to 90,000 City workers, one quarter of the City work force. He actually laid off 2800 on that date. Within weeks Lindsay moved in addition to layoff 266 provisional SSEU-371 caseworkers and threatened that more would immediately follow.

The CNL now took up the battle to meet the City's escalation of this struggle by bringing forward a general strike of all City labor relating this to the need for labor now to break once and for all with its Democratic and Republican attackers and launch a labor party.

After a series of initial defeats the initiative of the CNL resulted in the passing of a motion in the SSEU-371 Delegates Assembly which mandated Hill to come out with a public demand that the DC-37 leadership call a general strike against these layoffs to coincide with the statewide strike of 150,000 state employees to protest the layoff of 8200 state workers scheduled for June 16th.

While Hill went through a few of the formalities mandated by this vote he was totally hostile to this perspective and fought to sabotage it from the outset. Hill was aided in this by his Stalinist supporters who provided him with a left cover by themselves organizing token demonstrations at Gotbaum's office while refusing to demand Hill take up the general strike call in the District Council in an official capacity.

How removed Hill and the Stalinists were from the situation that was actually developing was then sharply exposed when Gotbaum himself, in the face of the State Legislature's refusal to pass the DC 37 pension negotiating the previous year, was now himself to call the general strike.

On the morning of June 7th the ruling class of New York City woke up to find 28 of the city's 29 drawbridges raised and heavy vehicles stalled on the other major arteries leading into the city. In the three days that followed larger and larger sections of the District Council came into the strike, that now threatened to spread to all City labor as Lindsay and Rockefeller prepared to call out the national guard.

#### GOTBAUM BETRAYS GENERAL STRIKE

From the first day of the strike the CNL took up the fight in the centers to bring the SSEU into the strike. Local chapter meetings were organized and petitions sent off to the Hill leadership on this demand. Hill and his Stalinist supporters, however, would not be moved. In this way they played a decisive role in making it possible for Gotbaum to sell out the strike on June 9th. There was wide opposition to Gotbaum's sellout in DC 37. Had the SSEU come into the strike and had Hill spoken up in the DC 37 Delegates Assembly meeting, the potential for stopping the sellout and for extending the strike to shut down the entire City would have been tremendous. Within this framework Lindsay's offensive against now only the SSEU but all of City labor could have been handed a fundamental setback.

The sellout of the general strike action, halted the forward motion of the city unions and set the stage for the City, the DC 37 bureaucracy, and Hill to sellout the 1971 SSEU contract.

All the threads of the rotten deal that had been in the making between Hill and the City for the last six months were now drawn together. The contract that was now presented centered on the so-called "Sugarman" reorganization scheme, or as it was otherwise known, "instant reorganization."

Under this plan the original "Goldberg" reorganization scheme was modified such that 3,000 caseworkers and supervisors would now be transferred into clerical income maintenance jobs on a supposedly temporary basis. Meanwhile the remaining 3,000 caseworkers and supervisors would become subject to transfer out of the Welfare centers and into neighborhood storefronts and other so-called "community service projects." The plan was, of course, a complete fraud aimed at wiping out almost instantaneously the entire complement of social service staff.

The 3,000 transferred or "earmarked" into clerical slots were not only to suffer speedup at an unbelievable rate but became subject under to terms of the contract to immediate layoffs when welfare was federalized under Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. As for those who were to be shunted into the new service programs the City's clear intent is to place these workers in an antagonistic relationship with existing community organizations to provoke struggles like those that broke out with the teachers over the issue of community control. In this way the City hopes to drive workers out and break the union.

In return for this complete abandonment of the last vestiges of the gains built up by the ranks since the union's founding, Hill negotiated a measly 9% to 10% wage hike for each year of a three year contract. The CNL now launched the final phase of the battle to stop this sellout. At a series of membership meetings and delegate assembly meetings that now took place the CNL initiative taken in these meetings again came very close to stopping Hill dead in his tracks. But Hill now whipped up a big strike scare hysteria, in this way using the City's threat that layoffs would come down immediately if the SSEU didn't accept the contract and relying heavily upon sections of the union outside the actual Welfare centers Hill pushed the '71 contract through against a 20% CNL led opposition.

The passage of the 1971 contract struck a powerful blow against the SSEU membership. Unlike the 1969 contract the ratification of the 1971 contract now led directly to the implementation of reorganization throughout the Department.

At the same time this is only one side of the story. While the City has introduced reorganization the 6,000 to 12,000 workers it seeks to remove from the City payroll are yet to be removed.

More important yet the struggle which is now on the agenda over these jobs between the union and City now coincides with the all out battle opened by Nixon's speech on August 15 between the government and the labor movement as a whole.

This is, in fact, the key to the whole situation. The devaluation of the dollar and the institution of a wage freeze in the United States by the Nixon government on August 15th marks the full scale entry of world capitalism into a new period of anarchy, crisis, and revolutionary upsurge that will go way beyond anything known in the 1930s.

The period of relative class compromise during the period of the postwar economic boom is gone forever. On the contrary when George Meany stated that Nixon's freeze represented a step towards fascism, this expressed the stark reality of the present situation.

At the same time the very fact that Nixon is now forced to go on the offensive against the labor movement as a whole taking on not just government employees but striking out directly at all workers, provides for the SSEU a new basis upon which the struggle against the attack on the union can now be brought forward.

The reality of the situation is that under Phase II virtually every union in the country is being hit with a wage freeze scheme that ties wages to productivity in essence identical to the Reorganization scheme imposed against the SSEU. Reorganization is now, in short, a national issue confronting the labor movement as a whole. This poses very sharply and clearly the task now before the SSEU. The SSEU has now got to exploit the full potential of this situation by going all out to take the lead in mobilizing the whole of the labor movement in a fight to smash Phase II.

While the SSEU, thanks to the bureaucracy, has itself been defeated on the reorganization question, the fact that this defeat has occurred only at the point where the whole working class is now confronted with the same attacks, opens to the SSEU the great possibility, if it takes a lead in moving the labor movement in throwing back this attack on a national scale, of reversing the offensive within the Department of Social Services against the SSEU membership.

It is this that is central. Only by rooting its fight against the speedup and efforts to lay off workers in the Department in the movement of the whole American working class against Phase II can the SSEU now resolve its own crisis. This is why the CNL is in an all out battle against Gotbaum and Hill to gain acceptance in the SSEU and carry into the labor movement as a whole a program based on the following:

1. Drive Meany off the Pay Board and for no cooperation by labor with this Board in any form.
2. For defiance of the freeze by every union and a policy of "no contract, no work" by the SSEU unless all raises now due January 1st are forthcoming in full.
3. For a nationwide general strike to smash the freeze to continue until the entire wage freeze package is withdrawn.
4. For a break by labor from the Democratic and Republican Parties and the launching of a labor party for the '72 elections.

The program around which the CNL fights today is a continuation of the same principled battle it has conducted for the past five years under conditions where the issues which it fought out in the SSEU previously are now posed sharply to the labor movement as a whole. The most important principled question upon which the CNL fight has been based is that the fight in the labor movement is above all a political

fight whose objective is the conquest by the working class of political power. It was this question sharply posed by the CNL's fight for a labor party that drew the line between it on the one side and the bureaucracy and its revisionist supporters on the other.

The fight for the labor party becomes absolutely essential. There is no other way forward for the American working class. All those in the labor movement like the leaders of the SSEU who had differentiated themselves from the right wing sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy on the basis of a more militant trade union policy before 1967 but refused to face up to the political tasks posed since then have been transformed from trade union militants into trade union bureaucrats and betrayers of the rank and file. The history of the SSEU is indeed a case history of the dead end of simple trade union militancy in a period when the capitalist class is no longer willing or able to make the concessions upon which this militancy was based.

What is involved in the labor party question and what is now posed to the SSEU and all of American labor is the transformation of the movement of the American working class into a political movement whose objective is the conquest of political power.

The CNL alone fought at every stage in the development of the SSEU for the labor party perspective. It was the precursor to the CNL, the original RAFC, that fought PL for this perspective. It was the CNL which fought against Morgenstern's endorsement of Paul O'Dwyer for local office in 1968. It was the CNL who in the 1968 presidential elections fought to get the union to call for a vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates Halstead and Boutelle moving this endorsement. At a meeting where this was raised PL voted against the motion and the SWP supporters present abstained on the endorsement of their own candidate. It was the CNL that fought for the labor party against Gotbaum's and Hill's endorsement to Lindsay in the 1969 election and to Goldberg and Paterson in 1970.

Today the leadership of the SSEU like its bureaucratic counterparts throughout the labor bureaucracy stands completely bankrupt on every question, whether it is reorganization, the wage freeze or collaboration with the capitalist parties.

At the last general membership of the SSEU on the eve of Phase II the Hill leadership and its CP supporters virtually shut down the meeting to prevent a vote on a CNL resolution against the wage freeze and for a labor party.

#### BUILDING A NEW LEADERSHIP

The whole question of the defense of the SSEU is the question of leadership. The fate of the SSEU rank and file now completely depends upon the construction of Marxist leadership that is prepared to take up the revolutionary tasks with which the SSEU and the labor movement as a whole are now confronted. The construction of such a leadership is no automatic process. The SSEU can be destroyed.

In fact the crisis of the Hill leadership is now producing a strong movement among the most right wing forces in and around the Hill bureaucracy. The former supporters of Morgenstern are clearly working in the SSEU as Gotbaum's personal agents. These forces are now seeking to pass constitutional amendments aimed at wiping out the modicum of democracy that still exists in the SSEU. Their objective is to oust Hill in the 1972 officers election and to institute the kind of bureaucratic regime in the SSEU which will paralyze it before the City's attacks and destroy it as a point of opposition to Gotbaum within DC 37.

At the same time this movement is a direct response by Gotbaum to the much stronger movement of the SSEU rank and file against him and the conscious lead this has been given by the CNL. The potential today for a CNL leadership in the SSEU has never been better. The instrumentality for this is the fight for principle upon which the CNL and its predecessors have based themselves since 1966.

In taking up the fight for merger, the labor party, the general strike and the fight against reorganization, the CNL has not just been reacting to surface developments but fighting for the fundamental principles of the working class movement. It has been consciously preparing and guiding the struggle since 1966 from the standpoint of the revolutionary situation that would soon confront the working class and which today it now faces. This is what the fight for principle is all about. This fight now begins to find a huge support in the movement of the SSEU ranks.

At the same time all those from the bureaucracy to its revisionist supporters who based themselves on reformism, the illusion that there was no crisis, that things could continue to be worked out on the basis of compromise as in the 50's and early 60's are now thrown into the greatest crisis. The Hill leadership in spite of its CP backing is falling apart at the seams. PL once a great power in the SSEU is all but defunct.

The CNL's perspective is to now take full advantage of the new situation by launching the most ambitious drive ever to win the SSEU officers election in April 1972. This will open the door to fulfill the perspective posed by the CNL from the day it took up the fight for merger. It means carrying out the perspective that was really evaded in 1962 of using the SSEU as a battering ram against the bureaucracy in District Council 37 and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy at large and stopping the destruction of the SSEU.

# FILMS

TOM GORDON



**JOE HILL**, a Bo Widerberg film. Written and directed by Bo Widerberg. With Tommy Berggren, Anja Schmidt, Kelvin Malave. A Paramount release.

Who was Joe Hill? What was his role in the International Workers of the World (IWW, or "Wobblies"), and what role did they play in the class struggle? It is impossible to find out any of this from Bo Widerberg's latest film, which substitutes lyrical appearance—lush color, soft focus, a great distance from his subject—for the harsh violence of the class struggle.

Little is known about Joe Hill. He was born in Sweden in 1879, christened Joel Haglund, his father a railroad worker and amateur organist. Joe came to the U.S. in 1902 and worked at many odd jobs. He joined the IWW in San Pedro, California in 1910. The IWW was five years old.

Joe Hill was one of many IWW songwriters and poets, which numbered among them James Connell (author of "The Red Flag"), Richard Brazier, Ralph Chaplin, Laura Payne Emerson, and others. All were active in the trade union work and free speech fights of the IWW. Joe Hill was also a cartoonist, and contributed articles to the IWW's *Industrial Worker* and to the *International Socialist Review*.

The strength of the IWW was in its break from the conservative class collaborationism and craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor, and in its call for the uncompromising struggle against the employing class. It advocated industrial unionism and the general strike as the strategy towards overthrowing capitalism.

None of this comes through in Widerberg's film.

The opening scenes of the film of Joe's arrival in New York, make even the most horrifying slums in the city look beautiful—all blue, often wet with rain, and gen-

erally colorful. The only harsh reality is of shots of actual Bowery bums, who seem very out of place amidst all this misty beauty, sunlit days, etc.

Widerberg takes great efforts to place Hill in a human, not a class context. Thus we are treated to many encounters with an Italian street urchin, Joe's search for his lost brother, scenes of listening to opera with a working girl on the fire escape of the opera house. We see nothing of the docks, the sweatshops, the terrible mills of New Jersey. There are glimpses of workers living in cellars and of poverty in the streets but it is all as if in a dream.

Widerberg portrays Joe's motivations as purely personal. Joe goes wandering off across the country, as many workers still did in those days, in search not for work, but for his brother, with an old hobo. He literally stumbles across some IWW men hopping off a freight train and attends one of their free speech fights in a small town. He wanders on to San Pedro and joins the IWW. He begins composing songs as a gimmick for getting around laws against speeches but not music.

The climax of the film is Joe's arrest and trial for murder of a Salt Lake City grocer and his son, in 1914. The murder was committed by two red-masked men just after a successful IWW strike against the Utah Construction Co., in which Joe was active. The strike is not shown in the film.

The trial of Joe Hill was obviously a frameup from beginning to end, arranged by the courts with strong pressure from the Mormon Church and the bourgeois press behind it. Joe at first preferred to treat the trial as a personal matter and

On the night of the murders, Joe Hill appeared with a gunshot wound at the home of Dr. Frank McHugh. The doctor treated him. Joe explained he was shot in a quarrel over a woman and wanted to keep it quiet. The doctor told the police; Joe was arrested and charged with murdering the grocer. All other suspects were then released.

always insisted that he would not give the name of the woman the argument was about. He never did. The IWW defense committee, however, saw the case properly as being political and took up a mass defense campaign among the IWW unions, the So-

cialist Party, and AFL craft unions, and appealed to President Wilson and the Swedish government to intercede.

Hill himself, after an appeal for a retrial was refused, began to change. He had firmly believed that he could get justice, and now he determined to fight to the death for the principle of justice. This was why he refused to give an alibi or witnesses for his behavior on the night of the murder. He wrote to his defense committee:

"My life is a drop in the bucket, but there is a principle involved in this case. And to be honest, I don't want to lie down as long as we have the least fighting chance."

In his speech to the Utah Board of Pardons, appealing for a new trial, Joe said: "...I didn't think it was necessary to prove my innocence. I always thought a man was presumed to be innocent until he was convicted..."

The appeals were futile. Joe Hill was shot on November 19, 1915.

Widerberg's treatment of the last days of Joe Hill, because of his sentimental approach to his character, is a virtual slander on this militant. Refusing to take up the class issues raised at the trial, refusing to treat the defense campaign as central for arming the working class against further repressions, Widerberg must turn Joe into a snivelling fool in an appeal to our sympathy.

Thus he puts in completely false scenes of Joe screaming out in terror, of begging the jailer not to give him a chance to escape, of him crying in agony as he is dragged to his execution in the prison yard. This is at complete variance with the several eyewitness reports of Joe's last days which tell of his "natural sense of humor," his "absolute lack of nervousness," etc.

The Widerberg film is a lamentable distortion of the life of a militant worker. Today with the frameup of Juan Farinas upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals, with Ruchell Magee on trial for murder of a judge who was apparently killed by police in the Marin County shootout, the highest function a film on Joe Hill could have is to arm workers and youth against the courts and the government. Widerberg has abandoned this responsibility.

# THEATRE

AL BERENSON

**MARY STUART**, by Fredrich von Schiller. Starring Salome Jens and Nancy Marchand.

The crisis of capitalism has deepened so drastically that it leaves its imprint even on stage performances of a two century old play which deals with the conflict of 16th century Queens.

Fredrich von Schiller's *Mary Stuart* opened last week at the Vivian Beaumont Theater in Lincoln Center under speculation that its run might be quite short. This rumor had nothing to do with the value of the production, however, but with the fact that the theater itself might have to close down shortly.

Budget cuts have affected the center, whose costs are becoming increasingly hard to bear for the Lincoln Center Board. The Library for the Performing Arts research divisions have been partially closed down and the next institution to suffer is the Vivian Beaumont. The bourgeoisie is now in a position where it cannot afford its past prodigalities.

The conflict of *Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scotland with Elizabeth Tudor, Queen of England was one of great importance in the entire historical development of England after the Anglican reformation.

Mary, a Catholic, had been deposed in her native Scotland after bloodily trying to reinstate Catholicism, and after having scandalized the nation by her intrigues,

which resulted in the murder of her husband and her eventual flight to England. There she immediately began to lay claims to the English throne, in which she was supported by the most reactionary powers of Europe and by a vast sector of the nation, which refused to recognize Henry the Eighth's marriages following his divorce of Katherine of Aragon.

Elizabeth was a direct product of the Reformation. The daughter of Ann Boleyn, her legitimacy to the throne was contested by the Papacy and its chief support, Hapsburg Spain. Elizabeth came to represent the rising English bourgeoisie which had profited from the Reformation and which was now expanding its power through trade and commerce in the New World, traditionally dominated by Spain.

Phillip II of Spain sought to counter this growing influence by overthrowing Elizabeth and erasing the chapter of the Reformation in England. This was all to be done through a Catholic revolt, to be aided by Spanish forces which would place Mary Stuart on the throne.

After 18 years of plotting toward these ends Mary was finally executed at her castle of confinement, Fotheringay, in 1586. Elizabeth was wont to place a royal sister on the block as it put her own position as queen in some danger; yet the step was a necessary one for the survival of her own rule.

Two years after Mary's death, Phillip



finally launched the invasion of England for which Mary had waited while alive. However the Armada was successfully repulsed and it was England who became the supreme naval power.

## PERSONAL

Fredrich von Schiller's play, written in 1800, basically ignores the historical

implications of the royal conflict, and instead is a presentation of a personal drama, revolving around the themes of jealousy and love.

All this is very interesting and theatrically exciting. Schiller's verse is very beautiful and fast moving. However the play does not offer very much insight into the real basis of the women's struggle. The play is historically inaccurate, and most importantly, idealizes Mary into a position of innocence. Mary was anything but innocent. She was a ruthless, ambitious and conspiring woman. Unfortunately for her, these qualities were not matched by the intelligence needed to carry out her plans.

The performance is not terribly good. Salome Jens comes off best—but more because of her own natural attributes of voice and figure than because of any special insight. Her portrayal of Mary is affecting but superficial.

Nancy Marchand as Elizabeth displayed both wit and temperament, but like Miss Jens, failed to achieve any depth.

The rest of the actors were way below even the not extremely impressive quality of the two principals. The perfunctory attitude of all involved during the scene of Mary's execution was unbelievable.

There was the aura of an amateur production in this presentation of Schiller's *Mary Stuart*. With all its limitations, the great German's play could have been served better.

# Joe Hill

# Joseph Hansen's Footnotes

## SWP Rewrites History Of The Fourth

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Over the past period, and particularly since August 15th, the Socialist Workers Party has been thrown into the deepest crisis. The cause of this crisis is the same as the cause of many of its numerical successes in the previous period—its opportunist adaptation to the surface radicalization of petty bourgeois strata.

What the SWP has done is turn upon its own history, to seek to distort and eradicate it, so that it could proceed freed from the encumbrance of its past struggle for Trotskyism in order to ride the surface of the first waves of radicalizations as they were reflected among the middle class. What it should have done was to turn towards this history, battle out an understanding of it, and by struggling to overcome its weaknesses, prepare for the movement of the working class developing beneath the surface.

Now the SWP finds itself paralyzed and directionless. It is incapable of putting two words together coherently to explain its historical evolution. It finds itself suffocating on its own opportunist "new radicalization" perspective as the working class moves forward and the old middle class protest movement shrinks. It was as totally unprepared for Nixon's August 15th pronouncements as its French allies were for May-June 1968.

### BANKRUPTCY

The response of Joseph Hansen and the SWP to the action of the OCI is an expression of its complete bankruptcy. Unable to take a clear position on the issues in dispute, it simply reprints the statement of the International Committee on the French split conducting its own polemic in the form of footnotes to it. The aim of the footnotes is to hit out at the International Committee wherever possible and seek once again to rewrite the true history of the Fourth International.

At the time we wrote our criticisms of the role of Lora in Bolivia, the SWP published an article by Gerry Foley, Hansen's protege, which refused to take a stand on the events in Bolivia. Foley claimed that he did not have enough information to form his own opinion of those events. This did not stop him from seeking to make factional hay over our criticisms of Lora. Two more months have now passed since Foley wrote and the SWP still has not taken a stand on Bolivia! Does Hansen agree with our criticisms of Lora's role in Bolivia? What policies does he put forward as an alternative to what Lora did if he does agree with these criticisms? Or does Hansen stand with Lora on fundamentals? When, pray tell, will enough information arrive at the Village Post Office Station to allow Hansen to make judgment on events which effect the future of the revolution in Latin America?

We have made it perfectly clear where we stand on Lora and on Bolivia. Where does Hansen stand?

### LAMBERT

It is with this same method that Hansen approaches the split of the Lambert group from the International Committee. He printed Lambert's "case" against the Socialist Labour League and now reports "The Healyite Case Against the Lambertists." He does not say where he stands on the issues involved. He seeks at all costs to avoid a clear and open declaration of political principle. Was it correct for Lambert to break away from the International Committee? Was the International Committee correct to have raised the criticism it has raised of the French political position and method? Hansen prefers to "suspend judgment" waiting again for more information to reach the Village Post Office.

But Hansen does not quite live up to his promise to "suspend judgement". What he really does is avoid any clear and forthright stand while in the form

of footnotes he throws everything he can at the International Committee and lines up with Lambert on the fundamental question of the Marxist method.

In his very first footnote Hansen objects to the following straightforward statement:

"Trotskyism suffered from revisionist attempts to liquidate the Fourth International, and since 1953, when Pablo and his group split from the Fourth International only the International Committee has fought for the continuity of Trotskyism."

This statement is termed "inaccurate" because the history is too fresh for Hansen to risk denying it altogether. It is admitted that a "sharp factional struggle" took place in 1953 and the International Committee is seen as a "coordinating body" of the faction which included the SWP, the SLL and the French OCI



Joe Hansen (upper right) and SWP liquidated Trotskyism into support for Algerian petty bourgeois leader Ben Bella and FLN. Lora (lower left) now has formed "united front" with Stalinists and bourgeois General Torres in Bolivia. Banzar (right) is result.

group. Later the IC is called a "loose factional formation."

The attempt is made to minimize the significance of the split in 1953 and to confuse the question as to whether Trotskyism after 1953 travelled through only the International Committee and in fact was developed in the bitterest struggle against Pabloism. Hansen instead pictures a Fourth International split into two "factions" over issues he wishes to obscure—issues which later disappear.

In 1953 the SWP viewed the split very differently. It stated in its "Open Letter" which precipitated the split:

"To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally."

James P. Cannon wrote in 1954 to Leslie Goonewardena:

"A realistic approach to the present crisis must take as its point of departure the recognition that the Fourth International is no longer a politically homogeneous organization. The issues of the factional struggle are matters of principle which put the Trotskyist movement squarely be-

fore the question: To be or not to be. The attempt to revise the accepted Trotskyist analysis of the nature of Stalinism and the Lenin-Trotsky theory of the party, and thereby in effect, to deprive the Trotskyist parties and the Fourth International as a whole of any historical justification for independent existence, is at the bottom of the present crisis in our international movement."

### PRINCIPLE

The struggle was sharp indeed! It was over principle and on this basis the SWP at that time ruled out any organizational or political relations with the Pabloites. They clearly saw Trotskyism on the side of the International Committee and revisionism on the side of the International Secretariat of Pablo.

How could it be that after such a fundamental—and in the opinion of everyone in the International Committee at the time—irreparable split that a reunification could later take place? Here Hansen musters two arguments, one of them old, and the other no doubt thought up for this occasion. First he states:



"By 1957, the main political differences separating the International Committee and the International Secretariat had been overcome; but a reunification was deliberately blocked by both Healy and Pablo."

Next comes the new argument:

"While proclaiming adherence to Trotskyism, Pablo today stands on such concepts as 'centuries of degenerated workers states' and the possibility of Communist Parties 'reforming' themselves, which he advanced some two decades ago and which helped precipitate the factional struggle and split of that time. From 1955 until 1965, he retreated publicly from these positions. Upon setting up shop as an independent formation, he proclaimed them publicly."

If the original split in the Fourth International was a fundamental one for principle in which one side denied the very basis upon which our movement historically had been built, then one would assume that the split could only be overcome through a struggle around these central issues. But what was proposed in 1957 and actually carried out in 1961-63 was agreement not to discuss the issues

of 1953 just as it was agreed not to discuss the question of Ceylon.

### SUFFICIENT

It seems it was sufficient to find some superficial basis for agreement on current questions while Pablo refrained from publicly mentioning his most revisionist theories. This is held up as the principled way to build a movement! Many leaders of the SWP today hold privately different liquidationist theories which we will only learn of after they leave that party. We know of one such leader in the recent period—Murry Weiss—who came privately to the position that Cochran was right and was allowed to quietly drop out of the party.

What actually happened in the 1957 period was that the Pabloites exchanged without discussion their theory of centuries of degenerated workers states for a new theory—no less liquidationist and no less the product of a method alien to Marxism—of the self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy through the process of "destalinization." Reacting to the crisis of Stalinism in the United States, the SWP leadership sought an opportunist road to Stalinist elements through adapting to them rather than fighting them all the way. So Joseph Hansen was to write an article which stated that the political revolution was after all only a process of a series of reforms so that the difference between Trotskyism and Deutscherism was only a quantitative matter. The truth is that after 1957 the SWP came over more and more to the theoretical positions of Pabloism. It was not that the main political differences between the International Committee and Pabloism were overcome but that the main differences between the SWP and Pabloism were overcome by the SWP coming over to Pabloism.

### POUM

Hansen actually extends the method that he applied to the history of the Fourth International gratuitously to the history of the centrist POUM. After noting that the POUM was considered by Trotsky to be a rotten centrist formation which betrayed the Spanish Revolution, he states:

"In the third of a century that has passed since then, both the leadership and membership of the POUM have changed. The Trotskyists of today, write bearing in mind the record of the previous generation, must be guided by an analysis of the current composition, program, and direction of movement of the POUM in determining their attitude toward it."

But we do not proceed this way. It is not enough to determine the current position of the POUM but to pose to the POUM that it confront its own history. Only if the POUM were to repudiate its own past and search to the bottom the roots of its past betrayals could it play any progressive role in current and future struggles in Spain and elsewhere. This is the approach we took towards the Pabloites. It is the approach we take today towards Lora. It is the way Lenin and Trotsky always proceeded. Hansen clearly does not.

Could it be that Hansen's open attitude towards the POUM is a preparation for a regroupment with this centrist formation as well? If so the SWP will have completed the full circle to now openly join those forces Trotsky himself so bitterly fought.

Then Hansen states on the SWP's reunification with the Pabloites:

"After the successful experience of the Parity Commission, the proposal of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party for early reunification of the world Trotskyist movement on a principled basis was ratified by an overwhelming majority, the only holdouts being the Healyites and Lambertists. To this day neither Healy nor Lambert have explained what they considered to be un-

# International Once Again

principled in the statement of the basis for reunification. A silence of nine years!"

## UNPRINCIPLED

This is really fantastic. We have written time and time again exactly what we felt was unprincipled in this statement and in the reunification itself. In fact our faction inside the SWP at the time voted against the document and explained on the floor of the SWP convention in 1963 exactly what we felt was unprincipled. We will run it down again for weak-minded Hansen.

First the statement makes no mention or assessment of the past development of revisionism within the Fourth International and the issues which split the movement in 1953.

Second, the document makes no assessment of Ceylon and the LSSP which one year later was to enter a bourgeois government. This means that this "principled" document was agreed to by Michel Pablo, Ernest Mandel, Colvin DeSilva and N.M. Perera, and Joseph Hansen and friends!

Thirdly, the document openly embraces guerrilla warfare and liquidationism in its

impressionistic reaction to Castro. This alone makes it an unprincipled and anti-Trotskyist document.

Are these positions and criticisms of the resolution unknown to Hansen? One recent source we might suggest Hansen read in his perusal of material published in the last nine years are the articles entitled "Revisionism in Crisis" which appeared in the *Bulletin*, the *Newsletter* (organ of the SLL) and in a pamphlet.

Hansen once again in these footnotes seeks to put forward the absurd theory that we are responsible for the betrayal in Ceylon because we did not join in with an unprincipled unification based precisely on a refusal to discuss the question of the LSSP. Elsewhere we document in great detail exactly how the United Secretariat, right up to a few months before the LSSP's entry into the Bandaranaike government opposed any discussion of Ceylon and stated its faith in the present leadership of the LSSP's ability to correct its errors.

The question which must cross our minds is why is it in a series of footnotes to our statement on the OCI that Hansen goes into such detail on these

historical questions seeking with such great effort to distort this history? Could it be that these questions are being raised more and more within the SWP itself as the majority of the United Secretariat goes into factional struggle against the SWP over the exact issue of guerrilla warfare around which the "principled" reunification took place?

## DIALECTICS

Finally we come to a series of snide remarks on our struggle for dialectical materialism. On this issue Hansen extends openly his sympathy for the OCI. They all stand together on method. For instance, he states:

"For an organization that talks so incessantly about dialectical materialism, the SLL has produced singularly little in the way of theoretical contributions to Marxism."

Mr. Hansen, you are skating on microscopically thin ice and the water is bitterly cold! It is the International Committee which correctly assessed the nature of the international crisis developing since 1961 which prepared for the May-June 1968 revolutionary developments; which predicted the reactionary

and counterrevolutionary role Castro is now playing in Peru and Chile, which predicted and prepared for the change in the international situation brought about by August 15th; which has been able to build a mass working class youth movement in England, develop important cadres in the trade unions and launch the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world; which in the United States has produced the only tendency emerging from the SWP's crisis to build a serious movement. Our perspective, developed through a struggle for dialectics, has been proven completely correct.

The perspectives of the SWP, produced through an abandonment of dialectics for pragmatism have proven completely false. We challenge Joseph Hansen to defend publicly or privately the SWP's thesis on "new radicalization" and "neo-capitalism." Our movement is prepared for this new period through the struggle for dialectics. Your organization is being ripped apart by these developments because of its opportunist abandonment of the fight for dialectics. Answer that in a footnote or two, Mr. Hansen!

## The Pope And Tariq Ali

# Praise The Lord And Pass The Encyclicals

BY MICHAEL BANDA

RELIGION IS THE touchstone of the politics and philosophy of revolutionaries all over the world.

The complete spiritual and material liberation of humanity—which communism connotes—is inconceivable without a ruthless and uncompromising struggle against the reactionary, misanthropic and idealist doctrines of the church.

The criticism of religion, after all, is the beginning of all criticism.

And today this thesis is being powerfully underlined by the concerted campaign of both wings of the Christian church to revive and disseminate the reactionary concept of fideism and "Christian morality" in order to obscure the cause of the social and economic crisis.

Clericalism is the most powerful and most subtle weapon in the arsenal of imperialism.

## SUPERSTITION

No one understood the threat and implications of modern religion more or better than Marx. If a Marxist movement exists today it is entirely because of Marx's and Engels' consistent and tireless criticism and exposure of "Christian principles" and the attempts of the church hierarchy to perpetuate ignorance, superstition, contempt for earthly life and a lasting fear of an impersonal god.

Marx was no agnostic. He was a militant atheist who proclaimed unequivocally the innate capacity of man to master the forces of nature and understand and direct the laws of his own social development and transform society consciously through the struggles of the working class.

This conception which is irreconcilably opposed to the fatalism of religion is nowhere more clearly enunciated than in Marx's critique of the German paper *Rheinische Beobachter* written around 1848:

"The social principles of Christianity justified the slavery of Antiquity, glorified the serfdom of the Middle Ages and equally know, when necessary, how to defend the oppression of the proletariat, although they make a pitiful face over it.

"The social principles of Christianity preach the necessity of a ruling and an



Tariq Ali, leader of English Pablist IMG, honors Irish comrade in religious ceremony.

oppressed class, and all they have for the latter is the pious wish the form will be charitable.

"The social principles of Christianity transfer the consistorial councillors' adjustment of all infamies to heaven and thus justify the further existence of those infamies on earth.

"The social principles of Christianity declare all vile acts of the oppressors against the oppressed to be either the just punishment of original sin and other sins or trials that the Lord in his infinite wisdom imposes on those redeemed.

"The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submission, dejection, in a word all the qualities of the *canaille*; and the proletariat, now wishing to be treated as *canaille*, needs its courage, its self-feelings, its pride and its sense of independence more than its bread.

"The social principles of Christianity are sneakish and the proletariat is revolutionary.

"So much for the social principles of Christianity."

If we have gone to some length and to the extent of reproducing Marx's statement it is only because the traditional Marxist attitude to the church is being scandalized and impugned by so-called Marxists, like Tariq Ali, in a way that demands an immediate and categorical reply.

Three years ago when Ali was in Paki-

stan during the uprising against Ayub Khan he set a grotesque precedent for his followers by swearing on the Koran that his group would protect the Islamic faith if elected to power. Recognition of the Koran by Ali was recognition of the temporal power of the Islamic church and a step towards a theocratic state which Pakistan is. Three years later when Yahya Khan's hordes swept into Bangla Desh the same Koran and the Islamic faith was used to incite Moslem Punjabi, Baluchi and Pathan soldiers to unleash a "Holy War" of unparalleled barbarity against East Bengal Hindus.

Ali's support of the Koran was an integral part of his support—at the time—of an integral Pakistan.

But Mr. Ali's anti-Marxist infamy did not end in Rawalpindi.

As we pointed out in the articles on the "Theory and Practice of Revisionism," it was not excluded that a compromise with the Catholic Church was also possible. The untenable class position of the revisionists vis-a-vis the Irish bourgeoisie made them—the International Marxist Group—extremely susceptible to the overtures of the church.

The only question left to be answered was which personality of the IMG would weaken first. We did not have long to wait. On October 25 Peter Graham—Ali's representative in Dublin—was murdered under mysterious circumstances. Whoever committed the murder of Gra-

ham was obviously motivated by extremely reactionary aims since Graham was well known in left-wing circles in Dublin as an opponent of the Lynch government, a supporter of the IRA and a proclaimed atheist.

Despite our political differences with Graham we believe it was correct for him to live—and die—an atheist.

It was the responsibility of the IMG to provide him with a communist burial and if they couldn't they should at least have conducted a separate meeting by his graveside to honor his memory.

But at this stage there entered the garrulous unprincipled, strutting Ali, the sartorial pride of the revisionist left and the vulgar reconciler of socialism and obscurantism.

## GROTESQUE

As in Pakistan, so in Ireland. His first words as he got off the plane were: "We think that the first duty of a revolutionary Marxist is to give maximum support to the republican movement against British imperialism."

The inescapable logic of Ali's utterance was brought out a few hours later when the burial of Graham took place. But Ali, with his uncanny flair for the grotesque, turned tragedy into a distasteful farce.

This is how the Irish pictorial *This Week* described the incident:

"Although reared as a Catholic, Graham, as a dialectical materialist, had given up religion. He was buried, however, with the full rites of the Church. This is his parents' privilege, and we will all be attending the service," said Tariq Ali when he arrived in Dublin for the funeral.

"One of the more unusual sights in recent years in Dublin was to see most of the city's Communist population kneeling respectfully in St. Catherine's Church, Meath St., at the requiem mass for their late comrade, Peter Graham." (Sean Boyle—*This Week*, November 12, 1971).

It was a great day for the revisionist *canaille*—but a sad day for the atheist Graham whose corpse remains a mute yet eternal reminder to the revisionist betrayal of socialist principles.

Graham cannot protest or denounce this insult to his atheist conscience but we can—and will.

# QUEENS . . .

(Continued From Page 5)  
sical violence against minority groups.

Over and over, Lindsay and his "liberal" policies were the main target of the speakers. Such liberals who promise real changes in conditions but are the defenders of the system feed these right wing trends. In their thinking, if Lindsay cannot solve anything, perhaps the fascists can.

Liberalism and all attempts to restore capitalism are bankrupt. Without a program which goes beyond capitalism, which fights to unite all workers for a program of full employment, housing and decent wages, the government will pit Black workers against white for the few crumbs that remain.

It is now, as Phase II goes into effect, when the government is gearing for a tremendous offensive by the working class against wage controls, that it seeks to divert this class confrontation by deepening racial divisions.

## PREPARE

It uses the discontent of the middle class with strikes and inflation to blame the whole crisis on the unions and to prepare to ultimately destroy them.

# ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 5)  
become eligible for unemployment benefits, which Gleason begins to play with.

Time is running short for the ILA bureaucracy, as with the last contract negotiations, the bureaucracy rushed through a settlement shortly before the men were entitled to receive their unemployment benefits.

Longshoremen in the Port of New York will be eligible for unemployment next week. The bureaucracy is now frantically trying to come up with a deal before the men start receiving those checks. There is much less room for a deal in these

# CASTRO . . .

(Continued From Page 2)  
of imperialism—the United States itself. After railing against Nixon's August 15th decisions which of course set the stage for pushing the underdeveloped countries into the economic abyss, Dr. Roa pinpoints the villain in the situation. In common with all Stalinists, revisionists, and liberals, it is spending on the Vietnam War.

"The immediate responsibility of this situation is the responsibility of the military-industrial complex that rules in the United States of America, a situation caused mainly by the astronomical military expenditures and the dirty war of aggression against the peoples of Indochina."

All this is utter reformist garbage. Roa (and Castro) here borrow the Stalinist analysis of an autonomous "military-industrial complex" that somehow can be separated out from the historical develop-

Buckley and Wallace try to win over sections of the middle class and sections of workers by making demagogic appeals to the plight of the "little man," blaming the Blacks for unemployment, only to turn around and hand the workers over to the capitalist class.

## CLASS

Those white workers who participate in such attacks as occurred in Forest Hills are placing themselves on the chopping block. They are being used by Nixon to split and weaken the fighting power of the working class so that he can proceed to destroy the wages and jobs of all workers, white and Black.

The events in Forest Hills are a sharp warning to the working class that fascist movements can now emerge, not just as small groups but as a serious force.

The only way this can be smashed is through the construction of a real alternative, a labor party, that must meet the needs of all workers for housing, jobs and schools based on the nationalization of basic industries under workers control.

negotiations, however, than there was in the 1968 negotiations.

The Workers League is fighting to build a caucus in longshore which can stop the sell-out. There will be a public meeting held on Tuesday, November 30 at 7:30 p.m. at 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor in Manhattan, in order to take forward the struggle to build an alternative leadership in longshore.

Chairing the meeting will be Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the *Bulletin*, and Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, will speak about the history of the struggles on the docks and a program for victory today.

# IRELAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)  
Palace Barracks near Belfast. But even more damning is the fact that the inquiry panel only allowed testimony to be given in secret hearings. The vast majority of prisoners refused this.

As one of the prisoners, Desmond Smith, reported in the *Workers Press*, when he asked to give evidence in public, Compton became "very nasty" and struck his name off the list.

## TORTURE

Here is just one prisoner's testimony of what really goes on in the internment camps, included in the *Torture Casebook* published by the Socialist Labour League. Patrick Shivers a plasterer was arrested August 9th and flown to an unknown destination where the torture began:

"Taken into a room. Noise like compressed air engine in room. Very loud, deafening.

"Hand put against wall. Legs spread apart. Head pulled back and backside pushed in. Fell down. Arms put up again. Hands hammered until circulation restored. This happened continually for 12 to 14 hours until I eventually collapsed.

## PRAYER

"Started to pray very hard. Mouth dried up. Couldn't get moisture in mouth. Pulse taken. Thought of youngster who had died at six months old, started to pray that God would give me strength that I would not go insane.

"Fell down several times more. Slapped back up again. This must have gone on for two or three days; I lost track of time. No sleep. No food..."

## UNCONSCIOUS

Eventually he was taken into a room and asked if he had anything to say. He was tortured again there.

He and others were flown by helicopter to another place and when they arrived they were for-

ced to run over some corrugated iron and their heads were beaten against the wall. Further interrogation took place.

Taken back into the truck he was constantly beaten and kicked until he became unconscious. The prisoners were returned to the noise room for more torture. Again interrogated he became hysterical and was transferred back to the noise room. He continues:

"By this time I was at the end of my tether. My whole body my arms, legs started to tremble uncontrollably. I passed out again."

## BATTLE

These tortures covered an eight day period. Most of the internees said that they were happy to get back to the regular jail after what they had been through.

Two days after the Compton report the British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling told the

House of Commons:

"We must recognize them for what they are. They are criminals who wish to impose their own will by violence and terror. It is necessary to take vigorous measures to fight enemies, the terrorists and murderers. A battle is joined. No one in this House can be impartial between those who kill to destroy the law and those who die to defend it."

## WAR

This is the unmistakable cry of the capitalist class, prepared to enter civil war, prepared to use fascism to defend its private profits against its "enemy," the working class.

This means war, not only in Ireland but in Britain. As Maudling was speaking detectives raided a store in a working class area in London. Four men who the police claim are members of a splinter group of the IRA were arrested.

## ATTACK

Maudling's message is clear. The Tories will try to use the IRA as a cover for what is in reality a campaign to attack the British working class. It means that police terror, mass arrests and concentration camps are on the agenda for British workers who are fighting attacks on their wages and jobs like their Irish brothers.

The capitalist class cannot resolve its economic crisis except through the destruction of the working class and all its gains and organizations.

## PLEDGE

This can only be prevented on the basis of the program raised by the Socialist Labour League in England to throw out the capitalist class and elect a Labour Party pledged to a socialist program.



High school students and teachers protest budget cuts at N.Y. City Hall Nov. 18 at rally called by UFT

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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message:  
"It is undeniable that the situation of the underdeveloped nations is clamoring for radical transformations in the agrarian system, the structure of industrial property, banking, services and foreign and domestic trade. These measures, together with other measures of a genuine popular content, will make it possible to generate resources that can propitiate a high rate of development." (our emphasis).

This "revolutionary" believes, like all his breed, in the continued viability of capitalism. The political culmination of all this is the absolute capitulation of the Castroites to the Stalinist bureaucracy's plans for a political accommodation with capitalism against the working class.

In the "Joint Soviet-Cuban Communiqué" published in the November 7th issue of *Granma*, published on the occasion of Kosygin's visit to Castro last month, we find the following proposals:

An endorsement of the seven-point peace plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (People's Peace Treaty); a "political settlement" to "lessen international tension" in the Mid East; an endorsement of a Pan-European security conference; endorsement of the permanent division of Germany through recognition of both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic; a welcome for the admission of China into the UN; a world conference for universal disarmament.

The statement goes on:  
"Both sides expressed their solidarity with the Government of People's Unity, headed by Salvador Allende in Chile, and with the structural transformations being put into effect by the Government of Peru."

Castroism in the 1960's meant the suppression of the independent movement of

the working class in Cuba itself, and disastrous guerilla adventures that decimated a whole generation of Latin American revolutionaries.

Castroism today means support to strikebreaking, support to the murder of workers and peasants, support to the dirty plans of the Stalinists, reformists, and nationalists to betray the peoples of Latin America into the hands of imperialism.

When Castro visited the University of Concepcion in the last lap of his Chilean tour, he was confronted by Nelson Guitierrez, a leader of the Revolutionary Left Movement, which has called itself Castroite and now calls for insurrection against Allende. "Chile is a country in a state of war," he told Castro.

"The workers advance when we nationalize copper without paying the Yankees a cent, when the farms and factories are seized, but they will only truly take power with the triumph of the army of the popular forces," said Guitierrez.

When students demanded of Castro what had happened to Guevara's call for "two, three, many Vietnams," Castro could only mumble about the doctrine of "unity of popular forces" being the essential condition for confronting imperialism."

Castro paints up Guevara to the Chilean workers as the proponent of "popular unity" in the form of the murderer Gen. Velasco. While spokesmen for imperialism such as the *New York Times* recognize Castro's "return to reason," and signal his coming complete rapprochement with imperialism, the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party remain completely silent.

The silence of the political cowards who lead the SWP is the most damning indictment of their unprincipled abandonment of Marxism.



San Francisco "Anti-Abortion March" turned out, like the one in the East, to be quite an abortion. 500 middle class radicals and reformists heard SWP speakers promise "bigger" rallies in future.

## Angela Defense Committee Begg Court For 'Fair Trial'

BY JOHN LOHNES

STANFORD—Franklin Alexander, national co-ordinator of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis (NUCFAD), came to speak at Stanford University on November 15.

At the outset of his speech, it became apparent that the "defense" Alexander proposed for Angela Davis was a farce. After describing cruel treatment given Angela, he appealed to the listeners' humanity and exhorted them to demand that she get a fair trial.

Because of his classless perspective, he saw the fight mainly through legal maneuvering. Following the Communist Party's reformist line, Alexander imagined building a "mass movement to pressure the jurists."

Through legal maneuvering, the Communist Party conceives of wresting concessions from the capitalist rulers who announced on August 15 that there will be no more concessions and have declared war on the working class. Their pleas for prison reforms were answered with the murders of George Jackson and the Attica rebels.

His reformism exposed, Alexander exhausted the arsenal of reaction by banking on nationalism. Just as Stalinism aims at blurring the class struggle, the spokesman for NUCFAD hoped to cloud the issues in the Davis case. He diverted discussion on the theoretical question of why

Angela is imprisoned. Instead, Alexander posed it as a racial question.

To this, supporters of the Workers League counterposed that the Davis trial could not be separated from that of other political prisoners, the repression against the Black Panthers, and the wage freeze.

The fight to expose Stalinism on the Stanford campus is an integral part of the theoretical fight to build a youth movement in the entire Palo Alto area.

## 'Homeowners' Fight New Construction

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—The middle class is unbounded in its arrogance while searching in a frenzy for solutions to the "problems" generated in a period of economic and social crisis.

The latest movement is proposing to the city government of San Diego that all home construction be halted until adequate provision for schools is made. This refers specifically to residential tract construction with inadequate plans for educational facilities.

The city council will hear arguments from a "homeowners association" that current work be stopped immediately, and no new construction initiated until the question of schools is settled.

It is absolutely correct that the schooling, not only in San Diego, but everywhere, is utterly inadequate and the situation is worsen-

## West Coast News

# Teamster Ranks Build Opposition Movement

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—A rank and file movement of Teamsters is developing nationally that reflects the unrest that is coming to the surface inside the International Brotherhood of Teamsters as the capitalist crisis is driven home by the wage freeze.

Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) was founded in Toledo July 24-25 bringing together the various Unity Committees in the country, particularly in the Midwest (Chicago area) which were based around the big pension movement \$500 at 50.

Don Vestal of Nashville who ran against Fitzsimmons at the last Teamster convention has joined this movement with the statement being issued by TURF that they "welcome him (Vestal) and the fight he is leading to amend the IBT constitution in a more democratic direction using the new referendum procedure," and then adds, "But TURF is not simply a campaign machine for Don Vestal..." "It aims at a thorough restructuring of our union."

Added to this affiliation is The Fifth Wheel oppositional formation based inside the giant Local 70 (Oakland) and the "rebel" LA Local 208 now presently under Fitzsimmons' imposed receiver-ship for sparking the West Coast wildcat rebellion that helped overturn his sellout contract.

The Editor of this newspaper

The Fifth Wheel, R. Dennis, claims TURF membership "presently between 9-10,000 with a third of this membership in the LA-Bay Area and new groups presently being formed in various cities," and adds "that the brothers are going TURF."

The program of TURF is simply a "membership organization open to all rank and file Teamsters designed to restore democracy to the Teamsters Union and deal with the pressing problems facing us today."

There are presently in Local 70 some 2000 out of 8000 members out of work and they propose to fight for a four day work week at current pay to create more jobs for the unemployed.

### STRIKE

The Fifth Wheel calls it "intolerable" that Fitzsimmons came out for the freeze. "If negotiated wage increases are invalidated then the contracts are invalidated—including the agreement not to strike during the life of the contract and to obey management's work rules." "If it takes a strike to get the em-

blem. Meanwhile, their salaried incomes will insure that their own children's education at a private school will not be unduly interrupted.

That is how the middle class sees things. On their whim, thousands can starve while they "see what to do about this problem."

For workers and their children, the crisis in education is part of the wholesale attack on that class by the capitalists. The middle class now steps in to offer their services in furthering that attack.

Such a movement is utterly reactionary. It serves, however, to point out the extent to which the social crisis of decaying capitalism penetrates into every aspect of daily life, and the role the middle class can potentially play in helping the capitalists to smash the ability of workers to defend their livelihoods.

This means that the defense can only be carried out through the fight against Stalinism to build the revolutionary party and a revolutionary youth movement based on a struggle to prepare general strike action and the construction of a labor party.

The Stalinists are now preparing to call a demonstration in San Jose in support of Angela Davis. This demonstration will be called as a simple protest around popular front policies.

The Workers League intends to carry out a campaign in the Bay Area to mobilize workers and youth for the largest possible contingent. Join us in this fight:

- Hands off Angela, Ruchell, Juan Farinas and all political prisoners.
- Stop Phase II, labor off the Board, for a general strike.
- Build a labor party for '72, for full employment, and an end to racism and repression.
- Build a revolutionary youth movement.

ployers and government to see the merits of our wage increases then so be it!" "That's what the right to strike is all about."

One tactic used to influence and organize over-the-road drivers to join TURF is to enlist friendly rest stops and truck cafes to prominently display and sell the TURF newspaper and sign-up cards in return for favorable mention in their newspaper. This is reminiscent of tactics used in Minneapolis by Trotskyists to organize over-the-road drivers into the Teamsters that would arouse memories today among surviving veterans of that struggle.

### POWER

This movement from the ranks of the Teamsters must be viewed as a very significant development not because power hungry bureaucrats may attempt to divert or try to use this movement as a vehicle in order to build a comfortable power base inside the Teamsters—This is not 1965.

This movement must be viewed against the historical backdrop of a world wide crisis of capitalism together with Nixon's August 15 open declaration of class warfare exacerbating a general strike movement within the trade unions.

The biggest weakness of this opposition is its failure to take up the political questions particularly the need for the fight to construct an independent labor party.

The emergence of such formations is a sign of the enormous possibilities now developing for the construction of a Marxist leadership in the unions.

## ROHR . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

massive layoff schemes and rallying the older workers around a program to transfer from one department to another, bumping the junior men into the streets to starve.

In line with IAM President Smith, who sits on Nixon's Pay Board, they appeal to the existence of that Pay Board to attempt to head off the militant movement of the ranks. They claim that ROHR should not be struck until the Pay Board makes its position clear on what increases will be allowed for "after all, there's no sense going on strike to win 30% if the Board will only allow a nickel!"

The ranks must see through these lies. The fight must be taken up now for jobs for all, not just the senior workers. The existence of the Pay Board is a preparatory step in the drive to end the independence of the unions in order to demoralize and smash the whole working class in the interest of maintaining the capitalists' profits.

Union leaders who use the Pay Board to disarm workers in their fight to defend their standard of living and their very jobs must be unmercifully dumped and replaced with leadership pledged to a general strike to smash the freeze and all its machinery, and to the construction of a labor party to fight for labor's interests.

## EDITORIAL . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

against the freeze or to lead a fight against the capitulation of the labor bureaucracy.

In all of this there is not a mention of Ruchell Magee. Perhaps somewhere in those "four walls of the modern place of worship" some reverent soul whispered a thoughtful prayer for the abandoned.

The Stalinists will have no easy time carrying out these counterrevolutionary policies among the working class and the youth. They live in mortal fear of the Workers League's fight for Marxist principle.

It is for this reason that the editor of the West Coast News section of the Bulletin was approached by Franklin Alexander at a meeting in San Jose and warned that "disruptions" such as that carried out by our comrades at Stanford would not be tolerated.

The defense of Angela Davis and all political prisoners can only be conducted in the fight to mobilize the labor movement and the youth independently from the bourgeoisie in a fight for power.



# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WEST COAST NEWS OFFICE: ROOM 313 300 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94115 PHONE 415-621-1310

## Editorial

### CP Subordinates Davis Defense To Prayer Meetings And Liberal Protest

The expected transfer of the trial of Angela Davis to Santa Clara County now raises the question of her defense in the sharpest possible manner.

This area is the center of massive unemployment brought on by the collapse of the aerospace boom. Concentrated here is an enormously powerful trade union movement combined with a growing rebellion of the youth against unemployment, police repression and racism.

It was no accident that these two forces came together in 1970 in the huge San Jose demonstration against Nixon that drew headlines across the world for the famous rock throwing incident.

That demonstration was the first absolutely clear expression of the bitter class hatred that was building up in the working class and youth against Nixon's reactionary policies.

It is precisely these same trade unionists and youth that Nixon is preparing to smash with the vicious judicial frame-up of Angela Davis. He is forced to do this under conditions in which the growing movement for a general strike poses the potential for the unity of the youth and organized labor on a scale far greater than that of 1970.

It is the fear of such a development that brings the Stalinists to Nixon's assistance with the most unbridled orgy of reformism and unprincipled opportunism.

Thus Franklin Alexander, leading figure in the National Committee to Free Angela Davis, is touring the area seeking to whip up nationalism and deepen the isolation of the youth from the labor movement.

Under the cover of a formula calling for the broadest possible unity under a Black leadership Alexander seeks to divert the youth into the bankrupt policies of Black nationalism and the popular front.

Just how far the Stalinists are now prepared to go was demonstrated in an "ecumenical worship service and informational forum" held in East Oakland. According to the People's World this marked "a new breadth and direction" in the campaign to free Angela.

According to the Stalinists:

"Sunday's meeting was a new manifestation of the sentiment building for Davis. It was a forum unique in the Bay Area. Amidst choir selections and thoughtful prayer was a reverence that transcended the four walls of the modern place of worship, a reverence for justice.

"Almost all in attendance signed the bail petition for Angela Davis. Many wore 'Free Angela' buttons out of the church."

This is truly revolution on one's knees.

This disgusting piety is combined with an absolute refusal to campaign to mobilize labor in strike action

(Continued On Page 15)

## Students Join With Teachers To Shut Down Catholic Schools

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—Bay Area Catholic high schools have been shut down in an extremely important strike by lay teachers.

The teachers are demanding a written contract and a 6% increase this year and next. The Archdiocese has offered almost nothing during the first year and a measly 8% for the next two

years.

The lay teachers have now voted to affiliate with the AFT and are appealing for strike sanction to the labor councils of S.F., Marin, San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties.

The strike is rapidly paralyzing at least eight schools with a boycott by students rising each day.

Many of the students are the children of Bay Area craft unionists and their reaction to the

strike has been a tremendous display of class solidarity.

At one school hundreds of students joined the picket lines shouting "Shut it down."

Rallies have been held in support of the strike and as one student put it "The only way these teachers can win is if they stay out until they get what they need. It is only time before those students who are going to school walk out."

Student leaders from Sacred Heart High School called a press conference on their own. They issued a statement which did not take sides while at the same time every one of the leaders joined the picket lines and indicated individually that he was for the teachers.

Union officials claim that the Archdiocese is threatening students who support the strikers with disciplinary action or expulsion.

Many of the students are asking the question how it is that the Church has been able to raise millions for the construction of cathedrals while it claims bankruptcy in the face of teachers' demands.

This display of class unity between teachers and students gives a fighting lead to teachers and youth across the country in the battle against the cutbacks and deterioration of the schools.

It is also calculated to strike the fear of god into the hearts of those who rule the Archdiocese. Even the prayers of the Holy Father in Rome will be of little avail when the working class decides to storm the gates of heaven.

### IAM Leaders Face Revolt By Ranks Against Rohr

BY RICHARD RIVERA

SAN DIEGO—6000 members of IAM Lodge 755 at ROHR Corporation, a major aerospace firm here, have been working without a contract for several weeks under the threat of lockout.

But this threat by the bosses faces extreme militancy in the ranks as indicated by demonstrations against job cuts, a 98% strike vote, and Lodge meetings packed to overflowing that verged on violent outbreaks against the union leadership.

The union bureaucrats are doing everything in their power to ensure that the situation at ROHR does not explode, igniting the volatile atmosphere in aerospace shops across the country and particularly on the West Coast where 90-95% strike votes have been registered in virtually every major plant in the past weeks.

They are involved in consciously splitting the ranks along seniority lines by accepting the

(Continued On Page 15)



Students supporting striking Catholic high school teachers in S. Fran.

## CWA Leaders Reject Support For NY Strike

BY A CWA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The defeat that President Joseph A. Beirne engineered for the Communications Workers of America (CWA) strike this summer places the ranks of this union in head on collision with the government.

Knuckling under to the pre-freeze "incomes policy" of limitations posed by Labor Secretary Hodgson in June, 1971, Beirne singlehandedly repealed the union policy that if one national bargaining unit (geographical division) rejected the Bell System offer, the whole union would continue the strike.

Thus, after no less than 3 such units rejected the offer, the New York locals remained out (35,000 strong) and the rest of the union was ordered back to work.

At the San Francisco Local 9410 meeting for November, Pres. Kirkpatrick finally confessed that our union has no friends on the Public Utilities Commission, since this esteemed body had refused to stop the importation of scabs from all over the country to break the strike of the New York plant men.

At this meeting the entire bankrupt policy of the leadership was taken up. A union member placed a motion on the floor demanding that Local 9410 take up the fight for the New York workers. It was posed clearly that after New York the other CWA locals are next.

The motion demanded an immediate contribution of \$1000 to the New York strikers and the

calling of a CWA rally here to begin the fight for solidarity action.

Kirkpatrick claimed that a massive contribution of \$1000, as called for by the Workers League from our local to N.Y. was not even necessary. He based this on the information he received from the presidents of the New York locals who said everyone was receiving welfare and really only Christmas would see them short-changed.

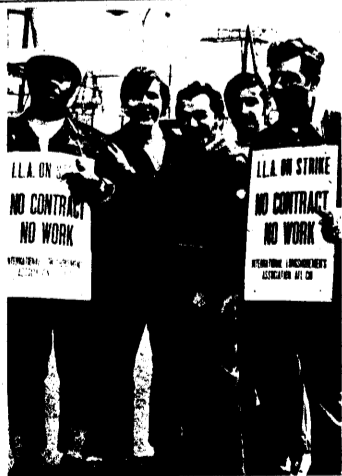
Furthermore, Kirkpatrick claims that the local cannot afford any expense without a doubling of dues. He therefore calls on "individual" contributions as a matter of conscience instead of united action and has proposed the selling of raffle tickets instead.

The meeting was sabotaged from the beginning by the bureaucracy which did not even post notices of the meeting. It is all too clear that the Kirkpatrick leadership has not the slightest intention of lifting a finger to come to the aid of the New York strikers.

No fight whatsoever in the CWA can go forward without a massive solidarity movement to prevent a shattering defeat in New York.

A rank and file movement must now be built that will take up the fight for a general strike against the freeze and the construction of a labor party. This fight must be combined with immediate action to raise funds and carry out solidarity action for the strikers in New York.

25c



**SHOWDOWN ON THE DOCKS**  
BY DAN FRIED

From Labor Publications  
135 W. 14 St.  
NYC 10011

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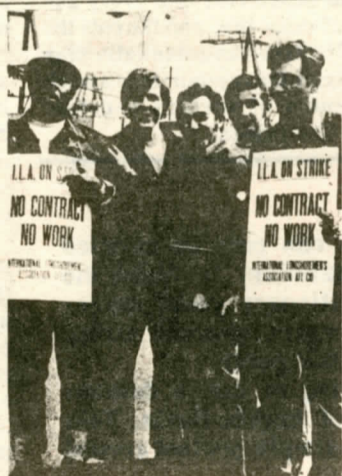
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