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Labor Party Fight Rips St. Louis Conference

BY DAN FRIED

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The founding convention of "Labor for Peace," held here on June 23-24, and attended by 985 delegates from 35 International unions from 32 states, was the largest gathering of its kind since the beginning of the anti-war movement. It reflected the tremendous movement of the working class in opposition to the war and against the attacks by the U.S. corporations and their government through the Pay Board, increasing speed-up and unemployment.

Despite the attempts of the labor bureaucrats, who were running the conference, to keep the question of political action and the 1972 elections out of the proceedings, the conference marked a new step forward in the struggle for a break with the Democrats and for the formation of a labor party.

It was this perspective, headlined in the Bulletin around the call of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council for the formation of a third party "with labor as its core" for the '72 elections, and in a resolution for the labor party sponsored by four delegates, that was at the center of all the conference proceedings.

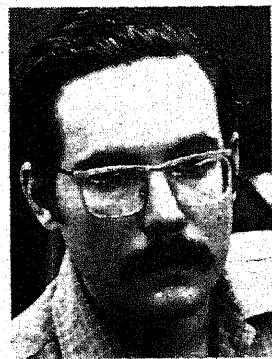
The conference was a struggle between those forces in the labor movement moving toward a labor party, expressed consciously by the Workers League, against the labor bureaucrats led by Emil Mazey of the UAW, David Livingston of District 65, Harry Bridges of the ILWU, Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and others in alliance with the Communist Party. The CP seeks to maintain the subordination of the trade union movement to the capitalist class through McGovern and the Democrats.

Despite every bureaucratic effort of these labor leaders to hamstring the distribution of leaflets and sale of literature, the Bulletin containing the Manifesto on "The Case for a Labor Party" and a leaflet for the labor party was brought forcefully to the attention of the delegates

from the very beginning.

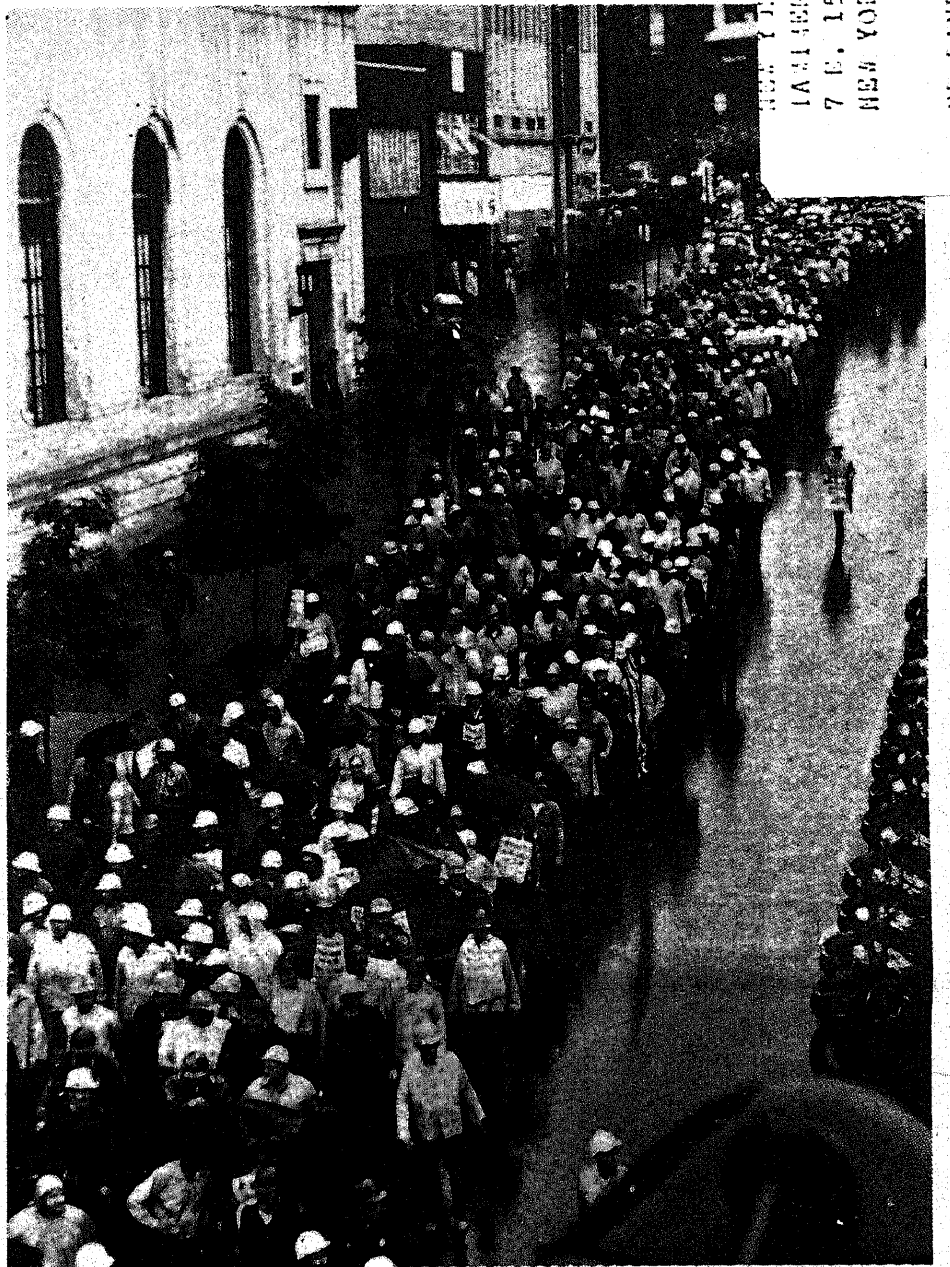
The demand for the labor party could not be ignored by the conference leaders. One of the very first speakers, Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, launched an attack on the labor

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Over 50,000 construction workers marched in Penn. against courts. See story on page 5.

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Calls For
Labor Party

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What Alabama Workers Think About Wallace

Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay recently travelled to Alabama, the state which George Wallace has governed for eight of the last 10 years. The following article is the sixth of a series on where Wallace really stands.

George Wallace became Alabama's governor in 1963. He was determined right from the start to break the state's growing labor movement and hold back the drive by workers for a decent standard of living.

It was with this objective that he whipped up the racist hysteria that swept Alabama while right-wing extremists

flourished.

The American working class has fought its most difficult battles in the South. Racism has been the brutal weapon of southern employers and when that failed, they have not hesitated to use the police, national guard, and the Ku Klux Klan to smash unions.

Even after the 1930's, the South was the desert of the union movement. This was not because southern workers lacked the militancy of their northern brothers.

STRIKES

One of the great strikes of the summer of 1934 took place in Alabama, when the State Coun-

cil of Textile Workers called out 20,000 workers in 24 mills. The workers demanded a \$12 minimum wage for a thirty hour week.

The response of the textile bosses was ferocious. Machine gun nests were set up around the mills, police jailed citizens who spoke to strikers, union leaders were kidnapped, strikers were evicted from their homes, and measures were taken to cut off strike relief.

EDGARTON

"Even God Almighty," declared John E. Edgerton, president of the Southern States In-

(Continued On Page 14)

NLF Drive Advances Despite U.S. Bombing

BY MELODY FARROW

In a desperate attempt to beat back a new NLF offensive developing around Hue, Nixon last week ordered the most massive bombing of North Vietnam in the history of the war.

Hanoi itself became the target of American bombs that destroyed residential districts and a tuberculosis hospital in the heart of the city. Over the weekend, a major steel plant near Hanoi was struck by 2,000 pound bombs.

B-52's continued to pound the critical dike system in order to precipitate a flood during the

impending monsoon season that could kill thousands of Vietnamese people.

This calculated genocide reflects the hysteria that is seizing the White House. All the military tactics applied by Nixon—the mining, smart bombs, etc.—have not prevented the North Vietnamese and NLF from fighting the Saigon puppets.

At the same time, the Thieu regime is in the throes of the deepest crisis. Last week, 8,000 people were swept into the concentration camps of Thieu and his American financiers. The military puppet overturned on Tuesday the sham constitution of South Vietnam in order to rule by decree.

Hundreds of students held rallies against the draft affirming that "the students and people will not die for imperialism."

Soviet President Nicolai Podgorny visited Hanoi the weekend of June 17th, which was described by Victor Louis, a Soviet journalist as "aimed at stopping hostilities on all fronts so that new negotiations can get under way...that could lead to a referendum or new elections in the South."

Nixon obliged Podgorny by calling a bombing pause over Hanoi during his stay but stepped up the bombing raids throughout the rest of the North. Hanoi has charged that bombers are repeatedly attacking the dike

system threatening millions of people with flooding and famine.

At the same time Kissinger has flown back to Peking for another round of secret talks on Vietnam. The Chinese leadership has recently made it clear that it is willing to join the imperialists in ending the war. The *New York Times* has reported that China is openly expressing its opposition to the North Vietnamese offensive and seeks instead "more astute and subtle methods."

STAB

Both the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists are moving to stab the Vietnamese revolution in the back. They are drawn together out of mutual fear of the tremendous movement of the working class which in overturning capitalism will destroy all their bureaucratic power and privileges.

SIHANOUK

As revealed by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, they are willing to agree to a deal which would leave elements of the hated Thieu regime in place and which would partition Indochina even further.

The Stalinists begin not with world revolution but with "peaceful co-existence" with capitalism. It will be no easy task to impose this on the Vietnamese liberation fighters whose struggle is now strengthened by the movement of workers in Europe and the U.S.

New York Times Endorses Allende's 'Road To Socialism'

BY
A CORRESPONDENT

An editorial in the June 20, 1972 *New York Times* gives full support to the "moderate and conciliatory" approach of the Chilean Communist Party in Dr. Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition.

In opposition to the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) and sections of the Socialist Party "openly cynical about Dr. Allende's attempt to lead the country to socialism by democratic, constitutional means," the *Times* counterposes the program of the CP: an end to extension of the Popular Unity coalition's programs, negotiations with the Christian Democrats, and a "working relationship" with private business.

"This decision may force the President to crack down hard on the MIR...but this is infinitely preferable to a continuation of drift and polarization that carried a genuine threat of civil war or a military takeover. It should always be the objective of Chile's now-united democratic opposition not to force Dr.



Salvador Allende

Allende out of office, but to make his Government play by well-established rules," notes the *Times*.

In other words, says the *Times*, as long as Allende continues to try to weaken and demoralize the working class by collaborating with capitalism and cracking down on rebellious elements, he should be left to do imperialism's work.



Soviet oppositionist Pyotr Yakir was recently arrested and jailed for his refusal to stop criticisms against the Stalinist regime.

Kremlin Jails Pyotr Yakir

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

On June 21, the Kremlin bureaucracy arrested Pyotr Yakir. This is the climax of years of harassment and threats against Yakir, the son of a former Red Army general who was purged by Stalin in 1937.

In the last few months, Yakir's apartment has been searched several times. These searches have been accompanied by the confiscation of manuscripts, books and other materials. He is now expected to be tried on charges of anti-Soviet activities.

Yakir spent his entire youth and young adult years in prison camps following the execution of his father. Now nearly 50, he has spent the last 20 years of his life in determined struggle against the bureaucracy. Having suffered so much under Stalin, he clearly does not fear the dictators' heirs.

The arrest of Yakir took place just days after word had spread of the circulation in Moscow of an opposition document calling upon the Soviet working class to carry on the struggle against the bureaucracy. This may have triggered the action of the secret police.

OPPOSITION

The opposition document is circulating in versions of 200, 600 and 1200 words. It reflects the tremendous growth of opposition to the bureaucracy, no longer confined to the intellectuals or to the youth, but reaching into broader layers of the working class.

The document was stuffed into mailboxes in workers' neighborhoods. Addressed to workers in an agitational form, it calls attention to rising prices and continuing low wages, despite the promises of the bureaucracy of improvements in living standards.

The opposition openly calls

upon Soviet workers to follow the example set by their Polish brothers in December 1970, when they struck against inflation and low wages and won important economic concessions as well as a relaxation of censorship. The document also calls attention to the struggles of workers in the West for economic gains and democratic rights.

BETRAYING

Correctly accusing the bureaucracy of defaming socialism and betraying the goals of the revolution, the writers of the document state: "We have no socialism in our land! How can there be socialism with 20 times as many spongers and bosses as there were in czarist Russia! How can it be socialism if the workingman's average wage is 100 rubles and the income of a high official several thousand a month!

"How can it be socialism if the people are virtually deprived of their most elementary rights: freedom of speech, of the press, of the right to strike, etc!"

The arrest of Yakir foreshadows new crackdowns on dissidents. The Kremlin seeks desperately to smear the opposition as hostile to socialism. As the document itself points out, it is the bureaucracy which is betraying socialism.

SLANDER

Yet the men who embrace Nixon as the Vietnamese workers and peasants fight on against bombs and mines slander their principled opponents and prepare even more brutal measures.

IRA Provos Call Truce With Britain

BY ED SMITH

The Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army has announced a ceasefire for "offensive operations" against British troops in Northern Ireland, effective midnight June 26.

The Tory administrator in Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, said he would "obviously reciprocate" the offer. Whitelaw is also believed to have pledged the release of 373 men interned without trial, a less visible British presence, and a role for the Provisionals in future talks on the future of Ulster.

Thus the Provos have joined the Official Wing of Republicanism in ignominiously crumpling before the "peace offensive" orchestrated by British imperialism. The campaign, designed to undercut resistance by Catholic workers to British direct rule, was conducted by the Catholic Church and the various reformists of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, in direct consultation with Whitelaw.

This is a most dangerous time for the Ulster working class. The Provisional retreat has only encouraged reactionary forces who are thirsting for a pogrom and the opening up of the no-go areas controlled by the IRA in Belfast and Derry to the army and police.

REPUBLICANISM

The Provisionals' switch to collaboration with direct rule is a reflection of the reactionary part played by Republicanism in this period, which now proceeds against the movement of the working class.

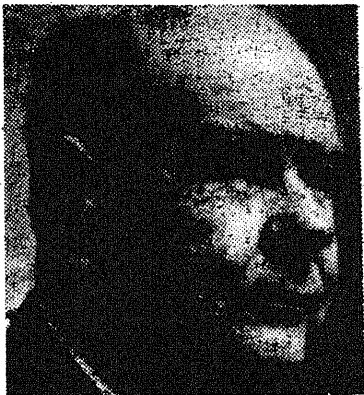
The floating of the pound is the latest expression of the insoluble crisis affecting British imperialism. As a start the float means food prices in Ulster will skyrocket. The crisis means that Ulster workers, Protestant and Catholic, face a future of being ground into even greater poverty. This is why the Provisionals' acceptance of direct rule is so criminal.

In the South of Ireland, mass meetings of union members have voted down a national wage agreement that is essential for the Lynch government's entry into the Common Market.

UE President Fitzgerald Calls For Construction Of Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BOSTON—On June 18th, at a meeting of the North Shore Labor Solidarity Conference held at UE Local 271 headquarters in Beverly, Mass., Albert Fitzgerald (UE) called for the formation of a labor party.



UE President Fitzgerald

Stating that the present wage freeze was planned by the Democrats and administered by the Republicans, Fitzgerald said: "The salvation of the working class under the present political system is a myth. There are a few good Democrats, but they ought to be in a labor party in this country."

"Forming a labor party is no different than forming a labor union. On the industrialized North Shore, we could raise money, and field our own candidates; this could spread throughout the country."

What lies behind Fitzgerald's call for a labor party is the explosive situation in the labor movement now. Unemployment in Massachusetts is nearly 10 percent, and in some industrial cities it is higher. General Electric in Lynn, Mass. recently laid off more than a thousand workers, while introducing more

speed-up and firing three militant shop stewards.

Throughout the electrical industry, plants have been closed as the corporations, in search of low wages and fatter profits, move to Taiwan, Mississippi and Hong Kong, throwing thousands of workers onto the unemployment lines.

Twelve hundred workers were laid off when the Herald Traveller was shut; and the threatened closure of the Quincy shipyard means the loss of 6,500 jobs. This Wednesday, tens of thousands of construction workers are expected to demonstrate in front of the State House demanding jobs.

At the meeting, organized by members of the UE, IUE and Teamsters, Fitzgerald also said that "this (labor party) can't happen overnight." But the attack of the government and employers, ripping up contracts, slashing wages and seeking to smash the trade unions, must be answered with the construction of a labor party now.



UAW Local 25 rank and file auto worker discusses perspective for fight against GMAD at St. Louis meeting. Bulletin Labor Editor spoke at meeting on the UAW Convention fight for the labor party.

Workers League Holds Auto Meeting

BY CAROL MARKS

ST. LOUIS—On the day following the Labor for Peace Conference here, Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the Bulletin, talked to a number of auto workers from the GM plant as well as the Chrysler plant in this city.

The purpose of the meeting was to thrash out perspectives in the auto industry in light of the explosive situation that developed at the Labor for Peace Conference itself over the question of the labor party.

An unsuccessful attempt was made by various centrist groups led by the "Spartacist" and "Vanguard Newsletter" to prevent a serious discussion with the auto workers. Supporters of these groups unsuccessfully

sought to enter the meeting in order to turn the meeting into a middle class hysteria of slander and abuse against the Workers League.

The location of the meeting had to be changed after the attempt

to break up the meeting culminated in the calling in of the campus guards at St. Louis University to enforce the "right" of these centrists to enter the meeting.

Dan Fried's talk on "The UAW Convention and the Fight for a Labor Party" dealt with the tense situation in the auto industry due to the introduction of GMAD, speed-up and layoffs. The turmoil in the ranks over these questions, he said, was expressed in a number of elections both prior to and during the convention itself.

Whole new slates of delegates had ousted incumbents to come to the convention. The dumping of Schrade, UAW West Coast Regional Director, was a direct consequence of the massive layoffs in the aerospace industry there.

The question of the labor party was very much underneath this convention. A number of delegates alluded to it, and one, Pete Kelly, from the United National Caucus, actually brought it to the floor.

The following demands were outlined as the basis for a struggle to be taken into UAW Local 25 and all other UAW locals.

- 1) Unions must form a labor party now.
- 2) Strike St. Louis GMAD and the rest of the GMAD plants in support of the Norwood strike.
- 3) Reinstate all those fired during the wildcat strike in the Spring of 1971.

Further meetings were set to plan the fight to build this caucus as part of a perspective of building an alternative to Woodcock in defense of the rank and file—which can only be constructed on the basis of Marxism.

Devaluation Of British Pound Sparks New Monetary Crisis

BY FRED MUELLER

The de facto devaluation of the British pound marks a new stage in the world economic crisis. The decision to float the pound represents the second devaluation of this currency in less than five years. It is the 13th spasm in the continuing world monetary upheaval which surfaced with the first pound devaluation in November 1967.

The renewed crisis is not simply a repetition. This devaluation takes place in the shadow of the declaration of trade war and of war on the international working class announced by Nixon on August 15 of last year. Now the Smithsonian agreement of December 18, 1971, which papered over the fundamental crisis, is coming apart at the seams.

The Smithsonian agreement coupled a small devaluation of the dollar with major revaluations of the other leading currencies in relation to the

dollar. This attempt to cope with the enormous U. S. trade and payments deficits has now fallen apart with absolutely no improvement in the position of the dollar in the last six months.

In the words of one leading banker: "We are back where we were last November, with all the uncertainty that means for trade, investment and employment in the Western world."

The Italian lira and the Danish crown are expected to follow the pound in lowering the value of their currencies. But the center of the crisis, in spite of the desperate attempts of Washington to minimize it, lies with the dollar

and the U.S. economy.

The dollar is under immediate selling pressure. The major exchange markets were closed for several days, but not before several European central banks, the West German in particular, were forced to purchase several billions of unwanted dollars in order to avoid further revaluations of their own currencies.

The immediate background of the British devaluation was a continuing high rate of inflation and unemployment and a sharp decline of the British trade position. The threat of a national dock strike sent waves of fear through the British ruling class, on top of the trade figures of the last few months which were once again in deficit.

At the same time of the float, however, London's reserves amounted to more than \$7.1 billion, and Britain was continuing to run a surplus in its balance of payments except for the

most recent month. A decision to devalue under these circumstances was unprecedented.

The old rules have broken down completely. What would have been inconceivable even a year ago must today be confronted by the international bankers and the entire capitalist class.

ATTACKS

While British reserves had nearly doubled in the last year, they were no protection at all against the new attacks on the pound. Within days of the new wave of speculation, the pound went under. If Britain, possessing these reserves and still running a payments surplus, is forced to devalue, what can be expected of the other currencies?

The immediate prospect is for a round of competitive devaluations, including the dollar. The descent into trade war, contraction of world trade and consequent industrial collapse has

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Nixon Plans To Destroy Small Farms

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The Nixon Administration's plans to destroy 80 percent of U.S. farms and drive most small farmers off the land were brought to light by leaders of the National Farmers Organization on June 16.

Testifying in Sioux Falls, Iowa before the Democratic Party's Platform Committee, NFO officer Ehrhardt Pfingsten disclosed the existence of a working paper in the Department of Agriculture prepared by 15 executives of that department. This plan, if implemented, would phase out all federal crop support programs and eliminate the family farm in the interests of "efficiency."

FORCED

Both Democratic and Republican administrations for years have gotten the small farmers into a situation that has forced them to either give up their farms and move into the cities, or keep the farm as well as work at a full time job in area factories to make enough money to keep up their machinery and taxes.

The destruction of the small farmers stands out graphically in two facts. First, last year Butz bragged that farm gross income was at its all time high, about half a billion dollars over the previous all time high. He conveniently forgot to mention that this previous high was in 1947!

DECLINE

Second, hand in hand with the decline of small farming has been the massive growth of corporate farming. The factory farms so typical of California, the East Coast truck farms and the Southern plantations are spreading to the Midwest, as big corporations like Tenneco become prominent holders of large farm areas.

The executives who prepared this report came into the Agriculture Department under Clifford Hardin. Hardin left to become a corporate executive of Ralston Purina.

Butz, his replacement, kept these executives in office. Highly touted as the friend of the small farmer, Butz came to the Department from his position as a corporate executive of Ralston Purina.

LOST

Joseph Westhaar of Creston, Iowa, put his finger on the problem when he told the Platform Committee hearing that: "Neither party has helped the farmer." Westhaar received national publicity earlier this year when it was revealed that his farm grossed \$100,000 in 1971 and lost money.

The real needs of the small farmers in America, for unlimited cheap credit, for machinery and fertilizers, cannot be met by this system. The control exercised by the banks and the farm chemical and machinery corporations precludes this.

The only road for the small farmers, to prevent their extinction, is to join with the labor movement in creating a labor party as the way to fight back.



ILWU president Harry Bridges (speaking) and UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazy (lower left) combined against militant opposition among delegates at Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis last weekend.

Gleason Accepts 22% Cut As Opposition Grows

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—ILA President Thomas Gleason announced Monday that he will go along with the Pay Board's 22 percent cut of the wage increase won by East Coast longshoremen.

The union leadership had arrived at this decision last week but was waiting for the Cost of Living Council to approve a rate increase asked for by the stevedores and port terminal operators.

Gleason's betrayal—which comes after nine months of frantic maneuvers, stalling and double-talk—leaves dockers without their full pay increases and exposed to the vicious new work rules demanded by the ship owners and the government to increase productivity.

One thing has been clear since the fall when Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley Law against both the West Coast and the East Coast dockers. That is, that the longshoremen have been up against the government as well

as the shippers.

It is for this reason that Gleason's squirming has led to a dead end. Time and again Nixon has made it plain that the Pay Board meant business. Upon rejecting Gleason's appeal for reconsidering the cut in the wage increase, the Board demanded that the new work rules be implemented on July 1st or even the miserable 5.7 percent wage increase of the second year of the contract to start October 1st will not be approved.

This decision was not only a blow to the ILA but a clear warning to all trade unionists that every contract—even those negotiated before the Pay Board was set up—is in danger.

The implementation of new work rules on July 1st will mean

opening the door for destroying the living conditions of longshoremen. The work rules provide for portwide PDO, "flexible" job categories, and massive multiple debiting designed to knock thousands of dockers off the Guaranteed Annual Income.

There is only one way that longshoremen can prevent the Government's attacks from being carried out. They must strike on July 1st to demand the full 70 cents written in their original contract and reject the work rules.

This would be a political strike against Nixon's Pay Board and would have the full support of the ILWU ranks on the West Coast, not to mention millions of workers whose contracts now face the Pay Board axe.

Wildcat Shuts Down Chrysler Over Unsafe Plant Conditions

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—Striking UAW members at the Norwood plant in Cincinnati, at the Ford assembly plant in Milpitas, California, were joined this week by the over 3,000 members of UAW Local 51 at the Dodge Mound assembly plant here.

At 8 o'clock Friday, workers at the Chrysler facility began a walkout over the complete deterioration of conditions at the plant. The spark for the wildcat was provided when news began to filter through the plant that one foreman and one alternate had been suspended for 60 days following a dispute with the foreman over safety procedures on the shop floor.

The two men were informed of their suspension by telegram Thursday and had also been told that they would no longer be allowed to work the same shift. Behind the action of Local 51

ranks over these suspensions is a violent disgust about the complete lack of safety procedures and the refusal of the company to process grievances.

For months the Local 51 leadership has been involved in negotiations with Chrysler bosses over these grievances, but has refused to even threaten strike action to force the company's compliance with the contract despite overwhelming sentiment for a strike in the ranks.

The deterioration of conditions at the Mound plant is part of a massive nationwide productivity campaign by the Big Three, aimed at destroying the ability of the UAW to defend its members' wages and working

conditions.

When Bulletin reporters raised the question of a nationwide strike by the UAW, as a response to these attacks, one of the workers threatened with suspension said:

"We could put this little old company here out, but we'd just be one of three or four locals out on strike in the whole country. We're talking about striking against Chrysler, we're talking about Ford and General Motors.

"All I did was to walk a picket line. Now me and 17 other guys are going to be out on the street this week. They want us to get down on our hands and knees and beg them to let us be but we'll never do that."

Ship Builders Face Layoffs

BY PAT CONNOLLY

QUINCY, Mass.—Over 12 welders and 70 shipfitters were laid off in the last two weeks at the General Dynamics Fore River shipyard here and more layoffs are expected this week as the employers move toward closing down the yard altogether.

The new layoffs followed the collapse of a \$350 million, federally subsidized deal to build six supertankers. The yard is now finishing work on five ships and no new contracts have come in in three years.

Since 1967 the workforce has been slashed from 10,000 to 6,500. What is clearly at stake now is the shutdown of the yards and the loss of those 6,500 jobs.

The union leadership has absolutely no perspective for fighting the layoffs or the threat of closure. "Well, if they don't have the work, what are they supposed to do," is all that workers have been able to squeeze out of the leadership thus far.

CLAIMS

General Dynamics claims that it is losing money, \$200 million since 1967, "because of high labor and material costs." The Chairman of the corporation has stated: "If new business doesn't develop, we will have to decide whether to put the yard in a slow-down or hold position or shut it down altogether."

In the face of this, the union leadership has only the most bankrupt perspective of pleading, along with the South Shore Chamber of Commerce, the state representatives and GD management, to Washington for a Navy contract to stave off the collapse.

"Yes, there'll be more layoffs next week too," a young worker told the Bulletin, "and I'm afraid I'll be one of them. The union hasn't said a damned thing. They aren't telling us anything, so you just wait for the ax to fall."

The fight has to be taken up now for a shorter work week, 30 hours work at 40 hours pay, to make the employers, not the workers, shoulder this crisis. The employers claim that they are losing money must be met with the demand for the nationalization of industry under workers' control.

The fight on these demands must center on the construction of a labor party that can carry through such a program in defense of the working people and the right to a living.

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50,000 Trade Unionists March To Stop Union Busting Judge

Judge Fines Teachers For Defying Injunction

BY DIANNE ISAACS NORRISTOWN, Pa.—"Men came from as far as Florida for this demonstration, and those guys at the courthouse had better get it through their heads that we're sick of union-busting. I'm not marching six miles in a hurricane for nothing." Fifty thousand trade unionists converged on the Montgomery County Courthouse here on Thursday in the biggest show of solidarity this state has seen since the massive rail strikes in 1877. The men marched over six miles, undismayed by hurricane winds and rain, to protest an injunction issued June 5 by Montgomery County Judge Vincent Cirillo against picketing at non-union sites of the Altomose Construction Company near Norristown.



Construction workers marched last week in Norristown, Pa. They protested court action that jailed and fined union members \$100 for picketing construction sites that used non-union labor in the state.

BY HAL LEWIS KITTANNING, Pa., June 22—With seven days left in the school year, visiting Judge Paul Granier, sitting in Armstrong County Court, recently fined striking teachers of the Armstrong Education Association (AEA) a maximum of \$350 (\$50 a day) and fined their union a maximum of \$35,000 (\$500 a day) for defying the court's back-to-work order. The AEA had been on strike since May 22, and had defied two back-to-work orders from the court imposed by Resident Judge Roy House. The present strike by the AEA is its fourth in 16 months over a salary dispute. The Association's members are paid from \$6,800 to \$11,000 and have been offered a \$700 hike over two years, starting in 1972-1973. The teachers are demanding that part of this increase be retroactive to this year.

The march and rally were called by the Philadelphia Building and Trades Council, whose membership extends to 70 Philadelphia area locals. To answer the court's attempt to vindicate the use of non-union labor, men travelled in busloads with only five days' notice from as far as Newark, Pittsburgh, New York, Florida, Baltimore, and Bethlehem. Ironworkers, longshoremen, steelworkers, retail clerks, teamsters, clothing workers, operating engineers, asbestos

workers, and transport workers began mobilizing along with the construction workers at 4 a.m. Thursday morning at a shopping center three miles from the courthouse. They came by car, bus, truck—and one on horseback.

the men were boisterous, singing and chanting "Get the judge!"

and "Altomose has got to go!" the entire length of the march despite the pouring rain.

STOP PRESS—Wednesday, June 28—One of the largest labor demonstrations in Boston history was held here today. Over 20,000 construction workers marched on the state house chanting: "We want jobs." The employers tried to get an injunction to stop it but were unable to. One union official said: "We couldn't have stopped the march if the injunction had come through because the men would have marched come hell or high water." They were protesting unemployment and slashes in state construction of the Park Plaza project and the construction of Route 128. When the Governor showed up to speak, hard hats were thrown at him. Speakers from the unions warned that construction workers were faced with welfare and mass unemployment, unless the budget cuts in construction were restored.

The workers, most of them wearing hardhats, marched six abreast behind the leaders of the Philadelphia Building and Trades Council in a line that stretched three miles long carrying placards which read "We protest the destroying of our wages and our union" and "If we can't picket, you can stick it!"

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After the June 21 hearing, AEA President Elinor Weaver said: "We knew we were in contempt and we expected sanctions, but we didn't expect them to be this harsh and severe. What we're really upset about though, is that our pay checks, which were due Saturday, are being withheld in lieu of payment of fines. "That's money we've earned. In a meeting after the hearing, the AEA council recommended to all members, who have worked for 18 months without a contract, that the strike be continued until after a contract is won."

CONFIDENCE The march to the courthouse left the shopping mall at 7:30 A.M. Armed with all the confidence built up during the 1950's,

workers in a walkout June 14th. The determination and fight of the hospital workers now places them at the head of a tremendous wave of opposition by millions of workers to Nixon and the Pay Board. The 1199 workers will not be fighting alone.

Hospital Workers Vote To Strike

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The hospital strike is only a few days off with every indication pointing to a massive walkout of 33,000 hospital workers July 1st.

During the past two weeks members of Local 1199, the hospital and drug workers union, have voted overwhelmingly by secret ballot to authorize a strike July 1st if no agreeable settlement is won.

and to return the union to the conditions which existed before 1959. Prior to the deadline their offer stood at six dollars over one year, or 4.5 percent.

At Kingsbrook Jewish Hospital chapter meetings, forty workers approved a motion of the Rank and File Committee to:

At Beth Israel, 1199 delegates confronted the directors who arrogantly informed them that the union's demand for 15 percent was "too much" and that they would have to abide by the arbitration decision, because that was the "law."

1) Strike July 1st for the full demands and to reject an arbitrated settlement under any conditions.

The delegates angrily interrupted and shouted that "the laws are only made against the poor, not for the poor," and "you are making \$70,000 a year and we can't even buy our children a pair of shoes." A delegate from Dietary said:

2) To recommend to President Leon Davis that he immediately announce he will strike against any interference by Nixon's Pay Board with the contract.

"You keep talking about Leon Davis but you forget Leon Davis is not the union, we are the union and we are the ones who are not going to go along with this arbitration."

3) Urge 1199 to answer the call of the Minneapolis Central Labor Council for a "third party based on labor" and to call for a nationwide Congress of Labor to build such a party.

At New York University Medical Center, the administration was forced to revoke the threatened suspensions of three workers for attending the City Hall rally after delegates led 250

SLASHES Throughout the negotiations, the hospitals have sought to impose wage slashes on the workers

DEMANDS The Rank and File Committee calls on all hospital workers to fight for the following demands:

- No retreat from the full union demands; no arbitration;
- An immediate call to the NYC Central Labor Council for support;
- Defy any injunctions against the strike and against any attempt of the Pay Board to slash our contract;
- Call now for the construction of a labor party.

Minn. Bosses Lock-Out 100,000 Building Workers

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS, June 23—The three week old Minnesota construction strike has now entered its most decisive stage as the Associated General Contractors have invoked a lockout from this date against some 100,000 building tradesmen.

This lockout took place against a background of rapid escalation of the strike actions. Six weeks without a contract led Cement Masons and Ironworkers to strike beginning June 12, followed a week later by two bricklayers locals and quickly joined by ten local unions of the Laborers.

job sites. CLSA "members" are known to work for rates of as little as half of union scale.

Also to be locked out are 75,000 specialty craftsmen, many of whom work in job shops and not on construction sites.

WEAKNESS

The contractors are moving not from strength, however, but fear and weakness. Already the Cement Masons have shown their ability to close down non-union sites by picketing them and preventing Teamster-organized cement trucks from entering.

The AGC is rapidly moving towards the situation its chief negotiator William Gary has been pushing for the last five years—to be able to break the unions and run the shops and sites with whatever conditions the contractors please.

The lockout is used now to try and pry important compromises, in fact disastrous compromises, out of the union leaders on working conditions and union control on the sites.

REPLACE

The AGC has decided to go all the way in pushing to replace the words "building trades unions" with "construction unions" in the contract sections providing for hiring of workers. This more general term would open the way for company unions such as the notorious Christian Labor Association to control hiring in the

But building trades ranks are in no mood for compromise. In fact, a number of pickets have stated that wages would grow in importance as the strike lengthened.

PICKETING

Now, by leaving 175,000 men on the streets, the AGC has also created 175,000 potential pickets, with the possibility open for the most massive picketing of CLA sites as well as AGC headquarters.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Young Workers Fight For Union Wages In Model Cities Program

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BROOKLYN—A big struggle is breaking out within the Model Cities Sanitation Program here between the young workers and the Model Cities Administration. Model Cities and the government are opposing the demand for a wage increase by the young workers employed there.

Every attempt is being made to keep this program on the present level, as a source of cheap labor and a weapon against the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association. Young men in this program are doing as much work and the same type as unionized men but are getting far less pay. A 21 year old worker in the program talked to the *Young Socialist* about the program:

"As a program it worked all right for a couple of months or a year. It was at first instituted to give the people in the streets a program to develop jobs. At the beginning there was hardly any equipment, no trucks, and sometimes we had to walk a long distance to where we were working that day. Then, as it advanced, it became more than just a program, it became a job, a job which I believe does not pay enough for what we do."

Young workers in this program clean up streets and empty lots that have been used as garbage dumps. One young worker described the working conditions to the *Young Socialist* as follows:

"We have sweep details in which we sweep up streets and anything that we can find on them. The lots we clean, sometimes the garbage is above your waist. We have to kill rats. You wouldn't believe the size of them. Luckily none of the guys I work with has been bitten."

"The way I hear it, the representative elected by the guys was taking care of everything so that we could get a union. I heard that finally he was given a higher position by Model Cities with more money and so he sold us out, he dropped us."

Sanitationmen get paid much more than these young workers. The City is hiring youth to do the same job as the unionized workers to break the union and lower wages. Now with these attacks, the youth in this program are beginning to think about all of the political questions. As one worker said:

"In the last two months I've begun to think more about what is going on with this job, before I never used to bother. I agree with you on the necessity of workers having their own party because right now all these guys you elect are only out for themselves."

"Assistant Commissioner MacNeil who is under the Lindsay Administration is the head of this program and most of the time he's on vacation. Somebody has to do something, somebody has to open our eyes and we'll follow through."

ACTION

"Most of these guys are making \$99.72, that's their gross pay. After taxes some guys come home with \$80.00. This is for a forty hour week. We have not had a raise in 3 years. At first, we were not supposed to get any raise but after waiting for so long, we started a job action in which a few workers got raises but the majority hasn't."

It has been only recently, after trying to get a union for years, that these workers were able to become part of Local 371 of AFSCME. The government tried to prevent these workers from joining unions by buying off their leadership. As one youth explained:

"The way I hear it, the repre-

sentative elected by the guys was taking care of everything so that we could get a union. I heard that finally he was given a higher position by Model Cities with more money and so he sold us out, he dropped us."

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Fighting For \$43 Jobs

BY A YS REPORTER

BROOKLYN—On Tuesday over 200 youth once again lined up in front of the Council for a Better East New York to apply for jobs that pay \$1.60 an hour with a maximum of \$43.00 a week.

Throughout the last two weeks these youth have been moved to a different location every day so that the government can avoid confronting a united force of youth. Last year fighting broke out when the youth, after lining up early every morning until late afternoon, were then not given jobs.

Already the atmosphere is tense as the last day for registering for jobs is nearing. Last Friday scuffles broke out at Williams Street and Liberty Avenue where despite the down-pour caused by the hurricane, youth lined up all day. Some youth began pushing and a few fights got under way.

The youth turn to these programs in a desperate attempt to find jobs. One crew chief working there told the *Young*



Parents and youth demonstrated in Lower East Side New York against rat-infested swimming pool which City refuses to clean up.

Socialist that this year, she has even been interviewing youth who have already graduated from high school and have been to college.

She also stated that the youth applying for these jobs are being subjected to arrogant treatment. Youth applying for jobs from the Neighborhood Youth Corps are constantly yelled at. This crew chief described how things are usually carried out. She said "These people are always threatening these kids by telling them that if the youth do

not follow the exact instructions they won't receive any jobs."

One youth who had been on line for a long time was told to move to a different line just as his turn had come up. When he refused, he was told to leave and that no job would be given to him.

It is this treatment which reflects the fear that the government has over the situation which is building up where the anger over the tremendous rate of unemployment is about to break.

Youth Will Play Key Role In Building Labor Party

On December 18, 1971, at the founding conference of the Young Socialists, the program adopted by the YS called for the labor movement to build a labor party based on the trade unions. At that time we said that the monetary crisis was beyond repair, that no matter what agreements the top capitalists made, they would be worthless. We stated that the attacks upon the youth would therefore have to increase while at the same time, the entire union movement would become the main target of the government.

The YS program states that we must fight unemployment through the call for a shorter work week so that more people can be hired. We also stated that the youth and the labor movement had to unite in this fight.

"Since then the assessment of the economic crisis on which the YS based its perspective for building a labor party has been proven correct. More budget cuts have been implemented, more teachers will be laid off, less money will go towards facilities in the schools, and all programs which provided jobs are in danger of cutbacks or completely closing.

Since the December 18 conference, things have changed at a rapid pace and the unemployment among the youth is skyrocketing. For the last two weeks in New York, young people have been lining up in the pouring rain from 7:30 A.M. until 4 or 5:00 P.M. to apply for jobs that pay the minimum wage of \$1.60 an hour.

But even these jobs have been reduced by the Democrats and Republicans through the cutbacks in the budget creating a situation of complete scarcity of jobs for the youth and one where tensions are moving towards the breaking point as youth begin to fight each other for the few remaining jobs.

At the same time, within the last few months, we have seen the working class take up a fight against these attacks. The working class has developed more since the YS conference than it had in the last twenty years. George Meany was forced off the Pay Board by the militancy of the rank and file workers. This was just a sneak preview of the kind of action that the trade unions would have to take.

Now we are at an even higher stage than when Meany walked off the Pay Board.

Sections of the labor movement are now beginning to call for a labor party. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council has called for a labor party and is calling on other bodies to do the same.

Now we are seeing workers demonstrate in masses which is something that has not been seen since the post war period. Two weeks ago 25,000 hospital workers from the 1199 union walked off their jobs for one hour and demonstrated to show that they are ready to take the Pay Board on when their contract expires on July 1st. Last week in Norristown, Pennsylvania, 50,000 construction workers came out against the attempt of the courts to take away the right to picket and thereby smash their union.

It is because of this that the perspectives of the YS must be taken by the youth into the labor movement. It is more critical now than when we stated these perspectives at the December 18th conference for the youth to make a political turn towards the unions as the only way to defend their rights to decent education and jobs. The youth cannot confront the government by themselves. It is only the union movement that holds that key position but only the youth through studying Marxism can bring to the workers the socialist understanding necessary to bring about a socialist revolution.

This is why the youth have the main responsibility in the fight to bring about the labor party. The break with the Democrats and Republicans is the only way for the youth to fight unemployment and the only way for the workers to save their unions which the Pay Board is trying to destroy. Every youth must defend his rights by joining the Young Socialists and being the main force in building the labor party.

Dance

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Young Socialist

Young Socialists Hold First Outing To Study History Of Trotskyism

BY NANCY VAZQUEZ

ARROW PARK, N.Y.—Despite pouring rain, more than 130 workers and youth from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut met here Sunday for the first outing of the Young Socialists and Workers League to discuss the history of the Trotskyist movement.

This meeting was held during the sharpening struggle of the working class against the attacks of capitalism, and under conditions in which the construction of a movement to bring the working class to power is urgently posed.

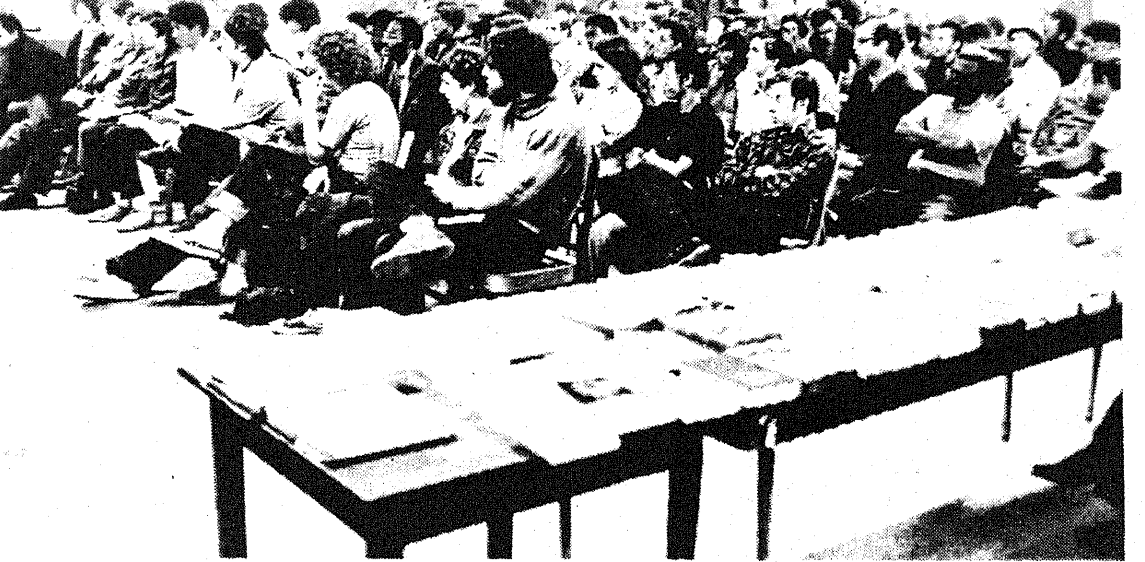
The history of the Marxist movement and the lessons drawn from that history are weapons for workers today. It is this history which is now viciously attacked by tendencies within the

working class movement in order to hold back its development.

The meeting opened with a presentation—"In Defense of Trotskyism"—given by Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League.

"Marxism lives only in a struggle against the attempts to destroy it," he stated. "Only in this way as part of the actual construction of a party in the working class does Marxism develop."

Comrade Wohlforth stated that there are three levels of oppo-



130 unionists and youth attended Young Socialists-Workers League outing at Arrow Park, N.Y.

sites which are inter-related.

First is capitalism versus the working class.

Second is the revolutionary party versus the present consciousness of the working class.

Third is the struggle of Marxism against revisionism.

STRUGGLE

"The history of Trotskyism has been a struggle against all those forces which attempted to destroy the principles of Marxism," declared Wohlforth.

"The international socialist movement was constructed by Trotsky in 1938 through a fight against revisionism to bring forward the movement of the working class in a battle for political power.

"It is this history which the revisionist tendencies are now throwing out of the window because they say it's not important."

Wohlforth said that centrist forces are now emerging that dismiss the entire history of Trotskyism as a worthless assortment of sectarian quarrels that led nowhere. All they see in this history, he stated, is a negative.

But it is precisely these theoretical struggles, declared Wohlforth, against anti-theory tendencies that have led to a development of Marxism and

now make it possible to construct a Marxist movement with deep roots in the working class.

Following the perspectives report, the meeting broke up into discussion groups for full participation on the perspectives report given. A sharp fight was taken up in the groups around the questions of idealist philosophy and the development of consciousness through an understanding of dialectical materialism, the Marxist theory of knowledge.

CONSCIOUSNESS

In one of the groups, an idealist tendency was reflected by youth who saw the development of consciousness as a process that takes place independent of an actual struggle in the material world.

One comrade stated that it was the form of a trade union as an institution that determined the consciousness of the working class, and that a labor party would give the working class a higher consciousness.

It was pointed out that if institutions determined the consciousness of workers, there would be no way that consciousness could change and that institutions themselves would be permanent. But it is the movement of classes that is smashing up institutions like the trade union bureaucracy and creating the

conditions for a leap in consciousness of workers through the intervention of the Marxist party.

In another group, a youth asked "How would union people react to a socialist caucus?" Another participant answered that "Because of the crisis that capitalism is in and the attacks it is now preparing on the workers, there would be a change in the way workers would think."

The discussion reflected not only a tremendous desire to come to grips with theory but also the three levels of opposites in the Marxist movement—opposites that are in contradiction and in conflict with each other. It is this conflict that brings about a development in consciousness as well as society.

It is this conflict that the revisionists deny. Pushing to the forefront a completely idealist position, the revisionists separate ideas from the actual material struggle in which man engages.

IMPRESSIONS

The idealists begin with their impressions and formulas. Youth must fight for Marxism against idealism so that their starting point can be the actual struggles of the working class against capitalism—the Pay Board, the attacks on the ILA, and the real material crisis that underlies these struggles, as expressed by the devaluation of the British pound.

The discussion at Arrow Park became a fight for Marxism against idealism; and for an understanding of the material struggle of the working class.

The day ended with a mass Young Socialist steering committee meeting. Central in the discussion was the role of youth today in bringing forward the movement of the working class politically against the government.

A Philadelphia Young Socialist said: "The youth by themselves cannot do anything. They must be united with the labor movement to fight against the attacks that are coming down on both workers and youth."

As part of the fight, the Young Socialists began a campaign against unemployment that would start in New York.

Many youth came forward to join the YS in order to fight against the attacks of the government and against the attacks on the greatest weapon of the working class—Marxism.



YSers relax, playing volley ball at Arrow Park outing last week.

S.F. Chinatown Bosses Trap Immigrant Youth

BY SUSAN FREDERICKS

SAN FRANCISCO—The crisis in the ruling class of Chinatown here has caught hundreds of youth in a vise. The six companies of the Consolidated Benevolent Association which have close ties to the Chinatown Kuo Min Tang (Nationalist Party of Chiang Kai-shek) has attempted to hire the Wah Ching youth gang as thugs against the rising opposition to the six companies by the Family Clans (Bing Kong Tong) and by the working class of the ghetto area.

Since July 1971 when the Bing Kong Tong issued a warning in three Chinatown daily papers to the Wah Ching gang to stop their vandalism, about 15 dead Wah Ching members have been found, floating in the San Francisco Bay with new victims just this last week.

However, while still maintaining strict control of the Chinese underworld (with no interference from Mayor Alioto or the police department), it seems that the six companies are trying to reassert their control over the small neighborhood businesses. They also seek to use the

masses of youth on the street who have dropped out of school and the large number of teenage youth coming in from Hong Kong after years of the direst poverty as recruits for their dirty work.

UNIONIZE

Due to the strong arm of the six companies, all efforts to unionize work in the area have been physically attacked and ground to a halt. Starting back in the 19th century, the six companies devoted themselves to keeping immigrants as a cheap source of labor. This was in agreement with federal policy restricting

Chinese to the ghetto area and vetoing citizenship until 1934.

More recently the six companies have tried to prohibit the functioning of the poverty programs, and have been able to turn a federally funded chef training program into a source of cheap labor limited to the restaurants they own.

Because of the low wages and high rents, parents are forced often to work double shifts. For 3,000 sweatshop workers it is 75 cents an hour.

It is because of this economic situation that the gangs are able to recruit many youth. The reformist poverty program can do nothing to solve the problems of drug addiction and runaway youth.

RED GUARDS

The Red Guards, a Maoist group patterned along the lines of the reformist Black Panther Survival Program, holds meetings at its frequently ransacked head-

quarters. But they too are unable to pose any solution to the existing conditions.

PROFITS

It is increasingly obvious to the youth and younger workers that they are being held down so that the six companies can reap large profits off of them.

It is under these conditions that the Teamsters Union has announced an important plan for the unionization of Chinatown.

But the fight to change the existing conditions in Chinatown and across the entire nation is the fight that only the Young Socialists are preparing for. It is in these areas that the YS must be built to link the struggle of the youth with the struggle of the labor movement. Only the program of the YS for the building of a labor party can give an alternative to the present leadership whether they are gangs or bankrupt nationalist organizations.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Centrists Unite To Attack Labor Party

Over five million union members were represented at the St. Louis Labor For Peace Conference held this past weekend. This conference convened only days after 50,000 construction workers marched on the courthouse in Norristown, Pa. and a week after the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council issued a call for the formation of a labor party and Fitzgerald the president of the UE called on labor to build this party now.

It was this fight for the labor party that dominated this conference. Almost every single speaker was forced to address himself to the question.

This demand to break the unions from the stranglehold of the Democratic Party and begin a political offensive was opposed by an amalgam of the American Communist Party and the centrists together with the labor bureaucrats who dominated the platform.

While the Stalinists did their work behind the scenes of this conference, they handed over the real job to the centrists, to the International Socialists, the Spartacists, and the grouping around the Vanguard Newsletter.

The resolution put forward by the middle of the road men calling for a one day work stoppage against the war served one purpose and one purpose only and that was to divert the struggle away from the fight for the labor party and give a left cover to the bureaucracy's and the Stalinists' attempts to keep the unions tied to the Democratic Party and McGovern.

All of their talk about "rank and file programs" is to maintain the working class on the level of militant trade unionism at a moment when the very existence of the unions requires a political fight. This is the same perspective that is behind the Stalinists' Trade Unionists For Action and Democracy. The centrists are quite willing to serve as whipping boys for the bureaucracy to prevent the struggle for a labor party.

The real question raised before the labor movement now is the construction of a labor party. Sections of labor have now been forced to raise this call which expresses the strength and tremendous movement of the working class that must confront the government in every single struggle from wages, to speed-up, to unemployment.

It is precisely at this moment that the centrists emerge. Most of these groups are renegades from the Trotskyist movement who have spit upon the historical struggle of Marxists for the political independence of the working class. While they kowtow to the right, to the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists, they direct their fire against the Marxists.

Sub Drive Off To Good Start

We are now completing our first two week period of the Summer Bulletin Subscription Drive. We have a grand total of 1,276 new and renewed subs towards our goal of 5,000 by September 15.

The Bay Area branches, having learned the lesson of their difficulties with a late start in the last drive, lead the way with 186 subs towards their 600 goal. Next comes East New York with 120 towards a goal of 400 while Boston, which also had difficulty last time, has an excellent start with 71 towards 150. The Twin Cities, which did so well last time, has not really started any serious work yet.

The reason why we have made such a good beginning is that a number of branches have been continuing the subscription work between drive periods. Last week we got in only a total of 185 subs. We must now receive at least 400 a week nationally to achieve our goal.



What we think

25 Years After Taft-Hartley

Last Thursday, almost 25 years to the day after the Taft-Hartley Bill became law on June 23, 1947, 50,000 trade unionists marched through Norristown, Pennsylvania to defend their right to have a union.

It was necessary for those workers, some of whom had come from as far away as Florida, to march in hurricane weather because today the Government proposes to go even further than Taft-Hartley. Nixon, with the approval of the Democrats, plans to use all the provisions of the notorious "Slave Labor Act" (as Taft-Hartley was called by workers in 1947) along with new laws, court decisions, and the Pay Board in order to destroy the standard of living achieved by workers.

Behind all the attacks on American workers and their unions is the Government itself, acting in the interests of the corporations that rule this country. The actions of the capitalist class are determined by the international economic crisis which has thrown the entire profit system into disorder. Last week's devaluation of the British pound has opened up a whole new stage in the crisis. No longer can even the capitalists pretend that there is any way for them to shore up their system without creating conditions of mass misery for the working class. The corporations are ordering their politicians to prepare for civil war.

This is the meaning of a German banker's statement immediately after the pound's devaluation: "The politicians better wake up before the western world disintegrates."

Those 50,000 workers in Norristown made it very clear that they are not going to stand quietly and watch the Government take away everything they have fought for.

This is a period of the mass radicalization of the working class. The demonstrations in Norristown and New York are just like the first gusts of a windstorm. The American working class, the most powerful social force in history, is now surging forward in defense of its organizations through which it struggles for the right to a decent standard of living.

No amount of militancy and pressure can stop this Government from moving ahead with its attacks unless it is replaced with a labor party based on the trade unions and guided by a socialist program to deal with the economic crisis.

That the working class cannot fight the attacks of the corporations without breaking with the parties of big business—the Democrats and Republicans—is the principle lesson that the labor movement must take from its history of the fight against Taft-Hartley.

The Taft-Hartley had the enthusiastic and overwhelming support of the Democrats and Republicans in the Congress. The Bill was the most vicious piece of anti-union legisla-

tion ever passed, and was designed to break the power of the industrial unions created by American workers in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

As soon as the Taft-Hartley Bill was introduced in the Congress, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists swung into action.

- On April 22, 1947, 100,000 Iowa CIO and AFL members held a one-day strike.

- On April 24, 1947, 500,000 Detroit workers staged a one-day strike and 250,000 demonstrated in Cadillac Square against the Bill.

The union leadership had no intention of fighting Taft-Hartley. Of course, the leadership had many "militant" things to say. Four months before he publicly embraced the law, AFL President William Green declared he would "never become reconciled to this law."

Even at the cost of sabotaging the trade unions and opening them up for destruction, the bureaucracy would not break with the Democrats and launch a labor party to fight Taft-Hartley.

It was the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy that allowed the Taft-Hartley to become a weapon against the working class.

American workers cannot permit these betrayals to be repeated. It is threatened with attacks far more severe than those of 1947.

Because the Taft-Hartley Bill became law in 1947 just as the stabilization of European capitalism opened the way for the post-war boom, the American capitalists were able to put off a full scale confrontation with the working class.

Now this confrontation cannot be put off. The disintegration of the world economy leaves the capitalists no choice but to take on the trade unions with the intention of destroying them.

The Taft-Hartley Law itself becomes a new instrument of union-busting as the bosses seek to apply it under conditions of crisis. The 80-day "cooling off" period was used twice this year against the ILA and ILWU as the Government prepared its attack against the longshoremen. Nixon is now calling for legislation that would supplement the 80-day injunction with a permanent injunction against strikes.

The other infamous proviso of the Taft-Hartley which opened the way for "right-to-work" laws is now the platform upon which many corporations are openly standing, calling on the Government to pass a federal "right-to-work" law that would bust unions. Such a bill has been introduced into Congress.

It is this "open shop" union-busting that Pennsylvania construction workers are fighting.

Besides Taft-Hartley, the government is using other old legislation in an entirely new way to meet the needs of the crisis. The Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, which was passed

in the late 1950's for the supposed purpose of "cleansing" the unions of corrupt leadership, is now being used to take over the United Mine Workers.

It was primarily the liberal Democrats who led the drive for the law, determined to break the successful organizing drive of the Teamsters and put Jimmy Hoffa behind bars. Both John and Robert Kennedy threw their energies into creating the Bill; and while they sat in the White House it was used to hound Hoffa.

UAW President Tony Boyle was tried in April for violating a Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin provision that prohibits union funds from financing federal campaigns. Although the court cited a \$30,000 donation to Hubert Humphrey in 1968, there is no doubt it was aimed against the building of a labor party financed by the trade unions.

And now, following up an investigation into the death of Jock Yablonski (which the government all but ignored for two years), Nixon's Labor Department has assumed control over all vital aspects of union activity.

The timing of the government's actions is very important. Nixon is aiming his Pay Board against the wage increases due to the mine-workers under the second-year provisions of their contract. He plans to completely crush the ability of the union to resist the destruction of the contract.

The international economic crisis means that the Government must seek to smash unions, enforce drastic wage cuts and merciless speed-ups. At the same time the corporations plan to create an army of unemployed.

For this purpose big business is looking beyond even the Republicans and Democrats. George Wallace was not summoned from Alabama with his right-wing and neo-fascistic followers merely to make sure that wage increases are not "inflationary."

A labor party must be constructed in 1972. There is great support for such a step within the ranks. The open support for a labor party given by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council reflects the desire of broad sections of the working class to break with the Democrats and Republicans.

The Workers League calls on all trade unionists to take up the fight for the labor party. A new leadership must be constructed in the trade unions to see that this task is carried out. The labor party can come into existence only through a fight by the ranks against the privileged bureaucrats and the Stalinists of the American Communist Party who back them up with a conscious policy of betrayal.

The time has come to go on the offensive against Nixon and the corporations!

MARX AND CLASSICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

By Peter Jeffries

In this period of rapidly-deepening economic and political crisis it is more essential than ever that a systematic study be made of Marx's 'Capital'.

But this study cannot be confined to Marx's conclusions or particular questions. It must centre upon a study of the method of this great work. Such a study represents a particular challenge to the revolutionary movement in Britain, where there has traditionally been an opposition to theoretical questions and particularly a hostility to the dialectical method which is at the heart of 'Capital'.

In any case such a study cannot be a mere academic exercise. For a real understanding of the revolutionary implications of Marx's theoretical study of the capitalist system can only be achieved as part of a struggle, both practical and theoretical, to defend the heritage of Marxism against reformism and revisionism.

In particular, this means a struggle against Stalinism. For it can be truly said that the Stalinists in Britain, aided by the revisionists, have been in the forefront in their efforts to destroy the revolutionary method of 'Capital'.

In these articles we intend to expose the nature of these distortions through an examination of the labour theory of value, its place in 'Capital' and the treatment it has received at the hands of Stalinist writers, in particular Maurice Dobb, for long considered their leading representative in this field in the Anglo-Saxon world.

But it would be a serious mistake to see Dobb's wrong method, which we shall presently examine, as arising merely from a series of 'mistakes'. For his aim, a reflection of the political camp which he has slavishly served for the last 50 years, is to tear the revolutionary heart out of Marx's work by reducing it to the level of Ricardian political economy.

For him, this has the dual advantage of making Marx 'respectable' by suggesting that he was the last of the great school of classical political economy, while at the same time providing for himself a comfortable position in the academic world.

We shall show that Marx, far from being the heir of political economy, was in fact its severest critic. As early as 1847 he attacked Proudhon for trying to 'criticize political economy from the standpoint of political economy' and 'Capital' for him, unlike the

Stalinists, was a critique of political economy.

In centring the discussion initially on the theory of value, we can best start with Marx's famous letter to Dr Kugelmann of July 11, 1868. It contains the following well-known but critical passage:

Even if there were no chapter on "value" in my book ['Capital'] the analysis of the real relationships which I give would contain the proof of the real value relation. The nonsense about the necessity of proving the concept of value arises from complete ignorance both of the subject dealt with and of the method of science.

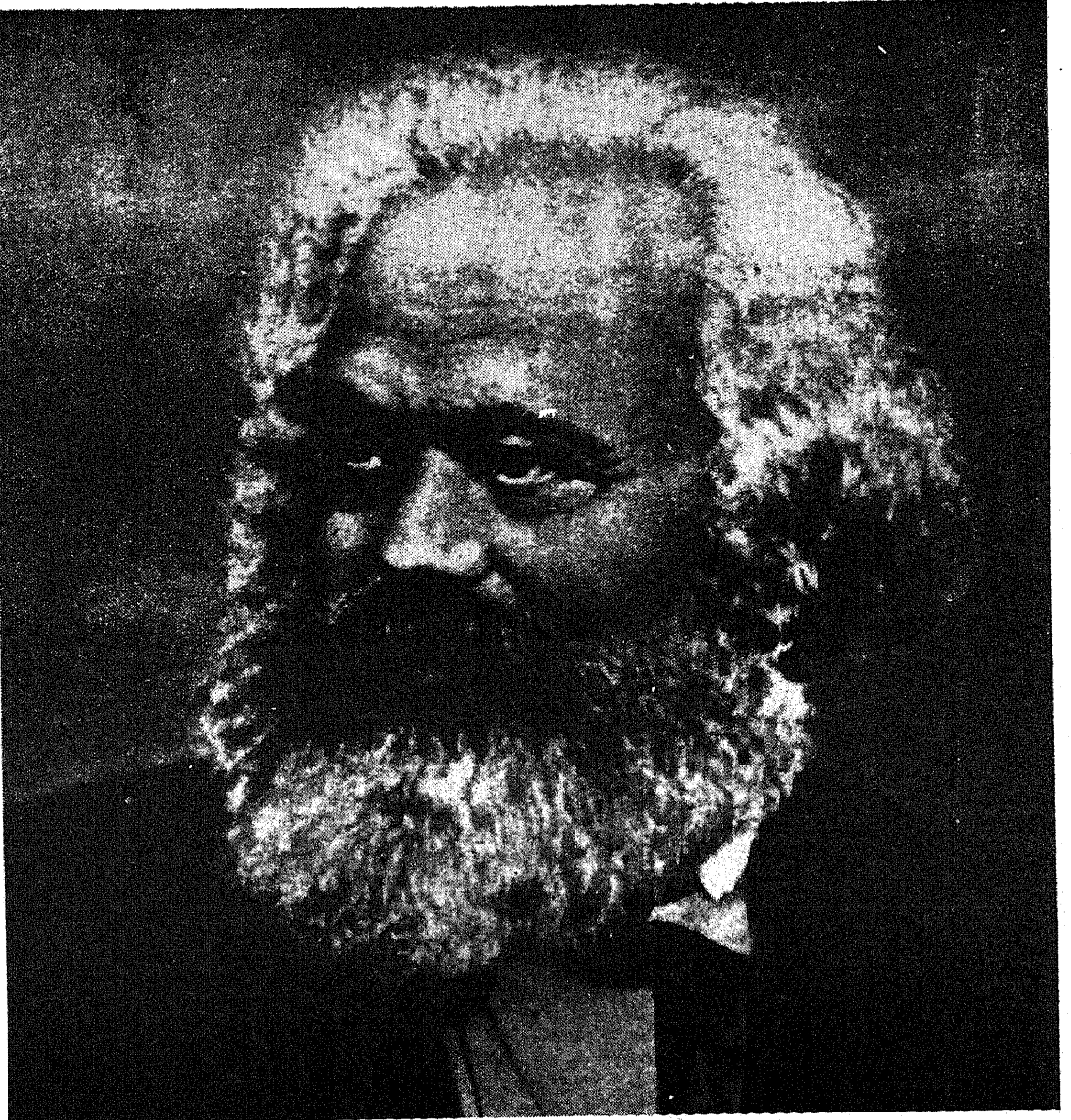
'Every child knows that a country which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but for a few weeks, would die. Every child knows too, that the mass of products corresponding to the different needs require different and quantitatively determined means of the total labour of society. That this necessity of distributing social labour in definite proportions cannot be done away with by the particular form of social production but can only change the form it assumes, is self evident.

'No natural law can be done away with. What can change, in changing historical circumstances, is the form in which these laws operate. And the form which this proportional division of labour operates in a state of society where the interconnections of social labour is manifested in the private exchange of the individual products of labour, is precisely the exchange value of these products. The science consists precisely in working out how the law of value operates. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to 'explain' all the phenomena which apparently contradicted the law, one would have to give the science before the science.'

This is a particularly important passage in that the aim of this article will be to reveal that Marx was able to show how the law of value operated only because he had completely assimilated Hegel's dialectical method.

But first some general points about the passage. Marx evidently wished to stress one basic idea in writing to Kugelmann, namely the historical and relative nature of all the categories met with in political economy; none of these categories, such as 'production', 'division of labour', etc. can be understood except in their relations to the specific mode of production of which they formed a part.

'The categories of bourgeois economy' says Marx 'are forms of thought expressing with



Karl Marx

social validity the conditions and relations of a definite, historically determined mode of production, viz the production of commodities.' (I, p. 76.)

This recognition of the historical nature of political economy and its categories was a reflection of the theory of historical materialism. But it did not mean that there were not features common to many if not all societies. Every society, whatever its social relations of production, needs some mechanism for the allocation of social labour. However, the form which this mechanism takes differs widely from society to society. Marx, in 'Capital', shows that these differences can be explained only by an analysis of the structure of the relations of production and it was one of his major aims to demonstrate the dependence of the relations of 'distribution' on the relations of 'production'.

What were the specific features which distinguished capitalism from other forms of society? Marx shows that capitalism involved the dominance of commodity production, and in particular, the transformation of the category of 'labour' into 'labour power', or the ability to work, which itself is reduced to the status of a commodity.

Given that this was so, how was the allocation of labour to the various branches effected? It was effected, says Marx, through the exchange of commodities as equivalents, through their exchange values.

For Marx then the law of value reflected the only possible, although indirect, form whereby social labour could be distributed in commodity-producing society. The law of value reflects the social relations of production specific to capitalism, and to capitalism alone.

Speaking of socialist economic organization Engels wrote ('Anti-During', p. 423.): 'The people will arrange everything very simply, without the intervention of the much famed law.' For the epigones of Stalin this statement has proved a

considerable difficulty in that it has had to be squared with Stalin's assertions that in the USSR, which from 1936 onwards was a fully-developed socialist country he said, the law of value continued to operate.

In his letter to his friend Kugelmann, Marx was also drawing attention to another very important point—the fact that under capitalism the value relation (a social relation) appeared as a relation between things. Unless this is correctly understood, the opening chapter of 'Capital', and particularly the fourth section which deals with 'The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof' cannot be understood.

In exchanging commodities, men were engaged in both quantitative but also qualitative activities. Quantitative in that commodities exchanged in definite proportions according to the socially necessary labour-time which their production entailed, but also qualitative, in that behind these quantitative ratios stood social relations. In exchanging commodities men were also exchanging their labour.

For Marx this attachment of social relations to things was no 'illusion', as is commonly thought. For under capitalism the social relations between the individuals consisting society could only manifest themselves or appear as the relations between the objects of material wealth. These appearances were, as Marx puts it, 'necessary appearances'.

'A social relation of production', says Marx ('Critique of Political Economy', p. 49) appears as something existing apart from individual human beings, and the distinctive relations into which they enter in the course of production appear as the specific properties of a thing—it is this perverted appearance, this pseudo-real, and by no means imaginary mystification that is characteristic of all social forms posting exchange value'. Or again ('Capital' I, p. 73): '... the relations connecting the labour of one individual

with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things'.

One very important conclusion flowed from this insistence on the necessary nature of appearances—they could not be destroyed 'in the head' as the idealist opponent of Marxism thinks. They could be destroyed only by overthrowing their material basis—the social relations of capitalist production—which sustained them.

Immediately, Marx's debt to Hegel is clear. For Marx, in his analysis of value and the value form (which we shall examine in greater detail at a later stage) shows that the 'thing in itself' (in this case value) can only present itself through its contradictory opposite, its appearance (to continue with our illustration, 'exchange value' is the form of appearance of 'value').

In other words Marx rejected Kant's separation of the 'thing in itself' from its 'appearance' in favour of Hegel's method. Marx's task in 'Capital' was to establish the laws of mediation through which the 'essence' of phenomena manifested themselves in 'appearances'.

The whole of 'Capital'—its three volumes—is devoted to an analysis of the complex process of mediation which this transition involves. Marx is thus able to show how all the appearances of capitalism (which seem to consist of relations 'where equality and Mr Bentham reign supreme') have their origin in the ceaseless struggle between the development of the productive forces and the increasingly restrictive nature of capital social relations.

As Hegel ('Science of Logic', p. 133) notes: 'Hence law is not beyond appearance, but is immediately present in it; the realm of laws is the quiescent counterfeit of the existing or appearing world.'



In stressing the necessary nature of appearances, Marx was insisting that the laws of capitalist production cannot be modified in their operation.

In writing of political economy—in this case of Ricardo—he notes: 'The discovery of the determination of the magnitude of value by labour-time, while removing all appearance of accidentality from the determination of the magnitude of the value of products, yet in no way alters the mode in which this determination takes place.'

Only the reconstitution of society along socialist lines can achieve this change: 'The life process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely-associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan.' In the same way Marx notes a little earlier in 'Capital' (Vol. I, p. 74) the discovery by science of the component gases of air in no way altered the actual composition of air.

So far we have elaborated a number of points which are implicit in the letter to Kugelmann. To state matters from a different angle: Marx was stressing what he had already announced in 1859 with the publication of the 'Critique of Political Economy'—namely that his starting point for 'Capital' was the materialist conception of history.

This theory stated that the 'real foundation' of society was to be sought in the social relations of production on

which arose a political, ideological, legal, etc 'super-structure'.

Specifically, Marx set himself the task in 'Capital' of tracing out the manifold interconnections between the social relations of production—the most abstract expression of which was to be found in the commodity—and all the other phenomena within the system, including the class struggle. Many other trends within the working-class movement may recognize this struggle. But Marxism, alone, because of its method, is able to understand the real foundation and origins of this struggle and therefore the basis for the overthrow of the capitalist class by the working class.

Before proceeding to show how this task involved Marx in a thorough analysis of the method of political economy and an understanding that its weaknesses were to be sought in its empirical method, we must make some initial points about the distortions of Marxism committed in this field by Stalinism.

If we look at Maurice Dobb's major theoretical effort in this field ('Political Economy and Capitalism: Some Essays in Economic Tradition') we find that he opens the book with a chapter entitled 'The Requirements of a Theory of Value'. In the very title he gives to the chapter he betrays a method utterly hostile to that of Marx and one in which Stalinism has attempted to mis-educate generations of both workers and intellectuals for nearly 50 years.

For what Dobb wishes to do is to separate out Marx's analysis of value from the body of 'Capital' as a whole so that

he can then show to his academic friends that Marx's value theory has something to be said for it, and should not be dismissed by these latter in the way it has been traditionally. At one point, Marx was obliged to reply to the charge of A. Wagner of 'illogicality' in 'splitting the concept of value into exchange value and use value':

'Above all I do not start from "concepts" thus not "from the concept of value". What I start from is the simplest social form in which the product of labour in the present form of society presents itself; and this is "commodity".'

Marx was pointing out to Wagner a fact which we also must keep constantly in mind: that he was a materialist who started out from real social relations and not an idealist, who must always start from concepts produced in his head.

Throughout his work, Dobb has also tried to answer another question: Why did Marx choose labour as the basis for his value theory? Again he is at pains to try and explain that this choice was a perfectly 'reasonable' one which has much to commend it. But once again his very question constitutes a betrayal of Marx's materialist method.

For when Dobb tries to find out why Marx did not choose land or capital as the basis of his value analysis, he answers that this was a result of practical and technical matters associated with the latter.

In the case of land or capital, clearly there were serious practical objections to taking them as a basis: diffi-

culties which would have exceeded any of those which were charged against the labour theory . . . Acres are more dissimilar than man-hours of labour. In the case of capital there was a more crucial objection that it was itself a value, depending upon other values, in particular upon profit to be earned.'

These, Dobb tells us, were insurmountable difficulties; thus labour is chosen; thus the labour theory of value.

In a sense it is impossible to analyse the nature of Dobb's answer. For it is in the very posing of the question that he betrays his anti-Marxism. With good reason did Lenin on one occasion speak of the 'so-called "labour" theory of value' (Introduction to Marx's Letters to Kugelmann, International Publishers, New York, 1934).

We must repeat, Marx is concerned with an analysis of the social relations of capitalist commodity-production and never strays outside of these limits.

As we have said, man's social relations under this mode of production can appear, or take the form of, only relations between things (commodities). Leaving aside their particular properties as use values—that is objects of utility for their non-producers—their one common feature is their quality as products of abstract labour, the quantitative measure of which is time.

In other words, the category 'value' is one entirely subordinated, in both a logical and historical sense, to the commodity.

Here is how Stalinism 'explains' the matter (Dobb, op cit,

p. 22): 'The statement which the labour theory implied was that the exchange values bore a certain relation to the output and using of human energies and in so doing provided a term which gave some distinction between a gross and net product and to the concept of a surplus, and a criterion for differentiation one type of income from another.'

If we cut through the turgid academic prose, some key issues are raised of both a practical and theoretical nature. For Dobb is suggesting that Marx's value theory was merely a 'tool' to uncover exploitation. In doing so he is betraying his complete reformism and the reformism of Stalinism. For Marx's aim certainly was not to show that the working class was exploited: this indeed had been done by many socialists (and even non-socialists) long before 'Capital' was written.

What Marx was aiming to show was not merely that the working class was robbed under the capitalist system, but rather that this system suffered from insoluble contradictions, which alone provided the basis for its overthrow.

To put matters another way: Marx was demonstrating not that the working class was merely an exploited class (as the liberals and reformists have always recognized) but that it was a revolutionary class in that its future was increasingly threatened by the restrictive nature of the social relation of production.

Dobb not only shows his reformist conceptions; his method also involves a relapse back into Ricardianism. For it was Ricardo who placed prime



Lenin (shown on page 12) said: "Marx may not have left us a logic, but he did leave us the logic of Capital." At center of Capital is dialectical method which Marx (left) saved from Hegel's (far left) idealist philosophy. Marx criticized early political economists for their empirical method. Ricardo (above) tried to resolve phenomena which conflicted with law of value rather than discover the origins of the conflicts in the law of value. Right, an early edition of Capital.

LE CAPITAL

PAR

KARL MARX

TRADUCTION DE M. J. ROY, ENTIÈREMENT REVISÉE PAR L'AUTEUR



emphasis upon the relations of distribution (which classes got what of the national cake) rather than with the antagonistic relations of production, which Ricardo, and political economy generally, took for granted.

As in all matters, both political and theoretical, revisionism only follows the lead given by Stalinism. Ernest Mandel, leader of the renegade Pabloite movement, writes in his 'Marxist Economic Theory' (p. 716): 'The labour theory can be demonstrated empirically even if only in the sense that, in the last analysis, all the elements in the cost of production can be reduced to labour, and to labour alone if one goes back far enough in the analysis.'

Dobb takes precisely the same position when he insists that the theory of political economy 'should be capable of expression in terms of quantitative entities in the real world'. But what are these quantitative entities of the 'real world'. It can only refer to such things as 'price', 'rate of profit', 'rate of interest' etc.

In other words, both Dobb and the revisionist Mandel are seeking to destroy Marx's dialectical method in favour of empiricism. For how can we measure such entities as capital, or socially necessary labour time. Neither of these categories appears empirically within the capitalist system. If they did, there would be no need for science, the task of which, as we have said, it to show how the empirically-available appearances are contradictory their essence, which is to be production.

This same vulgar positivism is seen in Mandel when he writes in defence of the

theory of value that one of its strong points against its rivalism is that capitalist businessmen actually price their rations. Dobb takes the same position in writing: 'The ultimate criterion (for the test of a theory's adequacy) must be the requirements of practice: the type of question which one requires to answer, the purpose of inquiry in hand.'

Here we have a crude version of instrumentalism which selects its hypotheses not according to their congruence with historical and social forces, but simply by virtue of their ability to sustain predictions 'in the real world'.

Positivism falsely decreed that the only 'real' sciences were those dealing with natural phenomena: 'real' in the sense that they alone were exact enough to make these predictions.

But the method of Marx's 'Capital' is based on entirely the opposite view—that 'quantity' ('commodity' for example) is constantly in process of transformation into other quantities and qualities (money to continue with the same illustration) and thereby into further quantities and qualities ('capital' to complete the example).

This method further insists that these transformations, far from being automatic and regular, can only take place under definite historical and social circumstances which must be investigated scientifically.

Marx also makes clear that precisely because the capitalist system is anarchic (that is, it cannot be subject to conscious

a priori regulation) each law takes the form, as Marx notes in connection with the law of value, of a 'blindly working average'. Given this, the predictability of future events cannot be dealt with in the way which Ernest Mandel's positivism indicates (dealt with in the previous article).

Thus all those critics of Marx who claim that 'Capital's' predictions have been 'falsified' by history completely miss the point. To cite one example: Marx shows that with the accumulation of capital there is a tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

But this did not mean that the precise movement of the rate of profit could be accurately predicted and read off on a chart, as it were. On the contrary, in formulating this law Marx wished rather to point out (a) that the process of accumulation was a profoundly contradictory one, (b) that the process would be subject to periodic crisis. But Marx never pretended that the precise form and timing of such crises could be predicted with accuracy. As he makes clear in many places, each crisis, while in no sense the result of accident or chance, was in essence unique and had to be studied in its concrete development.

In connection with the movement of the rate of profit, 'Capital' makes clear that we are dealing with a general law of tendency, which, as in all such cases, necessarily produced forces which tended to counteract its 'pure' operation; among these were the strength and fighting capacity of the working class, the 'weight' of which could certainly not be known beforehand, as positivism spuriously claims.

Space does not allow us to present a review of Marx's analysis of the history of political economy. He paid tribute, of course, to the great achievement of the classical school and in particular of Ricardo, its leading representative. But he was equally conscious of the severe limitations of this school, which, as we have seen, Marx saw as flowing from its treatment of the laws of capitalism as equivalent to the laws of nature.

But here we wish to draw attention to one particular aspect of Marx's critique of Ricardo which directly relates to the points already made, namely the empiricism of the classical school. In the 'Theories of Surplus Value' Marx points to the great importance of Locke's empirical method for the development of political economy '... his philosophy served the basis for all the ideas of the whole of subsequent English political economy'. And again: 'With all later bourgeois economists, as with Adam Smith, lack of theoretical understanding needed to distinguish the different forms of economic relations remains the rule in their coarse grabbing at and interest in empirically available material.'

To put the matter briefly, Marx shows that all Ricardo's weaknesses reflect this empiricism and resolve themselves into this; while he starts correctly from the determination of value by labour time (and in this is he is far more consistent than Adam Smith) he then attempts immediately to deal with all those phenomena which are in conflict with this law. Hence Marx's reference to the 'faulty architectonics' of Ricardo's major

theoretical work. What he means is that there is a complete absence of any treatment of the process of mediation whereby all the forms of appearance in bourgeois society are understood of the opposites of their origin in the law of value.

To highlight this conflict of method between 'Capital' and classical economics: Ricardo feels obliged to take up all the phenomena which seem to contradict the law of value in the very opening chapter of his work. But Marx only comes to deal with the realm of appearances with the opening of the third volume. Here Marx explained his procedure ('Capital' III, p.25):

In Book I we analysed the phenomena which constitute the process of capitalist production as such, as the immediate productive process, with no regard for any of the secondary effects of outside influences. But this immediate process of production does not exhaust the life span of capital. It is supplemented in the actual world by the process of circulation, which was the object of the study of Book II. In the latter, namely Part III, which treated the process of circulation as a medium for the process of social reproduction, it developed that the process of capitalist production taken as a whole represents a synthesis of the process of circulation and production.

'Considering what this third book treats, it cannot confine itself to a general reflection relative to this synthesis. On the contrary, it must locate and describe the concrete forms which grow out of the movement of capital as a whole. In their actual movement, capitals confront each



other in their concrete shape for which the form of capital in the immediate process of production, just as its form in the process of circulation, appear only as special instances. The various forms of capital, as evolved in this book, thus approach step by step the form which they assume on the surface of society, in the action of different capitals on one another, in competition, and in the ordinary consciousness of the agents of production themselves.

Here Marx explains that the process of movement from abstract to concrete, from essence to appearance, cannot be an immediate one. All the manifold links, missing in Ricardo, have to be established between the outward forms and their inner source. So when the realm of appearance is reached, these appearances are not seen as isolated phenomena, nor were they merely counterposed to their source as Ricardo's 'violent' method of abstraction involved. Appearances are seen, as we have several times suggested, are necessary appearances.

Writing of the transformation of value and price of labour power into the form of wages Marx notes ('Capital' I, p.540):

'This phenomenal form, which makes the actual relation invisible, and indeed shows the direct opposite of that relation [emphasis added] forms the basis of all the juridical notions of both labourer and capitalist of all the mystifications of the capitalist mode of production, of all its illusions as to liberty, of all the apologetic shifts of the vulgar economists.'

The inadequacies of classical political economy were to be seen in its very analysis of the commodity. Classical economy noted the distinction between the value of a commodity and its use value. But it had never grasped the profound significance of this distinction which was crucial for Marx's analysis of the entire capitalist system.

As we know Marx starts his analysis of capitalism with an examination of the commodity; he does so both because the commodity is the basic expression of the social relations of production in 'modern' society and secondly because the development of commodity production was a necessary precondition for the later emergence of capitalism.

Marx went on to show that the distinction between 'value' and 'use value' was reflected in the distinction between concrete labour and abstract labour (the source of use values and values respectively). This grasp of the two-fold

nature of labour was, according to Marx, (I, p.41) 'the point on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns' just as the confusion of Ricardo and others on this question constitute the 'weak point' of the classical conception.

Marx explains the nature of this distinction when he notes (Critique, p.36):

'Tailoring, if one considers its physical aspect as a distinctive productive activity, produces a coat, not the exchange value of the coat. The exchange value is produced by it not as tailoring as such, but as abstract universal labour, and this belongs to a social framework not devised by the tailor.'

In the first chapter of 'Capital' we find this crucial observation: 'It is one of the chief failings of classical economy that it has never succeeded, by means of its analysis of commodities, and in particular their value, in discovering the form under which value bears exchange value.' Commenting on Petty (Critique, p.54) Marx says: 'His case is striking proof that recognition of labour as the source of material wealth by no means precludes misapprehension of the specific social form in which labour becomes the source of exchange value.'

Let us look more closely at Marx's analysis of the commodity.

In his 'Marginal Notes on A. Wagner' (recently made available in English for the first time) he tells us: 'I analyse this (the commodity) and indeed, first in the form in which it appears. Here I find on the one hand it is in its natural form a thing of use, alias a use-value, on the other hand a bearer of exchange value, and in this respect itself "exchange value". Further analysis of the latter shows me that exchange value is only a "phenomenal form", an independent mode of representation of the value contained in the commodity.'

Hence, Marx says he was wrong (I, p. 60) 'when at the beginning of this chapter, we said, in common parlance, that a commodity is both a use-value and an exchange value (for)... a commodity is a use-value or object of utility and a value. It manifests itself as this two-fold thing, that it is, as soon as its value asserts an independent form—viz the form of exchange value. It never assumes this form when isolated but only when placed in a value relation with another commodity of a different kind. When once we know this, such a mode of expression does no harm; it simply serves as abbreviation.'

The most generalized value form was, of course, the money form (one coat=£2). Marx seeks, in his analysis of the value form, to trace the genesis of this money form from the internal structure of the commodity and to demonstrate its further development in the form of capital.

'Here, however, a task is set us, the performance of which has never been attempted by bourgeois economy, the task of tracing the genesis of this money form, of developing the expression of value implied in the value-relations of commodities, from its simplest, almost imperceptible outline, to the dazzling money-form.' (I, pp. 47-48.)

In general, Marx was once again showing the origin of all the 'appearances' within the capitalist system were, explicable only in terms of the social relations of production. Thus he shows that the contradictions within a single commodity (as a value and a use value) are necessarily overcome only through the relations established between two commodities in what Marx calls the accidental or 'elementary' form (one coat equals 20 yards of linen).

'Hence the elementary form of value in which the contrast contained in that commodity, between a use value and value, becomes apparent.'

Here are two crucial points. First the category value can only appear as its opposite, exchange value; it is its 'necessary appearance' in the sense discussed above.

Second, and following from this point, Marx insists that the category exchange value arises from the category 'value' and not vice versa: 'Our analysis has shown that the form and expression of the value of a commodity originates in the nature of value, and not that value and its magnitude originates in the mode of their expression as exchange-value.' (I, p. 60.)

Marx now subjects this elementary form of value to a detailed investigation. He discusses the three 'peculiarities' of the form 20 yards of linen (the relative form) equal one coat (the equivalent form) when he examines the role of this equivalent.

'The first peculiarity that strikes us... is this... use value bears the form of manifestation, the phenomenal form of its opposite, value... the second peculiarity... is that concrete labour becomes of the form under which its opposite, abstract human labour, manifests itself... a third peculiarity... namely that the labour of private individuals takes the form of its opposite, labour directly social in form.' (I, pp. 56-57-58.)

Next we find how this accidental form leads to the 'expanded' form along with the development of capitalism. This is given 'by 20 yards of linen equals one coat, or ten pounds of tea, or 40 pounds of coffee etc. This form heightens the contradictions only implicit in the accidental form:

'It becomes plain that it is not the exchange of commodities which regulates the magnitude of their value but, on the contrary, that it is the magnitude of their value which controls their exchange proportions.' (I, p. 63.)

But this expanded form suffers from grave 'defects' in that it is an 'incomplete' form—the creation of every new commodity lengthens the chain and thereby furnishes the material for a fresh expression of value.

Hence out of these contradictions arises a general value form (one coat, 10 lbs of tea, 40 lbs of coffee, etc. equal 20 yards of linen). This points the

way for the emergence of the money form, which is in fact identical with this general form except that gold now replaces the linen of our example.

Thus in this way, in a few crucial pages which have almost always been ignored by commentators on 'Capital', Marx traces the series of logical-historical transitions from the simple commodity form to the money form. Hence he is able to end this section (the third) of the opening chapter of 'Capital' thus:

'The simple commodity form is therefore the germ [emphasis added] of the money form. The riddle of money is thus "solved". Money is a crystal formed of necessity, in the course of exchange, whereby different products of labour are practically equated with one another and thus by practice converted into commodities. The historical and progressive extension of exchange develops the contract latent in commodities, between use-value and value. The necessity of giving an external expression to this contrast for the purpose of commercial intercourse, urges on the establishment of an independent form of value and finds no rest until it is once and for all satisfied by the differentiation of commodities into commodities and money.' (Marx I, p. 87.)

Marx is now able to explain the real mystery of the commodity form which he treats in the final and famous last section of the opening chapter. He explains, after his analysis of the elementary form of value and its further development, that under capitalism (a) the equality of human labour is expressed not as this equality but in the form of distinctly different commodities, such as linen and overcoats (b) the quantity of social labour time congealed in each commodity is not expressed in a direct comparison of time but in the indirect phenomenal form of equal quantities of value (c) relations of people take the necessary appearance as relations between things and (d) the social character of labour, that its relation to total human output, appears as something else, as the value relation of a multitude of commodities to one universal equivalent, money.

Having now established the genesis of the money form Marx goes on to show how this can under definite circumstances lead to the emergence of capital.

'Value... suddenly presents itself as an independent substance endowed with a motion of its own... money in process as such, capital.'

This transaction from money to capital is reflected in the circulation formula which Marx discusses; under simple commodity production we have C - M - C (money-commodities-money).

In the former we see that money acts as a medium of circulation as a means of purchasing what one needs; in the latter it is transformed into its opposite—now the owner of the means of production uses money to buy what he does not need in order to augment his capital, that independent 'stream of gold and silver' which now dominates production.

As we have said several times, the transitions involved in the movement from commodity to money to capital were historical as well as logical (dialectical). As Marx says (I, p. 61):

'It therefore follows that the elementary value-form is also the primitive form under which a product of labour appears historically as a commodity, and that the gradual transformation of such products into commodities proceeds *pari passu* with the dev-

elopment of the value-form.'

Not that this was a mechanical process; while one can say that 'capital' is 'latent' within 'commodity' it required the existence of material conditions, the outcome of a long process of class struggles for this potential development to be realized.

The circulation of commodities and the existence of money in one of its various forms pre-existed capitalism by many hundreds of years. But speaking of capital Marx says (I, p. 170):

'The historical conditions of its existence are by no means given with the mere circulation of money and commodities. It can spring to life only when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets in the market with the free labourer selling his labour-power. And this one historical condition comprises a world's history. Capital, therefore, announces from its first appearance, a new epoch in the process of social production.'

Why did Marx spend such a long time on the problem of the form of value? We can see that this receives much fuller treatment in 'Capital' (1867) than it does in 'Critique' (1859) and was revised no less than four times with the help of Engels, Kugelmann and others between this latter date and 1872.

He did so precisely because he wished to show the links between the contradictions within the commodity and their heightened expression within capital. Here was most decisive break with classical political economy which had completely ignored any treatment of the form of value, a result of its acceptance of the capitalist system as natural and eternal.

This was why Ricardo and company completely failed to understand either the nature of money or the nature of capital. The former they looked upon merely as a convenient device for overthrowing the problems of barter; the latter they saw only in its concrete form as the 'advance on wages' made by the capitalist.

And the Utopian Socialists, whom Marx criticizes in the final part of 'Theories of Surplus Value' had similar illusions, revealed in the proposal of one of this group (Gray) to abolish money while retaining commodity production, equivalent, said Marx, to attempts to retain Catholicism without the Pope.

Again this is of considerable importance in the light of the present financial crisis. For capitalism, basic disturbances in its money system are not 'technical' problems, as the more short-sighted bourgeois commentators may think, but an indication of the profound nature of a crisis which engulfs the very basis of the system.

But equally important, these articles have tried to show that the method of empiricism, which is the method of reformism and revisionism, must lead to the destruction of the real revolutionary method of capital which alone enables to see the genesis and development of all the contradictions of the capitalist system.

This is why Lenin commented: 'Marx may not have left us a logic, but he did leave us the logic of "Capital".'

In this sense, the present articles are only a preliminary sketch of the problems; they must be taken further through a study of 'Capital' alongside Hegel's dialectical method. Only in this way can Marx's masterpiece be preserved from the Stalinists and revisionists and its real content be placed at the disposal of the working class in this period of crisis.

Pat Connolly Books

Origins Of Permanent Revolution



Tsarist troops prepare to fire upon unarmed workers' delegation on Bloody Sunday, January, 1905.

1905. By Leon Trotsky. Translated by Anya Bostock. Vintage Books. New York, N.Y. 488 pp. Paperback \$2.95.

"Sire! We workers, our children and wives, the helpless old people who are our parents, we have come to you, Sire, seeking justice and protection."

Thus began the petition addressed by the workers of Petersburg to the Tsar on January 9, 1905. While still couched in the language of supplication, its content was unmistakable: the demand for an end to absolutism, universal and equal suffrage, the eight hour day, the right to strike, fair wages. There was a peaceful march to deliver the petition to the Winter Palace:

"People wore their Sunday clothes. In some parts of the city they carried icons and church banners. Everywhere the petitioners encountered troops. They begged to be allowed to pass. They wept. They tried to go around the barrier, they tried to get through it. The soldiers fired all day long. The dead were counted in the hundreds, the wounded in the thousands."

The petition was answered in blood in the Petersburg massacre. The massacre was answered by an outraged working class.

The 1905 Russian Revolution began on Bloody Sunday; it ended in December, 1905 with the arrest, imprisonment, and subsequent trial and exile of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers Deputies, the crushing of the Moscow uprising, and the unleashing of a furious terror by the Tsarist regime. During that period, especially in the final months, massive political strikes swept the country, paralyzing the government, immobilizing the stock exchange, cowing the liberal bourgeoisie, mobilizing millions of workers who threw up independent organs of proletarian power, the Soviets, and forming a "majestic prologue" to the victorious October Revolution which was to follow in 12 years.

1905 was written by Trotsky, the head of the Petersburg Soviet, and was first published in German and Polish party journals in 1908-09. Today it is urgent, and with

the publication of 1905 in English for the first time, it is possible to go back to the developments of 1905 and to draw again the fundamental theoretical lessons which prepared the way for the 1917 October Revolution.

It was during the period of 1905 that Trotsky developed the theory of the Permanent Revolution. The rapid and large scale introduction of European capital and capitalist production created a large and youthful army of industrial workers in modern factories in a country ruled by a monarchy, with state relations suited for serfdom.

The Russian bourgeoisie, historically weak and incapable of carrying out a bourgeois revolution, made timid gestures toward constitutionalism during the "spring," the thaw following the defeat of Tsarist troops in Japan and was rebuffed by a frightened Tsardom. After January 9th, this bourgeoisie was shoved aside by a young, powerful, urban proletariat which could not be confined to the framework of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Not only universal suffrage and a Constituent Assembly, but an 8 hour day, the right to strike, fair wages and other class demands were raised from the outset, challenging not only the autocracy but bourgeoisie as well.

"When it took over the industrial functions of an artisanal democracy," Trotsky writes, "the Russian proletariat also had to take over its tasks, but not its methods or means."

SOVIETS

Its methods and means were uniquely proletarian, the mass political general strike and the establishment of Soviets as independent organs of workers power.

The working class also acquired the most advanced theoretical understanding, in its struggle for power:

"As it became the focus of all the country's revolutionary forces the Soviet did not allow its class nature to be dissolved in revolutionary democracy; it was and remained the organized expression of the class will of the proletariat. In the struggle for power it applied methods which were naturally determined by the nature of the proletariat as a class: its role in production, its vast numbers, its social homogeneity...It is precisely because the Soviet, the democratic representative body of the proletariat, at a

time of revolution, stood at the meeting point of all its class interests, that it immediately came under the all-determining influence of the Social Democratic party. The party now had its chance to make use of all the tremendous advantages of its Marxist training, and because it was able to see its political way clear in the great 'chaos' it succeeded almost without effort in transforming the Soviet—formally a non-party organization—into the organizational instrument of its own influence."

The Marxists could see their way clear, and were able to lead not only in the Soviets of 1905 but in the struggle for power in 1917, through a continuous struggle against every tendency, in particular the Mensheviks, which sought to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie, to its methods and means, abandoning the struggle for socialism to some distant future..

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

In the face of the lack of a revolutionary bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks sought to create one. Or as Trotsky wrote in one of the appendices in defense of the permanent revolution: "Comrade Martynov has searched for it many a time, magnifying glass in hand. He has found school-teachers in Saratov, lawyers in Petersburg, and statisticians in Moscow. He and all those who think like him refuse to admit that in the Russian Revolution it is the industrial proletariat which occupies the position once occupied by the semi-proletarian bourgeoisie of the sans-culottes at the end of the 18th century."

Just as the proletariat was the only force capable of resolving the democratic tasks which could not be contained within the narrow bourgeois-democratic framework, it could not, in a backward country with a huge peasant population, stay within the narrow confines of Russia. On taking power, Trotsky put forward in his theory of the permanent revolution, it would have to seek to become the prologue to world revolution, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally.

Trotsky wrote in 1922, "The proletariat came to power in 1917 with the help of the experience acquired by its older generation in 1905. That is why young workers today must have complete access to that experience, and must, therefore,

study the history of 1905."

The publication in English of 1905 is of tremendous importance to the American working class, for the central theoretical problem of 1905 and 1917, that of the working class taking power, is on the agenda today.

The fight for a labor party to open the struggle for power in the new situation since August 15th can proceed only on the basis of the lessons of 1905. The political independence of the working class, coming forward in its own name and under its own banners, will be established only through the most bitter fight against the Stalinists who falsify history to justify their betrayals of the working class internationally.

NOVACK

In the light of the situation facing the working class today, it is important to speak here of the review of 1905 written by George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party in the May 19th issue of the *Militant*. Novack turns the review into a sterile and thoroughly empirical academic consideration of "historiography," defending Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution as one among many "variants" which, however, worked out in practice: "All the same it is true that whatever fortuitous factors contributed to that result, the proletariat did take power in 1917."

This perspective not only belies all of the polemics against "Popper, the anti-Marxist," revealing Novack the empiricist and worshipper of the accomplished fact.

Using this method, one is forced to conclude that the Stalinists usurped power—whatever the unfortunate factors contributing to that fact. As capitalism and its agent Stalinism go into mortal crisis, there is no perspective for change or for socialist revolution. The Russian Revolution is turned into a museum piece, which Novack explains on a hopefully complacent note at the end of the article: "However, revolutionary showdowns are not always on the agenda. Marxists spend most of their days preparing and organizing for them, not fighting them."

One is forced to recall Peter Struve's statement on January 7, 1905: "There is not yet such a thing as a revolutionary people in Russia."



These workers were interviewed by Bulletin reporter in Alabama about George Wallace's anti-working class programs.

Where Wallace Really Stands

(Continued From Page 1)

dustrial Council, "never promised anybody that he should not suffer from hunger."

The 1934 strike was defeated, but three years later the Textile Workers Organizing Committee was able to win union recognition for 27,000 workers in southern cotton mills. These gains were practically wiped out in the 1940's through the vicious application of the Taft-Hartley Law.

UNIONIZATION

In the 1950's there was a revival of intense union activity in the South. With the large expansion of industry into the area, especially into Alabama, unionization has been fairly widespread. But at every point, attempts by workers to organize have been bitterly opposed and racism has always been used.

In the important strike against Southern Bell in 1955, bosses sought to force Black workers to violate picket lines. The attempt failed.

George Wallace came to power in Alabama as the spokesman of southern businessmen who are no more reconciled to unions than the late John Edgerton. Supported by the most brutal corporations like Arondale and Chemstrand—textile firms that still have no unions on their premises—this white supremacist leader of the Alabama Democratic Party planned to rule over labor with an iron fist.

Wallace led the racist campaign against the civil rights movement. Everything from the Klan to police dogs were used to break the movement of Black workers. At the same time, Wallace spared no effort to di-

orient the white workers in order to weaken the existing unions and hold down the living conditions of the white working class.

"Whenever people started talking about wages, Wallace would make a fuss about us drinking at the white man's fountain," a worker told the Bulletin.

"That was Wallace's way of killing two birds with one stone. Nobody got anything. That's the way a lot of people here see things now."

STRENGTH

It was the great strength of the working class that prevented Wallace from breaking the unions in Alabama. But the very ability of Wallace to remain in office for 10 years shows the bankruptcy of the trade union leadership.

Even in the heat of the attacks on union organizers, the leadership could not break with Wallace because he was a Democrat. It did not occur to the bureaucracy to fight Wallace on the basis of a class program and a labor party—which would have quickly exposed Wallace's crude demagoguery.

While campaigning in Michigan, Wallace declared: "I'm the best friend labor ever had as governor of Alabama." This brazen lie is exposed not only by the facts of Wallace's career, but by the way Alabama workers now feel about him.

The breaking down of segregation and the consequent strengthening of the working class has been accompanied by a growing unpopularity of Wallace. The demagoguery has been worn pretty

thin as workers have gone through their struggles with Wallace.

A Bulletin interview with a steelworker in Alabama brings to light the unpopularity of Wallace in the strongest sections of the state's labor movement, where the greatest effort was made to divide the working class.

"I have supported George Wallace. I supported his wife when she ran. But in the last legislative session in Montgomery, he said that there wouldn't be more taxes for the poor people, but taxes were added—hidden taxes on practically everything you could imagine.

"So due to that, I could not support George Wallace any more. I cannot support him in the labor movement because he is definitely not for the labor movement as a whole. He has made these promises to the people of Alabama knowing that he wouldn't carry them out.

WAGES

"Wages are low in this state. Fortunately, the steelworkers have the national union—that's why their wages are as high as they are. But the other people get much lower. If you take the city workers, their wages are the lowest I know of anywhere else in the country.

"Another thing is the Right-to-Work law. We thought that it should be brought up in the last legislative session. But Wallace said that it would not be repealed."

When asked about racism in Alabama, the steelworker replied: "George Wallace is one of the strongest people on segregation that we've ever had.

Today we have less problems but that is because the unions have worked it out among themselves. We don't have problems with race relations in our local union."

RACISM

But everything has been done to keep the issue of racism alive. Under conditions of rising unemployment and open shops, the employers find many ways to create divisions among Black and white workers:

"Now a white man gets hired and they start him off at a different salary than they pay us," a Black worker told the Bulletin. "It makes no difference if I can do what a white worker can do. Things are no good down here, especially for Black people.

"We always get the low-paid jobs. We can hardly make it. Some people have to work two or three jobs. Maybe, you'll get \$1.60 an hour. Sometimes you get lucky—you'll make \$2.10."

INTOLERABLE

But the fact is that white workers as well as Black workers live under intolerable conditions. Thurmond Coggins, vice-president of a Steelworkers local in the mammoth Fairfield plant of U.S. Steel, stated:

"He promised that he would be fair with all the people, not some of the people. But that's not how he's been. He says that he's going to support the low income people, the blue collar workers, the steel workers.

"But from the bills passed in Montgomery, I know definitely that he's worked against us—the working people.

"And now there aren't enough jobs. You got so many returning

veterans here, but when they get back, there aren't any jobs for them.

"They've closed plants down—laid off people. The textile industry has been shut down pretty much. They just closed a mill in North Birmingham."

Another steelworker, a district committeeman who used to be a Wallace supporter, put forward a blunt opinion of the Governor:

PROSTITUTE

"He always says he's labor's friend, but the things he's done in office doesn't reflect that. I think he's a political prostitute in the sense of the word. He tells you one thing and he does something else."

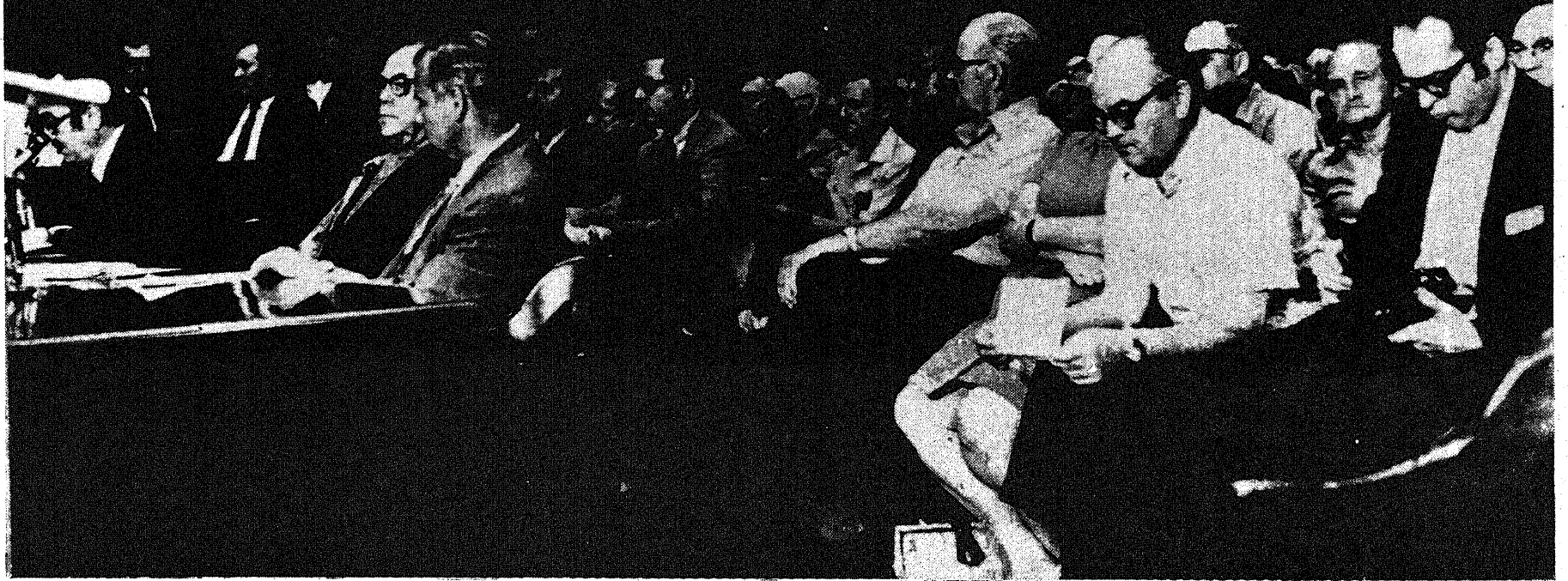
All the demagoguery of Wallace flows from the political role he now plays. A man out to destroy the working class in the interests of big business is not about to admit that to millions of workers. Even Father Coughlin, who dreamt of becoming the American Hitler back in the 1930's, claimed to be labor's best friend.

Wallace is campaigning this year because throughout the country, larger sections of the capitalist class are thinking the same way John Edgerton thought, and would like to deal with trade unions just as the textile bosses did in 1934.

This is what the crisis of the economic system requires them to do. All the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties understand this necessity.

The working class cannot look to those scoundrels if it is to defend itself. Instead, workers must rely on their own strength and construct a labor party.

Minneapolis-Moline Plant Closes



Layoffs And Pension Cuts Threaten 800

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MINNEAPOLIS—On January 6, White Motor Corporation called together the workers at its Minneapolis-Moline plant and announced that the company was moving its heavy farm equipment operations to Charles City, Iowa. This meant that by June, 800 workers at the Lake Street plant were to be laid off and the fate of the suburban Hopkins plant left in the air.

Joseph Stodolka, with 35 years of work at Moline, said: "White read us a cold, calculated statement—it was just like they were throwing away an old shoe." In addition, the workers and retired members of the four UAW locals at Moline just learned that the company is robbing them of their pension benefits as well.

SLASHED

Emmanuel Walstrom, a leader of the Lake Street office workers Local 1147 thought he would receive a pension of \$355 a month. It turns out this has been slashed to \$76.94. Jorgen Johnson who started for Moline in 1928, retired in April and has received three monthly checks for \$400. "I don't know when they'll run out. Each month I hold my breath. Eventually it will be cut to \$84 a month. By next winter I'll have to find another job." Johnson is 60 years old.

Moline has long been one of Minneapolis' major industries. Its peak was around 1950 when it employed over 2,000 men. The decline in small farming has contributed to the dwindling of the work force to around 1,000 prior to the closing.

The White Motor Corporation acquired Minneapolis-Moline, Inc., in 1963 through a series of financial transactions, that in effect resulted in purchasing some \$17.7 million in assets for \$5.7 million. White Motor had previously brought into its conglomerate the Oliver Corporation in the U.S. and the Cockshutt Farm Equipment Company in Canada with the same tactics, acquiring assets with a higher value than the purchase price.

As a result of these acquisitions in the farm implement

industry, White Motor then embarked on a program of consolidation of operations. White closed plants in Battle Creek, Michigan and later Shelbyville, Illinois, both formerly of the Oliver Corporation, and drastically cut back other operations.

After the January 6th announcement that White was phasing out operations in Minneapolis, UAW officials offered all kinds of concessions to White, to keep the plant in operation, including measured day work, speed-up and a \$1.00 per hour wage cut. But White refused to budge unless the union agreed to terminate the Pension Plan negotiated in the 1968 contract.

For years Moline recruited its work force in large part by emphasizing its pension benefits. At a time when men could get other work, many joined or stayed with Moline on the understanding that their retirement was secure. The average age in the plant is 47.

DEFICIT

Prior to 1968, White's contributions to the pension plan were made "voluntarily by the company without a specific legal requirement to do so under the plan and agreement." During the 1968 contract negotiations with the union, it was revealed that the pension fund had a sizeable deficit.

The company issued a Pension Guarantee letter which provided for a rock bottom minimum of \$2.00 monthly benefit per year of service prior to acquisition of Moline by White in the event of plant closing. The contract, however, called for monthly benefits of \$6.75. By 1972, the pension fund assets were \$3.5 million whereas its liabilities



Top of page, hundreds of workers from White Motor Corp. listen to hearing which accepted plant closure. Above, ranks picketed to protest closure which will end jobs of 800 men and cut out pensions. were \$18 million.

In other words, since 1968, the union leadership was aware that the pension was underfunded to the tune of \$14 million, and was putting all its hope in the plant never closing. However, the first warning came two years ago when the foundry at the Lake Street plant was closed.

According to Mr. Johnson: "After the January 6th announcement, the first week they said there was \$11 million in the fund, the second week they said there was seven million, the third week, four million. After that I stopped listening.

"I tried to warn people back in '68 that we were going to get robbed. I asked the union officials and they told me 'Don't worry—you'll get it.' The way I figure it, White was just smart. They are saving millions by moving down to Iowa. I blame the union leadership as much as White. The same thing happened at Studebaker but they haven't learned a damn thing."

The whole perspective of the UAW leadership has been to put hope in White Motor's "decency" and congressional legislation protecting pension plans.

HEARING

On June 3rd Democratic Senator Walter Mondale, up for re-election this fall, held a hearing in Minneapolis on the Moline case. Claiming surprise at the hundreds of workers and retired members who turned out, Mondale apologized for the small

hearing room (only a small percentage of the workers could get in) saying: "We didn't realize there was such a feeling for this issue."

The hearing revealed the blatant collaboration between the company, the liberal politicians and the bureaucracy in effecting this closing as well as the willingness of both working and retired members to take up a fight against it.

In sharp distinction to the UAW officials, who saw only federal legislation as the answer to such robbery in the future, one worker testified, "I have worked at Moline for 45 years—what am I supposed to do with the rest of my life? Throw them in jail if we don't get our pensions. If Hoffa got eight years so should they."

The hearing revealed the callous attitude of the company toward the workers. Ed Rasmussen, Secretary-Treasurer and pension committee chairman of Hopkins Local 107, spoke of what was happening to those older workers who had been able to line up another job after the January 6th announcement. He said the company would let them quit only after forfeiting their severance pay and pension benefits.

Mondale was drowned in laughter when he tried to gloss this over saying "I can't believe that."

After the hearing, we talked with one worker who summed up the feeling of his fellow workers:

"On that piece of paper there's a man signing for the company. Indirectly it goes way up to the board of directors of White Motor Company. They signed it and he signed it."

"They say 'Swede old buddy'—Swede is his nickname—'Swede old buddy, you sign this paper and I'll give you \$350 a month for the rest of your life.' What is it? Is it worth exactly what that piece of paper Chamberlain came out of Munich with, with Hitler? Is that what it's worth?"

PURPOSE

Despite his patronizing rhetoric, Mondale gave the workers no hope that there was anything that could be done about their pensions. That really was the purpose of the hearing.

But on Thursday, June 15 over 50 pensioners picketed in front of the Moline plant to protest the halt in the funding of the company's pension plan. "I don't know if the picketing will help, but it's better than sitting on our hands. We've got to voice our opinion," one worker said.

"A labor party? Of course!," one worker told us. "We should have had one years ago. If there was only one party, people would think. They have got two parties to keep people confused." When asked about the possible nationalization of plants such as Moline, he said: "That would be good. But that means changing the whole system. That means socialism."



The Real Murderers Go Free

BY MELODY FARROW

It is now over four years since March 16, 1968, when hundreds of Vietnamese men, women and children were shot down and blown up at the hamlet of Mylai 4, but the murderers in the U.S. Army and in the White House are still free.

The release of a secret Army investigation, called the Peers Report, conducted for the Pentagon by Lieutenant General William Peers, has blown the lid off four years of conspiracy to hide the truth about Mylai. It demonstrates that these mass murders are not only accepted by high ranking Generals in Vietnam but are a deliberate and conscious policy of the government.

The Peers report also reveals that on the same morning of March 16, another massacre of at least 90 civilians took place at a neighboring hamlet called Mykhe 4 by Bravo company.

The Peers report has been hushed up for over two years and was only published when the New York Times got hold of a copy. Its findings were fully known to the Army and the government at the time of the Mylai trials but the information was never released in order to protect the officers who were under investigation.

REPORT

The report accuses Major General Samuel Koster, commander of the Americal Division, of 27 acts of omission and misconduct and Brigadier General George Young of 16 similar failures. It states that there were "efforts to suppress and withhold information concerning the...incident at every level in the Americal Division."

Some of its conclusions were that General Koster "failed to insure that a thorough investigation would be conducted" and accepted obviously phony reports from his officers. Both Koster and Young "effectively suppressed" information of the massacre by covering up reports of the incident to other division officers.

Scores of high ranking officers learned about the Mylai massacre within days and did nothing. Official complaints by South Vietnamese army officials to Koster were ignored.

Koster was fully aware of what had happened. A few days after March 16, Koster and Young discussed it with the commander of the helicopter unit who was present at Mylai.

SUPPRESSION

To keep things quiet, Colonel Oran Henderson was ordered to make an investigation which was "little more than a pretense" and whose goal was "the suppression of the true facts concerning the events of March 16th." Most of the witnesses to the massacre who eagerly testified for General Peers said no attempt was made by Koster's staff to interview them.

During the Peers inquiry, most of the battlefield reports and investigations on Mylai mysteriously disappeared from the Vietnam military files.

The Peers report also confirms specific charges of murder at Mylai that were dropped during the trial of Lieutenant Calley. Platoon members testified to having observed "an old Vietnamese man being bayoneted to death and to having seen another man thrown alive into a well and subsequently killed with a hand grenade."

The report especially condemns Colonel Frank Barker, later killed in a helicopter crash, for planning, ordering and directing "the execution of an unlawful operation against inhabited hamlets."

MASSACRES

The report states that over 500 civilians were killed in the massacres at Mylai 4 and at Mykhe 4. The charges against Captain Willingham who led the second massacre were dropped just as the charges against the 14 officers involved in Mylai were "for lack of evidence." The Generals were censured, Young was demoted and that was it.

The Peers report is not just the story of an isolated massacre but of an imperialist machine devoted to the task of

exterminating the Vietnamese people if necessary to serve the interests of capitalism. They act on their own with the full backing and approval of Nixon.

Following on the heels of the Peers report, it has been revealed that General John Lavelle, Commander of the Seventh Air Force in Saigon was forced to resign in March after ordering unauthorized bombing raids against the North and calling them "protective reaction strikes."

Since 1968, under the cover of Johnson's so-called "suspended bombing" Lavelle has repeatedly ordered bombing raids against anti-aircraft radar, missile and gun sites and then falsely reported "enemy fire" to justify them.

RAIDS

The raids came to light only after an Air Force sergeant wrote a letter to a Democratic Senator from Iowa which said: "We have been reporting that our planes have received hostile reactions whether they have or not. We have also been falsifying targets struck and bomb damage assessments."

Edward Hancock, a former Captain in the Air Force, told the House of Representatives hearing that "protective reaction was just a euphemism for the F-4's to stage raids over Laos and North Vietnam and bomb the hell out of them."

Michael Lewis, who worked for a top secret photo intelligence unit which picked out targets for the "protective reaction raids" testified that: "We knew we weren't supposed to do it except we were told that orders had come from the Pentagon."

Lavelle himself has admitted not only that he did it but that the highest Army chiefs knew about it. He told the House Committee:

"I think General Abrams knew what I was doing. He never worried about or sat down and debated our rules of engagement before we did it.

"I'm the commander and the buck stops here. In my opinion, these were low level wonderful people who were filing what they thought we wanted."

He claimed that as soon as he saw the falsified reports: "I stopped all of those strikes. If I had to do it over again, I would

do it again but look into the reporting system first."

"I assigned three men to find out how we could continue doing what we were doing but report it accurately." He concluded that this would be impossible. He added that he didn't think it was very "smart" to falsify the reports.

Lavelle can afford to be arrogant and brazen about the bombings because he knows that the Pentagon and Nixon are standing behind him.

Although Lavelle has been forced to retire at a three star rank instead of four, he can console himself with a sweet retirement benefit of over \$2,000 a month, 70% of which is tax free.

The truth about the Vietnam war, the massacres of civilians, the massive bombings during the so-called de-escalation, can no longer be concealed because Nixon and the Army are forced to act more and more openly at a time when they are faced with a total defeat by the revolutionary army of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

CRISIS

They are prepared to do whatever they must to preserve imperialism despite the political consequences. Every scandal in Vietnam exposes the desperate frenzy of a government in crisis under the blows of the working class throughout the world.

It is precisely because Nixon is being pushed back that the dangers must be understood. The enormous power and independence of the military expresses the real plans and policies of U.S. imperialism. It is the Army which is the most outspoken champion of a campaign to bomb Vietnam off the map and to go to war against China.

It is Nixon and the American capitalists who are the real murderers. If they are prepared to massacre thousands of Vietnamese to save their system in Vietnam they will be equally if not more ruthless against the American working class which is fighting to preserve its right to a decent wage.

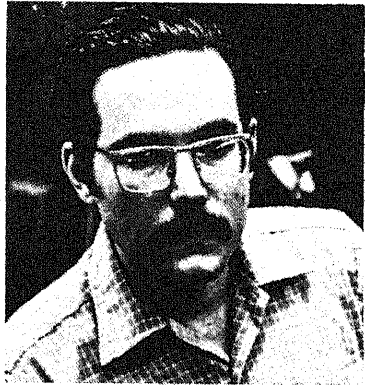
Mylai is a warning: American workers must prepare now to throw out the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party before the methods of Vietnam are brought home.

Juan Farinas: Free All Political Prisoners

BY NANCY FIELDS

The following is a statement from Juan P. Farinas, who has been serving a two year sentence in Danbury Federal Penitentiary since March 27.

Farinas' sentence stems from framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act at his induction in August, 1968. His sole crime was to peacefully distribute leaflets opposing the Viet-



Juan Farinas

nam War as a class war being waged against the workers and peasants in Vietnam

The campaign to free Juan is now taking place along three fronts. The first is an immediate request to the U.S. Board of Parole that he be released into the Army in view of the fact that Farinas never refused induction.

At the same time, he will be eligible for parole in September and a request for this is being prepared.

The third part of the campaign is centered on an appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals for modification of sentence.

In view of the mounting attacks against all trade unionists, we urge all workers and youth to take up the defense of Farinas as

part of the defense of the entire working class. Telegrams should be sent to the U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Board of Parole, Washington, D.C. demanding that Juan be freed immediately. Farinas' statement:

"Today the U.S. government, representing the interests of the capitalist class, is seeking to wipe out all opposition to its policies, particularly in relation to the war in Vietnam. It is trying to eliminate the most elementary and democratic right of the working class and the youth so that it can smash the whole working class and maintain the rule of the capitalist class.

Thus, we have seen the prosecution and persecution of militants for the sole 'crime' of fighting to lead the working people against their real enemies. We have seen the ripping up of union contracts by the government and the virtual robbery of millions of dollars from the workers' pockets.

The government is seeking to prevent the working people from acquiring the kind of revolutionary leadership necessary to defeat this barbarous system of war, racism, exploitation and repression.

In my own case it is crystal clear that I am in jail for my opposition to the war in Vietnam and because I based that opposition, and the struggle against the war, on the working class and the political struggle against the capitalist system itself.

The different appeals that have been denied by the different courts have been because of this

political reason too and not because of any legal questions involved. Only a political struggle against the capitalist system itself can free any political prisoner today or win any justice at all.

CLASS WAR

This struggle must be based on the movement of the working class and the youth. I, like many others in the prisons of the U.S., am a prisoner of the class war. It is a war which the ruling class has launched against the working people and we must answer them in kind.

In its attempt to crush the working people, the government throws countless workers, youths and revolutionaries in jail in order to break their spirit of struggle. The problem is that within these prisons that spirit of struggle is growing more and more.

It could perhaps be said that more revolutionaries are coming out of prisons today than from anywhere else in the U.S. The thirst for knowledge and Marxism is as unquenchable within these institutions, designed to smash such thirst, as it is in the outside among workers and youth.

The concerted efforts of both the Democratic and Republican parties to take everything away from working people poses sharply the need for the working class to break from those parties and build its own party, a labor party. Only in that way can we stop Wallace's racist and anti-working class movement."

Quebec Unions Call For 'People's Committees'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

QUEBEC CITY—The 45th biennial convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) called for the formation of "people's committees" made up of trade unionists in all the electoral districts of Quebec.

This is a major step forward in breaking Quebec workers from the capitalist parties. The convention met in Quebec City from June 11-17. Sixteen hundred delegates attended. They represented 250,000 workers across the province.

The convention met in the aftermath of the Common Front strike wave against Bill 19 and the jailing of the Common Front leaders. CNTU President Marcel Pepin had only recently been released from Orsainville prison and both he and the two other Common Front leaders, Louis Laberge and Yvon Charbonneau, could be jailed again depending on an appeals court decision.

The situation that confronted the convention was an extremely dangerous one. The general strike left a stalemate.

Indeed, the massive strike wave continues, almost unabated, in Quebec, with the Montreal city workers, dockers, steelworkers and now the Hydro-Quebec employees going out.

In the weeks prior to the convention, a split took place inside the CNTU. Three members of the executive—Jacques Dion, Paul-Emile Dalpe, and Amedee Daigle—split to form a new union

confederation called the Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions (CDTU). The 3D's, as they are known, claimed to have the support of 70,000 CNTU members but ended up attracting 30,000.

The group based its policies on a rejection of the positions of the "leftists" inside the CNTU. "No to separatism, no to communism, no to the revolution," was how Daigle phrased it.

But all the demagoguery about "no politics" served to cover their own right-wing politics and their own alliance with the ruling Liberal Party.

In his opening address, Pepin called for the "crushing of the regime." To this end, he called for the setting up of "people's committees" in every election district in the province.

These committees would be made up of all the trade unionists in the district from the three major Quebec union federations. Both Laberge and Charbonneau, who addressed the convention on the first day, agreed with Pepin on the need for committees to act as the political extensions of the unions.

Pepin's recommendation reveals the thinking of thousands of workers across the pro-

vince who are coming to realize the necessity for independent class politics in order to protect the very existence of their trade unions.

However, Pepin sees the tasks of these committees as pressuring candidates of the existing parties in Quebec to carry out measures favorable to the trade unions.

The criterion for supporting a candidate would be his "formal condemnation of capitalism." In no case would this include any candidate of the Liberals, Unite-Quebec or Social Credit. That leaves only the Parti Quebecois.

But the PQ is as much a capitalist party as the others in Quebec. PQ leader Rene Levesque is now touring France, meeting with top French bankers eager to invest in Quebec, and condemning once again the Common Front and defending the Bourassa regime's position.

The whole point, now, is to unite the political struggles of workers in every part of the country. This can only be accomplished through the struggle to bring the federal Liberal government down and to replace it with a National Democratic Party government which will be pledged to socialist policies.

Editor's Notebook

Martha Spills The Beans

"I love my husband very much. But I'm not going to stand for all those dirty things that go on."

A Tuesday afternoon soap opera? No, it was Martha Mitchell in person, speaking to some Daily News reporters in a New York hotel. Martha Mitchell, not known for her understatement, wailed on: "This is nothing but a cops and robbers game, and I'm trying to get my husband out of it."

While Martha wouldn't elab-

blowing the lid off the cabal behind the Nixon Administration. Not only has the Democratic Party, the other capitalist party, become intolerable for those right-wing forces who represent the corporations' determination to destroy the working class, but even Mrs. Mitchell, who is a vicious anti-communist, is getting a few knocks.

She claims that the men provided by her husband's Re-Election Committee to guard her are giving her a hard time.

"It was a horrible experience. Can you believe that a man can walk into your bedroom, take over and pull the phone out of the wall?"

Mrs. Mitchell went on to say that the guards "threw me down on a bed—five men did it—and stuck a needle in my behind. I've never been treated like this, ever."(!)

John Mitchell has been the architect of the Bonapartist moves in the Nixon Administration—hacking away at the democratic rights won by the working class in the interests of monopolies like ITT.

Trotsky described the Bonapartist as the "clerk of the property owners." "Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face."

Mrs. Mitchell is getting the boot and not only in the face. Contrary to her expectations, the American capitalist class, her class, is not going to proceed with all the social amenities to conduct its dirty business of trying to break the American working class.

There is no capitalist class in the world more corrupt, more decadent, and more determined to hold onto its bloated profits than the American ruling class. "Those dirty things that go on" are just beginning to surface.



Martha Mitchell

orate on what "those dirty things that go on" are or who specifically are the "cops and robbers," this particular outburst came only a few days after the raid on the Democratic Party headquarters by a group of ex-CIA agents and anti-Castro Cuban exiles that have direct links to the Republican Party and to Mr. Mitchell himself.

James W. McCord, one of the crew which invaded the Democratic Party offices was employed as the "security coordinator" for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, run by none other than John Mitchell and a "security consultant" for the Republican National Committee.

Martha's big mouth is



Nixon hugs Mexican President Echeverria in Washington.

Killer Is Grateful

Leaders of the La Raza Unida party, which is boosted in revisionist circles as representing the "independent Chicano movement" and as an alternative to the Republican and Democratic Parties, recently met with Luis Echeverria Alvarez—the President of Mexico.

Jose Gutierrez, the founder of the party, and Randy Muniz, the party's candidate for Governor of Texas sat down with him in San Antonio for a 20 minute chat. They were there attending their convention. Alvarez had just returned from Washington

where he was warmly embraced by Nixon.

Muniz, after speaking with this representative of capitalism, said: "He was very open to the La Raza Unida party. He said it was a wonderful idea that we're practicing democracy. He was grateful."

Alvarez, is the man who ordered the murder of Mexican students two years ago. He is "grateful" to Muniz and Gutierrez because they and their nationalist party seek to keep the Chicano workers and youth under the barrel of capitalism.

ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)
now accelerated greatly.

Just days before it took place, Tory Prime Minister Heath angrily responded to Labour Chancellor Denis Healey's forecast of a new devaluation. Heath charged that Healey was "doing his best to destroy sterling. We all know the notorious record of prophecy of Mr. Healey."

Within three days, Heath had to eat these words. It is the tremendous development of the economic crisis and the movement of the working class in response to it which is throwing Heath and his counterparts in Washington, Bonn and other capitals into such disarray.

ALTERNATIVE

The only alternative to new devaluations and revaluations, which would wipe out larger and larger sections of European and Japanese capital, is exchange controls and trade restrictions. But these measures would have a disastrous impact on trade and capital movements, thus also resulting in deeper recession all over the capitalist world.

The New York Times quotes a leading Frankfurt banker after the latest developments: "The politicians better wake up before the Western world disin-

tegrates."

This expresses the absolute necessity for the capitalist class in every country to launch new and more vicious attacks upon every single right which the workers have won in years of struggle. Every retreat on the part of the employers and their governments in the past period has only deepened the crisis they face. This is symbolized by the collapse of the Smithsonian agreement arrived at after months of the most difficult negotiations, and without any progress having been made.

The partial concessions given to the British miners and the



Edward Heath

fight of the railwaymen and dockers were directly responsible for the latest crisis. In the U.S., the Pay Board attacks, while they have been met by increasing resistance from the working class, are not nearly sufficient to deal with the crisis facing the capitalists.

UNLOAD

Nixon has tried to unload the crisis onto Europe, while proceeding with some hesitation in his war on the trade unions. This cannot be done without unleashing new and more severe monetary crises leading to worldwide financial anarchy and collapse.

The ruling class must go way beyond its first attempts to discipline and hold back the working class. Against the brutal attacks of the employers and the Nixon Administration, American workers will fight their way to political maturity through the creation of a labor party.

This will take place under conditions of civil war in Europe, created in part by the U.S. capitalists themselves, because they have no other choice. This sets the stage for the most explosive and rapid development of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and the entire working class.

PA. CONSTRUCTION . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

One worker had a hammer and sickle on his hard hat and a placard saying "With unity we can win." None were deterred by the rain, which grew increasingly worse after 5:30 A.M.

FEAR

It was out of tremendous fear of this determination of workers to protect their unions that "liberal" Democratic Governor Milton Shapp the day before declared a state of emergency and sent 2,000 of Pennsylvania's 4,000 state police to Norristown in the largest show of force in the unit's history.

The real intentions of the government in this period were expressed in the two tactical squads of Norristown riot police, equipped with shotguns, tear gas, and clubs. The Governor sent 36 mounted police, 20 motorcycle cops, and 3 helicopters.

FBI agents were on hand as "official observers" and National Guardsmen were stationed outside the city. By 6:15 A.M., 500 troopers stood outside the courthouse and another 300 waited inside. And all this during one of the worst floods in the state's history!

When they reached the courthouse, workers booed and

shouted at the cops "protecting" the judge as they jammed into the surrounding streets. Thomas Magrann, business manager of the Building and Trades Council, shouted through a megaphone: "Here we are America, the hard-hats! We won't sit idly by and watch competitors pay sub-standard wages."

In fact, it was the construction workers who were first hit with a government review board to hold down wages before the August 15 measures. Now, it is the construction workers who are moving in a massive offensive against the government.



Hospital workers' rally marked beginning of mass labor rallies.

LABOR FOR PEACE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
party.

Wurf began by saying that the American labor movement was "unique." According to Wurf, the American trade union movement has "made it possible for workers to have access to the establishment," because in the U.S. the labor movement does not have to "tear down," does not need its own ideology or political movement, but can have "a bi-lateral understanding with the bosses."

Remarking on the leaflets and literature advocating a labor party that he had received on entering the conference, Wurf continued, "I think that it's fine to have a discussion about a labor party, I think it's fine to have a discussion about a general strike, but I recognize that we have to be realistic." Wurf went on to say that we had to stick with the Democrats as part of the "Dump Nixon" campaign.

The next morning the discussion on the labor party was immediately brought into the center of the convention when AFSCME Local 1164 (Minneapolis) delegate Perry Tillerias got the floor in the discussion on the

"proposed statement on policy" and read the resolution for the labor party.

The resolution outlined the steps by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council and other labor bodies toward formation of a labor party, the sharpening attacks carried out by both Democrats and Republicans on the Vietnamese workers and peasants and on the U.S. trade unions, and resolved "that this Labor for Peace Conference demand that the American labor movement—the AFL-CIO, UAW, Teamsters and all other independent unions immediately call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of launching an independent labor party for the 1972 election."

Conference Chairman Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, first attempted to interrupt and prevent the reading of the resolution and then ruled it out of order, saying that the only resolution that would be discussed and voted on would be the "Proposed Statement on Policy."

When the ruling of the chair was challenged, Mazey dropped all pretense of democratic

procedure, stating, "I do not accept the challenge," and demanding that Tillerias be seated without any vote at all on the challenge.

The suppression of democracy was a result of the fear of the widespread support that the labor party had among the delegates. Mazey stated that the reason for not allowing this resolution was that the conference was not set up to take political stands or "to form parties."

Mazey had already explained that the intent of the official policy statement however was to put pressure on Congress to end the war. The job of the conference, he said, was "to educate Congress and the Senate, to educate our President," on the necessity of ending the war.

Myra Wolfgang, a Detroit leader of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, demagogically attacked the demand for a labor party and said that her only objection to the official policy statement was that "it didn't say dump Nixon."

Cleveland Robinson, President of the Distributive Workers of America, said, "I do not want to be too critical of people who are for a labor party, but we did not set up this conference on the basis of calling people together to establish a labor party."

In the midst of the discussion centering around the labor party an amendment was presented by delegate Steve Zeluck of the New Rochelle Federation of Teachers of the AFT, calling on the conference "to begin immediately to educate and organize, aiming at a one day work stoppage against the war and wage controls...if possible within three months."

Zeluck and the other supporters of the amendment, spelled out in a leaflet entitled, "A rank and file proposal—presented by 80 delegates and observers," posed this demand for a work stoppage completely in opposition to the demand for a labor party. While the leaflet passed out asked that the conference "denounce and not endorse the Democratic and Republican parties," it refused to put forward the alternative of a labor

party. Without this, all the "denunciations" of the Democrats will change nothing.

The same kind of so-called opposition to the Democrats was expressed later at a caucus meeting of the "one-day work stoppage forces." One of its leaders said that the demand for a one-day work stoppage should be "simultaneous with the dump Nixon movement." This means in support of McGovern, rather than contrary to it.

However, even this demand, and the militancy of the delegates behind it was seen as a threat by Mazey and the conference leaders. As part of a maneuver to avert a real vote on this amendment—which also would have meant allowing a vote on the labor party resolution—Mazey called for a "straw vote" on the amendment, which was supported by an estimated two thirds of the delegates. This shows the kind of support that undoubtedly could have been gotten for the labor party resolution if a discussion and vote on it had been allowed.

Instead Mazey and the other leaders were able to turn the discussion away from the labor party, bringing forward a number of "big guns" to speak against the work-stoppage amendment from among the labor bureaucrats. This included Harry Bridges and other ILWU leaders whose union had gone on record for a one-day work stoppage in the past.

Only after this was the leadership ready to take a vote on the official policy statement which was still opposed by some 25 percent of the delegates. No vote was ever taken on any other resolutions or amendments.

The role of the Communist Party was revealed in its attempt to straddle the opposition of many militant delegates including some of their own supporters who favored a work-stoppage at the same time as they maintained a cozy relationship with the initiators and leading sponsors of the conference in the labor bureaucracy.

Many of the sponsors of the conference are in fact people who

follow the line of the Communist Party and who will be involved in this weekend's TUAD conference in Chicago, initiated by supporters of the Communist Party.

The June 27 Daily World report on the conference represents a complete falsification of what actually took place. There is no mention at all of the labor party resolution or discussion of the labor party in any way, shape or form.

The only report of any difference was a brief report that "a point of difference...emerged over the timing of a one-day strike...Harry Bridges of the ILWU expressed his endorsement of such a tactic but strongly urged a planned organizational effort to build such an action. For the moment, Bridges urged delegates 'go back to your local unions and seek participation in the peace movement from rank and file members.'"

What is unexplained is that Bridges, far from "endorsing" such a tactic as something to be carried out, spent about twenty minutes opposing it on the basis that it would infringe on the workers' right to decide on strikes themselves. Bridges also claimed it would cut off people like himself from George Meany and the AFL-CIO leaders who remained outside of "labor for peace."

While the Stalinists completely cover up for Bridges, Mazey and the other bureaucrats who used "left" demagoguery against the militancy of the delegates, their main aim at the conference was to hold back the movement for a labor party and subordinate the trade unions to McGovern and the Democrats.

But this movement for a labor party which has now been taken up by Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers cannot be stopped and will be brought to the center of this weekend's TUAD conference in Chicago. The movement for the labor party now enters a period of mass support in the working class in which the great power of the trade unions will be mobilized against the attack of the capitalist class through formation of the labor party.

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Unemployment Threatens In Aerospace

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Thousands of aerospace workers now face a situation in which their jobs are dependent on a single contract. The decline in Department of Defense and NASA contracts as well as the crisis of the commercial airlines means disaster for aerospace.

The government is demanding tightening of excess capacity and refusing to finance the industry as it is. This means that aerospace unemployment is a federal policy.

This crisis is centered on the West Coast particularly in Southern California. In California alone almost 200,000 workers have lost their jobs in the industry.

The decline in Los Angeles is sharper than anywhere else. For example, North American Rockwell has laid off 65 percent of its work force in the last five years. The very survival of the plant depends on successful bidding for the B-1 bomber and space shuttle contracts to be awarded next year.

The declines in California are catastrophic. From \$1.9 billion in 1965, NASA contracts now total no more than \$0.7 billion today.

Since 1965 California's share of total aerospace contracts has declined from 50 percent to scarcely a fifth.

UNEMPLOYMENT

This is no temporary fluctuation. The level of employment in California aerospace is now equal to that of late 1953. Whatever contracts are forthcoming, aerospace workers face a new situation. What is at stake here is the right to a job.

The Whipple leadership must be forced to state precisely how they intend to meet the attacks and defend the right to work.

Aerospace must be nationalized under workers control. In California, the 200,000 workers who have been sacrificed to the profit-loss statements of the employers must be rehired.

The strength of the UAW and IAM must be mobilized against a government whose policy is more unemployment.



Rents are going up for Hunter's Point residents while Housing Authority allows deteriorating conditions.

Hunters Point Project Evicts Unemployed

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The Hunter's Point area in San Francisco contains the worst housing in the entire city. Here, in one area, hundreds of workers and their families are forced to live in old deteriorating buildings, many literally unfit for living.

"Now we have to call downtown for repairs," said one unemployed worker who has lived in the projects for three years. "But there is usually about a three month wait until someone comes out to fix it."

"In an emergency, like if the sink or commode is overflowing, you can get someone around in one or two days, but only if it's an emergency.

"You wouldn't believe the roaches. Thousands of them. I bought insecticide, but it doesn't do any good. I've been here three years and they haven't sprayed once. Sometimes they do but only after somebody moves out and then only that unit."

BOARDED UP

Every broken window now must be repaired by the tenants. It used to be that the Housing Authority replaced windows but they stopped. Workers who have been laid off or unemployed cannot afford the unexpected expense of a window and consequently the windows are boarded up.

Almost every building has at least one window boarded up, and many have entire floors with

nothing but boards. "It's the kids who break the windows, but you can't blame them. They've got nothing to do, no jobs, no school, no sports.

"If these kids don't find work, I don't care what we do, things are not going to change." And the summer is just beginning.

New housing, which was supposed to be for families already living in the projects, now will see few low income families if any at all. Rent for the new housing will be higher than many can afford. People in the project spoke of rent of about \$150 for a one bedroom unit in the new area.

The Housing Authority had told all the residents that there would be no increase of rents. Now for some families, rent will double

West Coast News

Ford Strikers Denounce Deadly Health Violations

BY BARRY GREY

MILPITAS—The strike against intolerable health and safety conditions at the Ford plant here has entered into its second week with no negotiations and no settlement in sight.

UAW Local 560 has demanded that Ford replace the maintenance and cleanup crews which have been cut in half over the last two years and schedule them on a regular basis.

Thus far the company has refused to deal with 39 specific grievances of the union. These grievances center around inadequate ventilation in the spray paint booths, welding areas, and other operations, slick, greasy floors, and in general, conditions so filthy that rats and mosquitoes breed in the plant.

INDICATION

An indication of the kind of conditions Ford is attempting to impose on the workers is the fact that the company refused to admit Assemblyman Alister McAlister and a representative of the State Department of Industrial Relations into the plant to investigate the union's charges.

Some of these grievances have been piling up for the last two

years. A picket told the Bulletin: "They just let these grievances pile up. First stage, second stage, third stage, and the next thing you know they put them aside and that's it. They just keep promising and never do it."

DANGEROUS

One of the pickets described some of the most dangerous aspects of the plant: "The biggest problem is the paint booth. It's hot. I'm in the sanding booth and it's hot in the sanding booth. You're eating the dust that you're sanding.

"It's not dust, it's prime and paint and metal flakes. The stuff's going into your lungs and all they've got is fans to blow the dust. Where do they blow the dust? Right back into your face.

"The metal grinding booth. There's no ventilation. You breathe in that lead. That stuff's going to kill your lungs. They have to have a blood count every three months to make sure they haven't got lead poisoning.

"Any time you're in the sanding booth, it's at least 10 to 15 degrees hotter inside than it is outside. If it's 85 to 90 outside, it's 110 in the booth."

Ford's refusal to budge on these issues is part of a nationwide campaign by the auto bosses to break down working conditions and job security won through bitter struggle.

There is every indication that Ford intends to go the route of GMAD and introduce massive speed-up and automation. A picket told the Bulletin that stepped up automation is slated for the 1973 truck models.

The local leadership continues to treat the strike as simply a local question refusing to put forward a strategy. Pickets were upset at the timing of the strike and one young worker said: "Why now? Why not wait until the first '73 rolls out and then strike?"

Ford workers must confront the fact that they have been forced out by a management determined to prepare GMAD type attacks on their rights and conditions. Ford must be stopped now.

The ranks must demand that the leadership state its strategy. This leadership must be forced to confront the international leadership for its refusal to mobilize the full strength of the UAW in strike action to defend the union.

Seamen Battle Scabs With Mass Picketing

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND—A strike of 250 members of the Inlandboatmen Union (SIU) against Waterways Incorporated, a warehouse subsidiary of Crown-Zellerbach Paper Company, is in its seventh week here.

Mass picket lines have been organized by the ranks. A striker told the Bulletin: "This is a legal strike, but this form of picketing is not sanctioned by the union to avoid injunctions and fines."

Scabs are crossing the lines and scab trucks are continuing to deliver cargo. One driver went out of his way to hit a picket last

week. The strikers face threats and harassment from the county sheriff who escorts timid strike breakers across the lines and looks the other way at violence against the strikers.

The key issue is job classification which the IBU members see as a protection against layoffs and speed-up. One union member explained: "When you come to work you don't get into a labor pool, you got a job to go to."

The employers want one worker to be responsible for many jobs. This had tragic consequences last fall. "We had a guy get killed here last fall because the lead man has so many things to perform instead of being a lead man.

KILLED

"He was being a lead man and a terminal worker. He wasn't able to take care of his lead man's work so a guy got killed. That's a form of speed-up."

Another striker complained: "We have supervisors that are crossing over into the bargaining unit. They are doing our people out of a job. They are over-supervised here. They have 75 supervisors to cover 250 people."

West Coast News

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EDITORIAL

Defeat Of U. Of Cal. Strike: A Grim Warning To Labor

After 67 days on the picket lines striking U.C. Berkeley workers have voted unanimously to return. The settlement represents a bitter defeat for the strikers giving the university virtually everything it demanded.

In return for an amnesty agreement, building tradesmen have been forced to accept a maintenance classification. After July 1, their wages are to be frozen for years until the lower maintenance scale rises to the freeze level.

New building trade employees will be hired at the lower maintenance rate, a cut of approximately two dollars an hour. The other striking unions were granted nothing and for all practical purposes the university denies them recognition.

The responsibility for this criminal betrayal lies entirely with the union leadership. Both Groulx of the Alameda Central Labor Council and Childers, leader of the building tradesmen, refused to go beyond a policy of protest.

Despite beatings, jailings and injunctions both acted as though it was still possible to conduct business as usual. They refused to declare a strike and shut down the university and they refused to mobilize the power of the thousands of workers they lead.

All the heroism and militancy of the rank and file was diverted into hopeless demonstrations, sit-ins and meetings. The strikers were up against the full power of the state determined to break them and isolated from the power of the rest of the labor movement they could not win.

This strike is a grim warning to the trade union movement. This is what every worker faces in defense of his wages and working conditions. Groulx and Childers have given dangerous encouragement to every labor hating employer and politician.

Throughout this strike, all the so-called "friends of labor" kept their distance and the so-called radical Berkeley City Council supported by the Communist Party did nothing to assist the strikers.

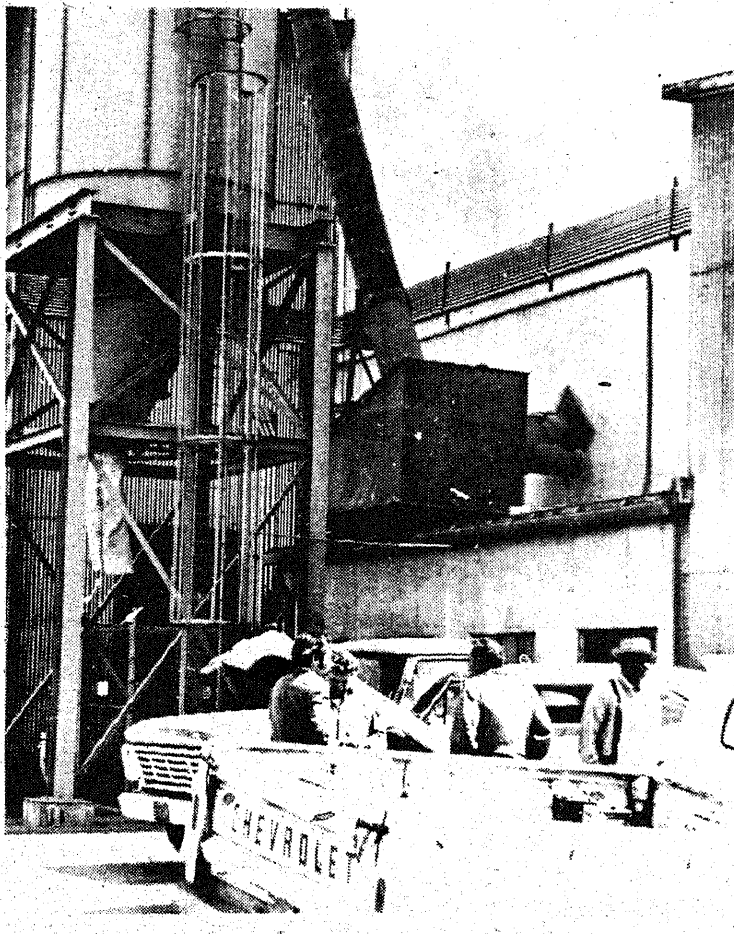
Now Reagan prepares new attacks on state workers with his vicious cuts in the new budget slashing wage raises and benefits.

The lessons of the Berkeley strike are clear. The fight for a labor party that can defeat these union-busting attacks politically must be taken into every union local. The alternative is defeats even more serious than that in Berkeley.

Hawaii Longshoremen Set To Strike As Governor Threatens Dock Seizure

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HAWAII—The Hawaii longshore strike has been postponed for one week. Longshoremen in Hawaii are demanding a contract similar to that on the mainland except that they are only asking for a 38-hour guarantee. They have been working without a contract for one year and the employers are holding out for a cheaper settlement.



Bulletin reporter talks to ILWU members on the San Francisco docks as Hawaiian longshoremen prepare for strike action.

This situation is entirely the responsibility of the Bridges leadership which has refused to take Hawaii out with the West Coast and has left the local completely isolated.

Hawaii has some of the most automated dock facilities in the United States. Only 900 dockers still work there. Many have been forced to come to the West Coast to find work.

A strike means complete paralysis to the island whose entire economy depends on shipping. The situation is so sharp that dockers are faced with legislation allowing the state to seize the docks and force work to continue.

THREATENED

This is threatened despite the fact that Hawaii's governor is a guest of honor at all ILWU conferences and was elected with ILWU support. The union is the most powerful political force on the island.

The situation in Hawaii serves as a warning to the mainland. Right now in San Francisco, dockers are striking a grain terminal which refuses to abide by the terms of the new contract in regard to the guarantee.

One D man told us that the employers intend to average B man hours with those of steady B men who get 40 hours a week. This will make it almost impossible for B men to qualify for their guarantee by working 80 percent of average hours.

STRIKE

A new strike date has been set. There must be no more postponements. There must be full parity with the mainland. Any attempt at strikebreaking must be answered immediately with a West Coast shutdown.

Post Office Pushes Job Cuts, Speed-Up

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—The total reorganization of the U.S. Post Office Department into the semi-private U.S. Post Service enters its second year of changes designed to make the Post Office meet the needs of big business.

This is to be done through the introduction of every conceivable device to speed up and cut the work force. In the process, the Post Office plans a pay-cutting job reclassification and the elimination of seniority rights.

In short, every method used by private industry in plants like GM's Lordstown is being introduced into the Post Office. Already thousands of jobs have been cut through attrition and by provoking employees to break minor rules for which they can be fired.

Last year's reorganization was designed to centralize the process of picking up, sorting and delivering mail. Each area now has a Sectional Center Facility. Eventually all mail will be taken directly to these centers to be sorted and delivered in bulk throughout the world. All intermediate jobs like sorting and

sacking done at neighborhood offices are to be eliminated.

An official at the Oakland Main Post Office (an SFC) said: "Automation is all any one in the Post Office ever talks about these days."

These changes were first recommended to President Johnson by the 1967 Kappel Commission. The 1970 wildcat strike was the signal for Congress to prepare all-out war on Post Office workers.

The first year of operation of the new Post Office has laid the groundwork for the major changes envisioned in the Kappel report. The Post Office is now autonomous from the government, which means that employees no longer have any of the protection, particularly job security, granted under the civil service regulations.

Now that this groundwork has been completed, the plan is expected to go into full gear when

the new budget is announced next month. Everyone the Bulletin talked to, from officials of the American Postal Workers Oakland local, to officials in the Oakland administrative office, to mail handlers and clerks, expect the Post Office to drop a bombshell in the next budget. The APWU expects a 10 percent cut in a force of 700 people.

In Oakland, considerable centralization has already occurred. The Oakland Main Post Office is a huge building, which contains the most modern machinery to sort mail. It is crammed with machines able to sort and cancel mail at rates of over 30,000 an hour.

In Oakland, and places like it, where the reorganization is well under way, the Post Office has been carrying out a steadily escalating guerrilla campaign against the workers and their union to get an early start on the next phase of reorganization. Although the contract of the APWU guarantees no layoffs for another year, the Post Office has taken advantage of every loop hole in the contract to cut the work force, and now is actively breaking the contract.

In the past year all "tem-

porary" employees have lost their jobs. Now, however, the Post Office is taking on workers covered under the union contract.

Dissatisfaction and rumors are already widespread at the Oakland Post Office and the July 1 budget could very well result in a massive strike. It is a nationwide shutdown that must be prepared if the government attacks are to be beaten back.

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