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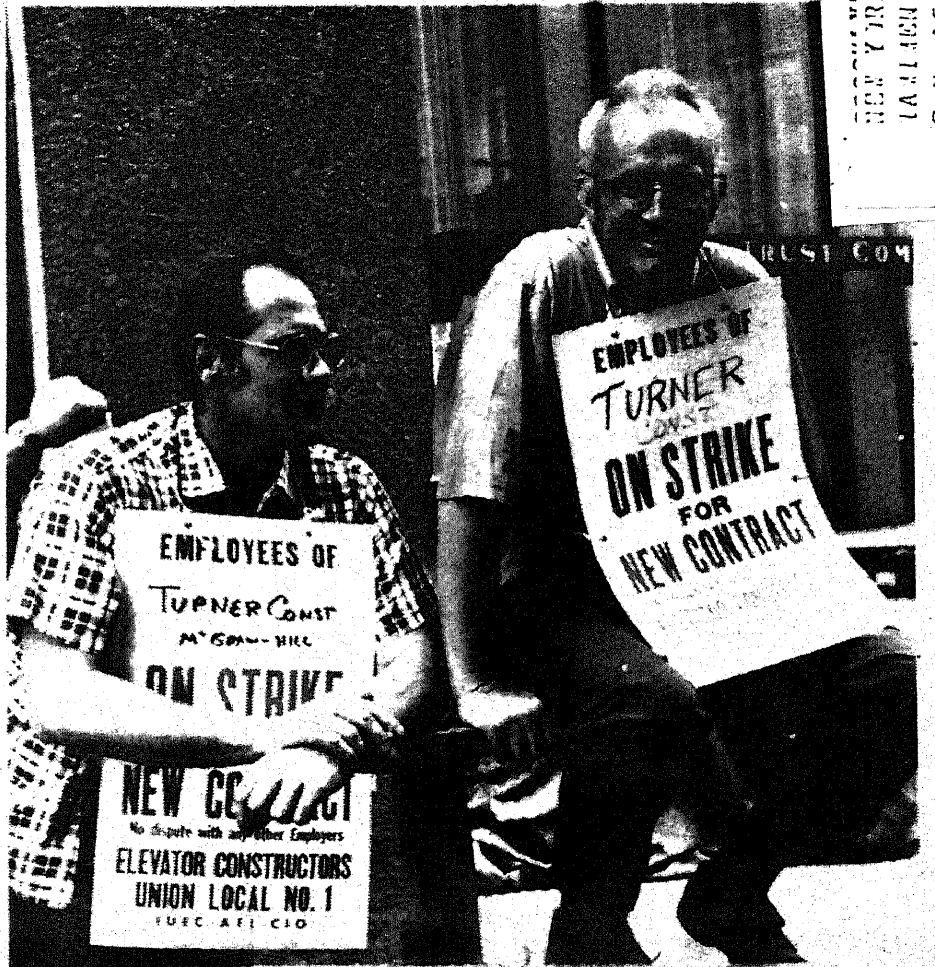
AFL-CIO Tops Threaten Labor Party At Miami

"I have heard union presidents here who have never in years talked of anything but support of the Democratic Party saying that maybe now is the time to have a labor party."

This is the statement of a veteran AFL-CIO official in Miami to the New York Times. A reliable source in the leadership of the AFL-CIO has told the Bulletin that one of these union presidents is I.W. Abel head of the United Steelworkers union.

Another AFL-CIO official told the Times: "The concept of a lot of people that we are merely an appendage of the Democratic

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New York construction workers strike has crippled major sites. See story page 4.

Unemployment Soars As Monetary Crisis Deepens

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The world monetary crisis, which opened up a new stage on August 15, 1971 when the U.S. removed the dollar convertibility of gold, is now working itself out in a new round of competitive devaluations, posing a complete collapse of trade and a world depression threatened by a new and more drastic devaluation of the dollar.

What is posed by the devaluation of the pound, and what may soon be the devaluation of the mark and the franc, is the wiping out entirely of the competitive edge achieved by the United States through its 12 percent devaluation against gold and other currencies last december 18.

Capitalist economists themselves are now predicting that the British pound devaluation threatens to cut into the earlier competitive trade advantage by as much as 15 percent further crippling the U.S. balance of payments position.

This is already being expressed in a deterioration of the economic situation in U.S. industry with a massive increase in unemployment. The "official" figures on the "seasonally adjusted" rate of unemployment actually cover up an increase of 1.1 million in the number of jobless persons for the month of June to a total of 5.4 million.

At the same time, it is re-

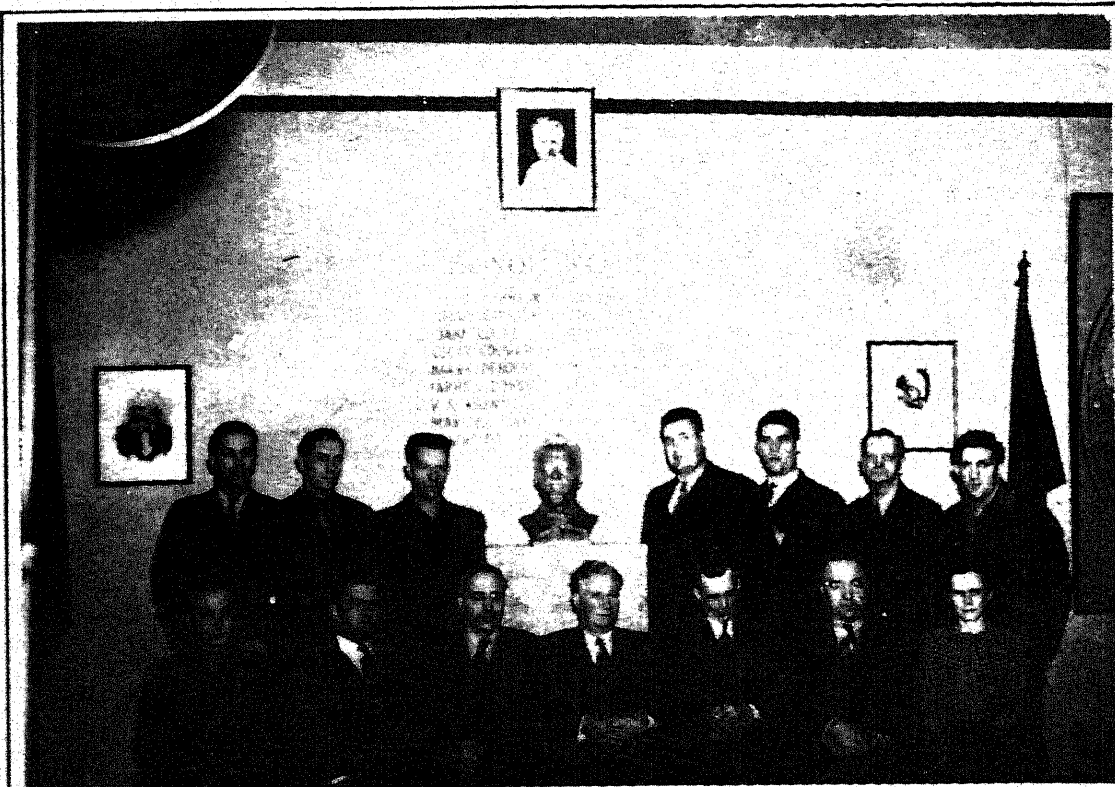
ported that for the 16th consecutive months more than one third of the nation's major job market areas have more than six percent unemployment.

The outbreak of plant closures and production cutbacks in major industrial states such as Connecticut, where an estimated 180,000 are out of a job, is now going to be intensified as Nixon and the employers step up their attacks on the labor movement and use massive unemployment as a club for wage-cutting and union-busting.

What this means is that in industries like steel, where a slump has produced a rate of unemployment of some 45 percent to 50 percent, thousands of additional workers will be thrown out. It means that the massive layoffs in auto, like that now threatened by rumors of a huge production curtailment by General Motors, will rapidly increase.

It is this economic situation which is behind the huge crisis ripping at the Democratic convention in Miami Beach, which has provoked the rise of Wallace and at the same time has now resulted in the call for the formation of a labor party from key

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IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM

AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY OUR HISTORY

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

See Page 9

NLF Explodes Thieu Boast Of Quangtri Victory

BY MELODY FARROW

Boasting claims by President Thieu of Saigon that South Vietnamese forces had recaptured Quang Tri from the National Liberation Front have been blown sky high.

On July 7th with much fanfare Thieu pronounced the capital retaken. In reality his troops were being routed, cut down on the road and were unable to advance. At the same time North Vietnamese troops have been steadily pounding the city of Hue.

This continuing offensive by the workers and peasants of Vietnam against the US and its puppets shows their determination to fight for victory. While Saigon's army is being routed on the battlefield, the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies are seeking to bail the U.S. out by giving North Vietnam an ultimatum to settle with Nixon.

SCARED

The New York stock market soared at the report last week of a United Press International dispatch that China and Moscow had ordered Hanoi to settle the war "with no further delay." The trip of Soviet President Nicolai Podgorny to Hanoi did not succeed in forcing the North Vietnamese government to give in. Now the Soviet Union and China are issuing this ultimatum, and are backing it up with the threat to cut off supplies to the liberation army.

This vicious arm-twisting comes at a time when Nixon has made it clear that he will never agree to a South Vietnamese government which includes communists and that the renewed Paris peace talks must proceed on the basis of all the original conditions of the U.S.

Nixon is steadily escalating his ferocious bombing raids on North Vietnam to force Hanoi to negotiate a deal to end the war on the terms of the United States.

DESTRUCTION

Faced with the monetary crisis and the deepening offensive of the working class in all countries, Nixon is desperately seeking to win the Vietnam war. His plans are to go far beyond the present bombing level to the outright destruction of North Vietnam.

This is why thousands of Air Force troops have been withdrawn from the Da Nang area only to be re-stationed in Thailand. There are now over 750 planes positioned in Thailand air bases for raids into North Vietnam.

Nixon is putting a gun to the head of North Vietnam.

New sections of the secret Pentagon Papers have just been released which detail the growing cooperation between the U.S. and the Soviet government.

KOSYGIN

Beginning around 1966, Moscow indicated that it would try to get talks started in exchange for a bombing pause. In 1967, the Pentagon papers show how Kosygin, during a trip to London, made an open move to act as an intermediary:

"The British were first startled, then delighted, to find Kosygin eager to play an active role as intermediary between the

U.S. and Hanoi."

"He (Kosygin), may also have been quite willing to subordinate D.R.V. (North Vietnamese) interests to the Soviet desire to avoid further escalation in Vietnam."

ULTIMATUMS

The Papers show how the Soviet Union was willing to play this role despite the threats and ultimatums of the U.S. that either North Vietnam capitulate or they would be "devastated."

The resistance of the NLF to the tremendous pressures of Stalinism and imperialism is testimony to the power and determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to win their struggle.

Japan Premier Threatens Crackdown On Dock Strike

BY ED SMITH

The Japanese government is now moving against the three month old strike of the nation's seamen. The request by the Minister of Transport that he mediate the dispute, together with the Government's calling in leaders of the Japanese Confederation of Labor, have made it clear that the Government has passed its limit of tolerance for the strike.

Behind the mediation and consultation efforts of the Government lies the threat of anti-strike legislation and a crackdown on the unions.

The owners have spent close to \$100 million to break the seamen's demand for an average \$73 (26%) wage increase. But the seamen have stood fast, tying up 1,209 ships and 1,612,000 tons of cargo.

Most of all the strike threatens to break the back of the already imperiled export trade, on which the Japanese capitalists' profits are based. Without a rapid resumption of exports to their former level, Japan faces certain economic collapse.

The breaking of the seamen's strike becomes the first task of Japan's new premier, Kakuei Tanaka. Tanaka was elected to be the national leader at a July 5

Allende Orders Army To Break Rail Strike

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The right wing opposition to Chile's Popular Unity government is mounting the most sustained and fundamental drive yet to overthrow the Allende regime.

The right wing dominated Chamber of Deputies voted on July 5th to impeach Hernan del Canto, Allende's Interior Minister. The charges were "violation of private property and individual rights." The extraordinary impeachment session, which lasted until midnight, was boycotted by Popular Unity members.

The next day the Chilean Senate, which must pass on del Canto's impeachment, voted to override 33 of 145 sections of a



British Young Socialists rest in march which is part of Right to Work campaign aimed against Tory government. See story page 7.

caucus of the Liberal Democrats, Japan's party of big business.

The chairman of the board of the Fuji Bank, for example, remarked there would now be "deeper understanding" between government and business. He called for normalization of relations with China, stimulation of the economy and an end to the economic recession.

SLUMP

Tanaka becomes the leader of Japanese capitalism at the very time that the boom which formed it is dissolving amid the storms of international monetary and trade breakdown. Japan has become one of the most vulnerable capitalist countries in the crisis.

In plain language, the breakdown of international capitalism means all the postwar concessions to the working class must

be taken back so that Japan can keep its head above water in the crisis.

The "floating" of the English pound was the prelude to inevitable massive pressure on the Japanese to upwardly revalue their currency and products in relation to other countries. This would mean a catastrophic slump for the Japanese economy. The pound float brought a 1929-style crash on the Tokyo stock exchange. The Japanese capitalists see the writing on the wall. The working class must be broken.

Premier Tanaka is well suited for carrying out Japanese capitalism's tasks. The son of a poor farmer, Tanaka made a fortune on the home front during World War II with big construction profits.

Moving smoothly into the American occupation, he was elected to Parliament and in 1949 became Vice-Minister of Justice.

But later that year Tanaka was arrested and jailed in a bribery scandal. He was acquitted only after several years but never had any trouble retaining his parliamentary seat.

Tanaka in recent years engineered the Liberal Democrats' election victories and was named a year ago as Minister of International Trade and Industry.

INTERVENTION

The preparation of government intervention in the seamen's strike reflects the reversal of Japan's position from the homeland of economic boom to a weak link of international capitalism. Decades of relative class peace will erupt as Japanese workers fight against the government's attempts to make them pay for the crisis.

Korea Deal Is Knife At N. Vietnam

BY FRED MUELLER

The July 4th agreement between North and South Korea is the latest development in the conspiracy of Stalinism and imperialism directed against workers throughout the world.

This agreement provides for the setting up of a "hot line" between the Korean capitals of Pyongyang and Seoul. Telephones have now been installed in the offices of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and the North Korean Workers' Party's Organization and Guidance Department.

The joint communique issued after several rounds of secret talks also provides for the setting up of a Joint Coordinating Committee to deal with North-South problems. The co-chairmen of this committee will be Kim Yong Ju, the younger brother of North Korean Stalinist leader Kim Il Sung, and Lee Hu Rak, chief of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and one of the closest associates of dictator Park Chung Hee.

This development follows closely upon Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow. The Korean agreement is part of the campaign to isolate the North Vietnamese and the NLF in order to impose a deal in Indochina which will rescue the imperialists from defeat. This campaign has now been enthusiastically joined by Kim Il Sung.

A high State Department official explained why the Seoul-Pyongyang communique was welcomed in Washington: "First China invited enemy No. 1, the United States, to Peking. Now North Korea has a friendly dialogue with enemy No. 2, South Korea, which has as many troops in South Vietnam as the United States. This must have a damaging effect on Hanoi's morale."

The imperialists and the Stalinists do not face clear sailing in Korea any more than in Vietnam. While these diplomatic moves can only expose the workers' state in the North to new and more serious dangers, it will take far more than these deals to defeat the workers and peasants of both North and South Korea.

Korea was divided after the Second World War, with the setting up of a workers' state under Moscow domination in the North, and a puppet state of the imperialists under the late dictator Syngman Rhee in the South.

This division can only be overcome through the struggle of the workers and peasants for reunification on a socialist basis. It is the movement of the workers and peasants which worries South Korea's Park Chung Hee, as well as the CP leaders in the North. Park announced several days after the agreement that, regardless of any dialogue with the North, "we must continue and intensify the anti-Communist education of our people so the Communist ideology may not infiltrate into our society."

Park has also taken steps to strengthen his dictatorship, while insisting that the 43,000 U.S. troops be maintained in the South at present levels, and denouncing what he termed the "excessive optimism, hasty judgement and excitement" of many South Koreans, and calling upon the nation to "calm down and restore reason."

Trade Union Movement Deepens Split With Democratic Convention

BY DAVID NORTH AND BRUCE MCKAY

MIAMI BEACH, July 11—George McGovern's nomination was almost assured here at the opening session of the Democratic Party National Convention. McGovern forces won an absolute majority to seat the 151 McGovern delegates from California.

The vote on the California credentials followed a week of bitter fighting within the Democratic Party exposing the crisis of this party of big business as it confronts the offensive of the American working class. What dominates this convention in fact is the complete break-up of

the Democratic Party that is bursting at the seams in front of everyone at this plush resort city.

As helicopters buzzed incessantly overhead, and police, National Guardsmen and Marines were positioned to establish a military rule over the area while the Democrats are here, the convention immediately took on the appearance of a grotesque circus as middle class radicals and protest groups swarmed the city to proclaim their support to George McGovern in between naked frolicking at Flamingo Park.

The real character of this convention was revealed as poor people, who have been brought here by the reformist Southern Christian Leadership Conference, set up Resurrection City II with surplus army tents while Democratic politicians and old line delegates wine and dined in luxurious hotels less than five miles away.

Although none of the decisions made at this convention will benefit the working class in any way whatsoever, the traditional wheeling and dealing by the politicians has taken place in the shadow of the movement of the working class for a break with the Democrats and for the formation of an independent labor party.

The collapse of all the old relations between the Demo-

crats and the trade union bureaucracy has found very sharp expression from the very moment political activities began here.

Within the convention, it has found expression in the bitter opposition of the entire AFL-CIO to McGovern, and through McGovern's suggestion that he might ask Leonard Woodcock, head of the UAW, to be his running mate.

Outside the convention all the Stalinists, revisionists, Black nationalists and middle class radicals have banded together desperately seeking to win support for McGovern among workers. As the working class actually begins to raise the question of a labor party, every group from the Communist Party to



Connecticut AFL-CIO president John Driscoll, a convention delegate, called it "an extremely difficult job" to interest workers in Democrats.

one Democrat who will talk all week in Miami without having one word to say about fighting the Pay Board, speed-ups, unemployment.

A trade unionist from New Jersey who is a delegate told the Bulletin: "To tell the truth, I don't know what I'm doing here. I'm supposed to vote for Humphrey, and I myself don't like him."

The AFL-CIO is particularly bitter about McGovern who, in addition to being a supporter of right-to-work laws, is surrounded by middle class liberals and almost all the leading Black nationalist politicians who are tremendously hostile to the labor movement.

ATTACKS

These forces have launched bitter personal attacks on Meany barely covering their fundamental hostility to the trade unions.

"We'd have this thing sewed up if it wasn't for Meany and organized labor," stated one member of the Black Caucus that is throwing all its weight behind McGovern. "They are playing a destructive role at this convention."

The labor leaders, walking to their headquarters at the Fontainebleu Hotel where Nixon was laughed out of the AFL-CIO convention last fall, seemed to be in some sort of daze.

The Democratic Party has not offered even crumbs in its platform and is about to nominate a man to whom Meany refuses to talk even by telephone.

But Meany and the rest of the union representatives here are searching for a coalition against McGovern in the most miserable and pathetic manner. They are engaged in frantic negotiations with other Democratic candidates like Humphrey and Muskie who share McGovern's anti-labor position, and some with George Wallace.

This is suggested by the revelation that Barney Week, presi-

dent of the Alabama AFL-CIO and a long-time foe of Wallace, has suddenly reversed his position and is talking favorably about Wallace. He released a letter to Edmund Muskie that has just been made public, that commends Wallace for his recent positions as being "pro-labor."

Furthermore, Meany and the

WHERE GEORGE MCGOVERN STANDS ON BOSSES' PROFITS:

From an ad in the Wall Street Journal appealing for the bankers and corporations to back him:

"I have not suggested an income ceiling at \$50,000...an increase in corporate tax rate...an elimination of capital gains limitation...an excess profits tax...a ceiling on inheritance at \$500,000 or ANY OTHER LEVEL."

rest of the union leadership have absolutely no confidence in their ability to persuade American workers to support the Democrats. This has come out in the tremendous hostility shown by unions' delegates to the candidates they are supposed to be supporting.

John Driscoll, president of the Connecticut AFL-CIO, told the Bulletin that: "We have had trouble getting workers to be active in the Democratic Party this year. For the past four months we have been trying at every level to find delegates to participate at this convention, for example. And we find it an extremely difficult job."

HEAD OFF

Realizing that millions of rank and file workers are prepared to drop the Democrats, McGovern made an unprecedented plea to the trade union leadership to

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WHERE GEORGE MCGOVERN STANDS ON LABOR

- McGovern was the first to congratulate Nixon on the wage freeze with the statement that it should have been done sooner.
- McGovern voted against the repeal of the "right to work" provision of Taft-Hartley.
- McGovern voted for using non-union labor to ship grain to the Soviet Union.

WHERE GEORGE MCGOVERN STANDS ON WALLACE

- On May 1st he wrote to the Dayton Daily News in answer to the question of whether he would accept Wallace's support: "Yes, I'd accept his support gladly...I think he ought to be treated as a serious Democratic candidate."
- "I thought it was a mistake to exclude him from the Jefferson-Jackson dinner (by Michigan Democrats in December in Detroit). He's a presidential candidate and ought to be treated as such."
- McGovern's side was instructed to speak in favor of seating Wallace's supporters in the Alabama delegation.
- George McGovern and his camp urged his delegates to give "a warm welcome" to George Wallace on Tuesday night. Wallace was given a standing ovation after his speech in which he attacked busing.

Progressive Labor are throwing up a reformist smokescreen to prevent this development.

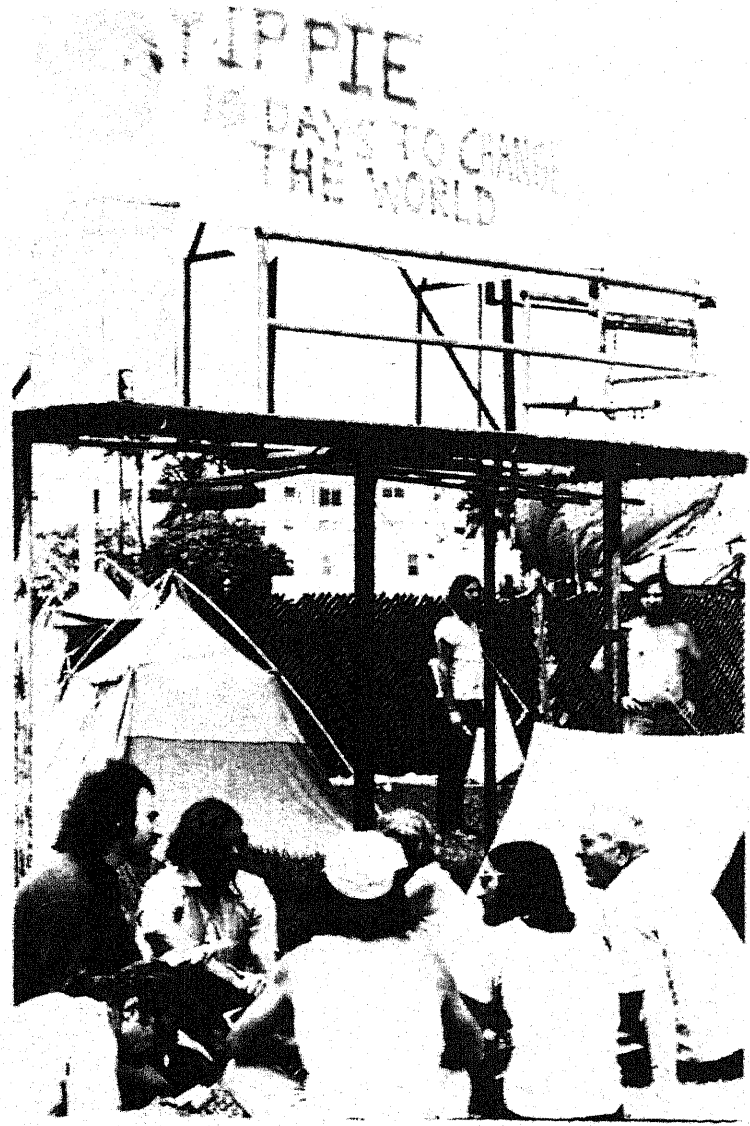
Tensions between the AFL-CIO and McGovern have grown so great that now Meany is threatening to abandon the Democrats in the fall. It is virtually certain that the AFL-CIO will not endorse any candidate before meeting on August 27th in order to, in the words of an official, "review the situation very seriously."

HATRED

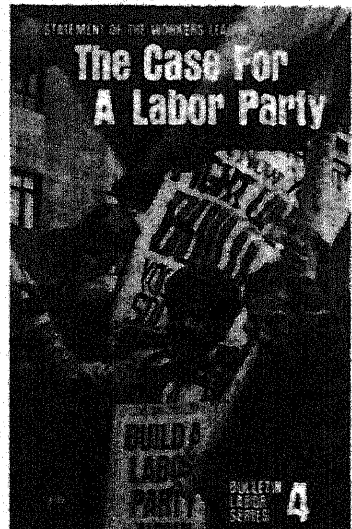
Meany's opposition to McGovern is not caused, as the press claims, by the South Dakota Senator's so-called "radical" positions on marijuana. Rather, Meany is being driven away from McGovern the same way he was driven from the Pay Board: by the hatred of millions of American workers for

the relationship between the labor movement and the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Convention opened this week with the leadership of the AFL-CIO desperately seeking to hold back the movement of the working class for its own labor party and to patch up the old alliance with



The Yippies—yesterday's "anti-Establishment" middle class radicals—swarmed over Miami Beach to support McGovern for President.



Just Out!

The Case For A Labor Party 25¢

This pamphlet contains the basic statement of the Workers League on the fight for the labor party today and the program for that party to defeat all of the attacks by the government on the American working class. As we enter the 1972 elections with both the Democrats and Republicans making it clear that they stand with the big corporations, this pamphlet becomes the necessary weapon now for workers and youth in their fight to build the labor party now.

Order from: Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

65,000 Men Shut New York Building Sites Over Jobs

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Striking construction workers and spokesmen for the Building Trades Employers Association (BTEA) are both predicting a long strike here as 65,000 workers from 12 building trades unions enter the second week of their strike.

The strike continues a national pattern of strikes and lockouts in major cities such as Minneapolis and Chicago where currently 70,000 building tradesmen are on strike or locked out. Within the past few weeks, massive demonstrations against unemployment and government promoted scabbing have taken place in Norristown, Pa., and Boston, Mass.

At the heart of the confrontation in the building trades industry is the aim of the contractors, backed by city, state and federal governments, both to promote unemployment and to use the growing unemployment to slash wages and conditions and break the unions.

ISSUE

According to striking members of the Elevator Constructors Local 1 here, whose 2,000 members are on strike, the main issue is, as one picket at the McGraw Hill building site put it, "a crucial issue, a life and death matter of whether or not the unions are to survive, is the preservation of jobs."

The pickets claimed that contrary to what they called "propaganda" of the contractors, they are not demanding a 10 to 15% wage increase, but that the real issue is job security because the contractors are demanding that the union permit prefabrication on a massive scale which would wipe out 80% of the jobs.

As one picket said: "Sure, we want wages, but we don't want a big increase. What we really need is a cost of living escalator. I'd be willing to go for the wage freeze if they froze prices too."

JOB

"Anyway, what good is the wage increase if they're taking away your job. They want to get rid of everyone by the time he's 40, figuring they can push the younger guys a lot harder. We don't even have any seniority."

A top official of the employers association, H. Earl Fullilove, stated: "Union leaders are seeking increases far in excess of the 5.5% Pay Board guidelines. Considering that the construction worker is averaging \$400 a week, exclusive of overtime pay, we see no semblance of reason in these demands."

A spokesman for the Glaziers Union, which settled their contract with a 70¢ an hour increase over each of three years in exchange for backing down on some work rule changes, termed the report of \$400 per week wages in the industry "a lie." He main-

tained that most of the men have been averaging from \$7,800 to \$9,500 per year with less than five percent making more than \$10,000 per year.

The Elevator Constructors pickets likewise scoffed at these reports, claiming that in their trade, "the most dangerous and one of the most skilled," men rarely made more than \$12,000 per year.

As for the talk of "featherbedding," one of the pickets said: "Featherbedding is an invention of the manufacturers," and asked one of his fellow pickets if he was "featherbedding when he was at the end of a rope pulling up ten tons."

The construction unions are faced not only with the Pay Board but also with a concerted drive in Congress to repeal the provisions of the Bacon-Davis Act which presently protects union wage scales on federal construction projects. This effort has been correctly denounced by the head of the AFL-CIO construction trades department as "an attempt to revert to the labor conditions of the early 1930's."

The formation of an independent labor party now is the most crucial step needed in the fight to stop the employers' drive to eliminate the jobs and all the rights of the trade union movement.

Chicago Printers Locked Out

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—The first strike-lockout by Chicago printers since 1948 is under way. Over 850 workers are affected.

The issue concerns wages. The employers in the Franklin Association of Chicago want a six month to a year moratorium on wages. This means they do not want to give the workers one cent.

This employer assault was prepared by the capitulation of six other printing trade unions in

Wildcat Safety Strike Shuts Mining On Mesabi Range

BY MICHAEL ROSS

HIBBING, Minn.—Over 1,300 members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Locals 1438 and 2660 are now in their second month of unauthorized strike action against the Mesabi Iron Range properties of Hanna Mining.

The key issue is safety. Management at the Butler Taconite plant in Nashauk insisted on June 9 that workers change grating on a conveyor while it was moving.

This brought about a plant-wide walkout in support of the



Members of striking Elevator Constructors Local 1 take their turn on picket duty at N.Y. McGraw-Hill site.

Support Grows In Hospitals For No Vote On 1199 Contract

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, July 12—Members of Local 1199 in the Affiliation hospitals are mounting a big opposition to the contract negotiated by the Davis leadership. Last night at one meeting of the workers in the city hospitals, the contract was voted down bringing the opposition vote so far to 40 percent.

This contract, providing for a 15% increase in two years and no fringe benefits until the second year, is the worst in the union's history.

After years of struggle to rise above poverty wages, hospital workers are being asked to accept what will amount to a decline in their living standards.

OPPOSITION

In hospitals all over the city there is mass opposition to the settlement. Leaflets of the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199 calling for a "No" vote and a mass membership meeting have

received tremendous support.

The agreement worked out between Davis and Mayor Lindsay concerning the rights of affiliation workers is not worth the paper it is written on.

After first getting Davis to agree that workers being transferred from 1199 into District Council 37 would lose all seniority and would have to submit to a competitive exam, Lindsay stated that all wages and benefits would be guaranteed.

After a period of time the Civil Service Commission will review the corresponding functions of supervisors in the city and volun-

tary systems. The supervisors will then be placed in a "position of comparable status."

The first fundamental right that Davis gave up was the right of workers to remain in the union they elect. The agreement grants the City the authority to dictate what union these workers can belong to.

The sole purpose of this changeover was to eliminate hundreds of jobs by claiming "duplication" of services. This agreement will be a green light for all the hospitals to proceed with speed-up and mass layoffs.

Lindsay, who only shortly before, was threatening thousands of city workers with layoffs, was praised by Davis as "one of the finest human beings."

Davis was motivated throughout these negotiations by a desperate fear of a strike and of a confrontation with the government. His actions have exposed to thousands of workers that a new leadership must be built in 1199.

Davis is now trying to tell workers that everything is "settled" and that their vote will not matter.

The Pay Board which is now talking of wage limits of 2 or 3%, will try to cut even this increase.

Hospital workers must fight now to reject this settlement and prepare for strike action to win all the contract demands and confront the Pay Board.

working on the basis of "interim agreements" with some of the employers.

COVERTLY

This means that jobs can be transferred covertly from a shop on strike to another union shop. Some employers are even sharing out their work to non-union shops in the area.

Many of the picketers expressed the change this year in fighting for a contract. "You know how it usually is," said John Onorato. "Our negotiators go in and ask for the sky and the employers make a small offer. Then they talk and compromise and come out with a fair contract."

"This time, we get offered nothing and they won't even sit down to talk. We are not unreasonable about this. We waited a whole month for them to sit down before we struck."

Another striker complained about the employers' last offer of three dollars in December and three dollars next June. "That doesn't even keep up with inflation. My taxes just rose \$100."

the last year. The Bookbinders and Pressmen's Union agreed to the wages moratorium.

Workers on the picket lines expressed great confidence in their union's ability to win the strike. But the strike is being endangered by the union leadership which is allowing over 1,000 printers to continue

men who refused to do the work. Within 24 hours the strike had spread to Hanna's National Steel pellet plant in Keewatin and the Pierce open-pit ore mine in Hibbing.

The safety situation has deteriorated so badly here that USWA President I. W. Abel has refused to take any action to force the men back to work outside of sending a telegram so ordering. District Director Peter Benson, after visiting the area and being refused access to the Butler plant, has refused to issue any back to work orders.

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Launch New Drive To Free Farinas

BY NANCY FIELDS

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is launching an all-out campaign to secure the immediate freedom of Farinas.

Farinas has been serving a two year sentence in Danbury Federal Penitentiary since March 27. His imprisonment stems from framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act at his induction in August, 1968.

Farinas' sole crime was to peacefully distribute leaflet opposing the Vietnam War as a class war being waged against the workers and peasants in Vietnam in the interests of American big business.

The Farinas case was a political frame-up from its very inception. The government set out to punish him not for his actions, but for his stated intention of giving leadership to the working class which is now coming into fundamental collision with the ruling class.

The political nature of the case has been most clearly revealed

by the recent release of statistics concerning the conviction rate for draft resisters. These statistics indicate that there has been a sharp reversal in government procedure concerning draft violators.

While in 1967, only 10.4 percent of those convicted of draft violations received probation, in 1971 62.7 percent received probation. Furthermore, the percentage of defendants who were convicted at all during the same period dropped from 75.1 to 34.8.

These statistics clearly expose that the government's jailing of Juan is in direct violation of his civil rights and constitutes excessive punishment. The Farinas Defense Committee will fight for his immediate release around this perspective.

While Farinas has been in prison, he has taken forward the fight to construct a leadership among the working class and

youth. To this end, he has formed a Marxist study group among the inmates to take up questions of dialectical materialism and the history of the Trotskyist movement.

At a time when the government is stepping up its attack on the trade unions through the Pay Board and the courts, we urge all trade unionists and youth to take up the defense of Juan Farinas as part of the defense of the labor movement.

Funds are desperately needed to continue a stepped-up defense campaign, as well as to aid in the support of Farinas' wife and child.

In addition, we call upon all our readers to write to Juan and inform him of your activities in behalf of his defense. All correspondence should be sent to: Juan Farinas 75171, Danbury Federal Penitentiary, Pembroke Station, Danbury, Conn. 06810.



Montreal ILA president St-Onge said "We have no plans" to defend the strike, just prior to government passing law to break strike.

Liberals Pass New Law To Break Canadian Dock Strike

BY FRANK MARTIN

MONTREAL—The Federal Liberal government has passed a law to break the dock strike in Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec City. At the same time the Supreme Court judge has imposed heavy fines and jail sentences against the Montreal leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association.

The law ends the strike which began on May 16th. It was a wildcat strike to oppose the breaking up of the 16-man gang system. The federal law, which carries a two year jail sentence for disobedience, forbids any slowdowns or

work stoppages throughout the duration of the three-year contract.

Even more significantly, it denied the dockers a major gain they made during the strike, the 37-week guaranteed income. At the same time the break-up of the

16-man gang is now assured. It appears that only 20 percent of the dockers will be employed in the months following the strike.

As Arnold Masters, the Maritime Employers Association president said: "With this kind of legislation, we can run the port and we will do so."

The MEA during the strike got injunctions passed against the union. When these were not obeyed, Supreme Court Justice Melvin L. Rothman imposed a \$7,500 fine on ILA Local 375, a \$2,000 fine or 60 days jail on ILA Local 375 president Jean Marc St-Onge and \$1,000 fine or 30 days in jail on each of the three ILA business agents.

Following the breaking of the Common Front strike in Quebec, this action is a clear indication and a warning to all Canadian workers of the kind of measures Trudeau will take to smash the unions if the Liberals are re-elected in the upcoming Canadian federal elections.

The main responsibility for the defeat rests squarely on the shoulders of the ILA leadership. From the very start this leadership was against the walk out.

This comes up clearly in an exclusive interview that the Bulletin had with St-Onge. The interview took place several hours before the federal government passed the law breaking the strike. In the interview, St-Onge made clear he had no strategy to win the strike: "In the corner we got ourselves in, it is very difficult."

He made clear that the union leaders had neither made any plans in the past, nor did they have any now. Even after all the campaign whipped up against the dockers and the open statements

by the government ministers, St-Onge kept insisting he did not know what the nature of the proposed law would be: "We have no plans. We will wait and see."

He revealed that there had been no attempts whatsoever to spread the strike to other Canadian river and coastal ports, let alone calling on the ILA in the U.S. to join the Montreal men in their walkout. "We have our own problems up here. I'm a Catholic and I don't go to see the Pope."

But what was most treacherous was the way St-Onge assessed the political aspects of the strike. For him the strike raised no political questions. It was true that the Canadian government was "a dictatorial one" but nothing could be done about it. "What can a worker do when the employers are in the government?"

Indeed, St-Onge went on to praise federal Labor Minister O'Connell and former Labor Minister Mackasey as honest, sincere men "who did everything possible to help the workers." This interview was held the day after the ILA and its leaders were given fines and prison sentences.

The fines, prison sentences and strike-breaking laws imposed by the Liberal government are clear warning to all American and Canadian dockers for what is in store for them. Only by fighting to unite all dockers on both coasts, and in both Canada and the U.S. to close down the ports and by preparing to take the government on politically in a united struggle with all other workers can the basic rights of all dockers be protected.

In the U.S. this means the fight to build a labor party to break labor from the Democrats and Republicans. In Canada, this means bringing down the Liberals in the next federal elections and bringing the NDP to power pledged to nationalize the docks under workers' control.



Juan Farinas

Dayton Biscuit Plant Shuts Down

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON, July 7, 1972—Forty five women from Local 310, Bakers and Confectioners Union, employees of the now defunct Sunshine Biscuit Co. plant in Dayton, met here today to finalize filing claims of discrimination based on past layoffs in violation of seniority.

Altogether some seventy five women are involved, and their back pay claims run into thousands of dollars (they estimate between \$50,000 to \$100,000). Citing the failure of the union to process their grievances even though the layoffs violated the contracts, and the company's complete disregard of the contract provisions, the women vowed to carry their fight on against the company even though the plant has now completely shut its operations.

Both men and women workers are bitter in their denunciation of the company which had been in operation for 63 years and employed 700 to 1000 workers. Workers with up to twenty five or more years employment in the company are being thrown out on the streets, many losing their pensions. One workers told the Bulletin he had worked for the company for over 23 years but will not receive a pension because he is not old enough. You have to put in 15 years and be 55 years old in order to qualify for a pension.

Women at the rank and file meeting estimated there are

about 150 to 200 workers who would be 55 within the next three years who are affected.

The spokesman for the women's rank and file group told of the low wages and poor conditions in the plant:

"I started at the plant twelve years ago and was paid \$43.00 a week—at the time of closing we were up to \$108. The work was hard—they run the belts so fast, the crackers fell out over the sides. Those of us who fought back they would give us the hardest work." Discussing how the company uses favoritism and fear to divide one group of workers against another, she told how the older workers had been opposed to their fight because it might hurt their jobs—"now the whole plant has shut down and we are all out on the street."

Meetings are taking place between the unions involved in the shutdown and the company. The union with most members in the company, Local 310, Bakers and Confectioners Union, claim they are locked out since April 4 when the company was forced to close temporarily for a four day cleanup after excessive amounts

of pesticide were found in their products.

Instead of reopening after the cleanup, the company remained closed and did not disclose their plans until June 30 when they suddenly announced a permanent closing of the plant. Workers told the Bulletin that the company has been wanting to shut this plant for years and were just using the cleanup as an excuse.

PENSIONS

They have refused to give any reasons for the shutdown and according to the workers, they gave no advance notice of the shutdown. Besides doing out a sizable group of workers of their pensions (those who would reach retirement age in the next few years) no bakery union employees (over 600 workers) are being offered transfer to other Sunshine plants.

Clearly neither the issues of contract violations and discrimination or wholesale closing of entire plants can be overcome through the courts. Many workers agreed that a labor party is "what is needed."

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

E. St. Louis Youth Occupy City Hall

BY AYS
REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—200 unemployed Black youth ended a week long occupation of the East St. Louis City Hall July 3 with a promise of 400 new jobs. The youth were demanding the creation of 365 full time and 200 summer jobs for youth.

They had written to Nixon and Illinois Governor Ogilvie to release funds for the jobs. East

St. Louis Mayor Williams supported the appeals of the demonstrators to both the Federal and State governments.

These youth represented 8,000 of a total city population of 70,000 who are unemployed in this city. Their militant action was a manifestation of the desperate conditions faced by the working class. Normal City Hall functions were paralyzed by the occupation.

However, after the week long occupation, funds for only 400 jobs were made available. This

will have little effect on the rest of the East St. Louis unemployed. The present crisis is a result of the policies of the Democrats and Republicans. This situation cannot be changed by appealing to these same politicians but only through building a labor party.

With the strength of the trade union movement demanding a 30 hour work week for 40 hours pay, thousands of new jobs can be created. It is the fight for the labor party which is necessary to turn this situation around.

'505' Center Stirs Up Racism

BY LIANA FLORES

BROOKLYN—Friday a dispute broke out between the poverty agencies within the Neighborhood Youth Corps at 505 Sutter Avenue. Heads of La Casa Penulas and the Brooklyn Hispanic Center, both dealing with the Spanish speaking residents in the community, demanded more jobs for their organization.

The fight took the form of racist attacks between Black and Puerto Rican heads of these poverty programs. The uprising is over the question of missing jobs.

The Spanish agencies accused 505 of taking 200 jobs away and giving it out to Black youth. It is not the first time that these blow-ups have occurred between these agencies. A few months ago the building was taken over by nationalists over the same demands.

What has actually happened to these jobs is that they are not being distributed as a precautionary measure because the programs do not have the funds to pay 2,000 youth at \$40 a week.

Neighborhood Youth Corps has always banked on a few hundred youth dropping out before the end of the summer.

Last year all the jobs were given out but at the end of the summer no one had left the program precisely because there were no other jobs to be found. Every youth in the entire program was layed off two weeks in advance. This year 200 jobs are being held back.

The leaders of these poverty programs are playing a very reactionary role by trying to pit the Black youth and the Spanish youth against each other in a fight over the few crumbs that the government is giving out.

It is this system which cannot give jobs. It is the Democrats and Republicans who rule for the big corporations who are responsible for unemployment. Youth must join the YS and fight for the unions to build a labor party which will fight for jobs for all.



Brownsville N.Y. youth hang around after being told at neighborhood center that no jobs were available for them.

'Manpower' Employs Youth At Slave Wages

BY KIKI MENDEZ

BROOKLYN—If working class youth are not put on the unemployment lines today they are forced to take jobs from programs that pay slave wages.

One youth working in the "Manpower" program told the Young Socialist: "The program I work for is Basic Office Practice, it teaches you how to type. In order to take typing you also have to learn Business English and Math. I work from 9 am to 4:30 pm. Three hours of the day I spend typing and the rest is learning math and English. They only allow you a half hour lunch break."

The recent cuts in the programs have made the conditions in the offices much harder to work under. "The offices are in bad condition, the windows are broken and people are hanging around because there is not enough work for everyone. We are supposed to type on electric typewriters, but because we are short on them some people have to use manual typewriters.

The measly pay check they receive cannot cover the cost of living for one person. One youth said "I receive \$50.00 a week. With that check I have to buy notebooks, lunch everyday which costs 85¢ for tunafish and soda. I also have to buy clothes for me and my sisters. You cannot buy everything you need, so you have to wait until the next paycheck."

The kind of training youth receive in this program is exposed in the limited time that the enrollee has to learn a trade.

"Before I started to work,"

said one youth, "the training period was 26 weeks, then it was cut down to 18 weeks. When I started they cut it down to 14 weeks. Along with the typing, you have to learn basic filing in order to qualify for a secretary. In 14 weeks you cannot learn anything else but typing. The chances of being hired are very slim. In the program they teach you to type 35 words a minute but the market is requiring that you type 40 words a minute."

In addition the youth have to find their own jobs or else stay unemployed. Businessmen are supposed to come down to the program and watch us type.

The youth in these programs work without any guarantee of remaining in the program.

The enrollees are subjected to counselling which puts illusions in the minds of the youth. This youth told the Young Socialist: "The counselor tells us that the reason why we are not hired is because we are Black or Puerto Rican, and that this program is opening all the opportunities we need. If we do not get hired, it is because we do not want a job. But I know it's the government's fault for all these conditions."

The Young Socialists fight against these slave labor programs for real job training under union control and at union wages.

Democratic Convention Kicks Youth In Face

The treatment that the youth who have gone to attend the Democratic Party convention have received from that party is proof that there is no alternative for the working class and youth short of breaking away from the two parties of big business and forming a labor party.

The hundreds of youth delegates, most of whom are experiencing a convention for the first time, have come into collision with the Democratic Party from the time they arrived in Miami.

Most of the delegates, many of whom are young workers, are saying that they were never told that they would have to pay \$450 for that week. The Democratic Party and the McGovern organizers, with all the arrogance of the U.S. ruling class, have stated that the youth should not complain because it is not a vacation.

Many of the delegates have been forced to camp out at Flamingo Park for the entire week. The rest of the youth who have come on their own face 3,000 National Guardsmen backed up by 2,000 Federal troops, 3,000 members of the 82nd Airborne Brigade, and the rest of the local and county police.

Some of the delegates have come down with organizations such as the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Tenants Organization. They are discovering that the so-called party of the people is in fact the party of a very rich class.

When these groups were to meet with McGovern on Sunday the rank and file delegates were told to go back to their rooms while their leaders like Jesse Jackson stayed.

All the talk of equal representation under the new convention rules was nothing but lies.

Now even the young McGovernite forces have received a kick in the face. Procedures had been manipulated so that the young delegates were excluded from the discussions.

One youth angrily pointed out that in a campaign that fed upon the involvement of youth and minorities, there is no floor manager that is Black and not one that is under 30. This completely exposes where the Democratic Party stands.

The hostility that the Democrats hold towards the youth is a reflection of the class hatred that it has for the working people. The treatment that has been given out in Florida to labor and the youth is just a small indication of what the Democratic Party intends to do to the working class should they be elected.

The youth and labor movement, which has been almost completely excluded from the convention, must break with the two parties of big business.

The youth have the main responsibility in leading that break by demanding that the trade union movement build its own party.

Every attack on the working class has been perpetrated by both the Democrats and Republicans. Last month there was an increase in unemployment of 1.1 million people.

The Democratic Party has no solution to this because the fight against unemployment is a fight against capitalism itself. Their defense of the profit system and profits for the rich means unemployment and misery for the working class and youth.

The Jesse Jackson's, Jerry Rubin's, and all the reformist organizations which brought down youth to support the Democrats are playing a completely reactionary role and back-stabbing the working class. The Communist Party is just as treacherous for encouraging support to McGovern.

The first step for the working class to take power is to build its own party. This is the only way that young people can fight for the right to a job and a decent wage.

The Young Socialists are taking out the Manifesto issued by the Workers League on the necessity of constructing a labor party. Youth can fight against unemployment by joining the Young Socialists and building a massive campaign for the labor party. That is how we can fight the Democratic and Republican parties and defeat capitalism.

Build a Labor Party! Join the Young Socialists!

___ I would like to join the YS.

___ Please send me information about YS activities in my area.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
PHONE _____

Young Socialists 135 W. 14th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

British Workers Hail YS As 'Tomorrow's Leaders'

BY ED SMITH

The British Young Socialists have completed the second in a series of regional marches demanding the "Right to Work". The march, from Manchester to Liverpool, journeyed through some of the worst areas of unemployment, particularly among youth, in England.

In Manchester, one of the biggest industrial areas in the country, youth unemployment compares to that among minority youth in the United States—thirty percent and rising fast.

Through the marches, the Young Socialists have been carrying the fight for revolutionary leadership into the heart of the working class. The YS have pointed out that the floating of the pound and the crisis of British capitalism means that the fight for jobs is not a question of reform.

In every town along the line of march, the Young Socialists have taken up the fight for the unions to set up Councils of Action. These will include the whole working class to fight to bring down the Tory government and bring in a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The floating of the pound means a new situation for the working class in Britain. The Tories hope to repeat the experience of 1931. At that time the pound was floated, leading to massive unemployment and inflation. By wearing down the working class through depression levels of unemployment and constant battles against the rising cost of living the Tories hope to weaken the unions in preparation for a dictatorship that will completely smash the living standards of the working class.

POWELL

This is why the right wing Enoch Powell, like George Wallace, has suddenly reared his head again in England. Speaking after the pound float, Powell told a Tory audience that Britain's town and cities were becoming "the ghettos of Europe, regarded by other nations with astonishment and revulsion." At the same time another group of ultra-right Tories, the Monday Club, passed a resolution calling for deportation of immigrants, primarily Black and Indians, back to their home countries.

At every point both on the Manchester-Liverpool march and the previous Dundee-Glasgow march, the Young Socialists have won a tremendous response, especially among the trade unionists and the youth.

At one stop along the Manchester march, Salford, the marchers held a public meeting to explain their fight. One construction workers' shop steward from Liverpool explained why he supported the march:

"The demand for the right to work is a transitional demand because it can only be achieved through socialism. This march recognizes that, because it is calling for Councils of Action to get the Tories out and begin the fight for a socialist society—this is why it is important and this is why I back it."

An electrical worker stated: "People think (Trade Unions Congress leader) Victor Feather is the leader of the labor movement. But what is he doing now when the working class are facing attack from the Tory government? He is knocking on the door of No. 10 Downing St. wanting to collaborate with Prime Minister Heath.

"I say these people are not the leadership of the working class—the true leadership will be walking down the road from Salford to Liverpool through the industrial centers of the North West, where the working class lives. Yesterday's leaders are the men who knock on the Tory door. Tomorrow's leaders are tramping to Liverpool. I know who the working class will choose—these young marchers."

All along the route support has come from the trade unions,

tenants in housing projects, students, and the working class youth. One of the high points of the march came when strikers in the town of Kirkby who have been occupying their plant for several months against unemployment and for better pay, pledged support. In every town, meetings have been held with local trade unionists and youth and branches of the Young Socialists have been set up to carry forward the fight for the Right to Work and to throw the Tories out.

YS Camp Studies History Of FI



Over 30 workers and youth took part in the Workers League-Young Socialists educational camp at Northfield, Minnesota on July 8-9. The camp studied the history of the Fourth International and the struggle to build the revolutionary party today. In particular, the comrades brought into this discussion the struggles of the Minnesota working class today—as expressed by the Moline workers and the construction workers lockout—and the vital history of Trotskyism in that state, especially the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike which was led by Trotskyists.



Jim Mulgrew addresses first conference of Australian YS.

Australia Young Socialists Hold First Conference

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The first national conference of the Australian Young Socialists was held on June 17 in Sydney, marking the launching of the first Trotskyist youth movement in Australia's history. Over 80 youth attended to initiate the building of the revolutionary youth movement.

The tremendous crisis of the capitalist system has forced the Australian Liberal Government to wage a war against labor. Fines and anti-union laws have been imposed as an attempt to break up strikes and destroy the unions.

Jim Mulgrew, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League of Australia, spoke at the

Young Socialist Unemployed Youth Hounded By Cops In Baltimore

BY A YS REPORTER

BALTIMORE—Unemployment and arrests are the two main examples of the "opportunities" facing youth this summer in Baltimore.

As overall unemployment in the city has risen from 6.2 percent to 7.2 percent over the past year, the job opportunities for youth are becoming increasingly scarce.

Most recently, Baltimore Mayor Schaefer has announced that \$4.5 million in federal funds

are to be spent on youth programs in the city this summer. Included in this program are jobs for 7,712 youth between the ages of 14 and 21.

SCHAEFER

What Mayor Schaefer neglected to mention was that these jobs pay only \$1.60 an hour, that the program only lasts nine weeks and that the maximum number of hours permitted per week is approximately 25. This means that the most anyone can earn is about \$400 over the summer.

Those who are not among the "lucky" 7,712 are forced to seek jobs on the diminishing Baltimore job market. At the same time, funds are being cut throughout the city for youth centers.

TENSION

This has increased tension to the point that the police have intervened using gestapo tactics in an attempt to keep unemployed youth off the streets.

In the Waverly section of Baltimore, the police have decreed that any group of more than three youth is a "gang" and thus subject to harassment and arrest. The merchants in Waverly have made a ruling that after 6 PM all persons under 21 are to be excluded from area stores and restaurants.

This leaves the street corners as the only place that the youth can go in Waverly, since there is no youth center in the area. And on the corner, there are two or three police cars, ever ready for more than three youth to accumulate so that they may arrest them as they "gang."

LABOR PARTY

The fight for the building of a labor party made up of workers and youth against the Democrats and Republicans is the only way forward. It is this question which must be taken up by the youth for the fight for the program of the Young Socialists.

conference on the depth of the crisis in the capitalist system.

"The anarchistic capitalist society now threatens the very existence of humanity. The bourgeoisie internationally, to put value back into the dollar, is forced to turn on the working class. The alternatives are clearly posed: socialism or barbarism."

RESOLUTION

The main resolution passed at the conference is for the Young Socialists to take the lead in the working class struggles and to expose the betrayals of Stalinism and the bankruptcy of revisionism and reformism.

Plans were set for the building of lobbies of the Labour Party and union councils before the elections demanding that labor

take up the fight to bring the Liberal government down and bring in a Labour Government pledged to socialist policies.

YS

The Young Socialists will call a national rally this fall to take up this fight around these demands.

The conference marked a tremendous step for the Trotskyist movement in Australia. One youth said: "I was given confidence that an organization existed dedicated to solving the problems confronting the working class with Marxist analysis and practice."

Only this youth movement can bring forward the movement of the Australian working class politically against the Liberal government to fight for a socialist society.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

AFL-CIO Tops Raise Labor Party Threat

(Continued From Page 1)

Party is a lot of crap."

It is clear that the 1972 Democratic National Convention has brought the relationship between the American labor movement and this party of big business to the breaking point.

There has never been more of a case for a labor party than there is right now. For the first time in the modern history of American labor, the AFL-CIO is saying it will not support the Democratic Party in the presidential campaign.

Despite every attempt of the labor bureaucracy to hold together its ties to the Democrats in Miami, labor has received one stab in the back after another. The unions whose treasuries have been put into the support of these so-called friends of labor have been virtually excluded from this convention.

For the first time since 1932, labor has been given the back row at the convention. Most of the union delegates have not even bothered to attend.

This exposes the real relationship between this party and the American working class. The Democrats, like the Republicans, are the political spokesmen of the big corporations and banks that control the United States. Any politician chosen by these parties will have to defend their interests at a time of impending economic collapse and the tremendous movement of the working class internationally.

This means a ferocious assault on all the gains won by organized labor in the last 40 years. This assault on labor must now intensify with the new outbreak of the monetary crisis with the devaluation of the British pound.

This is what American workers face:

- The Pay Board backed by the Democrats and Republicans has ripped up contracts, slashing wages to 5.5 percent. This Board has filed suit against printers in New Haven to force them to pay back to their employers the increase they have been receiving. Now the Pay Board is planning to slash increases to 2.5 percent.

- Last month the unemployment rolls increased by 1.1 million workers. The new monetary crisis means that in the next two months millions more will be forced out in the streets as production is cut back and plants closed. Workers who have slaved their 20 and 30 years in these plants are being thrown out. Their pensions are being denied by the action of the NLRB which states all contracts are null and void when companies close.

- Led by the General Motors Assembly Division Head Joseph Godfrey, workers in the plants are being driven at speeds beyond endurance.

- Congress is preparing new laws against the unions that would outlaw strikes and force compulsory arbitration. The corporation heads are getting ready a new proposal which would include a national right-to-work law.

- Workers are forced to pay taxes for a war that their sons must die in to protect the profits of big business.

- The right to a job, to decent housing, health care and education is being denied to millions of workers and youth as budgets are slashed. Racism is enforced by the laws of the land.

This is what has brought about the explosion between Meany and McGovern. Behind McGovern's populist demagoguery and appeals to middle class radicalism lies the hatred and contempt of the Democratic Party for the labor movement. McGovern welcomes Wallace the man who has been groomed by the big corporations to destroy the unions.

In 1966, after promising he would vote with labor, McGovern ganged up with the anti-labor forces and voted in favor of a Senate filibuster which was a vote against the repeal of the "right to work" law provisions in Taft-Hartley.

Fully behind this man McGovern stands the American Communist Party which has mobilized its forces in Miami on his behalf. The July 12th editorial of the Daily World launches a vicious attack on Meany for conspiring "not only to deny George McGovern the nomination but to obstruct efforts of delegates to make the Democratic party more responsive to the needs of the day."

It is now the job of the ranks of the labor movement to complete the break that is being prepared right now in Miami. On August 27th the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO is holding its meeting to decide what it will do in the 1972 elections.

The answer is clear: trade unionists must fight in their locals and internationals for resolutions demanding that the AFL-CIO, the UAW and all independent unions call a Congress of Labor to form a labor party for 1972.

The Manifesto of the Workers League The Case for a Labor Party must now become the program for thousands of workers and youth in this struggle.



"This wasn't in the weather forecast!"

What we think 'Labor For Peace' And The TUAD

One of the most significant developments at the recent Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) Conference in Chicago was the unanimous passage of a motion calling on the Labor for Peace organization to open its doors to participation of rank and file trade unionists and caucuses.

The motion came out of the report of the panel on "labor and the war" to the full session of the TUAD conference. The reporter, Norman Roth of UAW Local 6, who had chaired the anti-war panel, said that the panel had criticized the founding conference of Labor for Peace held the previous weekend in St. Louis for "rigidity of structure" and called for the inclusion in the Labor for Peace organization of rank and file caucuses.

In the discussion of Roth's report, delegate Jack Spiegel of the United Shoe Workers in Chicago who took an active part in the panel discussion on the war and on the labor party, said that he had been a delegate at the St. Louis conference. He added: "However, I did not come back from St. Louis completely satisfied."

Spiegel pointed out that the most important thing missing in St. Louis was "rank and file action and participation."

Not only Spiegel, but also many other delegates who are close to the Communist Party and who participated in the TUAD conference, were upset and even revolted by the conservatism and bureaucratic procedures of the leadership of the St. Louis Labor for Peace conference.

In St. Louis, the leadership was forced at every point to attack the motion for a labor party which dominated the discussion at the conference. Secondly, the leadership not only opposed the motion for a one day work stoppage (even though its supporters put it forward consistent with support for McGovern) but refused even to allow this as a motion to be voted on by the conference.

This was in line with the absolute insistence by the leadership that only "official" labor bodies have delegate status at the conference or be permitted to function as local Labor for Peace organizations.

Thus, Mazey, Livingston et al tried to insure that rank and file trade unionists and rank and file caucuses are to be excluded from an organization which claims to be dedicated to mobilizing labor against the war.

But to read the Daily World, the newspaper which reflects the views of the Communist Party, one would think that all was calm and tranquility in St. Louis. The people who were upset with the Labor for Peace structure, trade unionists influenced by the politics of the CP are not mentioned. It is simply stated without comment that "The new organization was authorized to set up Labor for Peace bodies in cities

across the country."

In the only mention of any discord, Daily World reporter Gene Tournour distorts both the significance of the role of the bureaucratic leaders and of Harry Bridges, stating:

"A point of difference emerged over the timing (sic) of a one-day strike against the war. Harry Bridges, international president of the ILWU, expressed his endorsement (sic) of such a tactic but strongly urged a carefully planned organizational effort to build such an action."

Actually Bridges helped the leadership out of a tough spot by "left" demagoguery opposing endorsement of a work stoppage.

The Daily World's treatment of the St. Louis conference reflects the extremely contradictory character and crisis of the Stalinist movement. On the one hand, the CP is hell-bent on an alliance with the "progressive" labor bureaucracy, and will avoid any embarrassment to the bureaucracy, and participates with them at every opportunity, as they did in all of the arrangements for the St. Louis conference.

On the other hand, in order to be able to have influence in the working class, to carry out their counter-revolutionary policies in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, they must actually organize rank and file caucuses, such as some of those that participated in TUAD.

The aim of these caucuses is really to use criticism of the labor bureaucracy "over the issues," but to prevent a real rank and file opposition from developing on a political basis, on a Marxist basis, to the labor bureaucracy.

This is why, at the same time as they cover up for the "progressive" labor bureaucrats such as Mazey, Bridges and Livingston, they can support resolutions which take a slap at the bureaucratic structure of Labor for Peace, talk about the "rank and file" and take verbal pot shots at "bureaucrats." This is why, while adapting at every point to the labor

bureaucracy, the CP is forced to launch the sharpest attack on the Trotskyist movement which bases itself on the fight for Marxist leadership in the unions in opposition to the bureaucracy and which raises the demand for formation of a labor party as the preparation for socialism.

In its report on the TUAD conference, the Daily World was forced to make a distinction between the Workers League which it characterized as a "Trotskyite sect which sought to get TUAD to withdraw from the thick of current electoral and other struggles, and instead devote itself to the immediate establishment of a 'labor party,'" on the one hand, and the "Labor Committee" on the other hand which was characterized as "provocateurs, government agents and middle class white radical disrupters."

But immediately drawing back from this distinction, the Daily World a few days later printed the two month old letter by George Morris to the Nation magazine whose purpose is an attack on Trotskyism and a defense of the labor bureaucracy.

The significance of the reprinting of this letter now, after 2 months following the St. Louis conference and criticism of the St. Louis conference by TUAD (not one word of this criticism was mentioned in the Daily World) is that it attacks Trotskyism in the same breath as it praises the "united front" of Lindsay and progressive labor bureaucracy against the war. It mentions nothing at all about the need to involve the rank and file workers in a political struggle to end the war.

The criticism by TUAD of the Labor for Peace structure and the motion that Labor for Peace be open to the full participation of rank and file trade unionists, at which the fundamental questions of political action against the war can be fought out, should receive the support of all trade unionists.

E. New York Leads Sub Drive

We have received a total of 290 subs this week bringing us to the grand total of 1,836. The rate thus remains the same as last week and about 100 below what we need. As we have only another full week to go before our annual two week holiday break, there must be a great effort made this coming week.

East New York continues to lead the way with 183 in on a goal of 400—almost half way. The Bay Area has slowed down from last week but still has a presentable total of 255. The Twin Cities has begun slowly to turn around while a number of branches like Philadelphia, Dayton, Baltimore and Portland haven't really begun.

Now with the sharp developments for a labor party taking place there is every reason for a real leap in subscription work this next week.



IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM

AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY OUR HISTORY BY TIM WOHLFORTH

INTRODUCTION

THE DEEPENING OF the capitalist crisis, particularly since Nixon's August 15, 1971 decisions, has brought forward a tremendous movement of the working class against the capitalist attacks. It is this movement of the working class which deepens the crisis in the revisionist camp.

Following the August 15th developments the crisis of revisionism enters a new stage with the emergence of tendencies within the United Secretariat which openly repudiate the history of Trotskyism and defend idealism against the method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This attack occurs precisely at the moment when this history is so

essential in order to train Marxist cadres in the working class as the necessary leadership for the revolutionary struggles just in front of us.

Our differences with the Socialist Workers Party are well known and fully documented elsewhere. What we must now turn to is the defense of Trotskyism itself against these new liquidators.

Centrism is, by its very nature, a contradictory combination of class opposites held together only by a common refusal to start from principles, to begin with Marxism. The movement of the working class breaks up the relations within such parties and throws them into crises. At times these crises may appear to be covered over for the actual growth of such formations, as sections of the working class itself, move through centrist forms in their beginning of political development. But the crisis is nonetheless there and in fact the very growth of the organization is part of the process which sharpens it up.

The movement of classes throws revisionism into crisis but it does not bring forth clarity from out of the ensuing strug-

gle by some automatic process. Clarity can only be achieved through rooting the struggle in the actual historical development of the Trotskyist movement and in this manner preparing theoretically to turn the movement into the working class.

The difficulty faced by the new forces now emerging within and around the SWP and sections of the United Secretariat is that this new period requires more than verbal opposition.

It is no longer a period when one can talk of a "proletarian orientation" as a more correct idea than the orientation of the party leadership. One must be willing to carry the struggle for such an orientation all the way through to a break with middle class radicalism and the actual preparations now of a new leadership within the working class.

Resistance to this class break is expressed above all in idealism. This is a tendency to "settle" all the questions raised by the degeneration of the SWP in one's head by rearranging ideas in what is conceived of as their proper order while one persists to function in the material world exactly as one did before the rearrangement took place.

Such a tendency leads to the complete



Leon Trotsky (left) who collaborated closely with the SWP in the construction of the Fourth International is shown here discussing testimony for the Dewey Commission with Albert Goldman.

Trotskyism is not only an idea but an actual movement constructed through the struggle to mobilize masses to prepare the socialist revolution. James P. Cannon and the American Trotskyist movement played a critical role throughout the long and difficult history of the construction of the Fourth International. He stood up for Trotsky in 1928, stood with Trotsky against the Shachtmanite revisionists in 1940, and defended Trotskyism against Pablo in 1953. In this history the Minneapolis movement played a critical role. We dedicate this series in defense of the history of Trotskyism to the comrades of the Minneapolis movement. Through picture spreads in this and succeeding issues we hope to give a glimpse of the actual life of this movement which was more than the squabbles of "sectarians and centrists." In photo above 14 of the 18 Minneapolis Defendants who went to prison during World War II because they fought as revolutionists within the labor movement stand around a bust of Leon Trotsky. Standing left to right: Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, Edward Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting left to right: Max Goldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, V.R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson.



Communists' Letter Boasts of Leading Minneapolis Strike

Read the Communist letter reproduced below, which was mailed to a Minneapolis "Comrade." It furnishes additional proof that Communists are playing leading roles in the truck drivers' strike.

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THE MILITANT
 OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (C.P.A.)
 126 East 16th St. New York, N. Y.

Editorial Board
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 JAMES P. GARDNER
 MAX HARTSHORN
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 ALAN SPANGLER

June 11, 1934.

Dear Comrade:

We are glad to be able to report considerable progress made by our organization since we declared for a turn in our orientation toward independent work in the class struggle.

Our membership doubled; so did the circulation of *The Militant*. We have been entering the trade unions everywhere, establishing ourselves as a positive, constructive force. Just a few examples:

MICHIGAN: Our cadres played a leading role in the preparation and conduct of the great strike which electrified the entire labor movement. The *Union Bug* has a membership of 7,000. Many of the best militants are joining the C.P.A. branch.

CALIFORNIA: Two of our leaders are in the forefront of the longshoremen's battle.

PITTSBURGH AREA: A member of the C.P.A. was recently elected an official of the local steel union.

NEW YORK CITY: Our members initiated the organization of the unorganized printers into a union which now numbers 1,000.

To take advantage of those and other gains too many to enumerate here, we must reach you. If our comrades into the field. We must strengthen our ranks.

With the appearance of *THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST* by July 1st, the character of *THE MILITANT* must definitely change to a popular mass agitation weekly. To accomplish this we must stabilize the financial base of our organization and extend the editorial staff.

We have the means for this work, but we lack the funds. To raise the necessary money for these tasks, we are conducting the Organizational-Press Campaign, and call upon your assistance.

WILL YOU HELP BY CONTRIBUTING TO THE ENCLOSED BOOK OF COPIES? CAN YOU USE MONEY?

We count upon your prompt reply and thank you in advance.

Fraternally yours,
 COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
 Wm. Swalesk
 Secy.

THE MILITANT
 Roy Karson
 Business Mgr.

COMMUNISTS' CIRCULAR DEMANDS GENERAL STRIKE

Communists are demanding that Minneapolis workers out of employment by obstructing delivery of supplies. Communist are demanding that Minneapolis workers out of employment by obstructing delivery of supplies. Communist are demanding that Minneapolis workers out of employment by obstructing delivery of supplies. Communist are demanding that Minneapolis workers out of employment by obstructing delivery of supplies.

EMPLOYERS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

destruction of Marxist theory which cannot be abstracted from its own development and manipulated at will. Theory is violently ripped out of its actual historical development, the party of the working class—the Fourth International. The result is the destruction of the continuity of Marxism embodied in the collective experience of the Trotskyist movement precisely at the moment in history when the working class requires a leadership which can only be constructed if trained in this history.

The oppositionist who proceeds with the idealist method frees himself precisely from this grip of history. For all his left criticism of the current policies of the SWP, he stands to the right of the SWP. Nothing grips him; nothing holds him back. He is a free spirit—free, that is, from the past and completely at the mercy of petty bourgeois pressures today.

Now we have a new practitioner of this idealist school. An untitled anonymous document is being circulated in these circles which claims to make a fresh assessment of the history of the SWP and the Fourth International. What the author actually does is to attack the SWP precisely for its strengths and to take the liquidationism of Pabloism to its complete end with the open repudiation of Trotskyism.

SECTARIANISM AND CENTRISM

THE DOCUMENT BEGINS by asserting that Trotsky was correct in founding the Fourth International. Before the author gets half way down the first page we are treated to a lengthy quote from Trotsky's article "Fighting Against the Stream" about the great weaknesses that existed in the cadres of the early movement and the objective reasons for these weaknesses. By the time we reach the bottom of page two we discover the reason for

this quote. We are told:

"In his earliest writings on the Fourth International, Trotsky found that he had to combat both sectarianism and centrism."

The sectarianism and centrism referred to is that of the cadres of the Fourth International itself. And if there is any doubt on this matter later on we are told:

"...The forces which went into the making of the Fourth International were primarily petty bourgeois, were plagued with sectarian and centrist vacillations, etc."

The great strength of the Fourth International in the 1930's lay precisely in its struggle against sectarianism and centrism. The Fourth International was born under extremely difficult conditions. It was constructed through a principled fight against Stalinism for the program of Bolshevism, of the October Revolution. Every other tendency which emerged in that period, and some were many times the size of the Trotskyists like the ILP in England, SAP in Germany, and POUM in Spain, capitulated either to Stalinism or to the social democracy and in some cases to both.

Trotsky's struggle against the various opportunist and sectarian tendencies which emerged in that period out of both the social democracy and the Stalinists represented one of the richest chapters in the history of the Fourth International. The recent publication of Trotsky's Writings is particularly valuable in making much of Trotsky's articles reflecting this struggle available for the first time since the 1930's.

The Fourth International was founded primarily on the basis of the theoretical capital accumulated in the course of the struggle to construct the Fourth International since 1928. This struggle in turn was based on the theoretical capital accumulated by the workers movement particularly expressed in the first five years of the Third International.

This struggle was not just directed against Stalinism. It was also a struggle for the whole perspective of building a revolutionary party as an alternative to Sta-

Employers' Statement

Nothing has been said or proposed in the past 24 hours that alters—or should be allowed to obscure—the real issue of the strike; namely, that any settlement suggested would be surrender to a group of Communist leaders who do not represent our employees, but who do represent a narrow wedge of revolutionary Communism.

A deliberate effort is being made to spot general quarters to spotlight a wage increase. We are being asked to grant an increase in a victory and following of union obligations.

The employers know very well that they deserve the confidence of every employee.

PROVOST COURT SENTENCES TWO DRIVERS

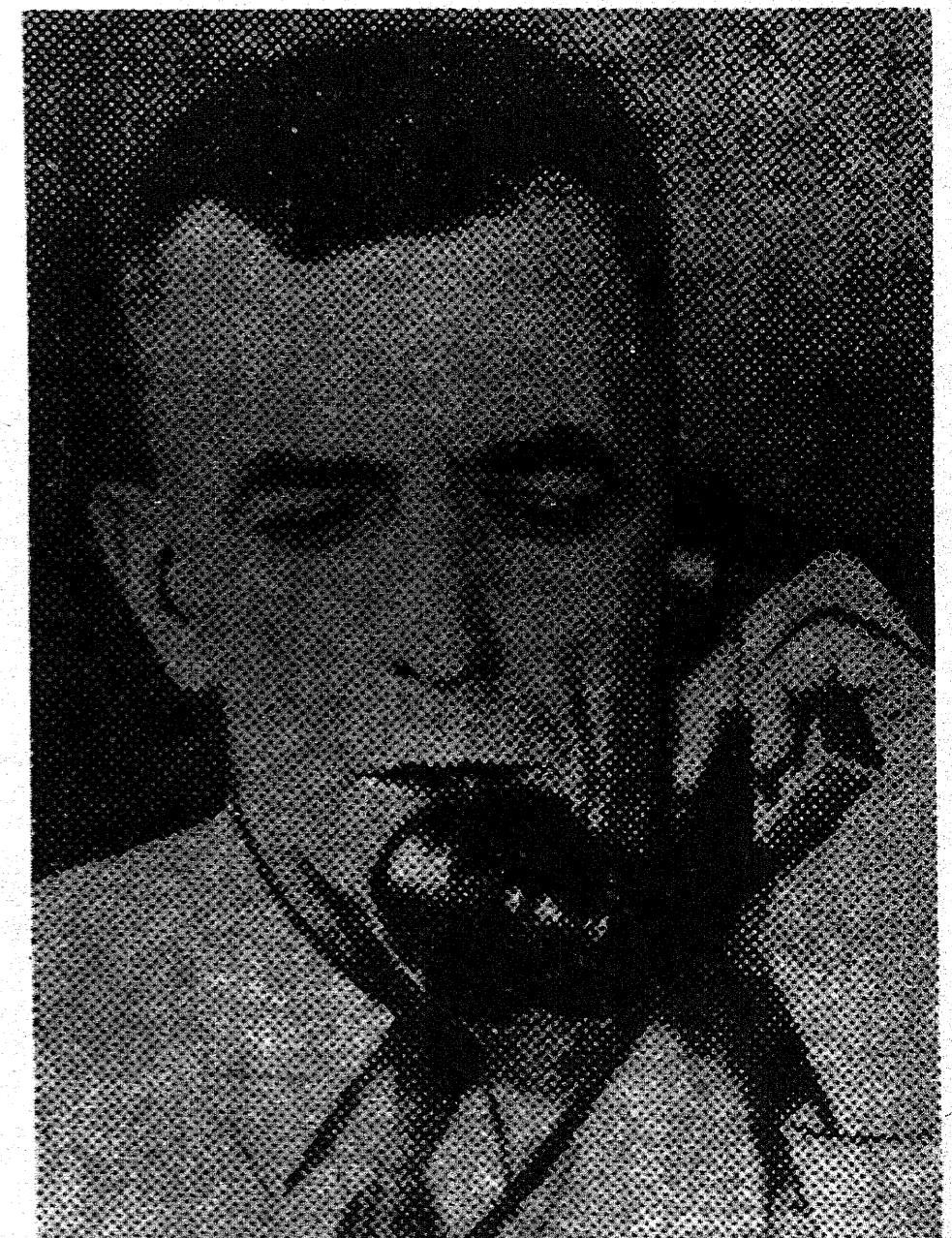
Two drivers were sentenced to prison for striking during the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike.

retical capital with which it trains its cadres. Our author sees these cadres in the 1930's as "plagued with sectarian and centrist vacillations" when these cadres were trained, steered by fighting sectarianism and centrism within the movement and without. This is not a matter of emphasis. Our author seeks to break down the qualitative difference which existed then and now between Trotskyism and centrism.

THE IDEALIST METHOD

IN ORDER TO free himself from the grip of the history of Trotskyism so that today he may do what he wants rather than what is necessary for the construction of the Fourth International, our author is forced to go beyond his assertions on the sectarianism and centrism of the cadres of the Fourth International to an open defense of the idealist method which underlies these assertions.

"Trotsky stressed theoretical clarity, analyzing what is and then saying what is because he knew the idea makes the organization. At first glance this might seem to be contradictory to what we have said previously—that the forces which went into the making of the Fourth International were primarily petty bourgeois, were plagued with sectarian and centrist vacillations, etc. It would seem that we were saying that all that was necessary was for the Fourth International to enter the main-



It was the principled struggle of the Fourth International against Stalinism as well as against centrist and sectarian tendencies within and without the movement which laid the political basis for the leadership the Minneapolis Trotskyists gave the working class in the great organizing battles of the Teamsters in 1934. Below Left: Reprinting of Militant subscription letter was typical of redbaiting campaign of the employers against Trotskyists. Above: Minnesota Governor Floyd Olson moves troops into Minneapolis in unsuccessful attempt to break general strike. V.R. Dunne, shown below, was one of those arrested.

stream of the working class, and all would be well.

"However, there is dialectical relationship between the idea and the organization based on the idea. The idea attracts those elements who understand it and will build an organization based on the idea. But development does not stop there. While an idea exists in the abstract (though it expresses generalized truth—the theory of the state, the necessity of the vanguard party, etc.) the organization formed around the idea exists in the concrete and as such is subject to all the pressures of reality. Under capitalism, this means that the people who hold the idea are subject to pressures of bourgeois society, to vacillations, desire to compromise, to accommodate oneself to the prevailing bourgeois norms. Unless the organization through its members actively strives to understand the Marxist method of analysis and applies this method and analysis to the reality it lives in and to the events that confront it, it will soon cave in to bourgeois influences in the workers movement (brought in through the petty bourgeoisie) and will change or revise its tactics and theories. History offers many such examples—Kautsky's revision of the theory of the state, for example. The idea, while abstract, is something that must constantly be applied and tested against reality—the tools of Marxism must constantly be used."

What we have here is a complete muddle of Marxist methodology which ends up as an open defense of the idealist method of pragmatism. The author, basing himself on the writings of the International Committee, maintains in much of his document that the Fourth International degenerated because of the abandonment of the Marxist method—that this is the heart of what Pabloism is. But what the author sees as the Marxist method is pure

idealism of the most reactionary formal and pragmatic school.

Our author's reasoning proceeds as follows: We begin with the idea. The idea is abstract and therefore separate from "reality" (we can only assume the author here means the material world) which is concrete. Due to its separation from the material world the idea is pure, uncontaminated, free from class pressures. The idea becomes supported by "forces," that is by human beings organized into a party. These human beings and this party are concrete and as such are subject to pressures, vacillations, compromise and all sorts of human evils.

The history of the Fourth International then becomes a history of the pure idea becoming corrupted by the concrete reality of human beings. Our task then becomes to negate all this corruption by denying all this history and retrieving the pure idea. Once this job is done then WE (the subject making the study) apply this idea and test it against concrete reality using the "tools of Marxism" (exactly what these "tools" are is not clarified). And so the pure idea is ripped out of corrupting historical development, refurbished by the subject and re-entered into concrete corrupting reality at the whim of the subject. Such an approach is idealist, subjective, and totally ahistorical and undialectical.

The idea does not exist floating around separated from "reality." Ideas are the reflection of the material world within the minds of men. This reflection is not a passive process such as light being reflected into a mirror or onto film. It is actually the result of man's own struggle as part of material reality to change nature in such a way that man survives and develops.

The idea is thus the result of an active process of actual material men in struggle with each other and with a material world. The idea, however, is not material, but rather the result of a material process. The idea itself does not intervene or change the material world. It is men that do that. This is why there is always a conflict between theory and practice.

The idea is both abstract and concrete in the sense that the surface, appearance, factual aspect of matter is reflected in

thought as well as the essential, more abstract relationships and universals of the material world. It is not a matter, as the pragmatist puts it, of a hypothetical and therefore untrue, "generalized truth" which is tested against the factual data of the material world, this data being as real as reality ever gets with the pragmatist.

The actual relationship of thinking to the material world proceeds differently. The abstract (in the sense the author uses the term as "generalized truth" like the theory of the state) exists in the material world and is actually more real, that is a more essential aspect of the material world than the concrete appearance of things. The state does exist in the real world even though at every point you cannot see it as a body of armed men.

Lenin discusses this question in the *Philosophical Notebooks* basing himself on Hegel's polemic against Kant. Hegel noted that Kant, and of course the empiricists and pragmatists follow Kant on this issue, attributed to the category he calls "semblance" or "show," that is the immediate factual material we perceive, all the richness of the material world. Having done this, Kant proceeds to deny the truth of this category and to separate it absolutely from the realm of essential truth, of universals, of causation and the like.

Hegel saw this world of factual information, unorganized, distinguished only as one fact from another but with no meaning, as a simple negative. It is what is not essential, not distinguished as to importance, as to meaning. It is this negative which however establishes its relation to the essential. The essential in turn emerges only when we can determine what is inessential. The two are united.

We can observe what we call a tree as a series of green and brown colors and other properties. But at this point and on this level alone we cannot distinguish between which properties are essential and which inessential and thus we cannot see it as a tree, a particular representative of a universal category. The universal tree can only show itself as a specific tree and does not exist independently of all the trees

which exist. And yet it is trees which exist and not just an infinite number of particular things. The universal is thus as real, as much a part of material reality, as the particular.

Our author proceeds on Kant's basis and not that of dialectics. He takes the rich world of the actual living history of the Fourth International, places this richness into the category of concrete as separated from abstract, and then denies its truth, its reality. The idea, unsullied by man's actual struggle for it in the world, is true. Man's struggle for the idea, the actual life of the Fourth International is false, is a history of sectarianism and centrism.

There is a different relationship between the concrete and the abstract. All our theoretical knowledge, all thinking, even elemental noticing of fact, is abstract in the sense of being dead at the moment we think of it. For while we are conceiving it the actual world itself is changing. These abstractions in our mind, however, cannot be arranged arbitrarily. They must reflect the actual development of history. But they must also be brought into collision with actual developments in the material world. This is a process of negating through our own activity the negation (the dead reflection in our mind of living moving reality) which brings about a further development of thought which at that point, too, becomes dead, inadequate. So thought, in struggling man, develops infinitely as does matter itself. It chases after matter so to speak bearing at every point a real and absolute relationship with it, but a relationship of negation, of imperfection, incompleteness.

When the question of the relation of the abstract to the concrete is posed this way the relationship between theory and practice in the life of the Marxist movement becomes clear. It is a relation of the conflict of opposites. It is not a matter that one's thinking simply reflects what one does but of a constant battle to reflect in one's mind the actual changes in the world and to change one's practice accordingly. This question of theory and practice, which we will return to, was at the heart of the philosophical differences which led to the break of the French OCI group with the International Committee.

We must emphasize this question of the arbitrary. The Marxist theory of knowledge sees ideas as real and correct only to the extent that they reflect in the heads of material man the actual unity and conflict between superficial appearance and the essential nature of the material world. These ideas come at every point into collision with the changing material world in the course of the actual experiences of the party and it is out of that collision that development takes place. Clearly then to arbitrarily abstract the idea from its actual development in the history of the party as part of the material world is complete idealism. But this is the method of our author. The idea is "purified" through its separation from this real material history according to the subjective will of the individual.

The actual history of the Fourth International is a rich history of the necessary struggle to realize the program of the Fourth International in the working class under exceptionally difficult circumstances. That development succeeded in the sense that we now enter a new period of class struggle with its tremendous potential for socialist revolution with—the Fourth International! It hasn't been destroyed.

It stands on the basis of a rich history of experience accumulated in a period when theoretical development could only progress at such a painfully slow rate that at times it was almost unnoticeable. But precisely because of this certain lessons have been learned very well indeed—and we have no intention of discarding them.

The Fourth International KNOWS the petty bourgeoisie. It has decades of experience with this class and its methods of thinking, its habits of life, its moods and its impressions. The Fourth International KNOWS opportunism and sectarianism. It has had a rich and extremely bitter experience with every possible variety of charlatan. This experience will be put to good use now that the working class' movement opens up the possibility of a very serious theoretical development.

Build a Labor Party Now!



Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, the Transitional Program \$.50

The Transitional Program was written by Leon Trotsky and is the founding document of the Fourth International.

The Transitional Program is the program around which we must fight to construct a labor party in the United States now. It connects the immediate interests of the working class with the necessary task of coming to power, of destroying capitalism and establishing socialism.



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This completely new edition of the discussions held with Leon Trotsky in 1938 on the labor party comes at a critical time for American workers. Now American workers must take up the fight to form their own party or face defeat as the capitalists step up their attacks. A new introduction by Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the *Bulletin* tells the true history of the 100 year struggle of American labor for its own party.



The Case For A Labor Party \$.25

This pamphlet contains the basic statement of the Workers League on the fight for the labor party today and the program for that party to defeat all of the attacks by the government on the American working class. As we enter the 1972 elections with both the Democrats and Republicans making it clear that they stand with the big corporations, this pamphlet becomes the necessary weapon now for the workers and youth in their fight to build the labor party now.



Where Wallace Really Stands \$.50

Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay travelled to Alabama to dig up the real story of George Wallace and the American labor movement. This pamphlet exposes the working conditions in his right-to-work anti-union state, Wallace's connections with big business and with fascist forces, as well as the bankruptcy of the labor leadership in opposing Wallace. It makes clear that only through the construction of a labor party can the working class top the racist anti-labor offensive represented by Wallace.

Order from Labor Publications, Inc., 135 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y. 10011

Continued Next Week

Ed Bellino Books

RIGHT TO CHALLENGE: People and Power in the Steelworkers Union. John Herling; Harper and Row Publishers Inc. 1972. \$12.50.

The history of the United Steelworkers Union from 1952-1970 is the subject of *Right to Challenge* by John Herling. With considerable detail the book reveals the maneuvers, deals and conflicts within the union bureaucracy during this period, with the central message being the following:

"The turning point in the life of the United Steelworkers was the 1965 election in which for the first time an entrenched president was voted out. To some this campaign was an act of insurrection, and from the White House down it was felt that a presidential election in the Steelworkers Union would undermine the stability of the nation's economy."

The election of 1965 replaced David McDonald with I. W. Abel. This overturn in the steel union bureaucracy did not occur coincidentally but as an expression of the emerging capitalist crisis which was beginning to set masses of workers in motion. The victory of Abel maintained control of the union in the hands of the bureaucracy, in the face of an increasingly troublesome and dissatisfied rank and file.

It is Herling's contention, however, that the victory of Abel was a victory of the rank and file; the triumph of democracy over autocracy. *Right to Challenge* begins by completely accepting the union bureaucracy as given. It ignores both the tumultuous union building struggles of the 1930's and, even more importantly, the re-emerging crisis today and the revolutionary explosions that are on the agenda. The history of the USWA and, in particular, the meaning of the 1965 election cannot be understood outside of these developments.

BUREAUCRATICALLY

The United Steelworkers Union was formed bureaucratically, that is, from the top down, unlike the United Auto Workers which had a rich history of factional fighting and oppositional caucuses. The central point, however, is that during the 1930's and 1940's these unions were forged under the fire of a tremendously powerful working class movement, which, at its height during the Flint sit-downs in 1937, threatened the very existence of capitalism.

Despite the extremely bureaucratic character of the steel union, its formation was the outcome of the movement of rank and file steelworkers and of workers in other industries, and this would constantly find expression within the steel union despite the distance of the leadership from the ranks.

In 1942 Phillip Murray became the first president of the United Steelworkers of America, and immediately sought to establish the power of the bureaucracy over the ranks. He very consciously attempted to suppress even the idea of opposition caucuses as he clearly expressed at the founding conference when he stated:

"I shall fight any attempt that is made to have little backroom caucuses while this convention is going on. So if any of the boys are thinking right now of midnight sessions in strange places...just begin to forget about it right now."

CLASS COMPROMISE

David McDonald who was Murray's pupil and heir apparent to the presidency assumed the office upon Murray's death in 1952. The history of McDonald's tenure as president, probably more than any other union bureaucrat, underscored the sickening class compromise that characterized the post-war boom. *Right to Challenge* quite clearly reveals the ex-



McDonald (above) openly collaborated with steel bosses when he headed Steel union.

treme cordiality of McDonald and the steel barons and assorted capitalist politicians. McDonald was ever ready to do their bidding.

Thus, when the first serious rank and file opposition to McDonald arose, in the form of the dues protest movement under the leadership of Donald Rarrick, McDonald launched a vicious red-baiting campaign and had Rarrick beaten up by goons. McDonald learned much from the school of Phillip Murray:

"Those who masquerade under some sort of title—the DPC (Dues Protest Committee-EB) whatever that means—to fight the rules of the United Steelworkers of America, to stir up racial antagonism...they will use every iniquitous means that they can command here—the communists, the Trotskyites, NAM agents, company agents. They are going to fall back on the old Communist Party line which I first heard expressed in the UMW convention in the year 1924—the old Communist line that staff representatives must be elected."

The Rarrick tendency, based solely upon syndicalism, first emerged in Western Pennsylvania and received wide support in the 1957 election despite the slanderous attacks and intimidation of the McDonald bureaucracy. Above all, this movement reflected a growing and deep-seated rank and file dissatisfaction at the lack of union democracy as well as the extra-curricular activities of McDonald.

HOSTILE

McDonald took no part in the union forming struggles of the previous period, and as a union president was hostile and distant from the ranks. As one high ranking union official put it: "Very soon you couldn't talk to McDonald about serious things. He devoted less and less time to the union. Other activities absorbed his attention. The union was leaderless for long stretches of time." These other activities included a gala "Day for Dave" in Pittsburgh in which ex-Mayor Wagner of New York and the chairman of U.S. Steel gave testimonial speeches.

"To inaugurate the era of McDonald, district directors and staff representatives had assembled to pay tribute. Leaders of industry were given honored place. Ben Fairless, president of U.S. Steel, announced that labor and management are 'inseparably bound together in a state of economic matrimony.'"

The holy wedlock of McDonald and the steel barons meant complete complicity with the steel industry in the layoff of tens of thousands of workers during the post-war period, and total prostration before an attempt by the steel companies to smash the union in 1959. It was only the sentiment and willingness to fight of the ranks, which resulted in the 116 day steel strike, that prevented this from occurring.

Again, in 1962, McDonald joined the chorus of capitalists led by President Ken-

edy in hailing the 1962 accord as a "model settlement." This brazen collaboration with the ruling class left the steel ranks without even a one cent wage increase over the 1959 settlement, and a complete lack of leadership in the fight for job security. With inflation beginning to skyrocket in the mid 1960's, rank and file anger at McDonald's betrayals reached the breaking point:

ABEL

A section of the bureaucracy, gauging this rank and file discontent, subsequently threw their support behind Abel in the 1965 election. The slavish and open friendliness with the steel barons that predominated during the McDonald period would no longer suffice. Even the bureaucrats who supported McDonald recoiled from some of the shady dealings he was involved in, such as his association with Robert Maheu. Maheu became a close confidant of McDonald's; one of "Dave's friends," and from behind the scenes tried to manage the campaign against Abel. One must remember that Maheu was an ex-FBI agent and under the employ of billionaire Howard Hughes. As one McDonald supporter put it:

"I have no idea who was paying the Maheu outfit...Just that Maheu was another of Dave's friends. Maheu himself was very personable, but we just didn't work with him...We couldn't. We were opposed to them in many different ways."

Apparently the supporters of McDonald among the leadership felt uneasy with Maheu because he too clearly revealed the complicity of the leadership with a section of the capitalists.

The supporters of Abel, however, represented a section of that same bureaucracy. Both Abel and McDonald developed as functionaries under the tutelage of Phillip Murray, and shared essentially identical political outlooks; both defended the profit system and accepted class compromise. Although Abel ran on a platform of "rank and file control of the union" and "restore union democracy" he and McDonald were from the same mold.

Charles Baker, one of the architects of the Abel campaign, makes the position of the Abel faction rather clear in his "premises," a strategy to defeat McDonald drafted by him.

"By and large, the USWA leadership had done a pretty good job of covering for McDonald. Much of what the leadership knows about McDonald the rank and file does not. This poses a delicate equation which we will have to work out as we go: Losing the election would damage the union. Throwing too much dirt also would damage the union."

ROLE

Thus, the role of the Abel movement, as they saw it, was to win over the ranks without exposing the "dirt," that is, the absolute hostility and treachery toward the rank and file steelworker, and the last word in subservience to the capitalist

The Downfall Of A Bureaucrat

class. Most of all, they feared the rank and file would call to accounts the entire bureaucracy and dispense with it altogether.

This became clearly evident in the 1968 settlement which Abel arrogantly hailed as the "best contract ever." In fact, the settlement provided steelworkers with a paltry wage increase that was quickly devoured by inflation, and thousands of layoffs over the next several weeks. The tremendous anger of the ranks overflowed in the greatest wave of defiance ever to sweep the steel industry. Wildcat strikes spread nation-wide against the sellout.

This uprising was carried over to the 1969 union election, and found expression in the movement to unseat Abel around the candidacy of Emil Narrick. The significance of the election lay not only in the strong showing of Narrick who received 40 percent of the vote and in the defeat of many long entrenched local officials, but also in the fact that 60 percent of the ranks refused to vote. Far from being an expression of apathy, as the Abel leadership and *Right to Challenge* would like one to believe, the mass abstention in reality represented a protest against the entire union leadership, even its opposition tendencies.

LIBERAL

In typical liberal fashion, *Right to Challenge* presents Abel as the rational forward looking labor leader, concerned about the welfare of his ranks, while harboring a deep sense of social and national consciousness. This liberalism, both of the author and of the Abel bureaucracy, serves as the flimsiest of covers over the wretched betrayals of the leadership since 1965. The facts are that Abel has consistently carried forward McDonald's brand of collaboration with the steel barons. Here's what Abel has to say, in a recent issue of *Steel Labor*:

"Through mutual concern and common consideration for the progress of each other, we shall accomplish what we must. The day is gone when one side can ignore the troubles of the other. I want industry to know we have an interest. We want continued progress. Let everybody know we are working together on our problems."

Abel's "concern" is for the welfare and continuance of capitalism and the profits of the steel barons. In the summer of 1971, this meant total cooperation with the steel corporations in their drive to weaken and destroy the union through massive layoffs and productivity drives. Today, as basic steel sinks into even deeper crisis, the steel owners are laying the groundwork for the smashing of all resistance in their drive for profits. This is the meaning of the plans to completely rebuild the steel industry around the introduction of modern furnace facilities such as the Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF) and the Q-BOP by virtually every major steel company.

METHOD

In response to this, Abel embarks on protectionist demagoguery and pleading with liberal politicians, as if these capitalist politicians will defend the unions when the profits of the steel bosses are at stake. It is the method of the Abel bureaucracy which serves at once to pit American steelworkers against their class brothers in Europe and Japan, while disarming them before the assault of the steel companies on their jobs.

Right to Challenge makes the Abel victory in 1965 the "turning point" for steel, but, in fact, this turning point has yet to come. Behind the Abel victory was the beginnings of a rank and file movement, but one which still accepted one section of the union bureaucracy over another, thus enabling the maintenance of the kind of class compromise that must be swept away if the trade unions are to survive. The turning must and will be reached today only through the construction of rank and file caucuses in the steel union, based on the need to construct a labor party in defense of the trade unions and the historic gains of the working class.

UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

Newark, N.J.



Number One For Fat Profits

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Several months ago, the *New York Times* Financial Section contained an article which analyzed the economic state of Newark.

Its conclusion was that of all the major cities in the U.S., Newark was the number one place for the big capitalist to make fat profits. It has a higher rate of profit per capital outlay than any other city.

Unemployment in Newark is among the highest in the country. It has doubled in less than three years to a point where in May it stood at 14.5 percent.

Industry in Newark, like much of Northern New Jersey, is dominated by old, antiquated factories. The pressures of competition from other parts of the country and world have been forcing local capitalists to attempt to reorganize and modernize their facilities.

New factories that are built are highly automated. More machinery and automation under capitalism means fewer workers. And this process is being carried out in Newark where profits are the main concern.

During 1971, the actual total number of jobs in Newark declined by 11,000! Plants like Ozite Corporation closed down completely last year. Just across the river, in Harrison, Remco, Incorporated knocked down its work force from 2,000 to 150.

The most disastrous increase in unemployment came on March

31 of this year when the Ballantine Brewery shut down, laying off all of its 3,000 workers. At one time, there were 12 breweries in Newark and it was the city's major industry. There are only three left now.

Ballantine itself had tried to modernize its process by bringing in new techniques. But the owners finally quit and sold the brand name and rights to Falstaff Brewers, who make beer at a fraction of the cost, and without adding to its work force, in breweries located in other parts of the country.

The day before the plant was scheduled to close, a man who worked at the brewery since 1940 told a *Bulletin* reporter: "I worked at that place for 32 years and they don't even want to give me a pension."

And his wife added: "These men built that place. Ballantine has no right to close it. It's not fair."

STRIKE

Many workers felt the same. The day the plant was scheduled to close, the whole afternoon shift held a sit-down strike to protest a court decision allowing the company to shut down permanently.

If older workers such as those at Ballantine find their lives being destroyed by the capitalist crisis, the youth certainly can

expect no future under this system. The unemployment rate among youth is more than twice that of adult workers.

Many younger workers had been able to get part-time jobs at the breweries. But now with the Ballantine closure, it has been almost impossible to do this, since some of the workers from the Ballantine plant with more seniority are taking the jobs.

There are also a number of slaughterhouses in Newark. Youth can get jobs cleaning hides and helping the butchers, but the work is always dirty and the pay is so low that, as one young worker stated: "I can't even support myself on this money they pay, let alone support a family, I worked at a slaughterhouse for a while, but it was costing me more to get there and back than I was getting paid."

Occasionally the local newspapers run articles on how the city and local businessmen are collaborating in creating jobs for youth. The headlines sound almost encouraging: "Mayor Asks Youth Job Funds," "Newark Businessmen to Pledge the 500 Jobs," "Manpower Center Graduates 210."

But these are fraudulent attempts to fool the youth. The unemployment rate keeps rising. One young worker found out about these kinds of programs the hard way. He spent 15 months

at a training program in Kentucky, learning to operate a tractor trailer. "It was like a prison. You could only leave the place on weekends—it was in the woods. If they didn't like the way you handled your personal life, they made you leave."

When he came back home, he could not find a job driving a trailer or anything else. To top it off, the agency later told him he had not graduated and would not help him get a job. That was two years ago. He has been unemployed since then.

Politicians in Newark—from both the Republican and Democratic parties—have always promised to do something about unemployment and the plight of workers in the city. When Kenneth Gibson, a Black Democratic politician, ran for mayor in 1970, he was built up by LeRoi Jones and the other Black nationalists as well as by the Communist Party as being the answer to the problems facing Black youth and workers.

CAPITALISTS

But from the very beginning of his election campaign, Gibson was backed by the Prudential Insurance Company and the Newark Chamber of Commerce—by the most powerful capitalists who have interests in Newark.

Since his election, he has shown that he and the nationalists stand in defense of this system against the workers, Black and white. Gibson and

Jones helped lead the attack against the Newark Teachers Union during their strike. And now, Gibson is preparing to destroy nearly 700 city jobs and lay off hundreds of city workers in attempts to speed-up the rest of the workers.

REFUSED

The trade union leaders have refused to mobilize the workers and youth against unemployment and the city, state, and federal government's policies which create the high jobless conditions. At the Ballantine Brewery, the union's Joint Executive Council even collaborated openly with the company in order to end the sit-down movement with which the ranks had tried to defend their jobs.

Teamsters at the Kingsland Drum Co. and Smith Transport have been laid off without a fight. One young worker from Kingsland Drum told the *Bulletin* that:

"The company moved to a reconditioned plant and when they did it, they cut out some departments. We got laid off. The union wouldn't do anything about it. We need solidarity. We can't protect ourselves unless we do it together."

Another young unemployed worker interviewed at the unemployment center said: "I agree with you. We should have a labor party. I got laid off and now they are calling me for the draft. I might be in the Army next month. A labor party could stop that."

The following is an interview with Jim Young, chairman of the Shop Committee, UAW Local 674 on June 22, 1972 at the Norwood, Ohio GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) plant. The UAW has been on strike at Norwood for some 13 weeks. See article on page 17 for the latest developments in the strike.

Bulletin: What are the latest developments in the negotiations so far, and what came out of GMAD sub-council meeting?

Young: As far as the latest development in the negotiations, that can be answered in two words—no progress. Actually, on a day to day basis those negotiations seem to get worse. Management is completely relaxed, they have absolutely no pressure on them. They go into meetings, whether they be departmental meetings or whether we're meeting at the main table, and they're just completely unconcerned.

There were several questions asked in connection with negotiations. In sub-council 7A, which we're not members of, we're in 7B, a question was asked by one of the brothers from the Framingham, Mass. local, which concerned what action the International was taking to prevent what is happening at Norwood from happening in the other locals. Up until now, the International has sat back and let the locals be picked off one at a time. And while there were several members of the International Union present, the brother didn't get an answer to the question.

We know that for years now General Motors has been laying for Norwood. The International knows that for years General Motors has been laying for Norwood. But in our opinion, locally, we're not getting support that we should be getting.

Young: The only vote taken in either sub-council 7A or 7B was a pledge of full support for Norwood. On what form of support they didn't go into any detail. We did talk to some of the individual locals after they arrived in Norwood yesterday. These locals, while they're getting ready to go into changeover at this time, told us that they would do anything that is necessary to aid us at Norwood. One local said that they were going into changeover now, but that as soon as they started back from changeover, they would be more than willing to shut their plants down in support of Norwood. This is at Lakewood.

Bulletin: Isn't it clear from this whole experience that what's involved is not just Norwood, although that local has certain experiences undoubtedly. But what's involved was expressed in Lordstown and in the whole structure of GMAD and the whole productivity attack by General Motors.

Young: There's no question that this is going to take the combined efforts of not only the GMAD locals but of all the locals of the UAW, if we're going to win out in this thing, whether it be in General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors or the small jobbing shops. If they can accomplish what they're after here in Norwood, like one brother from Framingham said yesterday: "If they can do it here, who knows which one of us is going to be next?" It's a union-busting effort by the employers, there's no question about it.

It doesn't make a lot of

Interview With Norwood Shop Chairman

Strike Leader Blasts GMAD



Jim Young

ifference whether it's just a speed-up with the manpower that you have on the lines or whether it's maintaining the same line speed and reducing the manpower; it's a speed-up anyway. Many of the supervisors in the Norwood plant now are starting to pick up on the Godfrey statement that: "We pay for 60 minutes an hour, that's what we want, 60 minutes work."

In fact in one departmental meeting, I was sitting in, the superintendent made this statement, and I said: "You pay for 60 minutes an hour but it's impossible to get 60 minutes work an hour." He said: "Well we want what we pay for." I said: "Well I'll tell you I would hate to be invited to your home for supper, and you would have pork chops for instance, and I'd feel like a fool trying to eat that bone because you paid for it!"

But many of them are starting to pick up on the same thing, getting instructions from top management, and this is what they're after. They have complete disregard for any previous settlement that we had, whether the job has changed, or whether it hasn't changed.

In particular on the Fisher Body side, we have many jobs that have remained the same. With no changes. They've moved in, pulled half the manpower out and assigned the work to the other half that remains. You ask them to attempt to justify it and they say: "Well, we've got an engineering change. We can't show it to you but we've got one."

Bulletin: It seems to me that the International leadership is trying to push these attacks aside and sweep them under the rug. Do they have a policy? What it seems that they're saying basically is that once the local gets tired of staying out, it will just have to come to terms. The corporation, which is so huge, can say: "We don't care, you can just stay out." Under those conditions, what is the policy of the International?

Young: To date, if they have a

policy in regard to the strike at Norwood, I don't know what it is. When we ask what the GM department of the International is doing as far as attempting to help us here at Norwood, we get the answer: "Well, when we called the corporation, the corporation is completely unconcerned about Norwood."

Now I know that if I made a call like that and they were completely unconcerned, I would start coming up with a plan to get them going to get them concerned is through a threat, or by the action of shutting off their production. When our plant is operating, we build a little less than one percent of GM's production. They can write that off, what does one percent amount to. But you open up one percent to 100 percent and that's different.

Bulletin: Especially the way strikes are conducted these days. The company gets maybe 6 months notice! They can stockpile and everything. It's quite another thing if you were to shut down General Motors now. But there's something else involved in that also. Such an action would get tremendous support from other workers, especially if the issues were made clear by the UAW workers. Because all workers are being hit with these conditions. Everything could come together around such a strike so that a strike like that would also be political. What about the Lordstown situation. That's still one of the key GMAD plants, because of the Vega.

Young: Immediately after they returned to work, the chairman of the Bargaining Committee resigned at Lordstown. The present chairman, who was on the Chevrolet side before the merger, ran unopposed. I understand that the fires are burning big at Lordstown again. They're throwing people out of the plant left and right.

If you come in after being sick, no excuses are acceptable. If you're late, there is no reason for being late. For any reason they can throw a worker out, and they

throw them out. And they're starting to load up the operations again the same as they were prior to the strike. So just how long it's going to be before Lordstown is back into the thick of things, I don't know at this time. I would say they're going to be right back into it.

Bulletin: The present shop chairman replaced the one who resigned. Why did the other one resign?

Young: Also, wasn't there opposition to the agreement, especially from the skilled trades?

Young: I could give you the reason that he gave us. As I understand it, the vote was 70 percent for, 30 percent against, overall. Again, under the UAW constitution, skilled trades have a separate ratification right, on the vote for the National Agreement. They were denied this right for some reason in Lordstown. Why, I don't know. I know here in Norwood, each time we have a ratification meeting we hold them separately. We have one ratification for non-production and non-skilled, then we have a meeting for skilled trades. For some reason unknown to me, they had a combined meeting at Lordstown and the skilled tradesmen were not given the right to vote on their own agreement. And they do have a separate agreement. Particularly on the seniority. I understand they were very much dissatisfied.

Bulletin: Did the question of Norwood come up at the UAW Convention?

Young: I attended the convention for two days. I was elected delegate for the full time but we didn't go for several days because we were in negotiations if you could call it that.

We were to have a meeting with the top officers of the International in order to make a report to the convention. We had our meeting with some of the top officers and on Thursday I made my report to the convention and asked for the convention's support to our strike in Norwood. While I'd been told prior to my report that there would be follow-

up action, once I concluded my report that was the last statement that was said concerning Norwood. No response of any kind.

Bulletin: How could the kind of unified action you're talking about, of all the GMAD locals, be brought about?

Young: Like I said a while ago, while the strike action has to be started in each local union, the International leadership certainly has enough influence on the locals that they could get this strike action started. This hasn't been done.

Something has to be created to get some action started in those plants. Certainly it would help us a great deal here if St. Louis was shut down. That would cut off a source of supply to General Motors, but if again, the entire production is shut down then they're going to start taking a look at the issues.

Bulletin: As far as the convention goes, you were there for several days. You know some of the issues that came up. How do you feel about it?

Young: I didn't get to hear but two or three of the resolutions. I know one of the big issues at this convention as at any other has been the referendum vote. It's hard for me to understand how an organization can say "one man, one vote" and on the other hand say "No, I would say the delegates must elect all officers."

I think that if all officers of the union, regardless of whether they're local, International Rep, or International officers on the top level have to depend on the rank and file to retain their jobs, they're going to have to take a lot closer look at the situation across the country. As long as it's necessary to sway 3,000 or 3,500 or 4,000 delegates to be elected, then they're going to concentrate on those delegates when they attend the convention.

Bulletin: The question of forming a labor party was raised at the convention. Some of the delegates were saying: "Look, we're coming to the end of our rope. We should demand that if the Democrats don't carry out the program in our interests that we should get out." One man said: "We left the AFL, we can leave the Democratic Party!"

I felt there was an important discussion going on representing the beginning of a new development in the labor movement, going back to, in the political history of the UAW, where even Emil Mazey at one point was definitely a firm advocate of the labor party. It was only after 1947 that he went along with Reuther and toned the whole thing down. This was being stirred up again now at the convention.

Young: Certainly some of our so-called friends that we have in the Democratic Party, when you take a close look at them, it's not quite that way. They aren't friends at all. Certainly the candidates that they have running now for the nomination for the Democratic presidential candidate have nothing to offer. It gets to the point where you go vote in a situation like this, and if you win, you lose!

So no doubt there's going to have to be something done if the labor people are going to survive in this country. If Nixon is reelected this time, we'll see in my opinion a national right-to-work law enacted shortly after his election. But whether it be Nixon or whether it be McGovern or whoever it may be, when it gets boiled down further, it's not going to be a friend of labor.

Continued Next Week

Nationalism And The Struggle For Liberation In Zimbabwe

BY C. WOODS & P. MARTIN

In Britain's semi-colony of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), where imperialism's super-exploitation is cemented by apartheid, the workers and peasants are faced with a crisis in leadership. In their struggle to break the chains of imperialism and British backed minority settlers' rule, the Zimbabweans have been deceived and betrayed by a series of petty-bourgeois organizations and popular front groups.

The recent mine disaster in Zimbabwe which claimed the lives of 428 men has been labeled the "worst mine disaster of the century." That such a holocaust of this magnitude occurred in Zimbabwe comes as no surprise. The relentless and ruthless drive for profits by the Wankie Colliery Company's bosses who wantonly disregard safety standards and regulations, do so in the interest of greater production.

While last year the Wankie Colliery Company declared a pre-tax profit of \$4.2 million and paid out nearly \$2.4 million in dividends to its British investors, the workers were paid \$10 a week. The basis of these profits is cheap labor backed up by apartheid-style legislation, police repression and the denial of all trade union rights to African workers.

HISTORY

The history of Zimbabwe since the penetration of imperialism in 1890 is one of stealth, open plunder, deception, warfare and super-exploitation. The conquest of Rhodesia, so-named in honor of Cecil Rhodes, was motivated by the expansion of British interests in Southern Africa after the opening of the Kimberly diamond mines in the 1870's and the gold mines of Johannesburg in the 1880's.

Wars against Lobengula's forces and the Mashona lasted for 10 years, during which British forces with their superior weapons and backed by limitless capital, murdered tens of thousands of African peasants and stole 156,000 square miles of land from its tribal inhabitants.

The conquest of Rhodesia was carried out with the help of the British churches, the Salvation Army under Booth and the Boy Scout founder, Baden-Powell, all of whom were officially thanked by Rhodes in the Cape Town Drill Hall after the first major victories in the 1890's. These "men of God" played an important role in the subjugation of Rhodesia. Their present day apostles can be found collaborating with the African National Congress and the Anti-Apartheid Committee—fighting now against any encroachment of the state on the preserves of the Church.

IMPERIALISTS

On September, 12, 1896, as the British flag was hoisted, the imperialists moved to consolidate their control. Under the aegis of the British South Africa Company, founded by Rhodes and granted a charter by the British government, great financial companies grabbed enormous mineral concessions (copper, gold, asbestos, iron, coal, chrome). The country became the private property of British

companies and settlers or else Crown Land. The labor of the African farmers had to be exploited and the first step towards this aim was the separation of the African tribal peasants from their land by force.

African labor reserve camps or Bantustans, as Verwoerd was later to name them, were established in some of the agriculturally poorest areas. Pass laws, hut taxes and other devices were used to "smoke out" cheap labor from the countryside and force the peasants to toil for the settlers as farmers and domestics or work for the corporations as miners.

As Zimbabwe grew industrially, so grew the ruthless exploitation of workers for ever-increasing profits. Movements sprang up to protect the interests of the colonized peoples. The first such movement, the African National Congress of Zimbabwe formed in 1933 and patterned after the ANC of South Africa, was led by intellectuals who did not identify with the toiling masses.

GENERAL STRIKE

In 1947, the first general strike in the history of Zimbabwe took place provoking the first state of emergency declared by the government since 1896. This was a spontaneous mass action by the workers protesting their cruel and intolerable work conditions and slave wages. The ANC of Zimbabwe was incapable of providing any meaningful leadership and through brutal repression and reprisals the strike was broken.

Youth who were disillusioned with the ANC leadership and who desired a political movement which reflected the changing situation on the African continent came together to form the Youth League. In 1955 George Nyandoro, a former ANC member, joined with James Chikerema who had been studying in South Africa and who had been one of the leaders of the ANC there, to form the Southern Rhodesia African Youth League, with Chikerema as President and Nyandoro as Vice President. While taking a more militant stance, the Youth League was historically and ideologically bound to the bourgeois nationalist ANC.

In 1953 the British government imposed a federation on Zambia (N. Rhodesia), Malawi (Nyasaland), and Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia). This federation, formed and controlled by the imperialists, was a move to tighten the economic reins on Zimbabwe while attempting to impose a South African type government on the other two.

The Southern Rhodesia African Youth League called a general strike in 1956 which was carried out by workers only in the northern area. Recognizing their organizational weakness in the south, the Youth League formed a coalition with a remaining branch of the old ANC under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo. This coalition of the southern and northern leadership, retaining the name ANC, united with the ANC's of Zambia and Malawi to smash the federation.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In 1959 a meeting of the General Secretaries of the three different liberation movements met in the forests of Malawi to plan strategy. Upon news of this meeting furnished by an informant, the colonial government reacted swiftly; they declared a state of emergency, banned the ANC of Zimbabwe and arrested 500 leaders and members. Once again the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe saw their leaders and most militant fighters



African workers and youth marched in Gwelo, Zimbabwe against Smith's regime.

imprisoned or murdered.

Chikerema and Nyandoro drew up a new Constitution in their prison cells and based on this document the National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed in 1960. Nkomo who was not arrested with the other leaders since he was in London at the time was elected President of the NDP in abstentia.

At the November 1960 Federation Constitutional Conference held in London, Nkomo represented Zimbabwe, Kaunda (Zambia) and Banda (Malawi). The main participants at this conference and the subsequent one held in Salisbury in 1961 were the British government representing the capitalists' interests and white political parties representing the petty-bourgeois interests. These two conferences were total sell-outs.

NATIONALIST

The workers and peasants of Zimbabwe emphatically rejected the Constitution and became totally disgusted with their so-called leaders. The NDP crumbled as it lost all support from the working class. Without theory or strategy and representing only nationalist goals the NDP had adapted to every historical event of imperialism's crisis.

This betrayal of the working class was not to be forgotten and the upheavals and power struggles which followed were a direct result of past mistakes. The government needlessly banned the already dead NDP and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) took its place.

In 1963, as the Federation of Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe collapsed, the leaders who had struggled against its formation were released from prison. These men engaged in a power struggle for the leadership of the newly formed ZAPU. Bloody and bitter feuds racked the northern area and resulted in Sithole breaking away from ZAPU, forming ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and taking with him all the nationalist intellectuals who had joined the movement in 1960.

IAN SMITH

Fearing that independence would be granted to Rhodesia as it had to Zambia and Malawi, Ian Smith overthrew Winston Fields, Prime Minister, in 1964. Smith immediately threatened to declare Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) if Britain did not grant independence to his petty-bourgeois settler's regime. This power play by Smith was an open challenge to ZAPU and ZANU and the workers and peasants they led.

Although ZAPU and ZANU were different organizations their policies were the same. Instead of smashing the Smith regime with the full weight of the working class and peasantry who were unanimously opposed to the apartheid state, these organizations naively looked to the British to fulfill their "moral" responsibility and save the situation.

As ZAPU and ZANU waited for the correct "moral" decision from the imperialists, Ian Smith did declare independence. Again the ZAPU and ZANU leadership was thrown into complete chaos. Confronted by the bankruptcy of their analysis and urgently prodded by the workers and peasants who insisted on fighting back, ZAPU and ZANU chose yet another blind alley in their eclectic search for theory. ZAPU declared war from their base in Lusaka and Castro-style guerrilla warfare was begun in Zimbabwe.

GUERRILLA

Guerrilla warfare is the inevitable choice of bourgeois nationalists who lack faith in the workers as the revolutionary class. Opportunistic twists and turns toward the working class and peasantry by these petty-bourgeois nationalist groups are never enough when the objective force, which is the enormous crisis of capitalism, is propelling the workers like a juggernaut towards their historical task.

For ZAPU the task was the overthrow of the Smith regime. Its aim was national independence. Its method was guerrilla warfare. Totally ignoring the objective needs of the working class, ZAPU staggered under the weight of its own contradictions. Not only did it hold back the workers' offensive but, in its effort to regain some balance, ZAPU slipped into the muck of tribal blocs, power plays, accusations, counter-accusations and petty gossip. This degeneration culminated in murders and shootings between ZAPU and ZANU in Lusaka as well as in Zimbabwe itself.

The most revolutionary elements of ZAPU and ZANU pulled themselves out of this mire by analyzing past mistakes and placing the workers' and peasants' struggle in its historical context. Their most significant turn was in identifying imperialism as the real enemy and for seeing the Rhodesian government as agents of imperialism. Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) was formed on October 1, 1971—not as a union of ZAPU and ZANU but as a new organization pledged to a liberated socialist Zimbabwe.

FROLIZI sees its task as the abolition of imperialism's domination over Zimbabwe. Its aim is a liberated socialist Zimbabwe. Its method—still unchanged—guerrilla warfare.

FROLIZI, a popular front party, still carries the old ideological baggage of ZAPU and ZANU—namely its hostility toward the working class—for they still cling to guerrilla warfare in practice while paying lip service to scientific socialism.

The need for Marxist parties steered in dialectical materialism and rooted in the working class and peasantry has never been more necessary in Zimbabwe as for the working class internationally.

Big Business Committee Meets To Prepare Battle To Destroy 'Union Power'

BY FRED MUELLER

The employers are being forced to develop new weapons in their war against the labor movement. This is the meaning of the so-called Labor Law Study Committee, formed originally in 1966 by a cross section of U. S. big business, and now openly and aggressively pushing its demands for new laws against the unions.

In a recent interview with the New York Times, Carl H. Hageman, chairman of the Public Information Subcommittee of the Labor Law Committee, explained the aims of his organization. Hageman is also a vice president of the Union Carbide Corporation.

"We just can't continue as we have in the last six years," said Hageman, "without becoming a second rate power and facing economic stagnation."

WHO'S WHO

Represented on this committee is a Who's Who of American capitalism, including the American Smelting and Refining Co., the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, Bethlehem Steel, the Columbia Gas System, First National City Bank, Ford Motor Company, General Dynamics, General Electric, B. F. Goodrich, Humble Oil, R. H. Macy and Co., Olin Corporation, Sears Roebuck, the 3M Company, and Union Carbide.

These are the corporations which raked in record profits in the first quarter of 1972, running at an annual rate of \$52.3 billion. But this is only the beginning. More is required for the capitalists. The aim of their innocent-sounding study committee is nothing less than the destruction of the trade unions, throwing the working class back 50 years or more in its rights and living standards. This information, tucked away on the financial page of the New York Times, must be brought to the attention of every class conscious worker and trade union militant.

LEGISLATION

Among the proposals on which the Labor Law Study Committee is demanding legislation are the following:

1) to limit the use of picketing as an economic weapon, so that it is used only against the party with whom a union has a dispute; and outlaw all picketing to force an employer to recognize a union.

2) to guarantee an opportunity for employers to discuss unionization with their employees.

3) to require a secret ballot vote on whether to strike when requested by the union, the employer or 10 percent of the employees.

4) to limit so-called coalition bargaining by groups of unions.

5) to prevent a replaced striker from claiming any status as an employee.

6) to let Federal Courts require unions to honor all terms of their agreements.

SLAVE LABOR

When ATT, GE, Ford and the others speak, their representatives in Washington listen. Whomever is nominated by the Democrats to oppose Nixon will listen. Whichever candidate of the bosses is elected in November will attempt to implement all or part of these slave labor "reforms." This is the situation which makes the building of a labor party so urgent.

New NCR President Opens Belt Tightening Campaign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—Like Joseph Godfrey, the boss of the union-busting General Motors Assembly Division, National Cash Register has brought in a new management "team" headed by William S. Anderson. Last week Anderson openly boasted that "some further streamlining and belt tightening" might be needed to restore earnings to a "satisfactory" level.

This week NCR has now announced what "belt tightening" means and whose belts will be tightened. Two thousand workers will be eliminated starting in mid-July.

FANFARE

When Anderson came to Dayton in May, there was a tremendous fanfare in the capitalist press similar to the propaganda barrage preceding the Frigidaire wage-cut. The press eagerly quoted in bold face type all of Anderson's most brazen threats against NCR workers and their jobs. In one inch headlines the Journal Herald quoted the new job-slasher: "We must decentralize...Automation an answer." He was quoted as stating that the electronic designs used today make it possible for "everybody and his brother to jump in."

PROFIT

The Dayton Daily News headlined Anderson's arrival: "Anderson's Job: Sweep Out Deadwood At NCR." The business editor of the Daily News stated, "Strip away all the speculation over the appointment of William S. Anderson as the seventh president of the National Cash Register Co. and the logical motive can be reduced to one word: PROFIT."

Clearly if maintaining their super-profits involves the destruction of thousands of workers and their family's means of existence, NCR like GM will move towards such destruction. "NCR President Plays To Win" was another screaming headline in the Daily News last May. Anderson winning means 2,000 workers lose and another 2,000 are earmarked for the unemployment lines not to mention the all-out speed-up. This game is a deadly one for Dayton's workers and poses the necessity for labor and particularly UAW Local 1616 to "play" to win.

Winning against the all-out attack of the corporations and the government's Pay Board poses the immediate necessity for UAW Local 1616 calling on the Miami Valley AFL-CIO Council to initiate a call for an Emergency Congress of Labor of all unions nationally.

PROGRAM

This Congress of Labor must immediately construct a labor party nationally that must include in its immediate program the nationalizing of all basic industry, the establishment of a national 30 hour week for forty hours pay with a cost-of-living clause, and a 100% tax of all incomes over \$25,000—belt tightening where it's needed!



NCR head Anderson

GMAD Threatens To Junk Production In Move To Break Norwood Strike

A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, July 10—Norwood workers on picket duty say that all GMAD or at least the four neighboring GMAD plants must go out on strike in order to bring the strike to a successful conclusion.

Over a week ago GMAD let out a news release that their line speed would be cut from 55 to 49 jobs an hour. Such a fake offer is clearly a trap since almost none of the union demands concerning work standards and local agreements have been settled and put into signed agreements.

Such verbal line speed offers are worthless particularly as seen by the rotten conditions workers have gone back to in Lordstown. The actual situation is revealed by Jim Young, Chair-

man of the Shop Committee, who states no progress has been made on the major issues including local agreements and work standards.

The 82 demands which are actually settled in prior agreements and broken by GMAD have been reduced to 67. Young states that only the minor ones have been settled. Young points out that anything less than what the union's demanding would be a loss of what conditions the union had before GMAD. The union demands are basically the re-

stitution of the signed local agreements broken by GM local contract smashing gimmick called GMAD.

Some workers on picket duty have heard rumors to the effect that cars on the line would be junked. Such action and rumors of such action are open threats by GMAD that it will not budge.

The pickets stated they did not care what the bosses did to the unfinished cars. They were not about to return to the sweatshop conditions existing prior to the strike.



Operating Engineers have struck Temple University in Philadelphia for decent wages and to defend union's control over sub-contracting.

Temple U. Engineers Strike Over 3% Offer

BY DENNIS GREEN

PHILADELPHIA—On Friday, June 30 Local 835 of the International Union of Operating Engineers went on strike at Temple University. This strike began after 13 negotiating sessions with the University.

This is the first strike by IUOE since 1938. The strike vote was 116 to 15. The union has made every effort to keep its demands within the Pay Board's guidelines. However, Temple's proposals threaten the very life of the union itself. Temple is offering the men a measly 3% increase and has proposed a productivity team which can only mean layoffs and wage cuts for the union.

The main thrust of Temple's attack is on the union's control of sub-contracting. This important gain which the union fought for and won in 1964 laid the basis for hiring more men and the building of the union to its present strength and size.

Temple has used charges of racism against the union to cover up its intention to use non-union minority sub-contractors against the union. In conflict with the University's claims of racism is the fact that IUOE has cooperated with programs to admit minorities in the union. The union accepted an apprenticeship program for this purpose but Temple has not hired a single man since this program was instituted.

In October IUOE honored the pickets of the International Brotherhood of University Employees, a predominately black union, and Temple took reprisals against the IUOE by taking away their overtime.

One IUOE member exposed Temple's position when he said "How can we be to blame when Temple does the hiring? They're trying to put the blame on the union." Temple has also used this opportunity to introduce a "no strike" clause into the contract. This clause would rob the union of all its basic rights in return for protection against a lockout.

The reaction of one of the pickets to this was:

"If we accepted this clause we might as well give up our union. They know we'll never accept this."

The men realize that it's not just a question of wages but that their union is at stake. "Even if they gave us the money we wouldn't take it. What's important is our security. What difference does it make if you make \$10 an hour if you're not working."

The ranks understand that they are in the forefront of Temple's battle to break the unions. The fighting spirit of the ranks was expressed by one of the pickets when he stated: "They put a freeze on wages but what about profits? When they start hitting working people this way they'd better watch it. We're the core of this country."

DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONVENTION . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

head off this development, by suggesting that he would consider UAW President Leonard Woodcock as a running mate.

This is much more than a tactic by a Democratic politician. It represents the real desperation of the capitalist class as it turns towards the labor bureaucracy to form something of a coalition to paralyze the working class politically.

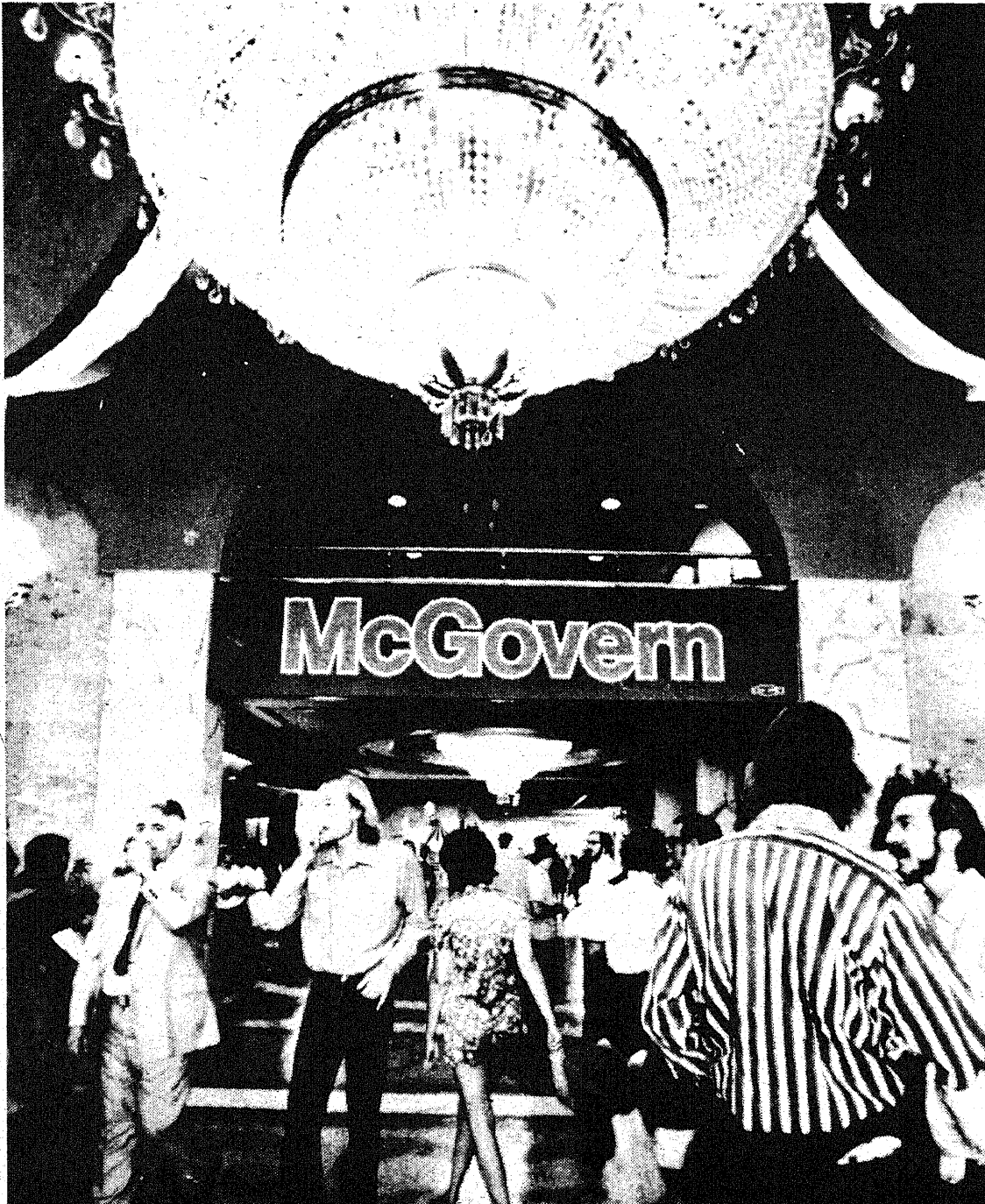
Woodcock is giving every indication that he would run with McGovern. But his administrative assistant, E.J. Moran, admitted that there is little support for McGovern within the trade unions. He said: "Senator McGovern is very much aware that he faces a rough campaign. Without organized labor, the question of whether Nixon can be beaten is very critical."

He added that McGovern's sup-

port for the Taft-Hartley law when a repeal vote came before the Senate in 1966 "is not all that important."

MANEUVERING

While the trade union leaders were maneuvering inside the convention to prevent a break with the Democrats, on the streets there were the most flagrant displays of bankrupt reformism.



MONETARY CRISIS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

sections of the American labor movement.

With the flotation of the pound, in effect its devaluation, a new outbreak of massive speculation against the dollar and a soaring price of gold, the Smithsonian accord of December 18, which established new exchange parities of the dollar with the currencies of the major capitalist countries, is completely torn up.

This situation is now precipitating huge political convulsions inside all these countries.

This found its sharpest expression in Germany and France where last week, while Brandt and Pompidou met in Paris, German Finance and Economics Minister Karl Schiller resigned and French Premier Chaban Delmas was all but summarily fired from his post.

The meaning of both resignations must be seen as bound up directly with the sharp turn by the German and French capitalists toward preparation for all-out war with their respective working classes in a desperate attempt to maintain the ragged remains of the Smithsonian accord and to defend themselves from their rivals when this ac-

cord collapses.

This means a whole new stage of attacks on the European working class and it is for this reason that Schiller is dumped in Germany and Pierre Messmer, a hard line Gaullist has been brought in as Premier in France. This is done to clear the road for a Bonapartist dictatorship and preparation for civil war.

The same process is at work inside the British and Japanese capitalist class. Britain, where the inflationary crisis resulted two weeks ago in the flotation of the pound and where Sterling is lurching downward almost daily on world exchanges, is now witnessing the re-emergence of Enoch Powell who is seeking to use the inflationary crisis to rally together the most reactionary, and right wing forces in Britain against the working class, whose strength forced the British devaluation in the first place.

In Japan, by the same token, the election of Kakuei Tanaka as Japan's new Prime Minister, a man who was formerly Minister of International Trade and Industry is directly related to the preparation of the Japanese capitalist class to take on the powerful resurgence of Japanese labor

At the same time, it is not simply a question of the competitive position of the United States but the actual breakup of world capitalism itself. It is clear that the capitalist class is further away now than ever from any solution to the fundamental issue in this crisis, that being the inconvertibility of the dollar itself.

Under these conditions the objective laws of anarchy and dissolution of the system set loose by the break between the dollar and gold now take over. This is the meaning of the sudden emergence of sweeping currency control and the flight out of the dollar into gold which sold above

\$66 an ounce as of last Thursday.

This tendency towards the breakdown of paper money, which will be tremendously accelerated with a new dollar devaluation, must lead toward a wholesale collapse of international investment and trade, posing a collapse of production itself, of public and private credit, of stock market shares in each capitalist country.

It is this that poses to the working class in each country the struggle for power.

The leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as well as the National Welfare Rights Organization and the National Tenant's Organization, went down on their hands and knees to beg the politicians for convention floor seats so that they could present their demands for a \$6,500 annual wage. This plea was rejected.

At the same time, leaders like

statement.

"I came down here, but I know those politicians are not even listening to us," said one worker as he sat next to his tent.

"When the poor people went to Washington a few years ago, the whole thing was drowned in rain and mud. This time it will probably be worse, even if the weather is all right."



Ralph Abernathy

The scene at Flamingo Park, the site of Resurrection City II as well as the Camp Ground Force, an assortment of middle class radicals, hippies, religious sects, was one of complete chaos and hysteria.

The complete contempt of the Democratic Party for the working class and the youth, even for those within its convention, came out very clearly when it was revealed that working class delegates are having a hard time finding accommodations.

Many McGovern delegates from California, from the ghetto areas and the Chicano areas, have not had their bills paid by the Democratic Party and have been forced to camp out at Flamingo Park, unlike almost all the other delegates.

One woman delegate backing McGovern said: "Nobody told me I'd have to pay \$450 to support him." She said that she would be camping out in Flamingo Park. Many of the youth delegates have been treated the same way, as the Democratic Party has run roughshod over all their rights.

BLACK CAUCUS

Furthermore, when the Black Caucus met on Sunday to hear McGovern speak before it, many of the rank and file Black workers who had come down with the National Welfare Rights Organization and with the National Tenants Organization were refused entrance to the meeting.

Their leaders told them that they should "Go back to the hotel," or in most cases, "Go back to Flamingo Park."

All the prominent radicals of 1968 have proclaimed their support for McGovern. Jerry Rubin said to the *Bulletin* that Nixon must be defeated and that "McGovern is the future and the light."

SDS

In the lobbies of the ritziest hotels, SDS and Progressive Labor distributed a "Dear Delegate" letter, pleading for their support for an anti-racism bill.

"We believe that most delegates are sincere and dedicated people who's interests are really at odds with the big party bosses, who always resist people's demands for progressive changes," asserted the letter.

SDS arranged a reception for delegates at the Hotel Versailles but cancelled it because, as one member of the SDS explained, "The delegates are always very pressed for time."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S PROGRAM — "AUSTERITY"

Despite all the campaign promises made by the Democratic candidates, Lawrence O'Brien, National Chairman of the party, laid it on the line. The program of the party will be permanent austerity. O'Brien called for "sacrifice" and the revival of the spirit of a "country torn with anguish."

"All those dazzling (campaign) promises could not be kept... We need a constructive candidate who will not promise everything."

In other words, no campaign promises because the Democrats like Nixon plan to take away everything the working people have gained.

Abernathy were forced to use all their demagogic skills to denounce the Democratic Party in an attempt to quell the restlessness among the ranks of the Black workers who came to Resurrection City.



Shirley Chisholm

"The price of poor people is going up," Rev. Ralph Abernathy told a rally of 1,000 workers Sunday in the heart of the Miami ghetto. "If the Democrats don't deliver you can always sleep on election day."

McGOVERN

At every point Abernathy and the National Tenant's Organization leaders made it clear that they were backing McGovern. Abernathy said that what was needed was a leadership to keep the Democrats honest and defeat Nixon.

This is the exact line of the American Communist Party which has been pushing McGovern and the SCLC as its members distributed the *Daily World* on Sunday. When one spokesman for the National Tenant's Organization, Jesse Gray, rhetorically asked whether there is any difference between the Democrats and the Republicans the assembled workers and youth loudly shouted "No." He quickly retreated and told the workers to back progressive politicians. There was very little applause when he made this

West Coast News



Striking clerical workers in Oakland have been arrested while blocking scab delivery trucks.

Hospitals Use Police Against Striking Clerks

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Over 1,000 clerical workers, represented by Office Workers Local 29 AFL-CIO, are on strike against Kaiser Foundation Hospitals in the East Bay.

According to the union spokesman and the *East Bay Labor Journal*, the strike is solely over benefits and conditions. The union leadership however, is consciously seeking to push the issue of wages into the background in the strike in order to avoid confronting the Pay Board.

As one picket put it: "What can we do, we need a decent raise but the government is going to cut anything over 5.5%, it seems to

me that we are entitled to the money, but unless we change the government somehow, they'll just take it away."

The negotiating committee caught in this bind has even refused an increase in the wage offer on the grounds that the Pay Board would cut it back. Instead the committee insisted that the additional money go into fringe benefits, which presumably the Pay Board could not touch.

The issues which the union is pushing are a number of fringe benefits, including sick leave, a new pension plan, and health care, and job protection measures including an end to the sub-contracting of work, a program of seniority rights, and the right of members to be represented by shop stewards.

Even on these issues Kaiser has refused to budge, and is

resorting to the use of police to try to break the strike.

In two separate incidents this week union members have been arrested for blocking scab delivery trucks. Thursday one picket was arrested, and on Friday four were arrested.

Along with this a rumor campaign is being carried on. Thursday's *Oakland Tribune* carried a front page story headlined "Settlement of Kaiser Strike Near".

But on Friday a member of the negotiating committee told the *Bulletin* that "the management has been going around spreading rumors of a settlement in order to get people to go back, but what really happened is that the State conciliator called us up at one this morning to tell us Kaiser hadn't changed its position one bit."

La Raza Convention Attacks Labor Unions

BY HAROLD DANFORD

LOS ANGELES—The statewide convention of La Raza Unida Party held here on July 1st and 2nd revealed the crisis in the forces of middle class nationalism.

The dominant theme has become "return to the local areas and be educated in the barrios." In accordance with this theme, resolutions to run Raza Unida candidates in state and national elections were overwhelmingly defeated. Many who attended the convention were skeptical that the party could even run local campaigns such as that in the 40th Assembly District in L.A.

Part of the work at the convention was to have been the creation of a statewide centralized leadership to coordinate the activities of the local areas. The convention voted down proposals to this effect and thus there is no unified party in California. In fact, less than five central committees were brought into existence, four of them in Southern California.

La Raza Unida has decided to take up political education by

abstaining from all participation in the upcoming national elections. The convention passed the statement saying that LRUP will endorse no other political party or candidate in the elections. When questioned later, a party leader made it clear that this also includes any labor party or candidate of a labor party.

The convention did not deal with any of the fundamental questions facing the labor movement. It can present no perspective for struggle against the employers' government which is preparing to smash the trade unions.

The stand the party did take with respect to the labor movement was extremely reactionary. It advocated the creation of separate raza caucuses in trade unions. However, this proposal remains vague and undefined.

The convention passed a specific resolution on the Dixon Arnett law which deals with employment of illegal aliens in California businesses.

La Raza's alternative proposal contains a section which says: "Any union official who deli-

Ford Strikers Win Key Demands In Militant Strike At Milpitas Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MILPITAS—Local 560 workers voted by 84% to end their 24 day strike against Ford and return to work on the basis of a settlement that guarantees in writing the correction of most of the 39 health and safety grievances in dispute.

After the voting, Stan Jones, Local 560 financial secretary stated: "This settlement gives us assurance that the plant will be maintained on a daily basis as far as cleanliness is concerned, and that we will have the additional ventilation we requested."

The strike, the first between contracts in Local 560's history, shut down all production of Pintos and light trucks and forced Ford to back off from its intent to impose intolerable working conditions in the plant.

A major grievance left unresolved was the demand to replace the plant physician. At the ratification meeting, workers demanded that the local leadership see to it that this grievance be met as well.

Behind the complete deterioration of conditions in the plant, such as paint and welding booths with absolutely no ventilation, trash-strewn aisles, faulty machinery and dangerously slick floors, was the reduction by half of maintenance crews over the last two years.

This is part of the vicious cost-cutting campaign being carried out by the auto bosses nationally as they prepare for all-out trade war with Europe and Japan. Ford has sought to defend its maintenance cuts in order to open up the way for the same kind of speed-up techniques that

have been introduced by GM in the competitive Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio.

The tremendous militancy of the ranks has pushed Ford back. According to workers interviewed by the *Bulletin* after the voting, the settlement requires Ford to begin hiring additional janitors.

But the mood of the ranks was far from complacent. Workers told the *Bulletin* that they are prepared to go right out again if the agreement is broken by Ford.

It would be extremely dangerous to conclude that Ford will not seek to recoup its losses and go much further with major cuts and speed-up in production. Ford plans to introduce new and complicated machinery in the body department during the change-over in August. This can only mean the beginning of such a drive.

As one worker told the *Bulletin*: "Now they're putting out more with fewer men than ever before. They're stepping up production without replacing men who leave or retire. At this rate they'll have us putting out three times as much."

Union conditions can only be defended in a political fight of the entire labor movement against the employers and their twin parties. The ranks of 560 must defend their gains by taking forward the fight for the labor party.

HAWAII . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

the employers' determination to automate away jobs and pave the way for even more devastating political attacks on the union.

Many dockers the *Bulletin* spoke with are extremely bitter about the situation feeling that they are being forced to stand by and watch everything being taken away while the leadership is without a policy.

The bureaucracy is attempting to cover up with dump Nixon rhetoric and demagogic speeches about the coming Democratic convention in Miami.

The Stalinists have supported every retreat of this leadership justifying themselves by claiming the union is too isolated to fight and that the struggle ended with the contract agreement. The *People's World* has not had a thing to say about the crisis on the waterfront since Bridges accepted the pay cut attempting instead to build up support for McGovern.

This has the effect not only of propping up illusions in the Democrats but of strengthening anti-political sentiments among dockers who know that nothing favorable to the unions will come out of Miami.

It is time to call a halt to this criminal situation. A strike date must be set for Hawaii and carried out with the full strength of the mainland locals behind it. A year of court injunctions and political attacks drives home the urgency of taking up the fight for a labor party now.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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West Coast News

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Labor Council Calls Mass Pickets To Support UC Workers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Labor Council and the Building Trades Council here have issued a call to thousands of Bay Area unionists to join striking craftsmen at University of California hospital in a mass picket line called for July 12.

John F. Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council pointed out in a press conference, that an acceptance of a maintenance rate of reclassification of the prevailing construction pay scales would threaten pay cuts for thousands of city workers.

"We intend to shut down the U.C. Medical Center on the coming Wednesday to make sure the unions at U.C. are not busted."

"Crowley is calling on all workers 'if you value your job, your paycheck and your union contract' to be there.

The lessons of the six month old Teamster bottlers' strike and the bitter defeat of the U.C. Berkeley strikers is being driven home. The survival of the labor movement requires all out defense for the U.C. strike. In calling for this action the San Francisco trade unions are giving a fighting lead to the entire labor movement.

Although Crowley still phrases his appeal in terms of a protest this is no protest but the mobilization of the working class for class war that pits the power of the labor movement against the union busting drive of the state.

The university is already threatening injunctions and Philip Lee, the Campus Chancellor, has declared that "the hospital intends to continue to operate with stockpiles and other equipment." He said, "We will not be intimidated by threats of criminal and vicious acts by these men."

The labor leadership has been forced to this action by a rank and file that refuses to see its living standards cut and by government policies that will no longer allow the slightest com-

promise.

The Labor Council leaders are now forced to declare that their strike is political pointing out in their call that a defeat at U.C. is an open door to Nixon as well as the city and county and finally private employers to bring in cuts and slashes all the way down the line.

These developments deliver shattering blows to the Communist Party who based themselves on a defense of the feeble protest tactics of Groulx and Childers in the U.C. Berkeley strike and even went to the point of declaring it a victory. The Stalinists will now go all out to attempt to assist the labor

The conditions are now developing for the rank and file to break up all such attempts. Wednesday's action must be seen as the first step in a campaign to shut the hospital down completely with the full strength of the labor movement committed to a total victory.

The unions can depend only on their own strength and independence in this fight. It is for this reason that this struggle must be taken forward by asserting that strength and independence in the political arena as well with the construction of a labor party based on the unions.



Over 300 Portland trade unionists marched to commemorate two workers killed by cops in San Fran. during 1934 longshoremen's strike.

Portland ILWU Honors Bloody Thursday

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND—Longshoremen and other trade unionists, three hundred strong, marched in Portland July 5 to commemorate the "Bloody Thursday" murders of 1934.

During the West Coast dock strike that year a bloody battle between the strikers and the San Francisco police who were attempting to smash the picket lines resulted in the deaths of two workers. A mass funeral march and a general strike in support of the dockers followed five days

later.

In one Portland observance at the Battleship Oregon Monument a wreath honoring the 1934 martyrs was dropped into the Wollamet River.

A handbill distributed by Local 8 stated "the blood and sacrifice of these men and others who helped in the violent rebirth of

our union in 1934 must never be forgotten."

The statement promised "a future that will never bow to the intolerable conditions that existed in 1934 on the waterfront of the Pacific Coast." Referring to the recent dock strike the Local 8 statement said, "Let us once again show the world that the employers' latest try has not succeeded in breaking our unity, nor our determination to fight for our survival as a strong rank and file union. We must show the employers on the bloody fifth that after a strike of 134 days we are more determined than ever to fight for our rights and our

members."

The meeting concluded with a speech from former Senator Wayne Morse. He proceeded to attack the whole meaning and importance of the commemoration march. According to Morse, he established the hiring hall and retroactive pay as the arbitrator of the 1936 contract after viewing the "shape-up and shakedown" conditions of the waterfront "and so I established in that decision the hiring hall. If I made any contribution in the more than 2,000 disputes I have been involved in as a labor arbitrator, I shall always point with pride to the establishment of the hiring hall on the West Coast waterfront."

LESSONS

This demagogy of Morse belittles the 1934 struggle. The gains of 1934-36 were won by the working class battling in the streets and not by Morse commiserating at an arbitration table. The importance of the July 5th march is the bringing of the lessons of the past into the present struggle for survival of the longshoremen.

What Morse really represents is the past and present betrayals of the class collaborationist policies of the Bridges leadership.

STATEMENT

The Local 8 statement explained the lessons by saying, "the labor movement can no longer divorce itself from the total spectrum of human affairs. We lose through legislation and executive decree that which we have won at the negotiating table."

Longshoremen will never forget "Bloody Thursday" as new struggles are prepared that will go beyond even those of 1934.

Bridges Stalls Strike Action For Hawaii Longshoremen

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—For over a year Hawaiian longshoremen have been working without a contract. Negotiations are bogged down without any progress over pensions, severance pay and a guaranteed work week.

After setting a strike date of June 26th the ILWU leadership extended negotiations another week and has now agreed to an indefinite extension of strike action.

There is a great deal at stake here. After Bridges' refusal to take on the government in the mainland strike, employers in Hawaii have been encouraged to hold out indefinitely. They intend to extract every possible concession from the union.

The reason for Bridges' retreat on a Hawaii strike is quite clear. A docks tie up there will lead immediately to an emergency situation and bring on government strikebreaking intervention.

Bridges is well aware that a

Hawaiian dock strike will have to be backed up all the way with a complete shutdown of the West Coast, raising all the explosive issues unresolved in the last dock strike.

It is no accident that precisely at this time the arbitrator's ruling on "steady men" has been published granting the employers virtually everything they demanded. There is no doubt that a series of arbitrated decisions unfavorable to the union are about to be issued.

JURISDICTION

While this has been developing, dockers here have been stripped entirely of their jurisdiction over container work. When the ruling came out against the container

jurisdiction sections in the new contract the ILWU attempted to go back to the wording of its old Container Freight Station agreement.

Now the courts under the prodding of the NLRB have invalidated this as well. The balance sheet of over a year of Bridges' policy is not only a wage cut but a contract that has been ripped to shreds with the union tied up in the courts.

Dockers must face the seriousness of the threat. What is taking place is not a few retreats but the systematic step by step destruction of every right and gain possessed by the union.

The sharpening monetary crisis and trade war is increasing

(Continued On Page 19)



Earlier U.C. strike (above) saw vicious attacks against workers. Scheduled mass picketing can win victory for present strike.