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George Wallace campaigns in Maryland before near-assassination.

Union Leaders Collapse Before Wallace Sweep

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

George Wallace swept Michigan, capturing 50% of the vote to McGovern's 26% and Humphrey's 17%. This vote, bolstered by Republican cross-overs, follows the complete refusal of the UAW and the AFL-CIO to campaign seriously against Wallace.

Betrayal On The Docks

BY DAN FRIED

The agreement concluded behind the backs of the nation's dockworkers by ILWU President Harry Bridges and the West Coast ship owners (PMA) not to strike and to accept a 30 cents an hour wage reduction decreed by the Pay Board will now undoubtedly be used by ILA President Thomas Gleason as an excuse to accept the recent reduction of the East Coast longshoremen's wage agreement by the Pay Board.

Bridges' double-dealing action was taken after a blustering statement two weeks earlier that if the Pay Board were to trim the ILA contract, there should be "national general strikes and refusal to cooperate in any way with the Pay Board."

Despite Bridges' threat, the decision was made to trim the ILA first year wage agreement from 70¢ to 55¢. Judge Boldt announced at the time that he expected dockworkers "to look over our decision, be disappointed and then go along with the law of the land."

It is now clear that there was a conspiracy by the union leaders—by Harry Bridges, Thomas Gleason and Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons with Judge Boldt and the White House to arrive at an agreement to call off any strike plans and to agree on an acceptable figure. They hoped that the cut was not too big to cause an explosion by the ILA ranks against Gleason.

Thus, after a trip to

Washington by Bridges for consultation with Gleason and Fitzsimmons, and a phone call from Bridges to Gleason, Bridges announced his deal with the shippers and Gleason went ahead

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Wallace actually fared poorer in the border state of Maryland capturing 40% of the vote to 25% for Humphrey and 22% for McGovern. Baltimore City, which includes the 3rd and 7th Districts (this one largely Black) went strongly for Humphrey. Montgomery County, largely white and working class, was carried by McGovern.

(See Page 8 for statement of Political Committee of the Workers League on

attempted assassination of Wallace by one of his supporters.)

A victory for Wallace in the Michigan primary, the first in a heavily industrialized state in the North, is a direct and immediate threat to the labor movement in the United States.

In a richly financed campaign, Wallace has spent weeks speaking in small towns and the middle class suburbs of the industrial centers of Michigan, emphasizing his opposition to busing, welfare, property taxes, as well as to foreign aid to "Hottentots 10,000 miles away."

McGovern, Humphrey and the other Democratic contenders virtually consigned Michigan into Wallace's hands.

McGovern has been able to get the support of a whole section of the secondary leadership of the union movement and of the unions in Michigan speaking to packed houses at a number of union halls across the state, among them the UAW Regional headquarters in Detroit.

Despite the opposition of workers to the Wallace movement, the trade union bureaucracy has done next to nothing to mobilize the rank and file against him.

Leonard Woodcock is especially criminally guilty of allowing Wallace and the other Democrats to build their movement in the heartland of the UAW.

A few weeks ago in a speech in Flint, Michigan, later televised as a half-hour campaign advertisement, Wallace made a direct attack on Leonard Woodcock as one of those "fake leaders" of the union movement selling the "little man" out to the bureaucrats in Washington.

Replying to this in a news conference late last week, Woodcock mentioned the fact that Wallace had said earlier this year that he would like Woodcock as the Secretary of Labor, because of his loyalty to the ranks. "I don't know whether he wants me for Secretary of Labor because I'm loyal to the ranks or because I'm skilled in selling the workers out," Woodcock went on to say, adding that Wallace was a sincere individual with mistaken policies.

His cynical toying with the most serious threat to the labor movement since the 1930's now

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General Strike Rocks Quebec

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—Thousands of workers throughout Quebec have closed down plants, factories, transport, mines, hospitals and newspapers against the jailing of three union leaders who were sentenced for defying an injunction against last month's strike by Quebec public service workers.

On Tuesday, the day of the actual imprisonment of Louis Laberge, Marcel Pepin and Yvon Charbonneau, teachers, city workers and longshoremen, members of the ILA, walked out.

By Wednesday May 10th, the strike spread to most construction sites, to schools and to hospitals. In Sept-Iles, a heavily unionized and industrialized city 600 miles northeast of Montreal, workers closed down the city in a general strike.

Workers took over the radio station and broadcast union statements. Major street fighting with the police took place, one worker was killed and many injured when a drunken driver ploughed into a crowd of demonstrators.

Sept-Iles is a city dominated by the iron-ore company of Canada. Many workers are members of the United Steel Workers of America, and the city has a history of militant struggle.

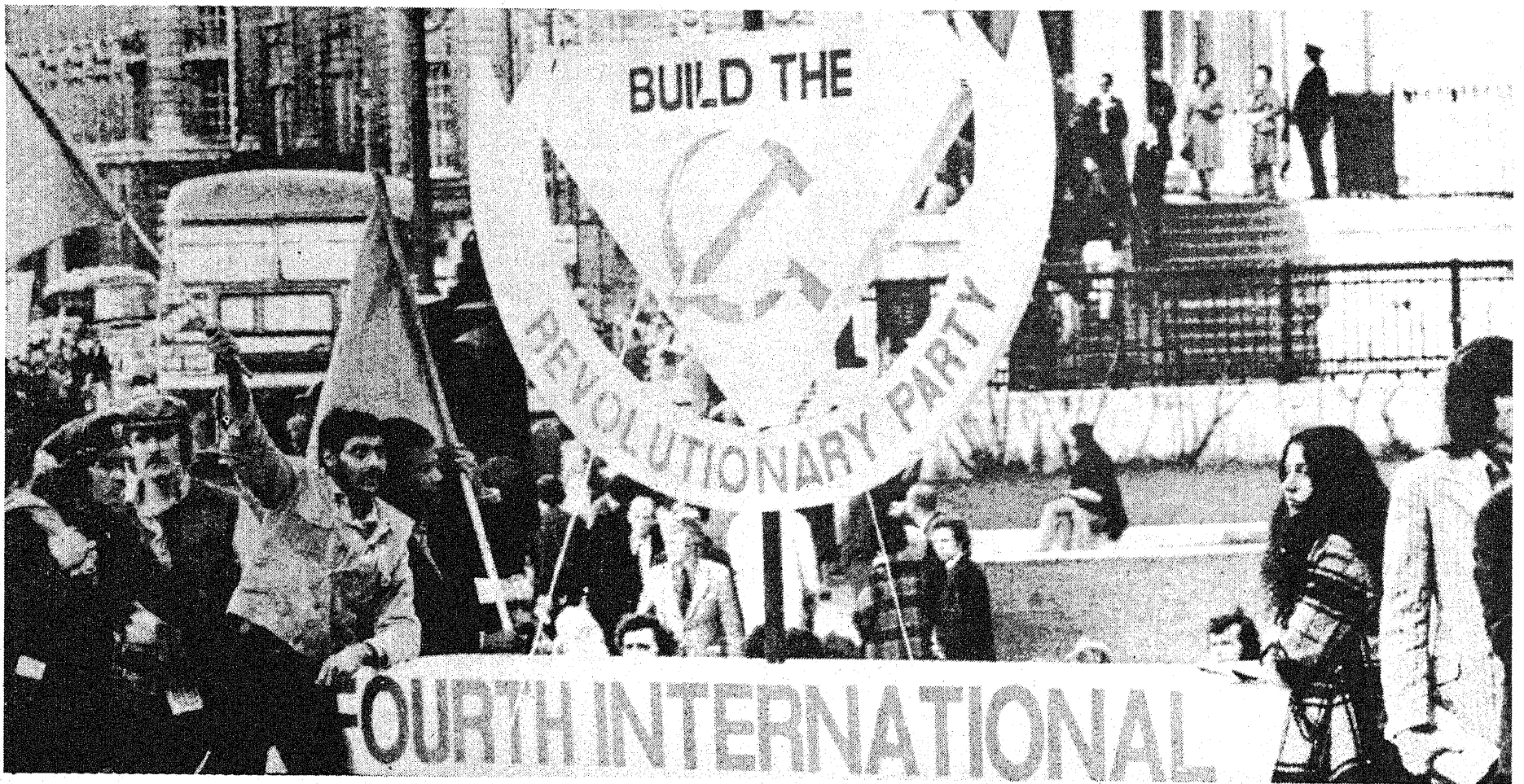
In St. Jerome, a general walk-out occurred and a radio station

was occupied. On Thursday, workers in the majority of plants in St. Jerome, Thetford Mines and St. Hyacinthe walked out.

The organized "flying pickets" were arrested in a cable plant in St. Jerome. Radio stations in two more towns—Hauterive and Thetford Mines—gave air time to the strikers.

Three disputes not directly related to the imprisonment of the three union leaders converged and became part of the generalized strike action on

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Over 4,000 workers and youth joined Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists in May Day demonstration in London.

4,000 Join SLL May Day March In London

BY MELODY FARROW

Over 4,000 young workers and trade unionists took to the streets in London last Sunday to join the biggest May Day march ever, organized by the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League in Britain.

Sightseers applauded and cheered the marchers who demanded a recalled TUC Congress on the anti-union laws and preparations for a general strike to force the Tories to resign.

The May Day demonstration came at a critical time, as the Tories have unleashed an offensive against the trade unions with the Industrial Relations Act.

With the expiration of the court imposed 14 day cooling off period against the railwaymen's union and the national strike deadline set by the dock unions, the British working class is on a

direct collision course with the Tory government.

The tense deadlock in the negotiations between the three rail unions and the government can explode at any moment into a general strike.

It is now clearer than ever that the trade union leaders' capitulation to the National Industrial Relations Bill (NIRB), far from making the Tories more "reasonable," has encouraged them to press ahead with even more vicious measures against the unions.

After the rail unions accepted the cooling off period, the Tories and the Rail Board refused any

compromise on wages. The unions insist that the 12.5 percent pay increase be retroactive to May 1st while the employers refuse to pay it before June 5th.

Since May 9th, the Tory officials have held a series of top level Cabinet meetings to prepare for a showdown.

35 HOUR WEEK

At a meeting of 5,000 Liverpool dockers May 7th, a resolution of six major demands was adopted which included an increase in pay, a 35 hour week, and the exclusive right of dockers to stuff and strip con-

tainers. Dock union leaders have threatened a nationwide strike in June unless these demands are met.

At issue in this fight is the protection of thousands of dockers' jobs. The introduction of container facilities has decimated the work force with some 3,000 jobs to be scrapped this year alone.

As the NIRB machinery goes into full swing, the full meaning of this bill is hitting home. Its aim is to outlaw every attempt of workers to improve their living standards and to destroy the basic rights and gains won by the unions in over a hundred years of struggle.

The Tories seek to provoke a general strike in which, through decrees for a national emergency, the government would strengthen its repressive apparatus and move towards a Bonapartist dictatorship.

The actions of the trade union leadership and the Communist Party have assisted the Tories in this task. Sections of the labor movement, such as the T&GWU, have refused to mobilize a fight against the right-wing in the Trades Union Congress.

Recently, the General Council of the TUC defeated a motion to

recall the TUC for action against the bill.

It is in this situation that the May Day march and meeting of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists is of the greatest importance.

At the meeting at St. Pancras Hall following the march, Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL, told the marchers that the Tories were preparing the conditions to enter the Common Market which would enable industry to move from Britain to Europe.

"This will rapidly transform Britain into a depressed area with all the suffering that was the hallmark of the 1930's. That is why this government is getting ready for a showdown."

CAMPAIGN

He stated that the campaign to transform the SLL into a revolutionary party this year had been launched precisely to prepare for these events.

To mobilize the working class against the Tories, Healy said, is the aim of the SLL's policy to demand the TUC be recalled in order to consciously prepare for a general strike to force the Tories to resign and to return a Labour government to power.

New Strike Wave Hits Italy

BY ED SMITH

Another massive strike wave has hit Italy as workers have put an end to the two week "truce" called by the Stalinist Communist Party and trade union leadership before the national elections.

Teachers and telephone workers have walked off their jobs, and textile workers are threatening to occupy factories in northern Italy if the owners attempt to impose layoffs.

While the elections have not resolved the political crisis in Italy, they pose tremendous dangers to the Italian working class.

While the Christian Democrats held onto their electoral plurality, the open fascists of the Italian Social Movement (MSI) doubled their representation in parliament. A new Christian Democratic coalition government would of necessity have to rely on the support of the fascists to maintain itself against the working class.

Italy's industrial giants, Fiat and Olivetti, have reported steep profit declines in the past year. Commentators acknowledge that the country is in the throes of an economic recession. Recently the head of the Fiat company stated that the corporate pro-

duction goals this year could not be met without labor peace. This can only mean full scale attacks on the working class.

This is the meaning of the re-emergence of fascism in the elections in a big way.

The fascist MSI captured nearly 10 percent of the vote as against 6.7 percent last time, and won 56 deputies and 26 senators. Big sections of the capitalists backed the fascists for the first time, through large financial support, and the running of candidates of figures like a NATO admiral on the fascist ticket.

REACTIONARY

The Italian Communist Party, following the line of peaceful co-existence laid down by its mentors in the Kremlin bureaucracy, has opened the way to the fascist danger by its policies. It actually endorses the capitalist cartel of the Common Market, and the anti-workers' state military alliance of NATO, hoping to "democratize" these reactionary alliances as its con-

tribution to "European security."

The CP's Stalinist course of attempting accommodation with capitalism has proceeded to the point where all mention of nationalization has been dropped from its program, and replaced by references to "structural reform" and "workers' participation." It attacks the students and workers who oppose the fascist rallies as "ultraleft" and even police agents, while posing no socialist alternative to the capitalist crisis the fascists feed off.

The result was that, while the fascists doubled their strength in the election, the Stalinists and their allies in the Proletarian Socialists actually dropped in their share in the vote. The Proletarian Socialists in particular were nearly wiped out as a national political force.

The real face of the Stalinists' policy was revealed before the elections. The CP, in collaboration with the reformists and Catholic trade unions, bowed to the pressure of the "law and order" propaganda that the Christian Democrats and fascists were attempting to whip up by calling off all strikes before the elections.

Cambodia Puppet Faces Defeat

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Dictator Lon Nol of Cambodia is desperately trying to hold on as the Popular Armed Forces for National Liberation (FAPLN) force him to retreat behind the walls of his Phnom Penh palace.

Lon Nol is totally isolated from the population as the FAPLN strengthens its control over virtually all the territory outside of the capital.

The government has lost important positions in the fight for the seat of Takeo province south of Phnom Penh and hard fighting is raging to the North.

On May 5th, the Liberation Army launched the longest attack yet on the capital itself. One hundred well-armed commandos easily penetrated the city's defenses and withdrew a day later with few losses.

Phnom Penh itself has been the

scene of student demonstrations against Lon Nol. On April 27th, police shot and killed four students and wounded 22 in an effort to break up the occupation of the law faculty.

The government has denied that they shot the students. It hid the bodies and suppressed photos of the killings. The fight of the students has won large support from the population in the city.

The statement by Colonel Lon Nol, the brother of the president, that the liberation forces are "a few organized but negligible elements" is the fantasy of a dying regime.

Bankers Fear Dollar Explosion

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The resignation of John Connally, Secretary of the Treasury, on Tuesday reflects the split which is developing within the American capitalist class over how to deal with the present deepening crisis.

This split is the direct product of the explosion both on the battlefields of Vietnam and on the world bullion markets where gold last week leaped to \$54 an ounce. This is the most critical situation faced by world capitalism since the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreements last August 15.

What immediately preceded Connally's resignation was the dispute opened at the Montreal Monetary Conference of the American Bankers Association. Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, independently proposed a 10 point program for world monetary reform.

CONVERTIBILITY

Burns' proposals in essence called for an early return to convertibility of the dollar with gold. They were made along with statements which were clearly directed against the policies of Nixon and Connally.

Burns, who spoke of reform as an "urgent necessity," told the conference:

"As we learned last fall, a world of financial manipulations, economic restrictions and political friction bears no promise for the future. It is the responsibility of financial leaders to make sure that such a world does not come to pass."

Burns' statements were immediately repudiated by Under Secretary of the Treasury Paul Volker just four days after Secretary of the Treasury Connally, acting on Nixon's orders, had

pulled out of the conference on the grounds that it would be a conference hostile to American policy.

Connally specifically pulled out following the exposure of a secret International Monetary Fund memorandum, which was leaked last Monday to the Wall Street Journal, in which the IMF proposed that there be an immediate return by the United States to convertibility of the dollar, that the U.S. abandon its idea that gold can be banished from monetary affairs and that the U.S. prepare to accept the dethroning of the dollar as the world's key reserve asset in place of a system of Special Drawing Rights.

The great danger in the present situation for international capitalism lies in the fact that anything short of a return to some form of convertibility of the dollar and the immediate taking of domestic measures within the United States to curb the U.S. payments balance will mean the massive appreciation of gold with a complete breakdown of world trade and investment. This would plunge world capitalism into full scale collapse.

What is specifically in store for capitalism under such conditions was laid out in a warning in the IMF memo itself which said that if convertibility of the dollar was not established, it would mean the unplanned "separation of the world into a number of currency blocs with attendant economic and political hazards."

Burns' proposal is really the proposal for an immediate head-

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The jailing of three Quebec union leaders, including Louis Laberge and Marcel Pepin (above) sparked off general strike actions throughout that province demanding that the government release them.

Why Wall Street Loves George McGovern's 'Prairie Populism'

BY DAVID NORTH

For all his demagogic talk about "prairie populism," Senator George McGovern is relying on big city capitalists to finance his bid for the presidential nomination.

During the past year, McGovern has won the backing of leading industrialists and financiers; and it appears that he has solved the money problems that face all those candidates who are themselves less than millionaires.

Since the beginning of 1971, over \$1,255,000 has been donated to the McGovern campaign, and most of that cash was collected in fat lump sums. Most of that money was given to McGovern before his primary victories in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Nebraska.

Now that he is looking like a possible winner, many more businessmen are in a hurry to place their bets.

It may surprise those who have heard about McGovern's "radical" or "ultra-liberal" politics to learn that he is rapidly becoming a favorite of big business. Why would a man who is publicized as the most "left-wing" senator in the history of the United States become the favorite son candidate of the New York Times?

OPPONENT

The answer is that George McGovern, like every other Democrat and Republican, is a bitter opponent of the working class and its trade unions. Throughout his political career, McGovern has stood solidly with the capitalist class and all its interests.

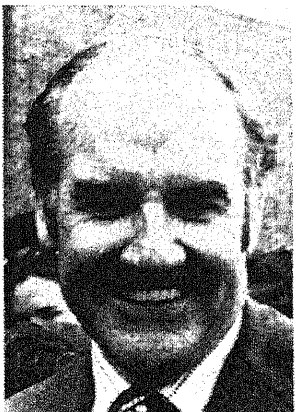
The crowning moment in George McGovern's career was his 1966 vote in support of the notorious "right-to-work" clause of the union-busting Taft-Hartley Law. Of course, as he seeks the nomination, McGovern apologizes profusely for that lapse.

He tells trade unionists everywhere that he "agonized" over that vote. But agony or no agony, McGovern took a stand and it was against the right of workers to build their unions.

In case there is any doubt about McGovern's real position on the labor movement in this country, there are other votes that are equally revealing. In 1967, he supported Lyndon Johnson's bill that imposed a settlement on striking railway workers.

And only three months ago, he voted for Nixon's bill to set up binding arbitration procedures to end the West Coast longshoremen's strike.

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B-52s Bomb Hospitals To Terrorize N Vietnam

BY DAVID NORTH

Unable to break the offensive of the Vietnamese liberation forces, President Nixon has ordered saturation bombings of the population centers of North Vietnam.

During the past week, American bombers gave only secondary attention to military targets as Nixon authorized a terror campaign against the residential areas and public facilities of the major cities of the North.

These murderous bombing runs, as well as the blockade, have been greeted with studied silence by the Soviet Union and China. Only a day after Nixon announced the blockade of North Vietnam, the Kremlin's Minister of Foreign Trade and its Ambassador to Washington held a friendly discussion in his office, and later told reporters that next week's Summit meeting would take place as scheduled.

Downtown Hanoi and Haiphong have been heavily damaged; and numerous casualties were inflicted in spite of well-coordinated evacuation. Several patients were killed last week when over 30 carefully aimed bombs struck a Haiphong hospital which was not located near any military or industrial installations. Similarly, 28 children were killed and 25 seriously injured when bombs hit a small school near the port city.

All these desperate measures

have not weakened the ability of the Vietnamese to press the offensive forward. A journalist from the French newspaper Le Monde reported:

"The bombing of non-strategic objectives has a definite effect, but it is directly the opposite of what Nixon expects. After such bombings, the opinions of the Vietnamese people do not become discouraged, but on the contrary they become more firm, more resolved and determined to mount whatever effort, whatever sacrifice to "eliminate the American puppet clique."

The blockade and the bombings show that the American ruling class is prepared to risk nuclear war with the Soviet Union and do no less than murder millions of Vietnamese rather than concede that imperialism has been routed in Indochina. Nixon was not bluffing when he declared that he would close down the ports of North Vietnam.

His threats were backed up by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird who announced that the United States "will take those measures that are necessary to stop the delivery" of material.

The Nixon Administration has

not excluded the possibility that it will shoot Soviet airplanes out of the sky if an attempt is made to airlift supplies.

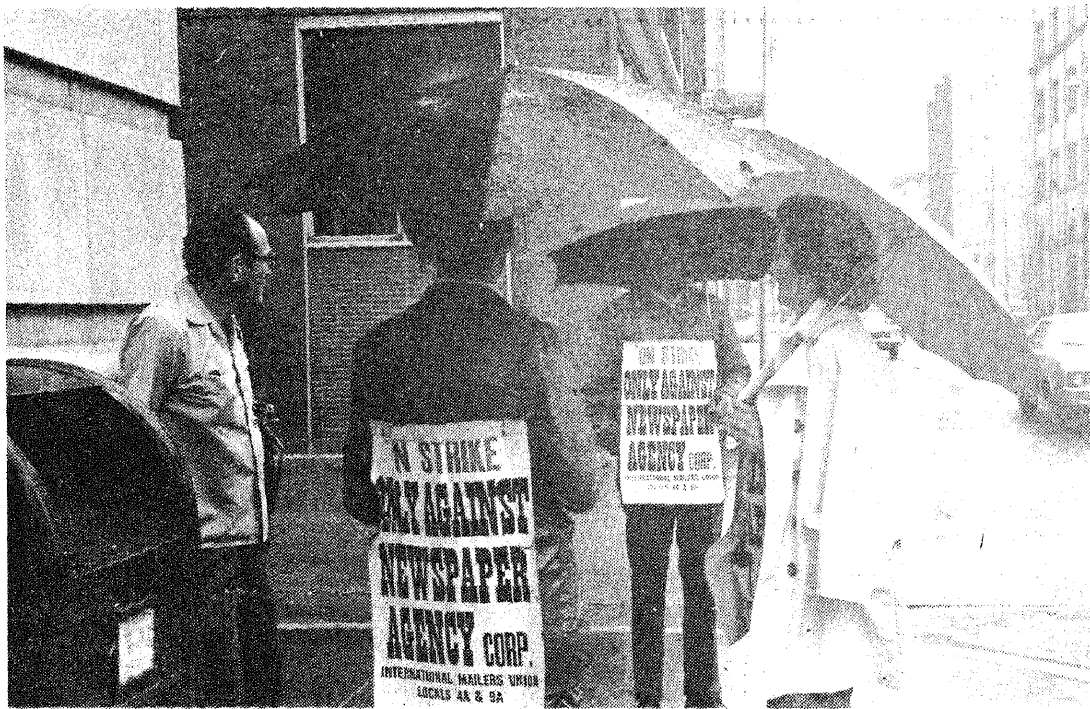
The desperation of the American capitalists, which these threats express, flow not only from the defeat of the Saigon regime but from the international crisis of capitalism.

It is not a coincidence that Nixon's decision to blockade Vietnam and confront the Soviet Union came at the very point when the price of gold skyrocketed to \$55 an ounce on the money markets and gave sharp indication of an impending collapse of the monetary arrangements patched together by Nixon last December.

Nixon's actions expose the real relations that exist between the working class and capitalist class in this period.

With his blockade, Nixon pointed a loaded revolver at the head of the working class internationally. American workers, no less than Vietnamese, are threatened.

Never has the necessity of a labor party to defend the very existence of the working class in this country been posed with greater urgency.



Workers picket office of one of the Charleston scab newspapers they have struck for 6 months.

W. Virginia Newspapers Lead Union Busting Drive

BY DAN FRIED

CHARLESTON, W. VA.—Union employees of the Charleston Gazette, the Charleston Daily Mail, and the Sunday Gazette-Mail have been on strike here since November 19. The publishers, the Newspaper Agency Corporation, continues to publish with a total labor force of scabs.

Millionaire owners Lyle Clay and Ned Chilton, the latter of whom is campaigning for liberal Democrat John D. Rockefeller for Governor and ran a front page endorsement of McGovern in the Gazette, have embarked on an out-and-out union-busting campaign.

A leaflet issued by Locals 4a and 9a of the International Mailers Union, which initiated the strike, charges that: "Since the strike, the Gazette and Mail demand the SCABS that have taken our jobs must stay and the striker will be hired back on a 'As I need you' basis. All seniority would be wiped out.

"The Gazette and Daily Mail have used every 'union-busting' tactic imaginable, such as bringing in an out of state guard unit armed with nightclubs and mace, transporting professional strike breakers from out of the state and employing moon-lighting, 'gun-carrying' constables and in one case a Police Chief."

Over 200 members of the Mailers, including both inside men and truck drivers, were in-

involved in the initial strike which was honored by the printing unions including the Pressmen. Some non-unionized reporters, clerks and other personnel however crossed the picket line and helped put out the paper.

Strikers told the Bulletin that the company was also hiring anyone off the street and had even advertised for scab labor. They had lined up a fleet of rented Ryder trucks to deliver the paper before the strike.

Another striker said that they had been preparing for the strike for more than a year, following the last contract.

They spent that year, it was charged, getting all the information they needed on each driver's route, refused to make any offer at all during the negotiations and then demanded the layoff of 22 of the 104 drivers as a condition for any contract.

After the strike began, special Wackenhut guards were hired and placed on each truck, allegedly to protect the scabs. One picket charged that windshields were broken by the scabs themselves and "we got the blame for it."

Another striker reported that nails had been placed in his driveway and tires slashed on his truck.

One worker on the picket line told us: "Since I've been on strike, I've had my house shot at, my windshield broke, sugar in my gas tank and yet I'm not sure I know who did it, but I have some ideas."

At the same time, the government stepped in directly on the side of the employers and issued an injunction against mass picketing. The workers wrote a letter to Governor Arch Moore requesting his aid. Not surprisingly, the Governor said "there was nothing he could do."

1199 Demands 15% Increase

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, May 15—The League of Voluntary Hospitals has answered the contract demands of Hospital Workers Local 1199 with an offer on wages and benefits which falls within the Pay Board's guidelines.

The union demands include a 15 percent increase or \$25 a week, whichever is greater, in a one year contract, along with a 35 hour week and a four week vacation for all workers after one year.

The hospital bosses, with Nixon, Rockefeller and Lindsay behind them, have absolutely no intention of granting these demands. These minimum needs, along with protection of jobs and working conditions, are going to have to be fought for by strike action when the July 1st deadline rolls around.

Hospital workers must understand the statement of 1199 President Leon Davis at the May 10 delegates meeting as a serious warning of the dangers they face.

Davis announced that he would demand a re-negotiation of any contract which the pay Board cut, as it has the East and West Coast longshore settlements.

DECLARATION

This amounts to a declaration that the union leaders will not defy Nixon's Pay Board. All the militant talk of preparation for

IUE Leadership Does Nothing To Mobilize Support In Fedders Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

EDISON, N.J.—Having refused from the very first day to put forward a strategy for victory, the leadership of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 483 is preparing to sell out the strike of 2700 Fedders workers as it enters its eleventh week.

The rank-and file showed its growing disgust with the leadership when a large number of workers turned up uninvited at a meeting of the local and IUE international bureaucracy held last Wednesday at Rutgers University. However, they were told nothing about the plans to fight Fedders.

"They looked at us as if we had no business being there," a worker told the Bulletin later that day.

Because of its unwillingness to mobilize the striking workers to force the IUE international to give real support, the local leadership has permitted the Fedders rank and file to be completely isolated.

For the last ten weeks, nothing has been done to stop hundreds of automobiles with scabs to enter the plant every day.

SCABBING

The bureaucracy has told the workers that nothing can be done against the scabbing because of a court injunction. But the local leadership has never attempted to win the support of the IUE international or the New Jersey labor movement to stop the scabbing.

Workers are beginning to express openly their distrust of their leadership. Watching the vice president drive past the plant gate, one striker said: "He is doing nothing while I'm getting only \$14 every week."

BETRAYAL

While the leadership does absolutely nothing to stop the scabs and production equipment from entering the plant, it is busy attacking all militants who are putting forward an alternative to the bankrupt policies of the bureaucracy. It is shamelessly trying to split up the ranks and set Cuban and Puerto Rican workers against each other with a red-baiting campaign.

CRITICAL

The strike is entering a critical period. It can still be won and the plan of Fedders to lay off hundreds and cut the wages of all workers can be defeated.

But this requires that the local leadership demand that the IUE international support the Edison strike with mass picket action in order to defeat the injunction and by taking action to close down Fedders plants all around the country.

Fedders workers in Edison must force the local leadership to call immediately a membership meeting around these demands.

Falstaff Denies Pensions To Sacked Ballantine Men

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Falstaff Breweries has rejected the proposals of the Teamsters and brewers unions to pay for the pensions of Ballantine workers laid off when the Ballantine brewery shut-down March 31.

The unions insisted that since Falstaff had taken over the Ballantine production, it was also responsible for the contracts originally made with Ballantine. Falstaff has stated that it will pay for pensions only of those 200 union workers remaining at Ballantine for distribution purposes.

The unions' pension fund is in danger of running dry, leaving workers with 30 and 40 years seniority without pensions.

On the day that the Ballantine brewery was shut down, over

1,000 men of the afternoon shift sat down in the plant to protest the closing. The Joint Executive Council of the brewery unions took the men out of the plant that evening with the excuse that they did not want to frighten Falstaff into leaving Newark completely. They hoped that Falstaff could be begged into accepting responsibility for Ballantine's contract agreements.

That betrayal now has led to the destruction of the lives of hundreds of their union members.

same time 1199 was given jurisdiction to represent the staff of the future North Central Bronx Hospital being built.

But now this whole deal has blown up in Davis' face. The enormous financial crisis has meant that the new hospital which was part of the agreement is nowhere near completion.

REWARDED

The city has rewarded Davis for his pains by reneging on its informal agreement, and thousands of 1199 members face not only deteriorating working conditions but also the loss of their union membership and a wage cut.

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BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Following a massive May Day demonstration of 4,000, the British Young Socialists have launched their paper, *Keep Left*, as a weekly. *Keep Left* has been a monthly paper since 1958. This represents an important step forward for the British and international Trotskyist movement coming after the establishment of the *Workers Press* as the world's first daily Trotskyist newspaper.

The development of *Keep Left* and the Young Socialists has proceeded from its birth from international perspectives. It has played an important role in the development of the Fourth International as has the Fourth International in the development of *Keep Left*.

Keep Left began in 1950 as a mimeographed newspaper fighting for Trotskyist policies within the Labour Party youth section, the League of Youth. In 1955 the right-wing bureaucracy dissolved the LOY because of its fear of the struggle for socialist policies among youth.

Youth sections were then set up attached to local Labour Party clubs and kept separate from each other. *Keep Left*, published by two such sections, sought to bring the Labour Party youth together around socialist policies and educate a Marxist leadership in this way.

The real history of *Keep Left* begins in January, 1958 when it was launched as a monthly printed newspaper. This coincided with the beginnings of a development of youth in all countries of the world as the capitalist relations of the boom period began to break up and the basis prepared for a new period of class struggle.

PREPARATION

The launching of *Keep Left* as a printed paper came almost simultaneously with the launching in the United States of the *Young Socialist* by the youth around the Socialist Workers Party. Both reflected a turn to Trotskyism internationally following the Hungarian Revolution and preparation for the whole new period of class struggle we have now entered. The two papers and the two youth movements developed in that period in the closest fraternal relationship.

The evolution of the British Young Socialists and the Young Socialist Alliance in such sharply different directions is rooted not in differences between the countries but in the theoretical questions to be fought out in the coming period. That *Keep Left* now emerges as a weekly paper supported by thousands of young workers, while the YSA has abandoned completely its *Young Socialist* and built middle class circles in closest collaboration with Youth for McGovern, can only be explained from this history.

The next stage in the development of *Keep Left* came in 1960 when the British Labour Party was forced to launch the Young Socialists as a national organization. Its purpose, as far as the right wing was concerned, was to do the leg work to get out the vote as the Labour Party moved towards becoming the government of Great Britain once again.

The British Trotskyists of the Socialist Labour League, which led the youth around *Keep Left*, recognized the enormous significance of this move. The launching of the Young Socialists coincided with an important radicalization of British youth which in turn was preparatory to the sharpening of attacks by the capitalists upon the working class and the working class' response to these attacks. The Labour Party was to be refurbished for the job of launching the first blows against the British labor movement.

WITCH-HUNT

In the same period as the launching of the Young Socialists, the right wing of the BLP conducted a vicious witch-hunt against the Socialist Labour League and against *Keep Left*. *Keep Left's* fight within the Young Socialists was to be a continuous one against constant bureaucratic attacks and at every moment with expulsions hanging over the heads of



British Young Socialists Launch Weekly Paper

all youth who fought for socialist policies.

The work of *Keep Left* was not just a matter of debates with the right wing. The *Keep Left* supporters went out into the working class neighborhoods and recruited in a mass way working class youth into the YS. These youth were then taken through a very difficult battle against all kinds of maneuvers and stultifying activities aimed at wearing down and forcing these youth out of the YS. It was in this way that a theoretical development was possible and a youth cadre educated.

The mass work of *Keep Left* reached its highest point in 1963 when unemployment reached one million in England due to the policies of the Tory Government. *Keep Left* organized 1,200 young workers to march on Parliament demanding jobs and the resignation of the Tories to be replaced by a Labour Government dedicated to socialist policies.

Keep Left's work developed within a whole new international situation and a deep crisis within the International Committee of the Fourth International. In January 1961 the Socialist Labour League proposed discussions with the Socialist Workers Party for international perspectives and Pabloism. It was the position of the SLL that we were entering a new period of deepening capitalist crisis which required the preparation of the Trotskyist movement theoretically to become a leadership of masses. Under these conditions, the SLL stated, the group around Michel Pablo were deepening their split with Trotskyism and abandoning any

kind of perspective to construct Trotskyist parties rooted in the working class.

The SWP refused to discuss these questions and instead went into a headlong flight back to Pabloism. Under the leadership of the SWP, after a bitter struggle with the majority leadership which supported the SLL, the YSA was to proceed to liquidate itself into one middle class protest activity after another—Castroism, Black Nationalism, liberal peace protests, etc.

The British youth, involved in this bitter struggle within the Labour Party youth, were to be educated in this principled theoretical battle within the Fourth International. Within the Young Socialists the Pabloites sided with the right wing even voting for the expulsion of *Keep Left* supporters.

INTERNATIONAL

It was only through this international struggle that it was possible to educate a leadership capable of taking a generation of young working class fighters through the experience of the fight within the Labour Party and in this way take an extremely important and necessary step in the preparation in Great Britain of the alternative revolutionary leadership.

In this way the *Keep Left* forces were able to gain a majority within the Young Socialists and maintain this majority for two successive conferences despite a number of expulsions. In 1965 it became clear that the bourgeoisie was preparing to allow the Labour Party to take over the reigns of government because the acute capitalist crisis required such a government to launch the first blows upon the labor movement itself. Under such conditions, it would not be possible for the Trotskyists to be tied up within the Labour Party. Its forces needed to be free to openly fight the Labour Government within the labor movement.

In 1965 the Young Socialists adopted *Keep Left* as its official organ and refused to recognize the expulsions and bans of the Labour Party. It then proceeded to the most difficult task of constructing a completely independent Young Socialist movement on a Trotskyist program.

In the period which followed, the Young Socialists were to play a crucial role in reaching important sections of the British working class in a struggle against the capitalist policies of the Labour Government when all the various revisionist groups pulled back from such a struggle.



Before Young Socialists were expelled by right wing, *Keep Left* mobilized thousands of working class youth against Tories despite witch-hunting by Labour Party leaders. Above, YS rally of 4,000 in Trafalgar Square in 1964 against unemployment. It was the Young Socialists and *Keep Left* who were able in this way to develop the base of the Trotskyist movement in the unions which made it possible to launch the *Workers Press* as a daily paper.

CONSTRUCTING

At the same time the Young Socialists participated fully in the work of constructing the Fourth International. In the fall of 1966, the Young Socialists joined with the French Revoltes group to march through the streets of Liege against the Vietnam War, and in defense of the Hungarian Revolution and faced the attacks of the revisionist Pabloites. In 1967 the Young Socialists again in collaboration with the French youth, organized an International Youth Assembly which was an important step in bringing forward Trot-

skyism among youth in a number of countries.

When the Young Socialists sent a delegation to the Youth Conference in Essen called by the French AJS youth group in July 1971, this delegation based its participation on the understanding achieved through this whole history since 1958 and before. In fact the amendment it put forward at that conference expressed in crystallized form that whole experience:

"There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially of Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory. The continuity of the struggle for Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this rally and for the struggle to build the international revolutionary youth movement. Revolutionary youth everywhere must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combatting the dangers of adventurism, activism and 'pure' militancy with which revisionists and Maoists mislead the youth, and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class."

THREW OUT

When the French youth rejected this amendment they threw out all the lessons of the past decade of struggle to train a new Trotskyist leadership of the working class from out of the youth. It meant that for all their quantitative development the French movement had failed as a revolutionary force because it had educated its youth in opportunism and pragmatism, in the same methods which had led to the YSA's total abandonment of a socialist perspective. Thus the split in the International Committee at that point was unavoidable.

It was this understanding which equipped the Young Socialists to launch their Right to Work marches this Winter and

The Workers League now has launched its Young Socialist movement. Our aim is not to imitate the forms of the British Young Socialists but to train our cadres in the method which built the British YS and *Keep Left*. For this an understanding of its real history as well as a struggle on the basis of an international perspective to make our own experiences is essential.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Triggerhappy Guardsmen Invade Minnesota Campus

BY A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—On Wednesday, the National Guard was called onto the campus of the University of Minnesota for the first time in history against students protesting the war in Vietnam.

The vicious attacks on the students reflect the government's fear of the movement of the youth and the working class against the war.

The most violent week in university history began with an SDS Honeywell Project demonstration against the high rise apartment complex going up in a student residential area on the west bank of the Mississippi.

CONFRONTATION

The demonstrators intended to confront HUD Secretary Romney. Instead, club swinging police met the students. Students were attacked and 17 arrests were made.

On Wednesday, after a noon rally at which only the YS fought the SDS and its adventurism, SDS led students in a bloody confrontation first at the ROTC armory and then in the occupation of Washington Avenue.

Thirty three students were arrested and scores were injured. One student was sent to the hospital in serious condition after being clubbed repeatedly over the head by a club wielding member of the police tactical squad.

At the armory, the tactical squad nearly drew their arms to fire on demonstrators when the explosion of an overturned car, suspected to be the work of a police agent, roared out. Only the retreat of the demonstrators after the explosion prevented another Kent State.

BATTLE

The battle raged throughout the afternoon. The tactical squad, reinforced by the St. Paul police and sheriff's deputies, used tear gas and pepper gas in their onslaught. A helicopter flew overhead dropping canisters of tear gas into the midst of the demonstrators.

Wednesday evening, ex-detective Mayor Stenvig requested Democratic Governor Anderson to send in the National Guard saying: "Hoodlums within our community threaten the life and property of both members of the police force and other law abiding citizens."

Anderson responded by alerting 715 members of the Guard. Two units of 150 men each were deployed immediately to go to the Air Force recruiting station and the ROTC armory.

ROUT

At dawn Friday, the tactical squad and the National Guard, 200 strong, carrying gas and riot sticks, marched on the Washington Avenue barricades. Police agents behind the barricades opened the attack with mace and by beating up unsuspecting students behind the barricades.

One hundred and fifty students were routed from the barricades and the barricades were dismantled.

Later in the day, a thousand

students again occupied the streets and prepared for another confrontation with the police and the National Guard. Non-violent demonstrators huddled with SDSers and police agents waiting for the arrival of the police.

The Young Socialists opposed this action calling on students to call on the Twin Cities labor movement, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly to demand the withdrawal of the National Guard from campus.

CRIMINAL

The role of SDS and the YSA reaches criminal proportions in this situation. SDS capitalizes on the militancy of the students with "left" rhetoric, mobilizing the students in a series of reformist adventures which opened the door for brutal police attacks and agents provocateurs and prepared the stage for what could have been a lethal police offensive.

Thrown into crisis by their whole perspective which cannot see beyond the middle class protests, the YSA is unable to

even confront in words the need to root the fight against the war in the actual struggle of the working class.

To have fought SDS or to have taken up a principled fight to end the war and the attacks on the youth, would have broken up the "united front" of campus radicalism.

ALTERNATIVE

The YSA tail-ended the movement of the students of the university providing no alternative to SDS reformism and adventurism. By refusing to fight SDS, the YSA is equally responsible for the attacks on university students.

The YSA joined with the SDS Honeywell Project, a local chapter of the New America movement, and other fellow travellers in building a march whose central demand was the call to Democratic Governor Anderson, who ordered the National Guard on campus, to reconvene the State Legislature to authorize a "people's referendum" on the war.

Brooklyn College YSA And Student Protest

BY DAVID WEISMAN

At Brooklyn College, the rightward turn of the YSA was to become crystal clear in the anti-war movement. It was in the students' reaction to the renewed offensive of the NLF and Nixon's response to it, that the YSA's complete lack of any strategy for the anti-war movement was revealed.

This lack of a perspective led them to an adaptation to

part two
of a
three-part
series

middle class
protest, Stalinism
and even to
the Jewish Defense
League.

Such maneuvering was seen as beneficial in aiding the YSA in carrying out its prag-

matic task of building its organization.

The basis for the YSA's conception of the anti-war movement lies in the theory that capitalism can be pressured to act against its own interests. This is the theory of the liberals and reformists who see that capitalism, in its decay, can be patched up.



YSA'ers lead antiwar B.C. students in dangerous adventurist sit-in on Flatbush Ave. in Brooklyn with cops prepared to attack them.



Anti-war students sit on statue at U. of Minn. campus where National Guard was called in to crush movement.

In addition, the YSA's theory of the "new radicalization" which poses that the working class will follow the protest movements, thus simply adding quantitative social weight to these middle class movements, is a cover for an acceptance of protest politics.

In reality, the movement of the working class is headed into a sharp collision with these old methods. The revolutionary party must consciously break through this limit, because protest has become completely reactionary.

As the YSA states: "The anti-war movement is not a revolutionary movement." This is true, but it is also true, as Lenin and Trotsky stated, that the only way to end imperialist war is through the overthrow of capitalism. This can only be done by building the revolutionary movement with the perspective of bringing the working class to power. The YSA, rather than drawing this conclusion and fighting to build the revolutionary movement to bring forward the working class, bases the anti-war movement on reformism and the middle class.

The Young Socialists began at every point with an assessment that the war could not be fought outside of the development of the trade union movement and through the construction of a labor party. At the same time, the YS has fought against the treachery of Stalinism, which seeks to make deal after deal in Vietnam to sell out the Vietnamese revolution.

At the moment when victory for the NLF is posed in Vietnam, the leadership of the Provincial Revolutionary Government pro-

poses the Seven Point Peace Program. This program calls for a coalition government and "free" elections. This is nothing but a repetition of the Geneva accords in which such a coalition government and "free" elections allowed imperialism to hold on to South Vietnam. It is the opposite of the Vietnamese workers and peasants coming to power.

At the same time as the anti-war protests revived, the school was holding Student Government elections. Their significance was in many ways ignored by the radicals. Three major parties, the Populists, Alignment and United Students Front appeared to be opposing each other.

Actually, they were a cover for a secret Jewish Student Union slate which was composed of a coalition of cultural organizations dominated by the JDL.

In addition, a radical-liberal slate, the Movement, the Third World Federation and the YSA ran. The Workers League slate was the only one to pose the dangers of the JDL.

Immediately after Nixon's escalated bombing, the SMC held a rally. The YSAers were opposed to a strike at the beginning. But as the rally developed, the radical and Stalinist elements sought to bring this forward. Therefore, in order to preserve a particular relation with these forces and to remain as the leadership in the movement, the YSA called for a strike.

Also, despite their so-called opposition to the JDL, in order to preserve their relation with Student Government they allowed

(Continued On Page 18)

Young Socialist Youth Cannot Accept Summer Jobs Cutback

As the end of the school term approaches, the refusal of the employers and the government to provide jobs for youth becomes more evident. The New York Times put it quite mildly in its May 13th issue with the heading "Summer Jobs Outlook For Youths Is Poor."

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress agreed to appropriate a measly \$141.6 million for jobs to the Neighborhood Youth Corps. A survey by the National League of Cities said that \$223.9 million was needed.

Thousands of youth in the major cities depend every year on this program to provide jobs. The Youth Corps was instituted along with other poverty programs after the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s. Young people who work for this program are paid an unbelievably low salary of \$36 a week.

The Corps will have only 750,000 jobs available. In 1969 the Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed that over six million youth were looking for jobs over the summer months. The number of youth looking for jobs this year will reach the highest point in many years.

While recently it has become very difficult for youth to find jobs, now with the end of school it will be almost impossible. In cities like Detroit and Los Angeles the unemployment rate among minority youth has skyrocketed to over 50 percent during a period in which many did not search for jobs because of school.

In the face of this, the Republicans and Democrats have kicked out a pitiful amount of money which will not come even close to dealing with the situation. On top of this, budget cuts will be announced shortly which will eliminate programs of this type on city levels. Officials say they are worried over the actions that youth will take over this situation.

Millions of youth will not find jobs this year while their parents are being thrown out or having their wages cut because of the conscious policy of the Democratic and Republican parties. The necessity of the unions to unite the unemployed and the employed has never before been posed so crucially. Youth along with students must call on these powerful unions to take up this fight by building a labor party and fighting for full employment through a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

Education Behind Bars At Soldan High

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—By the standards of the Administration, Soldan High is the best school in the city. However it is evident to the students that this is a lie.

Students are forced to be educated in the atmosphere of a prison, with guards patrolling the halls and with locks, bars, and chains on doors and windows. Because of the cutbacks in education, the situation in Soldan is that of too many students and not enough teachers. This year classes were reduced to 45 minutes because of these cuts.



Soldan H.S. students

HARASS

Cops in the school have committed themselves to a policy of harassing students at will. The Administration is in complete agreement with this policy and in fact insists on it.

Cops are not there for the protection of the students but only because the administration is aware of the growing hostility that the students at Soldan have towards the conditions there.

Students are searching for a way to fight these conditions but they lack a leadership. For two years, the Angela Davis defense committee has been active at Soldan. Basing themselves on Black nationalism, they distort the attacks coming down on workers and youth, stating that it is a matter of race.

The attacks of the Democrats and Republicans are being directed at both Black and white youth. Only the Young Socialists have a program to defeat these attacks by fighting now to build a labor party.

Wisconsin Students Face Murder Frame-Up

BY BILL SWARTZ

MADISON—Students at the University of Wisconsin erupted into a week of anti-war demonstrations in response to Nixon's blockade of North Vietnam.

At one point, over 10,000 students were involved in the demonstrations. The students regularly marched to the state capital and "trashed" dozens of stores, banks and military centers. This has resulted in over 40 arrests already.

The response of the police has been especially vicious. The cops began by maliciously beating and clubbing as many students as possible, centering in on the beatings rather than just arrests. The police stepped up this terror later in the week by using so-called "wrist rockets," which are hand slingshots which propel rocks at tremendous speed.

The police have also trumped



Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of Workers League, addresses St. Louis Conference of Revolutionary Youth on the lessons to be drawn from the history of the American labor movement. The conference was attended by youth and auto workers. An important discussion was held on the relation of the struggle of youth with that of workers in the plants and the importance of the fight for the labor party.

Students And Teachers Express Solidarity With Vietnam Struggle

BY KIKI MENDEZ

"Nixon can't win that war in Vietnam because the Vietnamese have something, that's unity. Everything that the US has done for the past ten years has not stopped the Vietnamese.

"The way I see it, the US better get out while they have planes there or else they are going to be swimming across the ocean."

This is what one student in Jefferson High School said when asked about the recent decision of Nixon to mine the harbors of North Vietnam.

In this period when the NLF is beating Saigon's troops in the South, Nixon has waged full scale bombardment of Vietnam. US bombs have been dropped on hospital and schools killing many youth.

But this action to bomb workers and peasants has been opposed by the American workers and youth. As one teacher said:

"The US has no legitimate reason for being there. Vietnam is one country and should be left alone to resolve its problems."

One youth from the Lower East Side in Manhattan declared: "We must help the oppressed people

in Vietnam. We've got to fight now against the government."

It is the attacks upon the students and teachers by the government which is giving rise to this solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Budget cuts are causing the layoffs of teachers while students receive inadequate education and are denied any chance of a job.

When asked about the Soviet Union one teacher replied: "The Soviet Union not only has the right to retaliate but should enforce that right by taking stronger action against US imperialism."

The feeling of most students is reflected in the statement made by one youth who said: "The US should mind its own business. They shouldn't block the North Vietnamese harbor because it's not their territory."

US imperialism feels that wherever there is a profit to be made for the capitalist class, they have the right to be there

even if it means genocidal bombing of working people. What Nixon is worried most about is the opposition of workers, students and youth in the US.

This opposition has been expressed as students have held strikes and rallies across the country to protest Nixon's decision.

But the fight against the capitalist class cannot be carried out through protest.

As one youth from Fort Greene said "Protests can't do anything. These people who don't know anything about the government, about the rich people behind the government, they think that the government will listen to them. But the government doesn't care what we think."

Students and youth must now turn toward the powerful trade unions through the call for a labor party to stop the war which the Democrats and Republicans are responsible for.

perspective is not swallowed by many students. There is now growing distrust of the policies of the "United Front" with fewer people coming every time, as students see that these actions lead to jail terms and brutal beatings.

While the bankruptcy of protest politics was being borne out and as students were seeing the futility of these actions, the YSA continued to fuel the protest movement.

PROTESTS

The YSA and SMC called a meeting Wednesday night opposing the violence of the actions and urging peaceful actions to "involve the community" and through these protests to "turn the campus into a huge organizing center for mobilizing the people of Madison into the

most massive actions ever seen in a city this size."

In this way, the YSA never opposed the politics of the "United Front" and only opposed the violence which resulted from these very policies.

A separate rally was held by the SMC and some state employees at the Federal Building.

A young postal worker spoke about the need for his union to begin taking up a political fight and centered on the call for a nationwide general strike. A representative of the Workers League also spoke.

He raised the necessity to make a complete break from all the liberals and the Democratic party and begin to fight for a labor party. He also stressed that the students in particular had to break from student powerism and take up the fight for a labor party.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Bridges' Betrayal

West Coast dock leader Harry Bridges' behind-the-scenes agreement with the shipping bosses not to strike and to accept the Pay Board decree which cuts longshoremen's wages by 30 cents is part of a conspiracy against all the nation's dockworkers. Bridges' co-conspirators are ILA head Thomas Gleason and Teamster leader Frank Fitzsimmons, the labor traitor who still sits on Nixon's wage board.

Bridges' myth that things will improve "after" Phase II controls are ended is a fraud.

The New York Times editorial, in warning Nixon not to yield to the "blackmail" of "overpowerful" unions in order to maintain the "credibility" of the Pay Board, shows the direction of the ruling class—to use Phase II as the first step to smash the trade unions entirely.

Instead of preparing for this confrontation, Bridges, Gleason, Meany and the whole labor bureaucracy look for a hole to hide in. There is no hole to hide in. What the Pay Board means is that the Government, which serves the employers, writes the contract. This leaves no purpose for unions. If 30¢ is cut then the next cut will be 60¢—and on and on!

The unions must strike against the Board. Every delay just makes the bosses more arrogant. The rank and file must not allow co-conspirators Gleason and Bridges get away with it. They must fight for strike action **IMMEDIATELY**.

At the same time such strike action is a political strike against the government. This is why the labor movement must prepare its political alternative while defying the Board—convening of a Congress of Labor NOW, in the midst of the 1972 elections, to set up a mass independent labor party as an alternative to Nixon, Wallace, Humphrey and McGovern—to the entire Democratic and Republican parties.

Protectionist Fraud

The leadership of the AFL-CIO together with the heads of almost every major union in this country have opened up a completely reactionary campaign to get the unions behind the Burke-Hartke bill. This bill would protect the profits of American corporations by imposing quotas on foreign imports.

This bill is being pushed by the AFL-CIO leadership "to prevent the exportation of American jobs." As the corporations and their government are consciously implementing policies of unemployment against the unions in every capitalist country, the labor bureaucracy seeks to line up American workers behind US business and against the workers in Europe and Japan.

Trade unionists must completely reject this reactionary policy and join with their brothers in Europe and Japan in the fight against the real enemy—capitalism.

Only Labor's Strength Not Terrorism, Can Stop Wallace

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS LEAGUE

On Monday George Wallace was shot while campaigning in Maryland. It now appears that Wallace was shot by one of his own supporters.

The Workers League stands completely opposed to the methods of terrorism. Such actions only feed Wallaceism and give the capitalist class an excuse to institute further repression against the working class movement and the revolutionary party.

We oppose such actions because only the independent political struggle of the American working class can defeat Wallace and the two parties of big business. We are confident that the working class will go forward in this struggle in this period.



"Pull this way!" "No, pull that way!"

What we think

Stalinist Program For May 21st

The tremendous victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the desperate counter-attack of American imperialism has deepened the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. The bankruptcy of "peaceful coexistence" is being exposed mercilessly through the rout of the Saigon puppets and Nixon's mining of the Gulf of Tonkin—actually threatening World War III.

What terrifies the Stalinists is that the collapse of "world peace" represents the stretching of class relations to the final breaking point. Just as it was unable to hold back the Vietnamese workers, the Kremlin fears that all its privileges will be swept away as the international working class mobilizes itself against imperialism.

In this situation, the Soviet bureaucracy desperately seeks closer collaboration with imperialism. Frantic preparations are being made to greet Nixon next week in Moscow: anti-imperialist posters are being removed from the city's airport and news about the Angela Davis trial is being dropped from the Soviet press.

But the Stalinists realize that no deal with imperialism is possible unless the international working class is deceived and defeated. It is the task of the Stalinist American Communist Party to divert and break the offensive of American workers against this government. This is what is behind the reactionary program upon which the CP is building the May 21st anti-war demonstration in Washington.

Every effort is being made to prevent the development of a labor party by tying the American workers to liberalism. It is telling the working class to appeal to the Democrats and Republicans in the Congress in order to end the "unconstitutional" war

against the Vietnamese people.

At this point, there is a tremendous hatred of the war within the working class. But American workers have come to this position through a bitter struggle in defense of their living conditions against the vicious attacks of the employers and the government.

During the past week, all mention of these battles has been virtually dropped from the Daily World. Instead, the pages are filled with calls to defend "the national interest" by petitioning Congress to stop Nixon.

On May 10, the Daily World called the bombing of North Vietnam an "arrogant disregard of Congress' Constitutional right to decide on war..." In other words, the American Communist Party would accept as perfectly legitimate any imperialist war sanctioned by the Congress.

In order to save "the honor of the nation," the working class must "compel Congress to act for peace." The Daily World continues: "Let each local trade union communicate with its Congressmen..."

On the same day, the Daily World reported the statement of the CP National Chairman, Henry Winston, on the mining of Haiphong. He said that Nixon "has taken our country a long stride down the road to national disaster...Nixon's new crimes...call for decisive action in response from the Senate and Congress of the United States."

The decisive action Winston demanded is "nothing less than the impeachment of Richard Milhous Nixon...if the national interest is to be saved, if the peace of the world is to be saved."

What all this amounts to is that the CP is attempting to completely prostitute the American working class

before the Democrats and Republicans who are equally responsible for this war and for the attacks on wages, jobs, and working conditions. American workers are instructed to defend the national interest side by side with the Senate and House of Representatives.

The CP knows full well that the "national interest" has been served by the Congress by writing all the union-busting laws that are on the statutes, by passing the very measures that gave Nixon the power to impose a wage freeze, and by financing the war in Vietnam. In fact, the Congress served the national interest of American capitalism not too long ago by passing a law that threw members of the CP behind bars.

Quite consciously, the Daily World echoes the capitalist press, and even quotes the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. The Stalinists can do this because their position on the war is virtually the same as that which the Times put forward

"Mr. Nixon is pushing the country very near to a Constitutional crisis; Congress can yet save the President from himself and the nation from disaster. The only recourse is in the hands of Congress." Those words could have been spoken by Henry Winston rather than the Times' editorial page.

There will be many thousands of student youth in Washington on May 21 and a large number of trade unionists. But the perspective upon which the CP would have them demonstrate—"Nixon out of the White House"—is designed to wipe out any class understanding of the war, and what it means to American workers.

The perspective of the CP is constructed with monumental cynicism. As it mobilizes workers to petition Congress to stop "the mad bomber" Nixon, the Daily World clumsily avoids any mention of Nixon's visit to Moscow. The courtesy call of two leading officials to the White House just one day after Nixon's threat to blow up Russian ships was not mentioned in the Daily World.

What the American Stalinists are proposing on May 21 is exactly the opposite of what must now be done by the working class. At a time when workers face unprecedented attacks by the Government and the growing danger of the right-wing movement that Wallace represents, every program that ties them to the capitalist parties must be branded as criminal.

There is only one way forward for the American working class. It must break with the capitalist politicians and build its own labor party which alone can end the war in Vietnam and the war against American workers and youth at home.



The OCI & The International Committee

New Documents

In October 1971, the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) split from the International Committee of the Fourth International by publishing a public statement attacking the majority of the IC. This statement was issued together with the Hungarian LSH group headed by Nagy, then a section of the IC, and the Bolivian POR of Lora, not a section of the IC. The November 8th issue of the Bulletin carried this statement together with a reply by the IC Majority.

In the April 24th and May 1st issues of the Bulletin we printed the response of the OCI to the October 24th statement of the IC Majority. In this issue and next week we print the reply of the IC Majority to the OCI's response. This material is reprinted from the Workers Press, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League of Britain where it appeared as part of the preparation for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee.

Centrism And Marxist Theory: Statement Of IC Majority

The split in the International Committee is not something accidental, but something necessary. It flows out of a history of political differences between the Socialist Labour League and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

We have fought to overcome these differences in joint work and discussion over many years. But under the impact of decisive changes in the objective situation—particularly since 1968—a split has become necessary.

The split is not the result of organizational questions or misunderstandings. And it is not about tactical aspects of how to build the Fourth International. It is a political split, going to the foundations of the Fourth International—Marxist theory.

A smokescreen

For this reason, the primary task is to explain the basic theoretical questions involved, and in this context to disperse the smokescreen of organizational inventions raised by the OCI document.

The IC meeting which adopted the October 24 statement was not valid according to the OCI because they were not invited. But the IC had already been split by the political actions of the

OCI at Essen and on the Bolivian revolution.

It was the first responsibility of the IC majority to speak out for Trotskyism against this split. The OCI allege that they were excluded from the meeting as part of the SLL's avoiding of discussion on the principled questions of building the Fourth International ever since the IC pre-conference in July 1970. The meaning of the differences at that pre-conference, and their subsequent significance, are dealt with in detail below. However, we must clarify one fabrication before going on to the basic differences. According to the OCI:

'Ever since July 1970, the SLL leadership has refused to call a second session of the pre-conference. On the contrary, it was to make approaches to the leading centres of the liquidators of the FI, to the Unified Secretariat of Mandel and company, and propose a joint conference in terms which were not only opposed to the decisions of the pre-conference, but also to the overall struggle of the IC; this was revealed in an article by its national secretary, Gerry Healy, in the Workers Press on September 8, 1970. A sharp and rapid reply from the OCI was, at this stage, to stop the development of this dangerous ten-

dency . . .

The author of these lines knows full well that Comrade Healy's approach to a representative of the Unified Secretariat was made with the full agreement of the OCI leadership. The purpose of it, like the Parity Committee for discussion with the Pabloites in 1962, was to carry the fight for the IC line into every section of their ranks.

We were convinced that the development of the capitalist crisis created conditions in which a thorough historical accounting could be made of the disputed questions in the Trotskyist movement since the split with Pablo. This discussion required the participation of all the revisionists as well as of our own forces. We also were sure that such a wide discussion was the best framework for fighting out the differences exposed at the pre-conference.

This discussion, if it had proved possible, would have given the opportunity of winning any cadres who were moving into opposition within the Pabloite organizations. Not only the revisionists themselves, and particularly Hansen, rejected such a discussion, but so did the OCI leaders.

On both sides, they sensed the dangers to the course they were pursuing. The present discussion,

in which Hansen and the Pabloites publish the documents of the IC majority and of the OCI, and make their own comments upon them, is in its own way confirmation of the necessity of the scope of the discussion which was proposed! Willy-nilly, all the parties are now engaged in the discussion of fundamental questions.

As for the flimsy arguments to 'prove' that the IC majority is not a majority, they are easily disposed of. Listing eight sections of the IC, the OCI acknowledge that four support the October 24 statement. But they omit the Greek section, commenting: 'At the moment there is no Greek section, for the latter which participated in the 1966 Conference split in two on the eve of the 1967 coup d'état and conditions have not allowed clarification of the reasons behind the split and an estimation of one group or the other. Consequently, on the suggestion of Comrade Slaughter, the IC decided to treat the two groups as sympathetic to the IC.'

This is untrue. The facts are these. In 1966 the Greek section was internally divided, but accepted the proposal of the IC that they would avoid a split until a Conference with IC participation. As the OCI knows, such a document of the IC is not

something which can be enforced as discipline. The majority leadership considered that refusal of the minority to accept decisions endangered the section to such an extent that expulsion was necessary. After this (1967) the IC tried to bring together representatives of both groups for discussion.

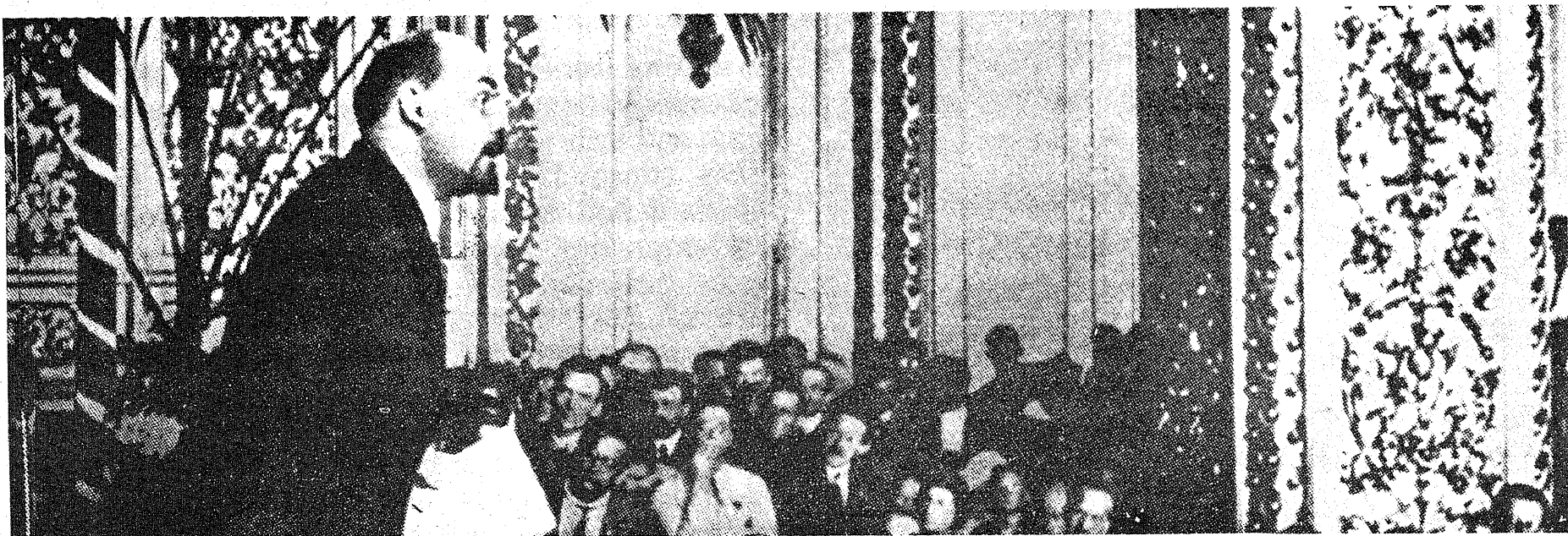
If the IC was not able to take a position on the question of the expulsion of the minority by the Greek section, this is not because of the situation created by the 1967 coup, but because of the fact that the problems of the Greek Trotskyist movement were the problems of the IC itself and could therefore be resolved only through the resolution of those problems.

But there can be no question of the Greek section being excluded from IC membership because a majority of the IC want a discussion in the section reopened! It is not true that Comrade Slaughter made any proposal to recognize two sympathizing sections. There remains a Greek section on the IC; and the proposal to bring together the two sides for discussion, including both their participation in an international conference if no unification is agreed beforehand, remains on the agenda.

There remains the POR of Bolivia. All that was agreed at



OCI seeks to construct youth movement not on basis of Marxism, but on activism and hostility to Marxist theory.



Third Conference of International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) (right) in 1966 reasserted that the continuity of Marxism and Trotskyism is represented by the ICFI. Trotsky fought in 1930's against Stalinism in order to defend gains of the first five years of the Communist International. Fourth International was created to defend this continuity of Marxism. The OCI agreed with this up to 1966 but following 3rd Conference, they moved away from these positions and denied the continuity of Marxism in ICFI. Top, Lenin speaks to 3rd Congress of CI in 1921. Above, Trotsky addresses 4th Congress in 1922.

the IC was that Lora's application for membership of the Committee should be put before the next International Conference. This would give full opportunity for clarification of the present political positions of the POR, as well as of the record of Lora and the POR in the struggle against Pabloite revisionism. The SLL had severe reservations on both counts, and the OCI knows perfectly well that these were forcefully expressed in IC meetings.

Finally, on these preliminary questions, the OCI tries to justify the resignation of Stéphane Just as 'secretary of the International Committee', on the grounds that the IC decided Comrades Just and Slaughter work as a 'co-secretariat', because of difficulties the SLL had in taking on the secretaryship.

What happened (in 1969) was that, in order to facilitate closer working relations between the sections, given the prospect at that time of growing agreement, Comrades Just and Slaughter should meet briefly and more regularly, in Paris or London, to prepare statements on behalf of the IC.

Centrism and the OCI

On the two sides of the split are two distinct political lines. The IC majority, supporting the position of the SLL, are for the building of independent revolutionary parties in every country as sections of the IC. This line proceeds from the fact that the Fourth International means precisely the cadres of such parties, fighting against all

revisionism which has tried and still tries to destroy the parties of the FI. The FI means the struggle of these cadres to win the leadership of the masses in their own countries from the reformists and Stalinists.

Only the building of such independent parties and their successful winning of the leadership can ensure the victorious struggle for working-class power.

We live in a period where the break-up of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its parties, which inevitably reflect the capitalist crisis, and the sporadic occurrence of petty-bourgeois nationalist and protest movements, exert pressure on the working class and the revolutionary movement. This pressure is, above all, concentrated against the development of Marxist theory, against the building of independent Trotskyist parties whose cadres are based on this theory.

As against theory, these petty-bourgeois tendencies glorify activism and militancy. They pour contempt on those who start from the revolutionary theory and continuity of the movement built by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. They talk about combating bourgeois ideology, but refuse to take up any struggle for dialectical materialism against that ideology in the fields of philosophy and the historical and natural sciences. They revel in 'new' revolutionary tendencies, but pull back from any struggle against Stalinism.

The OCI, the LSPH, and the LOM are a centrist tendency. Behind Trotskyist phraseology and worship of the Trotskyist

programme, they in fact represent the results of petty-bourgeois pressure on the revolutionary party. This is why they reject the essential continuity of the FI, represented by the IC cadres, today. They prefer the 'common-sense' formula that there was a Fourth International, but revisionism smashed it, and we have to 'reconstruct' it.

In this way they politically avoid the essential theoretical and practical struggle against those centrists who say precisely that experience has proved the correctness of their own centrist forefathers of the London Bureau who opposed the founding of the FI in the first place, on the grounds that it was premature, not rooted in an upsurge of the masses.

The formula 'reconstruction of the FI' is the weapon with which a theoretical clarification of the struggle against Pabloism is avoided. It is converted into an organizational question.

Little wonder then that the OCI found its way back to international centrism at the 1971 Essen youth conference.

Outstanding amongst the centrist groups of the 1930s who rejected Bolshevism and opposed the very founding of the FI was the Spanish POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification).

The utter failure of the POUM to provide any leadership or to win any independence from the Stalinists (for which they paid with their lives) was one of the most basic political lessons upon which the FI was established. The POUM continues to exist and was represented at Essen by its youth movement. The POUM's paper, 'Adelante' (December

1971) reported the Essen conference as follows:

'In the afternoon and evening, a meeting took place of an International Conference, where amendments were debated on the initial text which had been put forward by the various organizations. Only the amendment proposed by the English delegation of the Young Socialists, on the need to discuss the problem of Marxist theory was rejected in a vote after discussion (the JCI did not participate in this vote) . . .

'In its intervention, the JCI explained how the general framework proposed was in line with the struggle that the POUM and the JCI had been carrying on since 1936 . . .

In the 1930s, Andres Nin and his group sacrificed the organization of a centralized leadership based on Marxist theory for unity with the group of Maurin on the grounds that it commanded the allegiance of a large number of workers. This liquidationism led to defeat in the Spanish revolution. To repeat this type of mistake today, is to open the door to all the pressure from the petty-bourgeois tendencies which always denounce as 'sectarian' the Trotskyist insistence on theory and continuity.

That the OCI is prepared publicly to vote against the Young Socialists, youth organization of the SLL, with political support from the POUM, is a clear indication of the political nature of the split in the IC. No doubt the OCI will want to excuse itself on the grounds that there are possibilities of change in the POUM. This has been answered in advance by one of

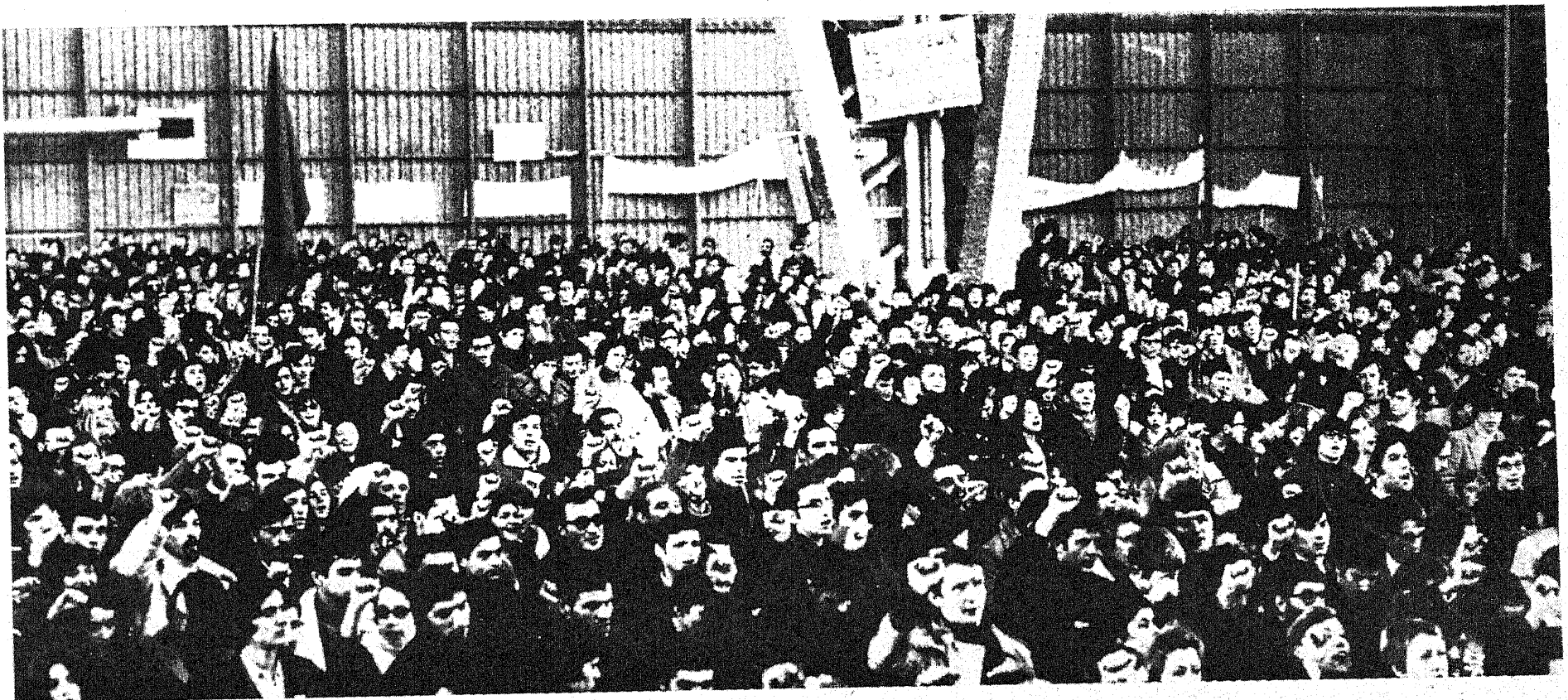
the POUM's leaders, writing in 1970 (published in Paris 1971):

almost 35 years afterwards, the younger generations in Spain are asking questions and are interested in the role of the POUM in these circumstances (the Spanish Civil War), and internationally people still recall the hopes aroused by the party in the world of revolutionary socialists as a new concept of the desire for freedom in the working class against totalitarianism and the crimes of Stalin, who, at the time, was at the peak of power. On the other hand, Trotskyism can show no success in its record of activity in the different movements throughout the world, unless it is its breaking up into even more groups in all the countries where it exists, which are then enmeshed in an even more ferocious struggle against each other.'

(From the Preface to 'Los Problemas de la Revolucion Española', written by Juan Andrade, a leading member of the POUM as an introduction to a selection of the work of Andres Nin.)

The OCI leaders were perfectly aware that this was the position of the POUM. Their 'reconstruction' of the Fourth International is a rallying of centrist elements to whom they hand, as a concession, the formula: the FI was destroyed by revisionism, it must be reconstructed. They know that the centrists will interpret this to mean: in an international 'regroupment' we will all begin at the same place, with no compulsion to learn the lessons of past revolutions and past betrayals.

The OCI and its followers mis-



OCI was not prepared for revolutionary struggles of May-June, 1968 in France (top left). It refused to fight for necessary demand for Communist Party to take power. May-June events allowed for growth of OCI's youth movement, but this covered up their political

weakness where at Le Bourget, they rallied 8,000 youth but could put forward no perspective. Refusal to confront theoretical question led to capitulating to opportunism of Lora's PÖR (top right) which expresses same centrist tendency as POUM in Spain in 1930's.

calculate. A thousand times more important than the ephemeral groupings thrown off by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the petty bourgeoisie because of the crisis of imperialism is the deep-going change forced on the life and activity of the masses by this crisis. Only the independent work of the revolutionary parties, based on Marxist theory, will penetrate to these changes in the masses, and in this way carry forward the construction of the Fourth International.

The OCI's political association with the POUM, and their opposition to the line of the SLL and the IC of the Fourth International on the fundamental question of the International quite naturally came to a head on the amendment proposed by the Young Socialists at Essen.

Centrism and the OCI (continued)

In order, so far as was possible at that late stage, to correct the completely anti-theoretical line of the document proposed by the AJS (youth organization of the OCI), the YS proposed the amendment drawing attention to the theoretical basis of the revolutionary movement. The OCI represents this as some sort of ultimatum. But, as the British delegation explained, what was actually required was a new resolution based on these theoretical foundations, and an amendment could only attempt to preserve for the future whatever basis there was for agreement. There proved conclusively to be none. The split actually occurred on the question of the place of Marxist theory as the foundation

of the revolutionary party.

The OCI, as well as all sorts of other people, will pay lip-service to Lenin's statement 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement,' but in the actual struggle to build the movement they reject the struggle for theory in order to preserve the centrist alliance they have been building up. They have 'prepared' for this public declaration against the theoretical foundation of our movement by years of failure to take up basic questions of theory in the French labour movement. We shall see where this neglect has led them in the revision of basic Marxist concepts.

And so the split is not a question of dozens of detailed points of organization, or even of political positions on various questions. Every one of these points must and will be answered, but the great advantage of the present split is that it occurs with the basic theoretical questions out in the open. At the point in history where the deepening of capitalist crisis actually opens the door for Trotskyist parties to be built and to lead the working class to power, a point where the conditions for development of Marxist theory by revolutionary cadres are better than ever before, and where all the lessons of the long struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist movement can be capitalized—precisely at this point the OCI wants to devalue theory, to join the derision of the petty bourgeoisie against discussion on philosophy, to condemn the 'ultimatum' and 'sectarianism' of the SLL, and to accept the petty-

bourgeois prejudice that the Fourth International, having in any case been misconceived, died long ago.

These are the fundamental positions behind the split. They are the basis of the differences on the united front, on Bolivia, and on the policies of the OCI in France, as well as on the historical and theoretical issues already raised in the discussion.

When a split takes place on the fundamental question of the relationship of Marxist theory to programme and to the building of revolutionary parties, it cannot be tackled by arguments, like those of the OCI, that 'There can no more be a "majority" of the IC than there can be a "minority", since there has been no meeting of the IC! The OCI did not need a meeting of the IC to reveal at Essen that on the question of the Fourth International they were prepared to write off some 35 years of history. It is not just that they returned, formally, to the position of 'for the Fourth International' instead of 'building the Fourth International'. They rejected the positions of the FI on those centrists who had opposed its very foundation.

The differences are not new

The political differences in the IC did not begin in 1971, nor in 1969, as the OCI suggests. In the two years before the Third International Conference of the IC in 1966 there was discussion, both at IC meetings and in written bulletins, on the differences between us on the nature of

revolutionary leadership. The dangerous political implications of these differences were, in our opinion, most openly expressed (as early as 1964) in the assertion of a leading OCI member, that the meaning of certain expressions in the Transitional Programme has not been discernible in their objective significance until that time. According to him, only now were some of these phrases revealing their real content. He referred particularly to the last sentence of this paragraph:

'Is the creation of such a [workers' and farmers'] government by the traditional workers' organizations possible? Past experience shows, as has already been stated, that this is to say the least highly improbable. However one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.) the petty-bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie.'

The real experience of the Trotskyist movement since these sentences were written had proved beyond any doubt that, as the Stalinists and reformists grow ever more open in their betrayals, in their counter-revolutionary role, revisionism seized on precisely this passage to justify liquidation of the revolutionary party. Pablo split the FI with his thesis that 'mass revolutionary pressure' and World War III would force Stalinism to play a revolutionary role.

Ignoring the deliberate warning given by Trotsky (that even if a workers' government were established by the traditional workers parties, it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat) Pablo predicted 'centuries of degenerated workers' states'.

The OCI was in danger of preparing the theoretical slipway for the same liquidationism in another form: to liquidate the independent programme and identity of the party in an all-embracing policy of 'united front for a workers' government'.

At this stage, we were prepared to fight for the clarification of these problems within the same International. At the 1966 Conference, the attack on Trotskyism by non-member participants, the US Spartacist (Robertson) group and the Voix Ouvrière (VO) group (France),* brought a united response from the SLL, the OCI and the other sections of the IC. Our opinion at that time was that the defence of the continuity of the Trotskyist movement against the opportunism of Robertson and Voix Ouvrière laid the basis for tackling some of our differences.

It is of great importance for the present discussion that the VO based their attack on the formulation in the IC documents that the FI had been organizationally destroyed by Pabloism and must be 'reconstructed'.

While it is formally true, as the OCI states, that the final resolutions in some places retained the terms 'reconstruction' and 'rebuilding', what is certain is that the content of these resolutions was above all



OCI never understood role of revolutionary press. Their ridicule of SLL's fight for daily paper reflects their hostility to struggle against Stalinism and revisionism.

the continuity of independent parties and of the FI fought for and preserved by the IC and based on Marxist principle and theory. Against the attacks of VO and Robertson, the SLL, the Workers' League and the Greek section fought for the continuity of the FI and in doing so compromised with the OCI on the wording of the amendment carried. There was no concession on principle.

What soon emerged was that the OCI's participation in the fight against VO and Robertson, rather than proving a basis for changing their wrong positions on the question of the independent revolutionary party, served as a screen behind which they proceeded on exactly the same road. By 1966 the OCI had agreed that, even while opposed to Pabloism, it had committed grave errors of precisely a Pabloite type in relation to the Algerian national movement. But it did not go any further, and this was fundamental.

The next step should have

been to probe the unresolved theoretical question in the split with Pablo which had left the OCI vulnerable to such a mistake. Because this was not done, the OCI in its latest document can still say, on the lessons of the Algerian experience:

'The fact remains that the policy of the Trotskyist organization was wrong because it rejected "the struggle for the development of a Trotskyist vanguard".'

Certainly! But when you say this, you are left precisely with the big question: how did it arise that a 'mistake' was made on the principal question of the epoch! And if this question is not posed, let alone answered, what dangers exist of liquidation of the revolutionary party in France itself, and in every country? The OCI's attitude towards the 'rebuilding of the Fourth International' through a 'regroupment' of all those claiming to support the Transitional Programme is the instrument for this liquidation.

That is why, in 1967, the OCI, having moved from its previous position of setting up some sort of 'League' consisting of a supposedly already existing 'vanguard' of the best organizers and militants in the working class focused its attack in the IC on all sorts of plans to create artificially a centre for the IC. Proposals were made for full-time workers and special financial schemes to attract forces internationally (such as dissident youth in E Europe) who were said to be only looking for somewhere to go. The SLL's opposition to these methods, its insistence on the central importance of the training of a cadre, was condemned as opposition to the need to build 'the International as such' (*en tant que telle*).

There was no resolution of these questions in discussion. We could get little or no agreement on our estimation of the growing economic crisis of capitalism as the objective source to

which our comrades must be directed for their development as Marxists. Indeed, leaders of the OCI told us that our attention to Economic Perspectives at our Conferences was wrong, and that there could be no separation of economic from political perspectives.

The fact is that their own perspectives were not based upon this appreciation of the depth of the economic crisis, and they were left like all non-Marxists and revisionists simply to agree on the existence of a crisis when its effects could no longer be missed by the naked eye. Consequently the political manifestations of the crisis, and particularly the May-June 1968 struggles in France, took them completely by surprise.

All through 1967, the OCI had pursued their proposals on 'the International as such' and attacked the organization of the SLL (just as later they privately opposed the plans for a daily paper) on the grounds, funda-

mentally, that we were leaping too far ahead of the movement and consciousness of the working class, the 'real movement' (see the letter of the OCI to the SLL and the SLL Reply, 1967).

These differences about the discipline, training and organization of the revolutionary party were obviously connected with the emphasis of the SLL on the fact that the advanced stage reached by the economic crisis would very soon pose the struggle for power in a number of countries, and that our parties would be called upon to take up leadership. At the International Assembly of Youth in Britain in August 1967, the SLL found itself having to exercise great patience and firmness in insisting on these perspectives on all the questions which they affected: security, organizational details, finance, and the whole problem of preparedness of the youth cadre.

Undoubtedly the May-June days in 1968 once again provided the opportunity for a struggle to clarify political differences. It was absolutely correct for the SLL to campaign, as it did, to win wide support, political and financial, for the OCI. A large fund was raised, and a broad movement of opposition to the repressions against the OCI was mobilized through the columns of 'The Newsletter' (predecessor of the Workers Press).

What is more important is that the rapid development of the objective situation, of the class struggle itself, had completely vindicated the political preparation fought for by the SLL. It was vital to bring home this indispensable lesson to the members and leaders of the OCI, and to the international movement. It was the responsibility of the SLL to fight to overcome previous differences on this basis.

The following months actually suggested the possibility of success, but behind formal political agreement, the OCI pursued its course and still the basic questions were not resolved. After May-June 1968, it was certainly impossible to avoid 'recognizing' the international crisis. Nor was it possible to escape any longer the direct and immediate way in which preparation for the struggle for power was posed. These conceptions found their way into the documents of the OCI, and in a series of discussions it was possible to win a certain degree of agreement on the way that the struggle for a workers' government was posed in France, by making specific demands on the Communist and Socialist parties.

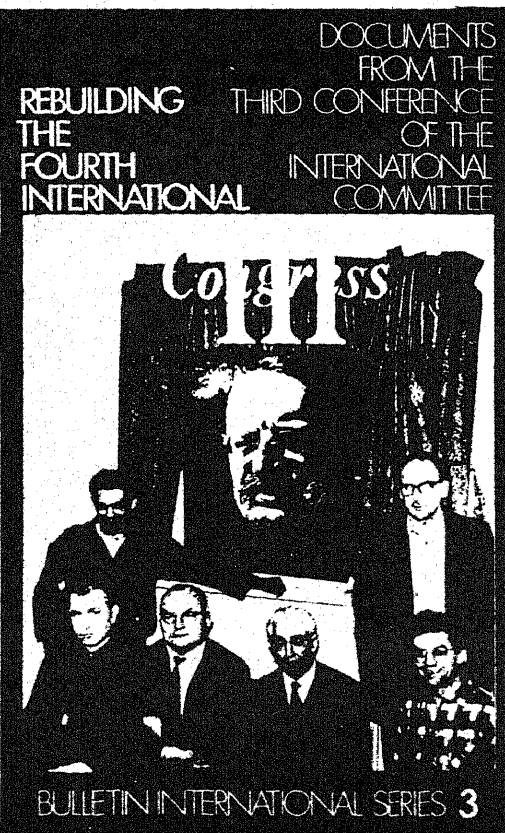
*These groups attended as observers.



TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
by Lucy St. John & Tim Wohlforth

Just Out!

The pamphlet details Trotsky's reasons for founding a new International and examines the dialectical method that Trotsky fought for against all those who thought there were other ways to build the revolutionary movement.



Documents from the Third Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International held in April 1966. It was at this Conference that the continuity of Marxism was definitively established bringing into the new period of class struggle the program and organization of World Trotskyism.

50c each

Labor Publications
135 West 14th St.
New York 10011

David North Books

IN MY WAY, By George Brown. St. Martin's Press, 1972. \$8.95.

The memoirs of George Brown, *In My Way*, is the tedious narrative of a self-satisfied traitor for whom the working class has never been anything more than a vehicle for personal wealth and power.

A better title for this book would have been: *How I Served The Capitalist Class In My Way*. George Brown's "way" was to defend with incredible single-mindedness the interests of capitalism by occupying high positions within the Labour Party. Of course, he could not have made his meteoric rise to the top had it not been for the fact that his open adoration of British capitalism had won the eye of the aging Fabians of the 1940's.

It was after he failed to carry off a right-wing coup against Clement Atlee, while still a back-bencher, that the entire Labour leadership decided that George Brown was destined for great things. Atlee was forgiving, and brought Brown into the government the very day that the insurrection was discovered.

George Brown wandered into the Labour Party in the midst of the terrible depression of the 1930's. With the working class demoralized by a decade of defeats, the Labour Party was just the place for an ambitious fellow like George Brown who wanted to escape the working class. His apprentice work within the trade unions consisted primarily of seeking out local bureaucrats who could offer him the chance of becoming a functionary.

It was not the hatred of exploitation that led Brown into the labor movement. He always accepted the division of society into classes as quite natural and beneficial. Brown never questioned the right of one man to squeeze profits out of another:

"It is hard to put this into words," writes Brown recalling his youth. "It was simply that everyone accepted everyone else as being a person in his own right. One might own a pawnbroker's shop and another take in a jacket to be pawned, but neither felt that the other was in any way superior."

Before being invited into the corridors of power, Brown had to do some solid trade union work in the provinces to prove his mettle. So, in 1938 he led a strike against a rag-picking firm which was lost after 20 weeks:

"Our strike collapsed largely because of the Munich crisis. There was a sudden burst of patriotic fervor and we all went and dug trenches and filled sandbags to make air-raid shelters in Victoria Park. We had a meeting in the park and decided to call off the strike—naturally nobody admitted it, but I think we were all glad of an excuse to wind it up." (emphasis added).

This first betrayal set the pattern for the rest of Brown's career. From there on in, he played the politics of personal gain like a grand-master. He cultivated the closest contacts with the magnates of industry, and became, and still is, the unabashed defender of their interests.

Brown identifies himself completely with the history and present claims of capitalism. Symbolically, a portrait of Lord Palmerston, the architect of British imperialism, hung over his desk in the Foreign Office. Brown's contemporary heroes reflect the same taste. His memoirs pause here and there for a flattering salute to some imperialist chieftain.

Of John Kennedy, he writes: "I came to love and admire him...He was generous, very warm-hearted and a great humanitarian...A thinker, a man of imagination, a man of inspiration, a man of feeling."

Of Lyndon Johnson: "I could identify his weaknesses as easily as he could identify mine, but given all his weaknesses he was the stuff of which great men are made."

Of Winston Churchill: "He was a towering figure from the past."

Another favorite of George Brown is King Hussein, who "by sheer personal courage...has quelled every revolt in his country."

BOW

But Brown takes his deepest bow before the august figure of "one of the world's greatest men—Mohamed Reza, Shah of Iran." The former deputy leader of the British Labour Party can barely restrain himself as he describes the ranking royal butcher in the Middle East:

"I think of him as one of the wisest and most courageous men I have ever known, and I treasure the remark he made to me when I left (from a state visit). He said: 'Mr. Brown, I am so glad we have had this talk. I wish I had known you better earlier.' I can but echo his sentiment."

The friend of all the reactionary leaders of capitalism, it is not at all surprising that Brown is an avowed enemy of the working class in his own country. He is frankly in favor of disenfranchising British workers by turning their Labour Party into the political platform of liberal, and not so liberal, businessmen. As far as Brown is concerned, the Labour Party exists only to grease the palms of the ambitious careerists who run it. Now that the working class is demanding a political accounting from those bureaucrats, the former Deputy Leader feels that the time has come to abrogate the historical relationship between that party and the trade unions.

"I wonder...whether we shouldn't now consider ourselves as a much more broad-

ly-based party, raise our finances in other ways, and not rely upon, or depend upon, this special close attachment to trade unions who can, let us face it, be led by people who have no special attachment to the Labour Party, or can even be actively hostile to it."

Who are those "people" whom Mr. Brown fears: "There's a whole collection of things, Maoist, Trotskyist, Anarchist, heaven knows what—and the titles haven't got much meaning—which nowadays seems able to call on some central direction to organize instant protest about anything. These groups I'm talking about seem to know exactly where to go in any given area, and they can put on quite an act."

The foundation upon which all these attitudes and remarks rest is a deep contempt for the working class. George Brown recalls with pride the way he dealt with a working class audience angered by the rising cost of living. "Oh, come off it," declared Brown. "However high prices are, with the earnings you've got nowadays you're enjoying a life you could never have had before."

HOLIDAY

And what has Brown to say about strikes: "Of course, there are still people who suffer severely in a strike, but for quite a lot of people a strike nowadays is just another form of paid holiday (emphasis added)."

Naturally, Brown is much more solicitous when it comes to the living standards of businessmen. He criticizes the tax policies of the Labour Party which Brown believes takes away too much of

the profit and destroys the capitalists' incentive for keeping their factories open.

"We shouldn't give a man a choice between working and not working. What we want to do is to give him a choice between spending his money on the things he likes, or saving. For example, I like to run a bigger car than I really need."

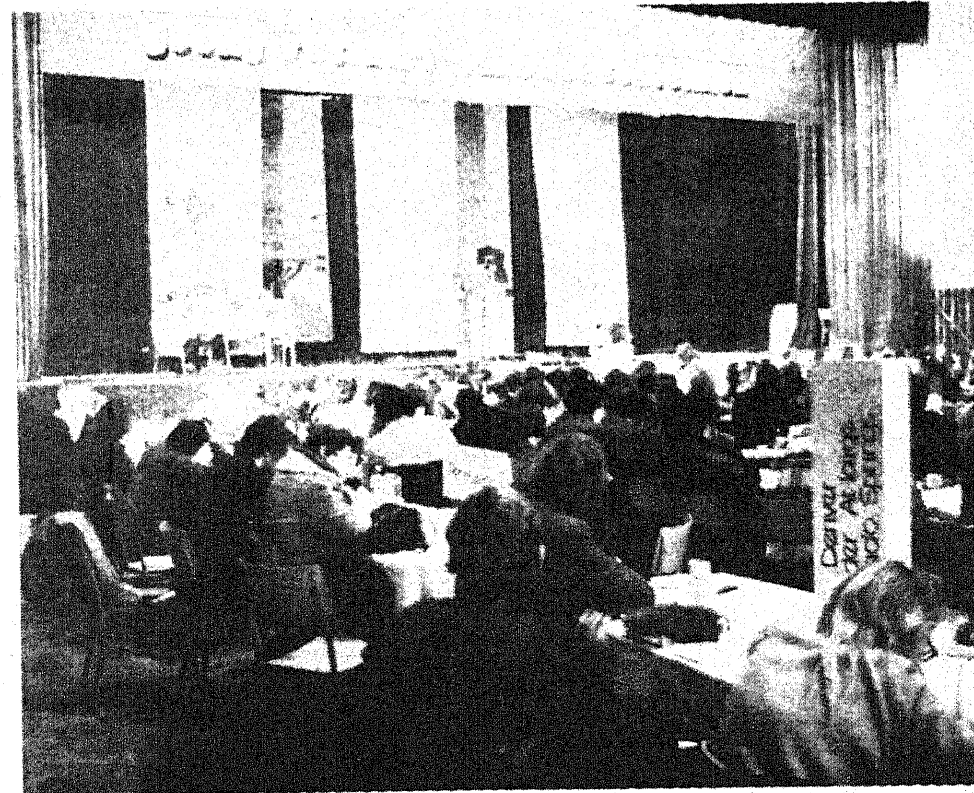
All good things must someday come to an end, and one day George Brown lost his Ministry; not long afterwards, he lost his seat in Parliament. At the age of 55, the labor leader had to find a new job.

CAPITALISM

Along came an offer from a leading British corporation, Courtaulds. Brown admits that he had long considered going into business, but had thought it best to wait until he retired from office. Now he had an opportunity: "I liked the company, and it covered so many industries that I knew a good deal about, I thought the idea (of joining Courtaulds) worth trying...I have been criticized, of course—a politician can expect to be criticized whatever he does. But I have got to meet my own conscience, and it seems to me that my work for Courtaulds is at least as much for the benefit of those I represent in the Labour movement as for anybody else."

His memoirs read like a case study of the social-democratic disease. This reviewer has had the opportunity to glance through the memoirs of Harold Wilson and Willy Brandt; and while those two men are more adept at disguising their hatred of the working class, their roles as the agents of capitalism within the Labour movement cannot be concealed.

Marty Jonas Film



The YSA's film was shot at their 1970 National Convention which is shown above.

TO MAKE A REVOLUTION. Produced by the YSA.

This film expresses in a very powerful form the political bankruptcy of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. One would never know from watching *To Make A Revolution* that there is a working class in the United States struggling for its very survival. Except for a rapid still shot of a workers' demonstration in the '30's, there is not a mention or a frame of the American working class.

Making A Revolution With Blunted Instruments

but there is much more to it than that. Its failure as a film—its linearity of interviews with first one set of protesters and then another—is directly related to the political perspective of the YSA.

To Make A Revolution comes straight out of the "new radicalization"—the question of leadership has been resolved, neo-capitalism has transcended the fundamental class contradictions in society, and the only movement in sight is the protest of alienation in the middle class.

This is reflected in the stilted, mechanical linear development of the film. One frame simply follows another, with no real self-movement or development. The sharp opposition of image to image, of image to sound, of one moment of the film to the moment before it in a conscious contradiction and development—this is the only way a film can reflect the sharp changes taking place every moment in reality, and pose a conscious intervention.

The YSA is unable to reflect cinematically the actual movement, contradiction and change that now explodes in class society because they are politically hostile to that movement. *To Make A Revolution* is therefore as bloated and complacent and conservative as the middle class it is designed to reach and to represent.

There is no tautness, no tension, no unity in the film. Clearly what matters to the YSA is not the construction of a Marxist leadership to bring the working class to power. What matters is that there is a section in the film of women's libbers rapping, which the feminists will love; a section of Black nationalists rapping, which the nationalists will love and a section of Peter Camejo rapping which every radical will love. It's done with that heavy and patronizing hand.

The Pabloites hold the theory that the construction of the revolutionary party to bring the working class to power is no longer necessary—that a "blunted instrument" is sufficient. If film is seen as a tool for the construction of the revolutionary movement, *To Make A Revolution* can only be called a blunted instrument of the blunted instrument.

The entirety of the film is shot at the 1970 YSA Convention in New York City but for footage of anti-war and abortion marches. Aside from some excerpts of speeches to the convention, the film consists of vapid interviews with YSA members active in feminism, Black nationalism and peace.

What dominates the film is the YSA's conception that "to make a revolution" you add together all the middle class radical "movements" on the scene and in some kind of quantitative way they total up to revolution.

There is no enthusiasm, no vitality, no conflict in this film. One could dismiss the film itself as boring, and the editing, lighting and photography as simply inept,

Where The OCI Stands

Lessons Of The British Miners Strike

BY MELODY FARROW

In October 1971, the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, split from the International Committee.

The OCI used the events in Bolivia, where the workers were defeated by a right-wing coup, to cover over its rejection of Marxist theory and dialectics which was at the heart of its split. In Bolivia the OCI gave uncritical support to the policies of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), led by Guillermo Lora, which formed a common bloc with the Stalinists and the bourgeois military leader, Torres. It was the POR's support to Torres which directly disarmed the Bolivian proletariat and paved the way for the right-wing.

Now the OCI newspaper, *Informations Ouvrieres*, has published a three part series on the British miners strike that attacks the policy fought for by the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee, the fundamental principles of the Trotskyist movement.

Its position on the miners strike places the OCI squarely in the camp of the Pabloites and all the centrists who seek to tie the working class to its Stalinist and reformist leaders by rejecting the fight for power and for the construction of an independent revolutionary party.

In fact the series is expressly written not in order to give leadership to the working class but "for an international discussion;" that is, to provide the basis for an unprincipled regroupment of all those centrist forces hostile to Trotskyism. The British miners won an important wages victory after a long and determined strike during which thousands of workers rallied to their defense. It became clear that the workers were prepared for a general strike and a major confrontation with the Tories in order to win their demands.

Heath did not give in to the miners because he sought to avoid this confrontation, but because he and his big business backers disagreed only on the timing of this confrontation. Now only a few short months after the miners strike, the Tories are implementing the Industrial Relations Bill against the railwaymen in an all out effort to destroy the British trade union movement.

MOBILIZATION

Throughout the strike, the SLL fought for the mobilization of all sections of workers behind the miners for one central purpose: to create the conditions to force the Tories to resign and for General Elections to return the Labour Party to power. In the February 15th issue of *Workers Press*, the SLL wrote,

"This can best be carried out in the struggle to force the Labour leadership to adopt socialist policies under conditions in which they are exposed for their inability to do so.

"In short there are no economic answers, such as wage increases, to end the present crisis. The rate of inflation is rising so savagely that any wage concession to the miners would be entirely eroded within six months.

"The working class is today confronted by the question of power. Its immediate task is therefore to make the Tories resign."

The SLL further stated in the February 21 issue:

LEADERSHIP

"Another 1926 becomes the order of the day and then, as now, the strike can only be won through revolutionary political leadership. No matter what the spontaneous power of the working class, such leadership will be decisive." Thus, the principle question was not a general strike and unity of the working class which was being created by the objective conditions themselves, but to drive home the understanding that the only solution was the

overthrow of the Tories and the building of a mass revolutionary party.

It is this central perspective that is rejected by the OCI. Their role is to create the illusion that working class militancy is enough to defeat the government. But this reliance on militancy is a cover for their



OCI saw British miners' strike not as fight to bring down Tories and create Labour government, but simply to make Tories "give in."

acceptance of the domination of the Labour leadership.

In issue number 552 of *Informations Ouvrieres* they write:

"The fight to bring down the Heath government today is concentrated in the fight for the Tories to give in (our emphasis) to the miners. The fight for the leadership of the Labour Party and the unions to respond to the will of the workers by calling all workers to united action is the major task of any political vanguard conscious of its responsibilities."

IMPLICATION

The OCI begins its series on the miners strike by stating that the main question is whether or not the "government still has the means to apply its policy." The implication is that the victory of the miners has paralyzed the Tories and the Labour leadership.

Then they state that the question of a workers government "is not simply a question of defining—necessary as it is—a governmental slogan."

In fact, the OCI goes on to accuse the SLL's fight for General Elections as an "obstacle" to the victory of the miners. They seek to use the temporary victory of the miners to bolster their contention that Heath can still be forced to grant reforms.

In section two, issue number 557, the OCI, after quoting the SLL on the refusal of the trade union bureaucracy to fight to throw out the Tories, responds:

"The fact that the leadership of the Labour Party and the trade unions do not have the slightest intention of using the power of the working class to create a situation which would put the immediate

downfall of the Tories on the agenda, is not a "revelation." It is an aspect of the situation. To say that general elections are a prerequisite to the defeat of the government while stating that the conditions to impose this do not exist, is not sufficient."

A few lines later they state what should be done:

"Finally, general elections themselves are only a moment, an aspect of the fight to overthrow the Heath government."

exist to impose General Elections in Britain, the OCI does not recognize the depth of the crisis and at the same time depends on the Labour Party bureaucracy to carry out the fight against the Tories. This is the meaning of the contemptuous remark that the betrayal of the Labour Party is no "revelation."

The OCI sees no need to continuously expose the reformists because they are not fighting to build an alternative to them.

It is precisely the OCI which must resort to abstract statements (General Elections are only "moments" in the fight to overthrow Heath) to cover up its own inability to pose a concrete program for power.

DENOUNCES

It is particularly in its attack on the Young Socialists' Right to Work March that the OCI's rejection of the need for revolutionary leadership is the most blatant.

The OCI denounces the SLL for giving front page coverage in the February 5th issue to the opening of the Right to Work March, rather than to the murder of a miner the day before and the call by 100,000 workers in Durham for a 24 hour general strike.

It was of the greatest importance that the Right to Work March took place at the height of the miners' strike. Its goal was to reach the masses of British workers and to pose the central task, the overthrow of the Tories. All over the country striking miners and workers defied their Labour Party leadership and gave the marchers overwhelming support.

It was on the first page February 5th because the critical question in the miners' strike was the building of a Trotskyist leadership. The OCI consciously comes out against this.

LEADERSHIP

Any worker looking to the OCI for leadership should ponder the following statement which concludes the attack on the Right to Work March:

"We cannot, a priori, from France, in the midst of this discussion, sovereignly decree the exact slogan that should have been put forward. Was it necessary to call for a general strike? Would a central demonstration called by all the unions have been a step in this direction? These are precisely the questions that must be discussed."

The question of which policy the revolutionary party should adopt is not even deemed urgent enough to decide! Clearly the OCI does not see itself as a revolutionary party fighting to lead the working class but as a radical group which holds "discussions." The political principles of life and death importance to the working class are tossed aside.

SABOTAGE

The OCI has indeed taken a position. It is the same position that they took in 1968 during the May-June General Strike when they called for central strike committees but refused to call on the Communist Party to form a workers' government.

Whenever there is an opportunity to concretize this fight the OCI sabotages it. In the April 23 referendum on the Common Market, the OCI called for a No vote but refused to link this directly with a fight for new elections. In fact, they openly stated they would not conflict with those workers who had been instructed to abstain such as the Socialist Party.

Again they said the referendum was only a "moment" in the fight against Pompidou. From the beginning of the referendum campaign, they accepted the continued rule of Pompidou and avoided any clash with the Stalinists.

It is the policies of the OCI, like their co-thinkers in Bolivia, who, by refusing to take up a battle against Stalinism and all its policies, disarm the working class and set it up for betrayal and defeat. A section of the Fourth International will be built in France in an uncompromising fight against the OCI.

COLLAPSE

The OCI sees this crisis only in terms of more unemployment and wage attacks. But Nixon's August 15th measures and the removal of gold backing from the dollar means that the entire capitalist system is threatened with collapse. The capitalist class must now seek to destroy the working class and the trade unions. It was Heath himself who declared to the U.N. last year that this is the epoch of "civil war."

GENERAL STRIKE

The question of a general strike is totally inadequate at a time when the Heath government is consciously provoking this in order to defeat the working class through its reformist leadership. The critical question is a strategy to expose these leaders in a fight for a Labour government.

By saying that the conditions do not

Interview With Opposition Miners Leader

The following interview with Bill Savitsky, a leader of the anti-Boyle opposition in the United Mine Workers' Miners For Democracy (MFD), was conducted in Charleston, W. Virginia just prior to the conference of the MFD on May 7. More than 100 delegates to the conference from the major coal mining regions agreed to call a rank and file coal miners' convention in Wheeling, W. Virginia, on May 27-29 to nominate a slate of candidates and draw up a platform against the Boyle leadership of the UMW.

Savitsky, a former strip miner from Shenandoah, Pennsylvania in the anthracite (hard coal) fields, who had been blacklisted from the industry because of opposition to the policies of the UMW and the coal operators for many years, still maintained his union membership.

When the Yablonski movement began in 1969, Savitsky enthusiastically participated and helped to organize a rally for two members of the Yablonski slate. More than 50 miners from the anthracite area, where today there are 3,000 active miners and over 15,000 retired, attended the rally, only to have it broken up by more than 200 hecklers, most of them imported into Shenandoah by the Boyle machine.



Joseph ("Chip") Yablonski (top left) addresses recent rank and file Miners for Democracy (MFD) Conference in West Virginia. Rank and file leader Mike Trbovich stands beside him. Top right, Bill Savitsky. Above, Arnold Miller, president of West Virginia Black Lung Association, speaks at MFD Conference.

Bulletin: United Mine Workers Vice-President George Titler said that the union has been greater than ever since Boyle took over. He said that Boyle learned everything from John L. Lewis plus picked up some more on his own. What do you think about that?

Savitsky: Boyle has picked up some of the weaker traits of Lewis' declining years. In my opinion, Boyle has been the poorest labor leader ever. He's conducted himself more in a flamboyant, attention-seeking manner than a labor leader should, rather than calling attention to the problems of the union and the union membership. In fact, in the anthracite region miners never had any preference for John L. Lewis. They sent him down the Primrose Path.

Bulletin: This was after World War II when Lewis agreed that the owners could replace men with machines and get a welfare fund out of it instead of a shorter work week and a reduction of hours for all miners.

Savitsky: That's correct. Lewis began weakening the structure of the anthracite membership. He made plans to devote most of his efforts to other matters. He felt that anthracite was declining, but in fact he himself had a hand in that decline. He never paid much attention to it. He never went out to solve their problems.

Basically anthracite coal was used mostly for domestic heating. He never looked to the future to find new uses for the coal to compete with other fuels. In that way anthracite began declining to a point of no return.

Bulletin: Is it only a question of anthracite? The railroads are

under the gun now. They're still resisting the reduction of jobs. The question of technology has been applied to bituminous coal as well, and has greatly reduced the work force there. It's a question of how you proceed. That was a change from the earlier Lewis, from which Boyle is not in the same tradition.

Savitsky: John L. Lewis prior to the 1950's was very militant. He was at that time concerned mainly with the problems of the membership. But after the 1950's, he became more lenient and more on a sweetheart relationship with the coal operators. He felt it was much easier to deal with the larger concerns and to eliminate the small operators so he could deal with them on an industry-wide basis. I believe it was this that contributed to the disenchantment of many of the members throughout the coal regions.

Bulletin: The unions lost a lot of mines through that process.

Savitsky: Yes. At one point it looked like the United Mine Workers were in the management end of the coal business because of various laws Lewis made for large corporations. This came out in the various court suits that followed, in which the union was found guilty of violating the Sherman anti-trust act. It seemed that Lewis began applying the union treasury to aiding the coal operators and not to use the funds in a way beneficial to the union membership, and to their future.

Bulletin: Certain things in the old Lewis tradition are important today. A new movement being built to lead the mine workers can be a movement that has a lot of influence on the rest of the labor movement. This

seems to be an insurgent movement based on the rank and file, as the Miners for Democracy. On that basis, it has to tackle some of the fundamental problems of all labor. That is, the question of unemployment, of wages and the Pay Board, the politics of Nixon and the Democratic Party.

Although Lewis never got to the point of a labor party, when he broke with Roosevelt, he came close to it. I do not think he should have supported Wilkie, but he did go against the popular idea and stood up to say that: "We can't support the friends of labor who stab us in the back." That is very fitting today. What do you think about that?

Savitsky: I agree with the principle that we must support those who support labor in general. But I disagree with the policy that Lewis took in the '50's and Boyle has now, to support politicians and bureaucrats in Washington who would support them against their own rank and file. In other words, they supported the bureaucrats, as is clear through the political contributions for which he was convicted, because he wanted the bureaucrats to support policies he had which were geared against the rank and file. He wanted the rank and file to be deterred in their appeal to various bureaus of the federal government which were supposedly there to protect the rank and file.

Bulletin: It is clear from the Sunshine Silver Mine disaster in Idaho, and from the attempt to get bills passed on the safety issue, and from the policies of the Pay Board, that the entire political structure is stacked against labor.

Boyle supports Humphrey and accepts this political structure. What do you think about Humphrey?

Savitsky: I'll tell you about an incident that happened several months ago at a press conference at the Wilkes-Barre-Scranton airport. Presidential candidate Humphrey had a press conference just prior to the Miners for Democracy press conference which we all attended. A newsman posed the question to Humphrey: "Now that you're running once again for the Presidency, what are your views on the Boyle case. You know he's been convicted of illegal use of union funds and that you were the major recipient of those funds, \$30,000."

Humphrey answered that he was not aware of it, that he did not handle the financial end of his campaign. Later when asked why he had attended the UMW convention in 1968 in Denver, he made the statement that whenever he's invited to any particular affair of labor, he shakes hands with the leaders. He said he was not aware of the internal problems of the union.

Bulletin: Doesn't that say something about the relationship of the labor bureaucracy with the Democratic Party?

Savitsky: The question is whether they (the Democratic Party) is really representing labor or only representing the so-called leadership of the labor movement. Congress has been becoming more aware that the rank and file do not follow the concepts of their leaders and in fact they oppose the leaders on what candidates they should support. They refuse to be lined up with the leadership when they in fact

arbitrarily order them to support candidates which the leadership designates as their proper choice.

Bulletin: In relation to this there are a lot of workers talking about supporting Wallace, because they are disgusted with the policies of both parties and with the wage freeze, unemployment, and the Pay Board. This is true among the longshoremen and among some auto workers. This is a serious question facing the labor movement. How do they combat Wallace when one of the reasons for support to Wallace is the decay and opportunism of the Democrats?

Savitsky: I believe Wallace is using this from an opportunist position because he finds that there is dissension among the Democratic ranks. These ranks have been for years and years normally selected as the representatives of labor. But I believe that the time has come now, and I view this with tongue in cheek, to ask the question of whether they are going to represent them.

Now, with the constant furor going on within the labor ranks, future candidates are going to have to become more aware to lean more towards the rank and file and not particularly seek the labor leadership as their prime source of funds and so forth.

Bulletin: What do you think about the formation of a labor party and of labor running its own candidates?

Savitsky: That is really a difficult task because of the fact that it takes promotional events and an enormous amount of cash. I believe that is a prime reason why so many candidates are already dropping out of the race.



UE Ranks Defiance Stuns Whitney Blake

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

HAMDEN, Conn.—Workers at Whitney Blake Company, members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, have now entered the ninth week of strike action. The strike vote of 256 to 28 came after the union rejected the company's offer of a 14.5 percent increase in wages and benefits. The union is holding out for a full 20 percent increase.

One worker from Local 299 told a *Bulletin* reporter:

"You know what it is, we were bought out by a big conglomerate, Superior Continental Telephone Company. They're the third largest independent telephone company in the country. You ought to see the map they sent us in the mail with all the black dots where they have their operations.

"So we shocked them when we rejected that offer. In other words, who are we peasants to stand up to a big regime like that! I mean that's what's bugging them; they can't get over that shock."

ISSUES

The chief issues in the strike are speed-up, substandard pensions and wages, and a vicious attack on job security. A worker on the picket line said:

"They want to kick us out after 65. We'll get out, but the idea is to walk out with a decent living wage. The union is asking for half pay that's \$60. What the company's offering now is \$28 and with today's living standard you can't live on that. These people here aren't willing to give us a fair shake for the work we put in there.

"The average pension plan calls for \$5 per year of service every month. Now we're only getting \$3.00. The company's offering \$1.00 the first year and 50¢ the second, but we want \$1.00 the first year and \$1.00 the second. I've worked here twenty years and we're not getting a darn thing for the years we've served the company.

"And then after 35 years of sweating in the damn place you're supposed to walk out with a \$100 pension plan—it's ridiculous. When you tell people

that they laugh."

Because of tremendous speed-up only 300 workers remain in this plant compared to 700 a few years ago. One worker said:

"There's double work on a lot of operators you know. They've sped up machines and everything. I know a guy who drives a tow motor. Well, today, he doesn't only drive the tow motor, he has to load the stock, he has to handle the material, and sometimes he actually has to run the machine. This is what it all comes down to, and they abolish jobs every single day."

Julius Braman who works in wire drawing said:

"I'm working five machines now and they want to add one more. I worked in another plant and all I worked was two. I tell you, you don't sit down much with five or six machines running, and on top of that, they're old machines and you have to work harder on them."

The average weekly 40 hours pay at Whitney Blake is \$83 take home, which is the reason many men work up to 60 hours a week. Another worker told us:

"It isn't right. They've got men in here making \$20,000 and \$30,000 a year, like engineers. They have to come to experienced operators for advice on these machines. They don't even know how to run them."

The growing hatred for the anti-labor policies of the government were expressed by all the workers on the picket line. As one worker said:

"Phase 2" isn't working. It might work for big business, but it's not working for the little man.

"Your little man is making a measly low wage increase that doesn't even keep up with the rise in the cost of living, and your businessman and your industrialist is making double the profit that they did before."



Top, workers picket Whitney Blake against attacks on wages and job security. Workforce was cut by almost 60% in the last few years. Above, strikers read union paper, UE News.

Another worker told the *Bulletin*:

"You can see right now where the government is stepping in on the price of food in the supermarkets. So if the government knew all about it and they've taken this long to do anything about it, then there's something phoney. But in the meantime, they're still not doing much on the prices in the supermarkets and other big industries. But on the worker they slap the 5.5 percent level and that's it.

"That's why George Meany walked off the Pay Board. He had it up to here. He came right out and told them: 'You're destroying the working man and making big profits for the businessmen and management.'"

When another worker asked: "How come they limit us to 5.5 percent with this Phase deal, when our governor and representatives in Hartford are getting over fifty percent?" A worker standing next to him replied: "They make the laws

themselves, that's why!"

The workers at Whitney Blake have given a lot of thought to the primaries now being held for the Presidential election, because they realize that the policies of the government have a direct effect on their living conditions. The following discussion is a reflection of the changes now taking place in the thinking of millions of workers that raises the need for the only alternative the workers have to defend the unions—the building of a labor party:

WALLACE

One striker said:

"I think Wallace is strictly against labor. You can see it right down in the South by what they pay. I'm from the South and I know this man is way out of line. He hasn't done very much for the working man in Alabama."

Another striker said: "Who do you have in the

Democrats that would make a good President? You got Humphrey—he's had it! Then you've got McGovern—hardly anyone knows him. And then there's Johnson. He was a wheeler-dealer for years. I tell you, he'd put his hand around a guy's shoulder and say 'let's do this' and he sent our people to Vietnam and they're still there today. I've got a son there."

Another worker said:

"I haven't heard Humphrey, Muskie or any of them make any comments on the Pay Board and the 5.5 percent. For some reason or other they seem to be avoiding that issue. It boils down to the same thing.

"They promise and promise and then when they get in, they double talk. When the Democrats are in they mess it up, but they throw you some crumbs. There is only one difference between the two parties—one takes it away faster than the other!"

Ford Hungry For More Profits

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Speaking with the arrogant words of his robber baron grandfather, Henry Ford II made it very clear at Ford's annual business meeting that the business of business is making profits.

Throwing aside what this means to the working class who now are forced to take pay cuts, unemployment and speedup to fill his pockets, Mr. Ford said: "I believe that the social responsibility of the corporation today is fundamentally the same as it has always been: to earn profits for shareholders by serving consumer wants with maximum efficiency...This...is the heart of the matter."

In the face of the growing unemployment with the corporation's drive for "maximum efficiency" Ford said that the company "cannot hire people merely because they need work." He also added that they could not "provide products and services for which no profitable market exists."

RICHES

In what the Wall Street Journal terms an "embarrassment of riches" Ford's profits have soared to their highest in years bringing in 51.6 million in profits in 1971.

The Government's Phase II has served Ford well. While the Pay Board freezes wages for auto workers, while the Price Commission demands more productivity from American workers, profits soar. The Commission has made it very clear that the tremendous profits secured by Ford and the other companies are well within the government's "guidelines."

Meanwhile unemployment in Detroit is up to 8% and 50% among minority youth. Workers who remain in the plants are driven at back-breaking speed. Services such as education and health deteriorate because they are not "profitable."

This is the "business" of Fords. This is the business of both the Democratic and Republican parties. This is why the UAW together with the rest of the labor movement must construct a labor party which will nationalize industry and run it for the interests of the working people.



CLICK pickets scuffle with cops outside Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Report Bares Health Peril In Food Plants

REPORTER

Last week the General Accounting Office, an investigating arm of Congress, reported that sanitary conditions in the food industry in the U.S. are rapidly "deteriorating." The Office in fact found that 40 percent of the food plants in this country are operating under unsanitary conditions.

Last year, one man died after eating a can of soup contaminated by botulism produced by the Bon Vivant Company. Shortly afterward Campbell Soup, the largest soup producer, re-called some cans from one of its Texas plants after it was revealed that they were contaminated with botulism.

Now the situation has gone even further. In the last three years, the Food and Drug Administration has cut down on inspections. When violations are found the companies are sent a letter! The warnings are rarely followed up and business proceeds as usual.

The GAO reported the following violations in its first review which are described as "prevalent" in a good many plants:

"Rodent excreta and urine, cockroach and other insect infestation and nonedible materials found in, on or around raw materials, finished products, and processing equipment.

"Improper use of pesticides in close proximity to food processing area.

"Use of unsanitary equipment. "Dirty and poorly maintained areas over and around food-processing locations."

A macaroni plant was inspected eight times in 46 months because insects were found in the

equipment and macaroni but the company was never prosecuted. On many occasions the FDA inspectors do not even report the violations.

DETERIORATING

One thing is clear—the conditions in these plants are deteriorating as the owners seek to make a profit no matter what the cost to health. The government is completely complicit in the operation turning its eyes away to protect the profits of these companies.

Any illusions in "consumer reform" are bankrupt. The capitalists proceed from one basis and one basis only—profit. And so does the government. Only the nationalization of industry under workers control and run not for profit but in the interests of the working people can change this situation.

Farmworkers Slave At Gunpoint

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MIAMI, May 12—Five workers yesterday filed suit in federal court here charging A. Duda & Sons Inc., a multi-million dollar agribusiness company, with forcing them to work under conditions of slave labor.

The workers sworn statements, backed up by an investigation by Florida Rural Legal Services attorneys, tell the story of all farmworkers in the South.

The suit was filed as a class action on behalf of all Duda farmworkers, and it charges the company is subjecting field workers to "conditions of involuntary servitude or peonage."

LARGEST

Duda employs as many as 2,000 workers at the peak of the harvest season and is one of Florida's largest producers of vegetables, sugar cane and citrus.

The five plaintiffs in the suit, William Zanowick, Rudolph Stewart, Thomas Shaw, George Porter and Charles Pruitt, said a Duda representative picked them

Corporation Exploits Fears Of Navy Yard Men

BY JERRY BROWN

BROOKLYN—On May 15th, CLICK (Commerce Labor Industry Corporation of Kings Co.) organized a picket line outside of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The purpose of the picket line was to protest against the decision of Mayor Lindsay to oust Donald F. Benjamin, CLICK's chief executive and his fifteen member board and replace it with a new board.

EMPLOYMENT

CLICK is a corporation that is supposed to provide employment for residents of the Fort Greene, Williamsburg and Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

CLICK claims that with this decision of Mayor Lindsay, the Black and Puerto Rican residents of these three areas will no longer be able to get jobs in the Navy Yard and that all the jobs would go to whites.

So CLICK rallied to get the support of the workers inside the Navy Yard, the majority of the workers working for Seatrain Shipbuilding Corp. At first the workers were fooled by CLICK's story, but then began to realize

that the fight was between CLICK and Mayor Lindsay. The workers wanted to go to work but they did not want to cross the picket line set up by CLICK. CLICK seeks to use the workers in its bureaucratic fight with Lindsay.

The union (Seafarers International Union) representative stated to the Seatrain workers that it was against the contract for them to be not at work and that they should be working.

UNION

This was all that was said by the union representative which left the workers not knowing what to do. The union must take up a fight to protect the jobs of the workers and must fight against any future layoffs. The fight for full employment must be on the agenda of the day and the fight can only go forward through the construction of a labor party that will fight for nationalization of the industries.



SIU representative tries to explain union's position on the CLICK picket line to rank and file Seatrain workers.

up at the Miami Rescue Mission and offered them \$15 a day to pick vegetables.

GUNPOINT

The five workers said they were taken to the company's Collier County labor camp at ochopee, where company goons forced them to stay at gunpoint when they became fed up and wanted to leave.

After a week of grueling labor in the fields, the company paid three of the men virtually nothing and actually demanded that the other two pay the company.

The men said all the workers on the Duda plantations have to endorse their paychecks, then hand them back to the paymaster, who deducts almost everything—and sometimes more—for food, liquor, ciga-

rettes and "room services."

The men also revealed that they were made to pay \$1.50 for two bologna and cheese or two sausage sandwiches. Coffee cost 40 cents a cup and a pack of cigarettes 75 cents. A \$10 book of meal tickets, given each worker and supposed to last a week, never lasted more than two days.

In addition, each worker was charged \$5 for "room cleaning," something which never got done unless the men did it themselves.

At the end of the week, one of the men was given \$1.29, while the paymaster told one worker he owed the company \$10.49 and another \$20.49.

Thus Duda carried the offensive of all employers against the working class as a whole to its logical conclusion, forcing its workers, literally at gunpoint, to slave for subsistence wages and even less.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)
on collision with the American working class. It is precisely those sections of U.S. capital reflected through Burns who attacked Nixon two weeks ago in the pages of the *New York Times* for hesitating in his attack on the East Coast Longshoremen's contract.

Nixon, now caught in an insoluble crisis in Vietnam and facing an election in November, is extremely fearful that the movement of the American working class will explode in his face. He is already on the verge of a massive showdown with the American working class over an unemployment figure of six percent, continuing inflation and the Pay Board's trimming of key contracts in aerospace and longshore.

This is why everybody is making desperate efforts to force

the main burden of the deepening crisis not only on to Europe but onto every place on the globe outside the United States.

Simultaneously with the meeting in Montreal, American delegates told the 13th annual Conference of the American Interbank meeting last week in Quito, Ecuador that the United States was reneging on its earlier commitment to provide new capital for this six billion dollar institution.

But for all Nixon's efforts to push the international monetary crisis off onto the rest of the world, the powerful resistance of the international working class, expressed in the massive offensive of the NLF, the strike movement now sweeping Quebec, the Japanese shipping strike and the British labor movement, now dominates the situation and

renders any solution to the crisis by the capitalist class completely impossible at this present level of struggle between the classes.

The crisis within the ruling circles and the hesitation by sections of it reflect their fear of a head-on collision with the powerful American labor movement. But Burns' statements reveal what the capitalists are preparing to do to preserve their system. A return to any form of convertibility means new and more vicious attacks on labor and a showdown with the trade unions.

The meaning of the sharp rise in the gold price and new speculative attacks on the dollar is that the dollar is now closer than any time since December 18 to a new devaluation and that the Smithsonian agreement pasted together is on the verge of collapse.

thing from all the politicians. Now when I say I'm sorry I voted for Wallace that doesn't mean I like Nixon or Humphrey. Nixon gave us the wage freeze and I don't like that. Humphrey's for a wage freeze too. I just mean that I don't want to see Wallace in the White House any more than I want to see Nixon there.

"I really don't know who I'm going to vote for in the primary. Maybe McGovern, but all that'll mean is four more years of the same."

In a discussion with a *Bulletin* reporter, a Black worker at the Dodge-Main plant in Detroit who is supporting Shirley Chisholm said: "Wallace is for the white man; he's not for the poor Black man. If he wins the election he'll have us growing cotton in Michigan."

It is this kind of sentiment in the rank and file of the UAW which forced a section of the secondary leadership of the UAW, primarily in Detroit, to produce a ten-minute anti-Wallace film dealing with, among other things, the conditions of workers in Alabama

under the Wallace Administration's right-to-work laws.

A form of this film was televised in the last week of the campaign under the name of the Michigan Democratic party but without the endorsement of any of the candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

While this constitutes a step by the unions in their own defense it can have no power under the name of the Democratic party. Only a campaign for the construction of a labor party for '72 can defend the unions against Wallace.

DOCKS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
with his gesture of asking the Pay Board for reconsideration.

Just as Bridges' attempt to put the wage increase in escrow—an attempt rejected by the Pay Board—the provisions in the agreement to cancel the contract if Nixon's Phase II controls are ended, are a complete fraud.

The deep economic crisis of capitalism, with the price of gold soaring toward \$60 an ounce, and the fear, as expressed by Arthur Burns that some sort of dollar-gold convertibility is necessary to prevent an international monetary collapse, means that Nixon and the corporations, supported by the Democrats must move even more sharply to the point of smashing the trade unions entirely.

This is the meaning of the Pay Board itself—the ripping up of contracts, whether for 10 cents, 15 cents, or whatever, is simply the first step toward reduction of the working class to conditions of slavery and mass unemployment far worse than the 1930's.

The *New York Times* in an editorial made this clear when it cautioned Nixon that whatever the risks, the Pay Board had to maintain its "credibility" by coming down hard on the ILA despite the danger of "long strikes." The *Times* advised Nixon: "But the wage-control program cannot operate at all if it is subject to blackmail by over-powerful unions."

Despite the illusions that Gleason and Bridges try to create, a **showdown must come**. General strikes and the movement for a labor party are on the order of the day.

QUEBEC . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
Friday May 12th.

They were a 24-hour walkout by CBC workers, a partial walkout by longshoremen in Montreal who accused employers of trying to implement their new contract prematurely, and a continuation of the strike by Montreal's city workers, whose strike in February was interrupted by an 80 day "cooling off" period.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE . . .

(Continued From Page 6)

the President of the Student Assembly to speak. The student Michael Sternlieb, a member of the Libertarian Alliance and the JDL, was running on the JDL slate. He was also the Elections Commissioner to whom the YSA appealed to prevent us from leafleting in the previous elections.

In the two following meetings and rallies, the YSA revealed what the **Organizer** meant when it carried the statement that: "We wanted to deepen the division in the Zionist camp. By drawing anti-war and pro-abortion forces into constructive activity, we felt we could weaken the hold that the JDL had on these layers and that the JDL's reactionary interior beneath its radical facade would begin to show." Quite the opposite happened.

In a meeting of the SMC held the Monday before April 22, the JDL sought to do two things: first isolate the YS and second give themselves a left cover in the elections. The leader of the JDL, Mike Tannenbaum, offered official support of the JDL if there were no political statements in the strike! Not only did the YSA agree, but they issued a joint leaflet! It was only the YS which fought against this reactionary alliance.

In a following rally, Tannenbaum was allowed to speak on his reactionary outlook. When the YS sought to answer him, the YSA physically threatened their members. Finally, at a subsequent meeting, the policy of "non-exclusion," which had been used to allow JDL to participate, was dropped and the YS was prevented from speaking.

PRAGMATIC

What underlied all these events was the pragmatic method of the YSA. While the YS sought at all times to bring in a revolutionary strategy to fight the war, and smash up such reactionary groups as the JDL, the YSA acted differently. They sought to build a rally or strike as a particular task outside of the political content involved. Far from exposing the JDL, they simply provided a radical cover to their reactionary position. The open suppression of the YS flowed from the fear of a revolutionary program and a middle-class hostility to the YS. Though the YSA undoubtedly didn't want an alliance with the JDL, it couldn't be avoided, because they started from the pragmatic task of building their organization for organization sake.

YS

The extent of this alliance was revealed at a rally in which the YS spoke on its own bullhorn. As JDL members came to attack the YS, a choice was left for the YSA either to allow the students to hear the YS or pull students away to a meeting, and leave the YS open to attack. They chose the latter.

A few days after this rally, the student movement collapsed. At the same time, the results of the student elections came in. The Third World Federation won over 200 more votes in the Student Go-

vernment than the JDL. It was a tremendous victory for the students.

The YSA received only 39 votes, while the WL-YS received 89. This revealed that, in spite of the YSA's having led the student protests, they failed to offer the students a solution to the attacks that they are facing. That solution could only be offered by providing a socialist alternative—an alternative based on the working class.

When Nixon announced his blockade of Hanoi, it was inevitable that the students would react. But the failure of protest could only deepen the contradictions within that movement and cause explosive developments.

In an SMC rally held on May 9 to vote on a strategy for the students, it was clear that the YSA held no perspective. Thus, all the Stalinist forces began to assert themselves. They openly called for adventurism as well as support to the Seven Point Peace Program. The YSA was paralyzed before both moves.

Unable to confront the nature of Stalinism, it was only possible for the YSA to answer that support to a particular program "violates the right of self-determination." But the job of a revolutionary party is to lead struggles. The YSA's refusal to confront Stalinism is based on the method of Pabloism, which liquidates the struggle against Stalinism.

ADVENTURISM

At the same time they could not oppose adventurism, because it is only a logical extension of student powerism, and the strategy of Stalinism to isolate the youth from the working class.

The only alternative to adventurism is a revolutionary program, which the YS posed. But the YSA remained completely hostile to this alternative. First, they reacted as complete impressionists to Nixon's moves. Rather than understand his blockade as an act of weakness, which the revolutionary party could take advantage of to bring forward the movement of the working class, they abstracted his actions out of the class struggle and viewed it as a sign of strength.

Thus, they became hysterical and dropped any pretense of strategy. At the same time, every move the YSA made was a pragmatic reaction to particular moods among the middle-class radicals.

During the day, the YSA marched students to a sit-down in the middle of a nearby intersection, to a sit-in in the president's office and to a rally downtown. Not only did this activity reflect complete frenzy, but it also brought the students to the point of being attacked by the police and arrested en masse.

The only consistent approach was to attempt to prevent the YS from speaking and putting forward a revolutionary strategy to end the war. Above all, their hostility to Marxism not only sabotaged any real struggle, but completely broke up the student movement.

WALLACE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

puts the very existence of the UAW in question. One union worker at the Dodge-Main Chrysler plant in Detroit told the *Bulletin*:

"Muskie wasn't anything but Woodcock backed him and now we don't have any policy at all. We need something that can stop Wallace. Most people don't like Wallace but there's nothing we can do about him now. He sits out in the suburbs and talks about busing, but busing ain't anything. Anybody who talks about busing ain't talking to me, he's talking to those people in the suburbs. But I don't know what to do about Wallace. None of the others are much better."

A Baltimore construction worker told the *Bulletin*:

"I voted for Wallace in 1968 to see if I could put a scare into the Republicans and the Democrats. Now I'm sorry I did that, but I don't see what else I could have done. I did it because I was sick of having things rammed down my throat and hearing the same

MCGOVERN . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

George McGovern has long been an enthusiastic supporter of wage controls. After Nixon imposed such controls last August, the Senator from South Dakota announced that he had favored them for several years.

In fact, McGovern was among the most vocal proponents of the Economic Stabilization Act which gave Nixon the power to invoke the wage freeze.

All the bankers and industrialists opening their check books for McGovern know him to be a solid "right-to-work" man.

The following men have made handsome contributions to McGovern's campaign:

Keith Barish, a financier and former president of Gramco, donated \$15,000.

Henry L. Kimelman, board chairman of the West Indies Corp., has helped out with \$24,306. Mr. Kimelman will not go hungry without the money.

Kimelman is an executive committee member of the W.I. Bank and Trust Co., and he also sits on the directing boards of Diners Club and the Island Block Corp.

Steward Mott, the heir to the General Motors fortune and the owner of a couple of other conglomerates, has contributed \$305,000. At first, Mott gave only \$5,000, but at the time he was financing the campaigns of Lindsay and McCloskey.

PLEDGE

Mott, who has a 97 year-old grandpa from whom he will inherit a cool billion, does not seem

too worried about McGovern's campaign pledge to impose a 100 percent inheritance tax on large estates.

Max Palevsky, chairman of the executive committee of the Xerox Corp., is one of McGovern's most influential backers. He has given more than \$100,000.

Miles Rubin, the president of RELIANCE Manufacturing Co., has donated \$35,000. Frank Lautenberg, president of Automatic Data Processing, Inc., has contributed \$10,000.

All of McGovern's wealthy supporters know that campaign promises are made to deceive the working class, and have absolutely nothing to do with the candidates real intentions.

McGovern's campaign is a masterpiece of cynicism. Although he has carefully cultivated the image of a man "who speaks his mind," the Senator has no compunctions about chucking his liberalism to the wind whenever convenient or necessary.

His latest reversal has come on the busing issue. For the past few months, McGovern has insisted that he supports busing.

But just last week in Michigan, he adopted the position of George Wallace and declared that courts have gone "too far" and that he "wouldn't be distressed" if busing were limited.

A President McGovern would be no less committed to the destruction of the living conditions of the working class than any other Democratic or Republican president.

West Coast News



Cop watches motorcycle burn at last weekend's antiwar rally in Union Square, San Francisco.

SF Workers Face Lay Offs As Alioto Slashes City Budget

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco Board of Supervisors has just finished gutting the city budget out of 1800 workers and some \$90,000 less than was requested by various city departments.

Because of Mayor Alioto's "foresight" in establishing a hiring freeze over the past year, no permanent workers need be laid off at present, although 356 permanent positions were eliminated and no new positions were budgeted despite intolerable speed-up in many departments like welfare and probation.

VICTORY

The major "victory" came from the new, liberal, prison-reform sheriff who was able to squeeze 38¢ more a day for food in the county jail, although it will be cooked by one less chef whose position was deleted. The same logic was applied in the transportation (Muni) budget where money was allocated for an offset press but deleted for the worker who was to operate the press.

Most departments were cut in maintenance expenditures and new equipment.

GA

One favorite target of everyone, from Nixon and Reagan down to the local liberal Democrats, is the General Assistance program which "subsidizes" so-called undesirables such as the unemployed, strikers, and youth. The GA budget was reduced by \$600,000 which makes a total reduction this year of over \$2 million.

One GA supervisor said that the grant was recently reduced as far as it will go—\$40 to \$45 is allowed for monthly rent in a

town where even skid row hotels cost \$60 to \$80 a month.

Of course, there were no deletions in the Mayor's Office.

CONTEMPT

The state of the budget reflects the contempt that Alioto and the supervisors are forced to express toward city workers and the rest of the working class who use the city's services—the buses, public schools, health

centers, and welfare.

ENDORSED

Last November, most of the city union bureaucrats endorsed Alioto who is not only freezing hiring and gouging the budget, but is taking away workers' rights through the recent Civil Service rules changes, and has plans to break the unions with his anti-labor Employee Relations Ordinance, which would take away the right to strike.

AFT Accepts Contract Over Strong Opposition

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—The AFT here last week accepted at a strike vote meeting a "new settlement offer" by the Board of Education.

This will mean an immediate increase in class sizes and a continued division between permanent teachers, substitutes and para-professionals.

Many of the 1500 teachers present had just joined the union. They had heard President James Ballard at the last union meeting declare that: "The union would not allow the present conditions and benefits to be wiped out by mass layoffs and cutbacks."

The new offer was made only hours before the meeting and contained a demand for a no-strike pledge and an immediate freeze on hiring. This throws out the demand for fixed class sizes.

In addition substitutes received a 4½ percent increase but no guarantee that they would work more than one day a year. Further, regular teachers will

get no increase.

One kindergarten teacher with over 30 children in her class declared that: "It is impossible to accept any contract that allows 30 small children in a class that can only accommodate 20."

Major opposition came from the unemployed teachers' caucus composed largely of substitutes. They demanded a No vote. One teacher said she had worked for three years as a substitute and was lucky if she made \$350 a month or 50 percent of a regular teachers salary.

One member of the Unemployed Teachers Caucus, when questioned on the Portland developments, felt "that political action, with the unemployment millions face, is a necessity."

Press Bait Portland Labor Slate

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

PORTLAND—Portland teachers have been the victims of vicious slashes. This past school year they accepted a 10% wage cut through the reduction of the length of the school year.

Educational funds are dependent on property taxes which must be approved by the voters. New taxes are likely to be voted down and teachers will be expected to absorb an additional 6% pay cut and the layoff of hundreds.

These attacks have led to the growth of the Portland Federation of Teachers. In the past few years hundreds of teachers have left the conservative professional associations and flooded into the union, looking to the labor movement for their defense.

These newest attacks drove the union to seek political solutions. A labor slate endorsed by the labor council and committed to the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike was fielded by the union. This was an open bid for power with labor actually controlling the School Board.

The program as originally conceived consisted of a few demands for reforms in the schools and a solid commitment to the defense of the basic rights of the union.

FIGHT

The ruling class of Portland recognized immediately the real threat to its power. Whatever the reformist illusions of the PFT this slate represented an attempt to fight for the independence of the working class and the danger of an independent political development in the labor movement. For this reason

a hysterical campaign was launched in the capitalist press against this "declaration of war."

The labor council, responding to the attacks, put the teachers under pressure to remove the references to the labor movement in the campaign.

In spite of retreats made by the union leadership, the PFT is continuing its campaign with thousands of brochures, radio spots, newspaper signs, mailings and phone canvassing. Although the bureaucracy is watering down the original program of the PFT, the campaign represents an important development within the trade unions.

In the face of massive attacks, the PFT reflects the turn toward an understanding among trade unionists that their rights and living conditions can be saved only through the political mobilization of the working class with its own labor party.

It is very significant that the revisionist SWP which is running its own campaign for school board took no notice whatsoever of the PFT campaign and simply continued about its business of protest politics.

While the SWP may ignore such developments the crisis which brought it on will mean sharper attacks on labor. The actions of the PFT are the signs of a deep political change that will result in the tremendous leap forward of the American labor movement to the launching of a labor party.

Berkeley Ranks Distrust Leaders

BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—Workers at the University of California continue their strike burdened by the conservative policies of Richard Groulx and Lamar Childers.

Groulx, Central Labor Council Executive Secretary, and Childers, Building Trades Business Agent, have been instrumental in tying the tactics of the strike to the decisions of the courts.

Many picketers are expressing increasing uneasiness and distrust for the policies of their leaders. To this date, this policy consists of ineffective, "informational" picket lines.

Sentiment on the picket lines is increasingly in favor of a policy which could stop the nearly 12,000 university employees who are still working, and stop essential deliveries to research facilities, such as the massive quantities of liquid nitrogen used for super cooling at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore.

One picket told the *Bulletin* that: "The radiation Lab couldn't run another day without liquid nitrogen, but the way it is now, the Teamsters drive the trucks within a block of the Lab, and then the supervisors drive it in. Somebody asked one of the Teamsters why they were de-

living the stuff and he said that his business agent told them that, since this is not an official strike, it was OK.

OWN HANDS

"I think our business agent is falling down on the job, he should get the word out to these other unions. It's getting to the point where we may have to take things into our own hands to stop that stuff."

Another picket said: "If there's one man I'd like to see off the negotiating committee it is Childers."

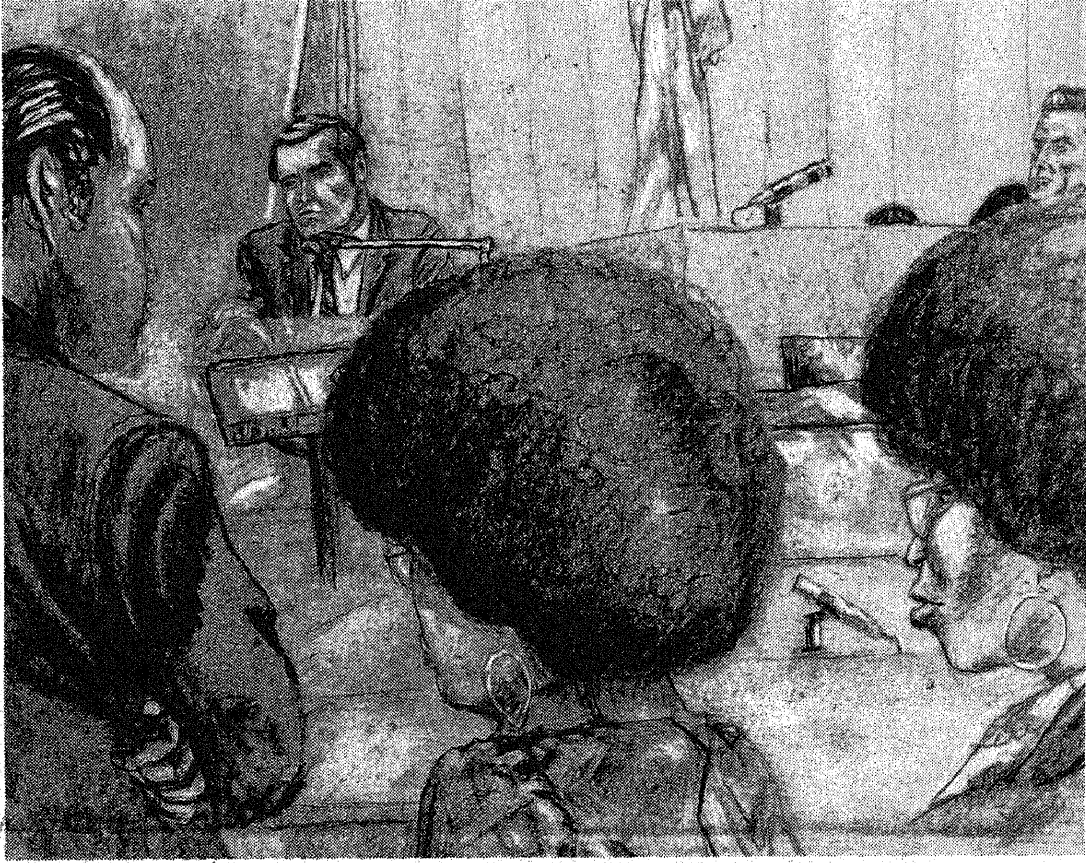
The same picket said that: "The thing about this strike is that all the laws are written in favor of the University, what we've got to do is elect our own candidates to change things. No union man would ever vote for a Republican, but these Democrats are getting pretty vicious too."

While dissatisfaction on the picket lines continues to smolder, behind the scenes the leaders of the union have been negotiating with the University.

West Coast News

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Prosecution Rests Frame-Up On Angela Davis Diary



Angela Davis (right) watches Defense lawyer (left) question prosecution witness.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The prosecution rested its case Monday in the murder-conspiracy trial of Angela Davis with a lengthy reading of her so-called diary in a totally fraudulent attempt to prove that her "passionate involvement" with George Jackson led her to commit the crime in a desperate attempt to free him.

Although the prosecutor, Albert Harris, has introduced over 200 pieces of evidence in the case, he has failed to produce any to prove that Davis actually planned the August 7, 1970 escape attempt in Marin County.

In fact, the prosecutor has deliberately avoided bringing in the political questions and concentrated solely on the diary.

The use of this diary reveals the complete extent of the frame-up being carried out by the state. It was written a year after the shootout and even Harris admits that the August 7 incident is not mentioned in it. Furthermore, Davis had not even met George Jackson until almost one year later, in July 1971.

The judge has aided the prosecution by allowing Harris to read portions of the letters from Davis to Jackson in order to whip up a sensational atmosphere and create a picture of Davis as a woman driven by blind emotion.

Harris stated that he hopes the reading of these letters will prove that Davis "had a state of mind by which she would undertake a conspiracy and she would undertake violent means

to bring about the freedom of George Jackson."

The method by which the prosecution obtained the letters totally violated the defendant's constitutional right of privacy. The FBI had entered Davis' apartment when she was not present, and without any warrant, and illegally confiscated the letters.

In fact, the letters are primarily political and range over a variety of issues facing youth today.

The role of the defense has been absolutely criminal throughout the presentation of the prosecution's case. While they were correct in opposing the introduction of the letters into the case, they failed to challenge the prosecution on the real issues involved.

Instead of taking up the state for using the diary as a cover to avoid the political nature of the case, the defense attorneys centered their objections on "moral" grounds.

They base their pleas on a liberal, reformist perspective and place their faith in the courts of the ruling class in their "efforts" to free Angela.

IBT Isolates Striking Bottlers

BY BARRY GRAY

PALO ALTO—As the Teamster strike of Bay Area bottlers enters its sixth month, the anger and determination of the ranks holds firm.

The massive assault by the beverage companies backed up by court injunctions, fines, and police intimidation has raised the demand among many bottlers for general strike action and a political offensive of the labor movement against Nixon.

A picket at the San Bruno Coca Cola plant told the *Bulletin* that: "Bridges had the right idea in 1934. Nothing moved in San Francisco. That's how the dockers won everything they have and the other unions were able to follow. It took a long time to get where we are now.

"We have to have a third party to represent labor. The employers have all the laws passed for them. They have all their lobbies and nobody speaks for labor."

From the very beginning of the strike, the Local and International leadership has sought to hand the membership's fundamental rights over to the employers on a platter. The companies' offer, which called for hiring of non-union labor, a decrease in sick leave, and a break-up of work rules and seniority rights, was accepted by the International Vice Presidents.

But the leadership was unable to prevent a strike when the offer was unanimously voted down in every local.

The leadership has tried to isolate the strike. For over a

month the Los Angeles bottlers have been working without a contract, while the Bay Area is on strike against the same Food Employers Council.

The L.A. unions have asked for strike sanction from the International and the Coke syrup plant in L.A. has gone out on a wildcat, but the International has refused to grant strike sanction. Meanwhile, the employers are importing beverages from L.A. into the Bay Area.

Last week the business agents from the four striking bottlers' locals went to Washington D.C. to pressure Fitzsimmons into calling a general strike of the Bay Area's 100,000 Teamsters. As this is being written, they have returned and have not said a word.

A bottler at the Emeryville Coca Cola plant in the East Bay told the *Bulletin* of the company's plans to centralize all bottling in the Oakland plant and buy up franchises throughout California. This plan would throw hundreds of bottlers out of work.

Through the introduction of massive automation, production at the Oakland plant is to go from two to 13 million cases per year. The San Francisco plant is to be closed and sold to the Bank of America, while franchises in Stockton, Sacramento, and throughout the area are to be turned into warehouses.

These plans to sacrifice the livelihoods of countless Teamsters to the greed of the

employers for profits are part and parcel of Nixon's campaign for "productivity." Through a policy of unemployment, contract busting by the Pay Board, and anti-strike legislation, the capitalist state seeks to weaken and break organized labor.

The *Fifth Wheel*, the newspaper of Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF), has suggested that motions be introduced before every Teamster local in the Bay Area in support of a one-day general Teamster strike to support the beverage strikers.

Recently, Jack Goldberger of the Joint Council threatened to call a general strike of Bay Area Teamsters.

The ranks must take up the fight now to force Goldberger to carry out his threat and to demand that the International sanction a strike of L.A. bottlers.

The proposal of TURF to put forward motions in every local must be taken up, not for a one day protest strike, but for a general strike to paralyze the Bay Area until every demand is met.

Every local must demand the convocation of a Bay Area conference of labor to link up the struggle of the Teamsters with the explosive situation throughout the labor movement, particularly on the docks, and to smash Nixon's Pay Board and the twin parties of the bosses through the construction of a labor party.

San Diego Strike Stops Construction

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN DIEGO—The 6,000 members of Laborer's Local 89 are on strike here. Twenty thousand fellow building tradesmen have refused to cross picket lines and the Laborer's dispute with the three negotiating contractors' associations has brought major construction to a halt.

The central issue in the strike is wages and the situation remains deadlocked. Local 89 is fighting for parity with Los Angeles locals in the form of a \$2.40 two year increase and the contractors remain firm at \$2.00.

The militancy of the strike, which is in its second week, is unprecedented in the last two decades of San Diego construction disputes. It has forced the introduction of special forces in the persons of a federal mediator and an International Representative of the Laborer's Union, James Sheets.

Sheets, in conjunction with the contractors' representatives, is pressing for a settlement through the vehicle of a craft board.

MACHINERY

Part of the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC) set up by Nixon in March '72 and later absorbed by the Pay

Board, the craft boards are a direct part of the government machinery used to cut wages and launch fundamental attacks on the independence of the unions.

The treachery of the leadership is revealed by the continued stance of the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department.

With absolute contempt for the interests of the ranks, their response to Meany and company's departure from the Pay Board was to issue a statement declaring that they would retain their members on the CISC "as long as it remains an Autonomous Tripartite Panel."

Local 89 members, as well as other construction tradesmen, must stand firm for the removal of all union members from the CISC as the first step to shattering the wage controls.