

Bulletin

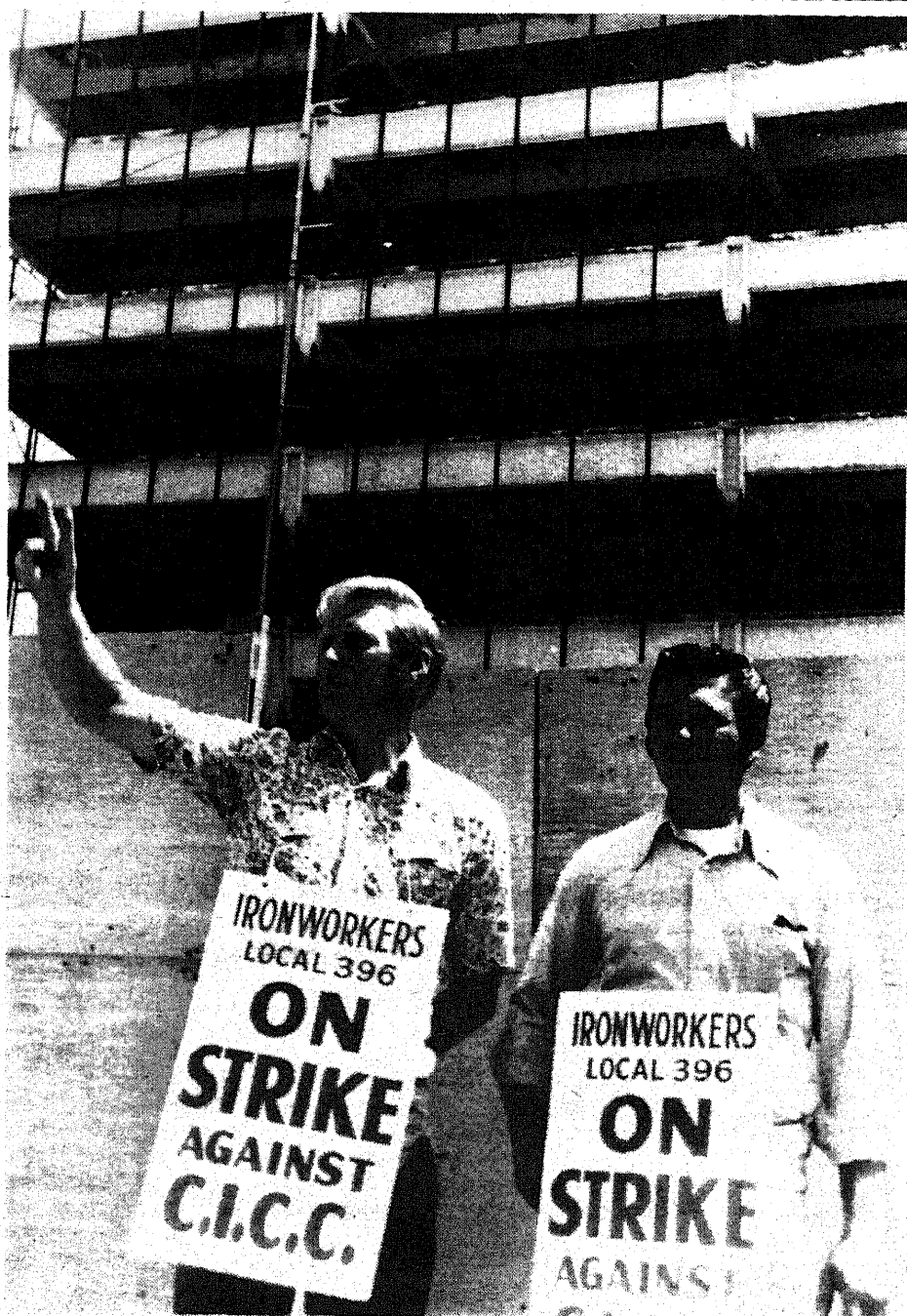
weekly organ of the workers league

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AUGUST 21, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



St. Louis Ironworkers shut down construction sites in the area to demand hiring hall to defend their jobs against growing unemployment. See story on Page 4.

As American Can Closes 9 Plants

Massive Unemployment Threatens U.S. Cities

BY BOB MICHAELSON

JERSEY CITY, N.J.—The American Can Company announced last week that it intends to close nine of its factories across the country and sell another three in the U.S. and Canada as part of an effort to consolidate the production facilities. Close to five thousand workers will be thrown out of their jobs by these closures.

The decision of American Can to undertake these closures exposes the real developments that are occurring throughout the country. Behind all the guarded talk about a "new economic boom" in the country, Nixon's economic policies are creating the conditions for massive shutdowns of whole sections of industries.

The government is aiding the big corporations in every possible way to consolidate and rationalize their production through automation and speed-up.

The American Can Company is not losing money. Its profits are bigger than

(Continued On Page 18)

Union McGovern Drive Covers Pay Board Retreat

As we go to press the Pay Board is holding a joint session with the Price Commission to evaluate the 5.5 per cent freeze on wages and to map out new plans for slashing wages even further.

EDITORIAL Already Arthur Burns, Nixon's economic adviser, has let it be known that the Administration considers the 5.5 guideline "much too great."

Having trimmed down first year increases in 1972 by over 4%, the Democratic and Republican supported Pay Board is now demanding more blood from American workers in the form not only of pay cuts by increased productivity.

It is the inaction of the labor leadership which is responsible for this new round of attacks on the unions. The Pay Board can and must be stopped now. The AFL-CIO must call for strike action now by the labor movement in defiance of the Pay Board. This must be joined with the call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party now.

After being forced off the Pay Board by the anger of the ranks the labor bureaucrats have sat it out as contracts have been ripped up and workers robbed of their hard won increases. They have encouraged locals to take pay cuts to keep profit making going. They have refused to take a single step to mobilize labor in action against this Pay Board and to organize a political battle against the corporation's parties in this election year.

Now in answer to Nixon's new plans to hit the unions a section of the labor bureaucracy is whipping up support for George McGovern. According to one member of the McGovern-Shriver Labor Committee, Joseph Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America, "If Nix-

on is re-elected then workers can anticipate more and tighter wage control while prices and profits continue to rise."

This attempt to push McGovern as an alternative to the wage freezing program of both the entire Democratic and Republican

parties is getting its biggest boost from the American Communist Party.

In an attempt to turn the labor movement behind McGovern the Communist Party has daily lashed out at George Meany and I.W. Abel and the decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to remain neutral in the elections.

The August 4th editorial of the Daily World hailed the decision of the UAW leadership to support McGovern: "The national conference of some 2,000 United Auto Workers political action representatives this Sunday in Detroit is the first major trade union response to George Meany's pro-Nixon, strike-breaking "neutrality effort."

While the World talks of Nixon's "open shop politics" and his "anti-labor aims," McGovern is being painted as the pro-labor man, the man to

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See Page 9 Final Part in this issue—Featuring—

IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM
AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY YOUR LEADER BY DAVID GREENGLASS

The Open Idealism Of The IMG

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NLF Opens New Stage Of Offensive With Victories Near Saigon

BY MELODY FARROW

The offensive of the NLF and the North Vietnamese Army against the puppet troops of President Thieu has decisively entered its second stage. Saigon is rapidly becoming isolated as liberation forces gain control of wide areas just outside the capital.

The new offensive is centered in the rice growing region of the Mekong Delta. Last week 6,000 troops of the NLF massed outside the town of Cai Lay, 50 miles southwest of Saigon on the main road.

In the closest fighting to Saigon yet, NLF troops scored a tremendous victory in the rubber plantations 17 miles to the east, inflicting heavy casualties on Thieu's troops.

In the Delta region northwest of Saigon, liberation troops with heavy tanks drove the Cambodian government troops out of Kompong Tranek. This area is of great importance as the rice for Saigon is grown here and must be transported by the Mekong river 40 miles of which is now controlled by the liberation army.

At the same time the air base at Laikhe 30 miles north of Saigon came under heavy attack and new fighting has been launched in the Central Highlands where the NLF has driven Saigon troops out of their positions.

The Quang Tri counter offensive of Thieu is fast turning into a complete disaster. American ad-

visors have vainly urged Thieu to abandon the effort which has cost the South Vietnamese Army 4,000 dead and wounded out of a force of 20,000, and the destruction of three of its nine elite battalions.

The latest phase of this offensive began shortly after Henry Kissinger, Nixon's advisor, returned after his 15th trip to have secret talks with representatives of the Hanoi government.

These talks produced nothing. The North Vietnamese have insisted on the removal of President Thieu and a political settlement before any ceasefire. To back up their demands they have been able to rely on the continuing determination of the workers and peasants in the liberation army to win.

While the NLF is dealing Thieu blow after blow on the battlefield, his shaky regime in Saigon has been hit with another scandal. General Nguyen Van Vy, Defense Minister, has been kicked out for using money from a soldier's benefit fund for his own commercial ventures.

The true nature of the Saigon regime has been exposed by a series of documents smuggled out of Vietnam which tell of the

brutal, sadistic tortures which go on every day in South Vietnamese prisons.

A New York Times correspondent has received accounts of the tortures of three students. The first, Nguyen Thi Yen, was beaten unconscious and then burnt with cigarettes on her breasts.

Nixon is merely shifting the war from ground troops, who refused to fight, to the most sophisticated and destructive weapons ever conceived. On August 5th, Jack Anderson revealed that the Defense Department had sponsored research on the use of laser beams against human beings. Experiments done on rabbits and monkeys showed that the beams could explode the eyeball and completely blind the victim.

The weapons and techniques being used against the Vietnamese people are a preparation for civil war in the United States and all the advanced countries. Just as the British government is training its troops in the civil war in Ulster for war against the British working class, the Army in Vietnam is perfecting its weapons in order to turn them against the American working class as it goes into struggles for its basic rights and living conditions.

US Demands Japan Revalue

BY ED SMITH

Newly-elected Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka will soon be embarking on two foreign journeys. These will be crucial to a Japanese capitalism facing its greatest crisis since World War II.

At the end of this month Tanaka will meet with President Nixon in Hawaii. Their discussion will center on U.S. demands that the Japanese drastically revalue their currency, the Yen. In this way the growing Japanese challenge to U.S. capitalism would be undercut.

Postwar Japanese capitalism's "economic miracle" was based on massive exports based on international financing. A revaluation of the Yen, in the context of international recession and monetary instability, would deal a catastrophic blow to the Japanese economy.

When Prime Minister Tanaka sits down with Nixon later this month he will be confronting the prospect of international trade war which could literally wipe out major sections of the export-based Japanese economy.

JAVITS

Republican Senator Jacob Javits, echoing the thinking of Nixon, has given Tanaka an ultimatum to cut back on Japan's huge trade surplus with the U.S., holding out the threat of a U.S.-forced revaluation of the Yen.

Behind Javits' dark language stands the threat of trade sanctions and barriers to Japanese



Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka

goods. This would be catastrophic to Japanese exports. The U.S. has sought to cut down its trade deficit by forcing Japanese purchases of billions of dollars of U.S. goods—including such "necessities" as old airplanes and a 10-year supply of uranium.

Faced with such threatening prospects, Tanaka and his friends have been frantically searching for some way out of the tightening noose being drawn round their neck by the economic crisis.

Tanaka has startled observers with the speed with which he has moved to open up relations with Communist China. A full-scale state visit has been tentatively arranged by Tanaka to Peking for Sept. 23.

The Japanese leaders obviously hope to open up China as

a new field for trade as a substitute for Western markets that may soon be drastically cut.

But it is obvious that opening up of China to trade would not begin to meet the economic disaster Japan faces. There must be an accounting with Japan's working class.

Sections of the labor movement like the bureaucrats of the Ladies' Garment Workers and Steelworkers are trying to whip up a demagogic campaign against Japan. They hope to make American workers believe that unemployment and shut-downs come not from the bankruptcy of capitalism but from Japanese competition.

Nothing could be further from the truth. American economic nationalism and protectionism is a two-edged sword. Japanese capitalism is built upon massive American financial investment. Disruption of trade with Japan would destroy many big American companies with huge investments in Japan or which have large markets in Japan. The effect in areas of heavy Japanese investment like Asia, Australia, and the West Coast would be devastating.

More than this, a U.S. financial attack on Japan would not only drive Japan to the wall but could provide the final push for a complete breakdown of international trade and finance. This would push unemployment in America and all capitalist countries up to catastrophic levels, just as a similar breakdown did during the Depression.



Bridge in North Vietnam was bombed by U.S. laser-guided bombs.

Angela Davis Ignores Czech Appeal To Aid Political Prisoners

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The Prague frame-up trials are grinding ahead with a total of 46 supporters of the former Dubcek regime now sentenced to jail.

One of the most prominent oppositionists to be jailed so far is Jaroslav Sabata, the former party chief in the industrial town of Brno, and elected to the Central Committee at the 14th Party Congress held two days after the 1968 Soviet invasion.

After being charged with the standard accusation of seeking to "overthrow the social regime and the socialist state" Sabata was given six and a half years. His daughter, a teenager, was given three and a half years and both sons were given two and two and a half years respectively.

Husak is determined to wipe out all those who refuse to give up their support for the liberal reforms of the Dubcek period. This means Husak would have to put the entire population of Czechoslovakia on trial.

ANGELA

Angela Davis and the American Communist Party have maintained complete silence about the trials despite persistent appeals to Angela Davis to intervene on their behalf. Daily World, the paper of the American CP, has not published one word about the trials.

When the trials began last month, the Czech underground opposition, "Citizens Freedom Movement," appealed to Angela Davis in a letter smuggled out of the country to use her influence to seek permission to attend the trials. The letter stated:

"Your victory against a seemingly all-powerful, arrogant bureaucratic machine...is a source of inspiration to us in our struggle."

"Unlike you, the defendants cannot hope for moral or material support from their countrymen because any public expression of sympathy would automatically result in police measures against such sympathizers."

Jiri Pelikan, formerly head of Czechoslovak television and now living in Rome-also appealed to

Miss Davis for the release of all the Eastern European political prisoners. Ernest Graves, her lawyer went to Prague on his own and was refused permission to attend the trials. Still Angela Davis made no statement.

The London Sunday Times wrote that she "reportedly considers any Eastern European Communist who does not praise Mr. Brezhnev a traitor to the socialist cause."

While Angela Davis vowed to "free all political prisoners and the oppressed" after her acquittal she has turned her back on the Czechoslovak political prisoners who have been sentenced without any proof of their "subversive" activities and without even a public trial.

FRANCE

Some of the European Communist parties have been forced to make meek criticisms of the purge trials. The French trade union federation CGT, controlled by the Communist Party, stated:

"Last February, the CGT bureau informed the Central Council of the Czechoslovak unions the concern and feelings of French workers about the situation in Czechoslovakia. We then received the assurance that there would be no political trials. The trials in progress, whose political character is obvious, contradict these assurances. The CGT strongly deplors it."

This statement reflects the deep unease and hostility that these trials have provoked among French workers who have experienced bitter betrayals under their Stalinist leadership. The mild criticism of the French Communist Party itself has a far more cynical reason. It is known that the French CP, led by George Marchais, handed over documents of the Dubcek regime to Moscow to be used as evidence in future frame-up trials. Marchais now raises certain reservations about the trials only to preserve his coalition with anti-communist Francois Mitterand and the Socialist Party.

Migrant Workers Sue Tobacco Growers For Damages

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD, Conn.—Charging tobacco growers with not providing adequate meals, some 27 Puerto Rican migrant workers are suing the General Cigar Company and the Swiss Tobacco Growers Association in the U.S. District Court in New Haven.

These workers are part of the 4,000 non-unionized migrant workers who are employed by tobacco corporations in the Connecticut and Western Massachusetts area.

The workers pay \$16.31 a week for three hot meals daily which they say are not being served. The workers especially hate the lunches which amount to a cold sandwich.

Soup is served only to those with thermos bottles and the company claims that soup constitutes a hot meal. Supper is reported to typically consist of a mixture of beans, rice, and a little chicken.

One worker at a camp of the General Cigar Company in Timsbury said, "The meals would make you laugh."

The workers are seeking compensation for the amount of money they have been overcharged for these meals. They also seek \$25 in damages for each of the 4000 workers working on the tobacco fields in Connecticut.

Meatcutters Discontent Erupts In Leadership Contest At Convention

BY MARK ROSS AND BRUCE McKAY

MIAMI BEACH, Fla.—Most of the critical issues facing the 550,000 members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen were consciously avoided by the International leadership during a week-long convention just concluded here.

This convention marked the virtual abandonment of the fight taken up by this union against the wage freeze and the Pay Board, when its 100,000 packinghouse members were called out on a one day general strike last fall to oppose a Pay Board decision to hold up a wage increase in the industry.

McGOVERN

The leadership consciously moved to channel the fight against the Pay Board into a vote-hustling maneuver for McGovern. The Democratic nominee was brought in on the second day to address the convention, whereupon the leadership forced through a unanimous endorsement of McGovern.

A left cover for this was provided the next day when David Lewis, federal leader of



Amalgamated Meatcutters Union convention in Miami Beach voted to support McGovern for President.

the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, addressed the convention and added his blessings for McGovern. Both Lewis and Fred Dowling, retiring Canadian district director, tried to indicate that the Democratic Party in the U.S. and the NDP were identical.

This convention's delegates were in large measure the secondary leadership, local and district business representatives, presidents and secretary-treasurers with the greater proportion of rank-and-file delegates

coming from the packinghouse, fur and leather and Canadian locals.

DISCONTENT

Much of the discontent about the way things were going came to the surface on the question of electing district directors as opposed to having the International Executive Board designate them, and the election of the union's president. The leadership managed to get the proposal to elect district directors defeated although a signi-

ficant number of delegates—almost 40%—voted for it.

Incumbent president Joe Belsky found himself challenged for election by vice-president Clifton Caldwell. Belsky had been chosen earlier in the year when Thomas J. Lloyd decided to retire. Originally indicating that he would retire at this convention, Belsky was put forward at the head of a complete slate of candidates drawn up by Secretary-Treasurer Pat Gorman, who is the top leader in the International, having held either his present office or that of president for forty years.

Caldwell was put forward by a section of the secondary leadership who wanted to see many of the official policies of the union, adopted at conventions years ago, actually put into effect. Caldwell also received the almost unanimous support of the Canadian delegates, one of whom told this reporter that: "In Canada we are fighting for a sixty-thirty retirement program—you retire after either sixty years of age or thirty years of service. Now how the hell can I go in and demand that an employer allow my people to retire at 60, when he will throw back the fact that the union's president is over 70?"

POLLACK

The vote for Caldwell expressed this discontent, as well as over the nearly submerged—and very crucial—issue of plant closings and automation. The feelings of the top leadership were indicated when they scheduled vice president Ralph Helstein to briefly speak on the issue in the last half hour of the convention, along with a report by Local 427 president Sam Pollack, who heads a special union task force on automation and technical development.

Pollack had nominated Caldwell. Interviewed by this reporter, he showed copies of convention resolutions going back to 1964 indicating clearly that the union leadership knew for years what kind of changes were coming and sat on its hands in most cases. Pollack said that those supporting Caldwell wanted these policies implemented.

During the convention, Caldwell showed that he had few

(Continued On Page 18)

Labor Support Grows For Farinas Parole

BY ESTHER GALEN

NEW YORK—Support is growing for the fight to win parole for Juan Farinas. Lionel Williams, of Boilermakers Union Local 614 and Recording Secretary of the New London Labor Council, Carlos Heredia, President of OLAS, and Jack Spiegel, official of the United Shoe Workers in Chicago have all sent letters to the Board of Parole urging Farinas' release.

Support has also come from the Taxi Rank and File Coalition and the Drivers for a Decent Contract in New York, and from Tim Craine of the New Haven Federation of Teachers. Local 10 of the ILWU has written, "Juan Farinas was convicted for exercising what must certainly be his right of free speech under the first amendment..."

Juan Farinas is now awaiting a decision on his request for parole, after having served six months of a two year sentence for violating the Selective Service Act. The Defense Com-

mittee is campaigning intensively now to win his freedom, as the decision may come as early as Friday.

Farinas was originally tried and convicted in December 1970 for leafletting against the Vietnam war at his induction center. At no time planning to avoid induction, Farinas was framed up for taking up a fight against the war, as a war of big business on workers and peasants in Vietnam and the U.S.

Nixon intervened on behalf of mass-murderer Calley. As the

government intensifies bombing dikes, hospitals, and schools in Vietnam, it must try to silence those who seek to give leadership to the working class against the war, Pay Board, jailing of union leaders and proposed legislation against trade unions.

SUPPORT

Support is also expected from Bridgeport steelworkers, teachers, and IAM members; Baltimore longshoremen, members of 1199, and the Bakery and Confectionery Union; and New York CSEA Local 1707.

Motions of support will be presented to the Baltimore Shipbuilders Local 33, the New York Executive Council of 1199, and the St. Louis Labor For Peace Executive Committee.



Juan Farinas

From the West Coast letters are being sent to the Parole Board by Art Carter, Executive Secretary of the Contra Costa Labor Council, Maxine Wolpinsky, International Representative, AFSCME, John Poole, Executive Committee, AFSCME Local 2167, and Susan Anmiller, Executive Committee, AFSCME Local 2077.

Letters urging Farinas' parole should be mailed immediately to: U.S. Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20537, and a copy sent to the Defense Committee.

Fund raising activities are also planned, such as a variety show August 25 in Chicago, a flea market in New Haven, and dances and book sales in other cities. Funds are needed to carry on the work of the Committee and to continue to support Juan's family. Send contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York, New York 10011.

Workers League & Young Socialists invite you to WEEKEND OF EDUCATION & RECREATION

Lectures:

1. Pragmatism and the Development of the American Labor Movement—Tim Wohlforth
2. Pragmatism and the Marxist theory of Knowledge—Tim Wohlforth
3. A methodological Approach to Marx's Capital—Dennis O'Casey

\$17.00 covers everything including transportation

East Coast

Sept. 22-24
on a private lake in the Catskills near Port Jervis, N.Y.

Midwest

Sept. 16-17
at a camp on Lake Mendota near Madison, Wisconsin.

West Coast

Nov. 4-5
in the Redwoods north of San Francisco.



St. Louis Iron Workers Strike For Hiring Hall

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—All major construction in this area was brought to a halt on Wednesday, August 9th when members of Iron Workers Local 396 went on strike. The Local's 1200 members had been working without a contract since August 1st.

Although negotiations between the Contractors Associations and the union have been proceeding for four months, no headway has been made on the major issue, union control of hiring.

Under the present system the iron workers must go directly to the contractor to get hired. This enables the contractor to pick and choose whoever he wants, in spite of seniority. The defense against this arbitrary policy of hiring is the establishment of a hiring hall where the bosses would have to go to the union to hire, thereby preserving the seniority system.

The bosses and the workers are both standing firm on this issue. Pickets at the Chromalloy Plaza site in Clayton told the *Bulletin*: "Our backs are against the wall, we have no alternative but to win this one."

At the present time one third of the St. Louis building and construction trade unionists are unemployed. The contractors are using this situation to destroy seniority rights. Permit and Non-Permit workers are being hired at lower wages while the older unionists are being laid off.

The St. Louis daily press has opened up with a vicious smear campaign on the construction workers strike. Both the contractors and the press have attempted to blame the unemployment in the industry on the high wages of the workers themselves. In order to isolate the workers here, they have also claimed that unemployment in the industry is limited to St. Louis only. This is obviously rubbish.

At present all construction in Southern Illinois is shut down by a strike of the East St. Louis based Iron Workers Local 392. In July hundreds of thousands of building workers were on strike or locked out in New York, Minneapolis and Chicago. In June building workers demonstrated to the order of 50,000 in Norristown, Pa. and 20,000 in Boston against precisely the same conditions the St. Louis Iron Workers face, that is unemployment and government sponsored scabbing.

The pickets interviewed by the *Bulletin* agreed that neither of the major parties had anything to offer labor. The question of a labor party was taken up enthusiastically. One picket said:

"I think we need a labor party because there are no differences between the Republicans or the Democrats, every time they fail to come up with their election promises. I believe we have to get something different. With Nixon freezing wages and not profits, it's not right."

GMAD Changeover Spells More Layoffs In St. Louis

BY CAROL MARKS

ST. LOUIS—Autoworkers here are presently returning after model changeover at the Fisher Body, Chevrolet Truck and Corvette General Motors plants. The changeover at the Fisher Body and truck plants took seven weeks to complete due to extensive alterations to the line.

These alterations are part of the implementation of GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division). As one autoworker put it this week, "They can call it what they like, but GMAD means speed-ups and layoffs."

Since GMAD has been set up, the management has laid off 1,000 workers. Now it is rumored that after this extensive model changeover, 300 more will lose their jobs. As the men returned to work, there was tension, even among the senior workers, since no indication has been given of which jobs are to be eliminated.

STRIKE

However, the determination of the men on the line was expressed by a number of workers

who told the *Bulletin* that a strike was inevitable and necessary in the face of these attacks. The workers were anxious for more information about the situation at the Norwood plant, where the UAW has been on strike for some 16 weeks against GMAD.

The management in St. Louis is counting on the UAW Local 25 union leadership to contain the men and allow the plant to produce the vitally needed '73 models. The ranks must fight to implement the strike vote taken last spring, and lead the way for a nationwide UAW strike to shut down all of GMAD. This fight cannot be delayed a moment longer.

Foremen Push Productivity In Steel Mills

BY DAN FRIED

LORAIN, Ohio—The current drive for "productivity," being pursued most viciously by those giant corporations who are announcing record profits, is now being sharply brought in with a vengeance against the steelworkers.

The July 20, 1972 issue of the *Lorain Labor Leader*, published by Local 1104 of the United Steelworkers of America, prints a letter signed by the General Foreman, Machine Shop, of the Lorain-Cuyahoga Works of U.S. Steel, which was sent to "all Machine Shop Supervision" (foremen).

Complaining about the length of time that three employees allegedly took to complete a certain job, the letter stated:

"I want each of the salaried Turn Foremen for the three turns to explain to the three machinists involved in this fiasco that there will be no further excuse for this type of activity. This includes anyone else in the shop that may be performing in the same manner.

"It is a proven fact, that people will perform according to established standards—if they know what the standards are and if they also know that their supervisor will accept no less. Each of you are well aware of what is expected in the areas of productivity and housekeeping. It is your responsibility to get out into the shop and spend time observing...what each man or group is doing and how they are doing it. Begin checking on the rate of progress of each job on

your turn.

"Where you find people who are not performing to expectations, you are going to have to begin to kick a few asses, and, if that doesn't work, assess time off. This goes for every man in the shop—from group leader down to sweeper. Stop accepting excuses from everyone and, more important, stop inventing reasons to justify their actions.

"Forget that Joe and Harry are 'good guys' because they really put out a 'breakdown' job. What you see them do on the 'breakdown' is what we should expect them to do on every job they are assigned.

"These men are paid for a fair days work and, on the basis of eight hours pay per day. We are fortunate to receive 75% or six hours of good, honest work from most of them. The unfortunate thing is that we, as supervisors are to blame, not the wage roll man, because we continue to accept this level of output and, in doing so, we in effect tell them that is all we expect of them.

"I want each of you to get to the people on your turn when they are not pulling their share of the load and explain that what may have been acceptable work three years ago is no longer the standard. You have to lay it on

the line and make them understand that the quality and quantity of work they produce must improve.

"As much as we need craftsmen, we don't need people who do nothing more than come to work and put in eight hours just to collect a pay check. The only thing they accomplish is to make your job hard and to waste shop time and company money.

"LET'S GET WITH IT—NOW!"

A union spokesman remarked on this letter, "if this was an indication of how the company was going to interpret the Productivity Issue, then I do not intend to have any part of serving on any associated group or committee."

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Labor Editor: Dan Fried
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St. Louis ironworkers of Local 396 have struck construction sites to demand union-control of hiring, through a hiring hall.

Minneapolis Unions Reaffirm Call For Labor Party

BY JEAN BRUST

MINNEAPOLIS—I've received calls at my home and here at the office from people interested in our action," Tom Loberg, President of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council told the *Bulletin* reporter.

"They felt their wants and needs were being bypassed...that the workingmen's needs could be dealt with more effectively than they are being dealt with now...The Labor Party is certainly not a dead issue as far as we are concerned."

But in spite of these comments, the leadership of the CLUC has failed to take any steps to implement its resolution or even to oppose David Roe, president of the Minnesota State AFL-CIO body, in his attempts to rescue the fragmented Democratic Party-Labor alliance, at least on the state level.

After the convention of the state DFL (Minnesota's Democratic Party) at which the capitalist politicians demonstrated what Labor could expect at Miami, the Minneapolis CLUC responded with its historic resolution calling for a Labor Party. Roe reacted by organizing and then issuing a "Joint Statement" of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, the UAW, Teamsters, and the Farmers Union "on issues affecting the people of Minnesota."

This innocuous statement carefully avoids taking a position on anything controversial affecting the workers such as the massive plant closings like Honeywell, Moline, or Armour. The only word for the thousands of Moline workers deprived of their hard-earned pensions, for example, is the following, "A self-supporting Federal Agency should be created to insure pension plans against bankruptcy and mismanagement"

So weak is the statement

that the state DFL Central Committee was able to adopt it two days later. By this maneuver Roe and his cohorts hope to corral Minnesota workers back into support of the Democrats on the state level, while working to mend the broken Democratic-Labor alliance nationally. But of course this alliance cannot be mended. Faced with the needs of the capitalist crisis—which ever party is in power can only prepare ever sharper attacks on the workers—leaving not even a fig-leaf of reform talk for those like the bureaucrats or Stalinists to seek to claim the Democrats differ from the Republicans.

Nonetheless, Roe seeks to use the DFL adoption of this statement as just such a figleaf. He hails this development and looks forward to more such action with clear statement of intent, "I do not mean development of a political party—we are not heading in that direction."

HATRED

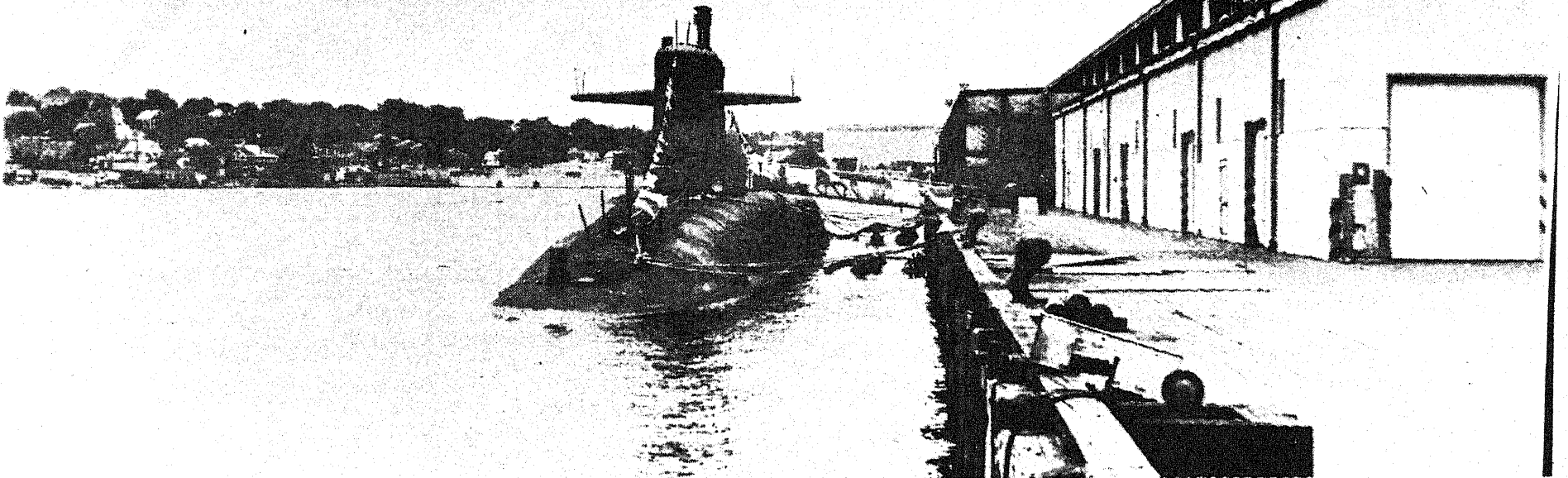
In fact Roe is doing all he can to head off the growing movement toward a Labor Party. Hence his cooperation with John Reuther, nephew of Victor Reuther, who is using the prestige of his name among union bureaucrats to campaign for McGovern. At the same time, the hatred of Minnesota workers for both McGovern and Nixon is so strong that as of now the state union officials are supporting the national no-endorsement policy.

This hatred of the workers, fanned by growing unemployment and additional threatened plant closings as well as the continued attack on wages by the

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UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

New London



Layoffs, Speed-up Hit Submarine Builders

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTING
TEAM

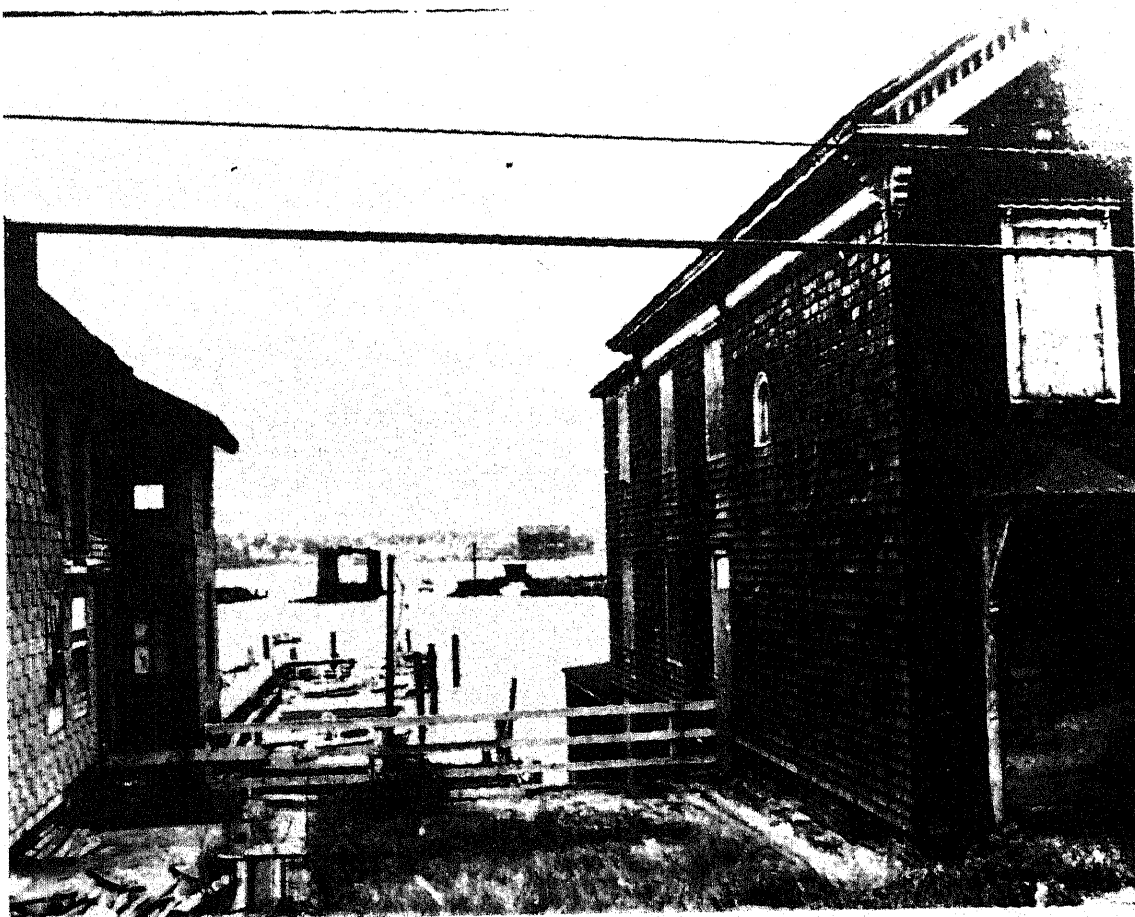
NEW LONDON, Conn.—This is one of the oldest cities in the United States. Since the American Revolution New London and the surrounding area including Groton has been a vital base for the U.S. Navy and an important center of the ship-building industry.

Today, the home of the largest submarine base in the world, New London is actually the heart of the naval power of American imperialism.

Those are the "items of interest" listed in every travel brochure issued by the New London tourist information service. What the brochures do not reveal is that New London is also a city with one of the highest and growing unemployment rates in Connecticut.

Unemployment has hit New London hard. General Dynamics Corporation-Electric Boat Division has been for over a generation the backbone of New London's industry—the most important source of employment for the city's workers. It was in the New London plant of General Dynamics, which spans and dominates the city's riverfront, that the first nuclear submarine, the *Polaris*, was constructed.

Four years ago General Dynamics employed over 15,000 workers. Today that number has been cut to almost half by massive layoffs which are still continuing. As Lionel Williams, of the Boilermakers Union Local 614 and who is Recording Secretary of the New London Labor Council explained: "There is no work. There is no work in the yard and there is no work out of the yard either. Construction work is the worst in fifteen



Top, nuclear submarine sits beside General Dynamics dock at New London. The company's hunger for profits has led to housing in the city decaying so many workers live in homes like those shown above.

years. There are no ships in the yard. There's been layoffs over the last year or so. The general employment picture is poor, very poor. In the last year you couldn't get by a month without someone getting it."

SAFETY

Those remaining in the plant are forced to work under the most dangerous health conditions. A hospital ambulance is an integral part of the plant. The extensive electrical work involved in the industry has caused regular fatalities inside the plant.

As Williams, who works in the plant explained to the *Bulletin*, "The shops themselves are high risks. It not just obvious types of accidents like people being killed every day. We lose most of our people by electrocution, by falls, crushings, burnings.

"I couldn't describe a submarine to you; it's like a maze of piping, cables, wires, and of course if you penetrate a piece of metal you might hit a high pressure line. But even this isn't where most of the fatalities are

though.

"It's the general atmosphere that we work in. You use every possible type of exotic material that you can think of. Like asbestos—there is no question about the fact that asbestos will give you lung cancer. But if you inhale beryllium—it isn't a matter of statistical possibilities. You will definitely get berillitis.

"We have about 8,000 people in the metal Trades Council. No more than 100 people live to collect their pension in retirement."

General Dynamics has never done a thing to improve these health conditions in the plant. While the wealth of the government has been poured into the plant in order to produce submarines for American imperialism's defense—the conditions for the workers in the plant become worse and worse.

SPEED-UP

Instead the company has also introduced speed-ups to increase production. As Williams said: "Ship construction is a hard thing to speed up but they try it all the time. That is why when they get

close to launching time the most serious accidents happen."

Towards the end of the interview Williams summed up the situation at General Dynamics: "Let's face it—a guy goes into business for one reason and one reason only; that's to make money. Any worker that thinks any company is concerned for his welfare is out of his mind. There isn't any corporation that exercises any humanitarian feeling unless there's a tax benefit out of it."

The workers at General Dynamics are organized into a general Metals Trade Council in which all the unions in the plant are represented. The Council was formed during the postwar strike period and was an important gain for the workers in the plant—uniting them into a single organization against the company. Over the past decades the workers in the Council have repeatedly struck against the conditions in the plant—for higher wages—and in defense of their union.

Four years ago the management of the company fired the president of the Boilermakers

Union. Four hours later General Dynamics was shut down by the workers in a wildcat strike.

Today the workers in the plant are operating under an extended contract. The contract was extended by the Council to gain time for negotiations. Actually, however, the extensions are only helping the company which as Williams said is "stalling... waiting, etc., to get the workers in a bad economic period as school starts and bills pile up."

PAY BOARD

In these negotiations the role of the Pay Board is especially central. In working for the U.S. Navy the workers in the factory are employed literally by the U.S. government itself; something which both the company and the workers are acutely conscious of. The company is offering the Pay Board guideline of 5.2 percent. As Williams explained: "We are asking for a Cost of Living Escalator. I'd say it would take at least a dollar to catch up. We need a 20% increase. . . But Nixon's taken the responsibility of bargaining away from the companies. From now on you are opposing the federal government with the Wage Freeze in contracts."

Over the last years New London has been consistently been promised programs to redevelop the city—to clean out the slums—to restore full employment. Nothing of the kind has happened. The unemployment, the layoffs are the symptoms of the degeneration of every sphere of life in the city. As one worker told the *Bulletin*: "New London has an immense dope problem. It's one of the five cities in Connecticut where you can buy scag. You are solicited by prostitutes all the time on the main street and that's an entirely new innovation. As far as removing the slums—baloney. The slums are expanding, not contracting. All over you see the same deterioration of life."

GOVERNMENT

The source of this deterioration has been the Federal government itself—which through General Dynamics is the chief employer in the town. As Williams said in reference to the strike in General Dynamics and in fighting against unemployment and the conditions in the town: "From now on you are opposing the Federal government."

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

New York City Launches Battle Against Teachers And Students

BY GIL GONZALEZ

The New York Board of Education and the city government is planning a massive attack on the educational rights of millions of youth throughout New York this coming school season. Budget cuts which have already been implemented are only a prelude to the attacks Mayor Lindsay is planning.

It is because of these conditions that the government is now preparing itself for the outbursts that will come from rebellious students upon whom these conditions are being thrust.

This is the meaning of the move on the part of the Board of Education in hiring over six thousand security guards, one for every 175 students to police the schools. The new security force will be headed by former assistant chief inspector of police, Eldridge Waife. Waife is known as a cop with a "reputation of aggressive and tough minded leadership." (Daily News.)

GUARDS

Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of

Teachers, who has made the issue of the security guards one of the central demands in the new contract talks this summer, said that the move by the Board to hire the extra guards was a "recognition that there is a problem with violence in the schools."

Shanker throughout the present negotiations has repeatedly warned the Board about student attacks upon defenseless teachers, but in actuality there have been very few if any serious attacks upon teachers by students in the last year. In fact the New York Times recently published a report which stated that attacks upon teachers was not the predominant act of violence in the schools. Shanker is lining up with the Board by using

the security guard demand to cloud the real issues in the contract negotiations.

The Board on the other hand, is using the security guards to pit the youth against the teachers at a time when strike action by the UFT is on the agenda.

CENTRAL ISSUES

Contrary to Shanker's position on the negotiations, a UFT delegate of Local 2 told the Bulletin that the central issues in the contract fight are "salary increases, working conditions and job security."

She added that "In the working conditions the main demand is that the size of the classes be reduced and administrative duties be eliminated. In opposition to this the Board of Education wants to take away all our past gains. They want to allow the principal to have the power to assign extra jobs on teachers' free periods."

When asked about Shanker's position on the security guards, the delegate stated: "Shanker claims that this business about security guards is the central issue. This demand was slipped in by the bureaucracy on its own after all the teachers ratified all the other demands. He's using the demand for security guards as a cover to sell us out in the Fall. The security guards deal is

an attempt by the Board of Education to divide the students and the teachers. I think that the students and the teachers have to see their common interests. These security guards can be used to repress militant youth as well as striking teachers. The students must support the teachers' strike."

STRUGGLE

It is becoming increasingly clear that the struggle of the youth to hold on to the gains which the working class has made in recent years is the very same struggle of the teachers today. The demand of the teachers to decrease the size of the classes is related to the struggle of the youth against the budget cuts.

In order for the teachers to receive their demands in this contract fight they will have to confront the government. The teachers' demand for a pay increase from \$12,500 to \$25,000 a year is well in excess of the Pay Board guidelines. Both the Democrats and the Republicans are set to use the Pay Board against any contract whose wage increase is beyond the Pay Board guideline and because of the economic crisis, productivity increases and overcrowded classrooms are on the agenda. The only way that the teachers can fight back is to break from the two capitalist parties and take forward the strike politically with the fight for a labor party.

In a recent UFT meeting one



UFT President Albert Shanker

delegate raised the call for a labor party and was able to get support from many of the attending delegates. But Shanker showing his complete contempt for the rank and file stopped the discussion on the labor party and said, "If you want to discuss the labor party, you cannot do it here."

The rank and file of the UFT must take forward the fight for the labor party as the only way to defend all the gains the teachers have made in the past.

AFT Convention Must Answer National Attack On Teachers

As the American Federation of Teachers holds its national convention, its largest section in New York faces a tremendous attack.

The contract proposals of the New York Board of Education are virtually a declaration of war against the city's teachers and youth. Mayor Lindsay, who last week published a program for vicious speed-ups and layoffs of city employees, is now planning to destroy the United Federation of Teachers and the right of youth to a decent education.

The Board of Education has refused to discuss the UFT's call for decent working conditions and salary increase. Instead, it is demanding that the teachers lose basic union rights, accept unbearable new work assignments, and give up job security.

Among other things, the contract demands the exclusion of "per diem" substitutes and would allow the firing of substitute teachers at the whim of the principals. This bloodthirsty Board of Education is also trying to deny a day off to teachers who come down with an illness.

It is clear that the city is planning to renew its union-busting activities right where it left off in 1969.

However, the teachers are in a strong position to fight back. The merger of the UFT with the American Federation of Teachers makes the union far more powerful than it was three years ago.

But the dangers are also very great. Behind Lindsay's drive to destroy the union is the enormous economic crisis. This means that injunctions and anti-strike laws will be used and teachers will be thrown into jail. What happened in Newark in 1971 can happen in New York in 1972.

Teachers cannot defend themselves merely as militant trade unionists. The main task before the AFT is the construction of a labor party and a political program that will meet not only the crisis in education, but the needs of all workers.

There is no doubt that the city will play its old game of trying to divide teachers and students when the strike begins. The bankrupt policies of UFT President Albert Shanker who calls for 6,000 guards to protect teachers from their students plays right into Lindsay's hands.

But we call on all students to give full support to the teachers and take up the fight for a labor party. The destruction of the UFT would mean the end of education in this city. It is Lindsay and the corporations who he represents who are responsible for the conditions that exist in the schools today, not the teachers.

The fight of the teachers and the students are one and the same. The Young Socialists urge all students to go out with the teachers and fight for these demands:

*No acceptance of the Board's proposals which mean an end to education.

*Billions must be spent for education—more schools must be built, more teachers must be hired.

*No cops in the schools.

*Build a labor party based on socialist policies to defend the unions and the rights of all working people and youth.



Youth leave classes at Eastern District High School in Brooklyn. This year, city is cutting budget and hiring more guards, destroying education and turning schools into prisons for the youth.

Detroit Youth Jobless At 55%

BY MIKE JAMES

DETROIT, Mich.—Since the summer of 1971, massive layoffs have hit city employees in the Department of Parks and Recreation and the Detroit Public Works. There have also been plant shut-downs.

Unemployment has reached 9.7%, well over the national average, and for minority youth, the unemployment figure stands at 55%.

This tremendous crisis is forcing the youth to look for a solu-

tion, but they will not find one in the programs being offered by the Detroit city administration.

TRASH

Mayor Gribbs' brainstorm idea to deal with the situation this summer was to sponsor a contest called "Keep Detroit Clean." The hundreds of youth who entered the contest were told to pick up trash in downtown Detroit, and one of them would win a free vacation. But no one received a decent paying job.

A few small businessmen were persuaded by this enterprising

mayor to hire youth for the summer. 40,000 applications were filed, but only 1,100 jobs were found.

Knowing that these programs could do nothing for the great majority of youth, Gribbs strengthened the police force to terrorize the unemployed. During the past 20 months that his special force has been in existence (called STRESS—"Stop the robberies, enjoy safe streets"), 15 people have been shot. Fourteen of the dead were less than 18 years old.

Government's Program For Youth: Unemployment And Poverty

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

The future of American youth is now foreshadowed in the struggles of the American working class which, today, confronts the task of its survival. By their own admission, the U.S. Census Bureau estimates one out of every eight Americans lives in poverty and this figure has been relatively "stable" for three years. But this "stability" only represents the increased impoverishment of American workers when coupled with soaring inflation and unemployment.

Lack of jobs and low wages are reported by the Government as the main reasons for the poor being poor—but, it's economic analysts conclude, the hard-core poor are likely to be a permanent segment of society because they are NOT NEEDED. In other words, the American working class should meekly prostrate itself before the "charity" of the Democrats and Republicans and grovel for crumbs. This "charitable program" is exemplified by the wage-control measures of August 15, 1971 and recent moves to pass vicious anti-labor legislation prohibiting Transportation strikes and ordering compulsory arbitration. It is only the up-coming elections which have postponed this relic of capitalist "legality" to smash up the unions.

At the same time, these government attacks are coordinated with desperate attempts of big business to maintain and increase its profits in this period where the very value of the dollar is under speculation. Upon the removal of the gold-backing from the dollar last August, American capitalists were forced to admit that the inflationary post-World War II boom which allowed it to make

concessions to the working class and youth has reached its limit and must NOW turn into its opposite: all-out attacks to destroy these gains and protect its profit-system.

This is why the New York Shipping Association must use containerization methods to throw out thousands of dock workers and harass the remaining ones with "new" work rules which in effect are "no-work" rules. Such policies go hand-in-hand with the Pay Board's 22% slashing of the ILA's wage increase. It is in this period of economic collapse internationally, that all sectors of basic industry must initiate tremendous work speed-ups, pay cuts and harassment of the more militant and young workers.

YOUTH

This being the situation which older workers face, what is in store for American youth? Unemployment, nationwide, averages 20%—and as much as 50% for minority youth in ghetto areas; college enrollment for the Fall has decreased in response to budget cuts and tuition hikes; the Federal government has halted the processing of student loan applications by universities while



Young Socialist editor Abby Rodriguez discusses unemployment situation with youth in Buffalo, N.Y. Massive job cuts hit Buffalo's Lackawanna steel mill and other heavy industries in upstate New York, where unemployment is already high. Next week's YS will contain an article on the situation there.

preparing new regulations. With these conditions facing the youth, the darling of radicalism, George McGovern, proposes a guaranteed median income of \$1000 per year per American—with those under 18 receiving even less. Such despicable scraps from the capitalists' table are not even to be started until 1975.

PHILADELPHIA

In Philadelphia, where 4000 youth were promised jobs, only 1000 actually got them. Having worked one week for "free," the city then deducted 10 hours pay from each bi-monthly check (50 hours work/40 hours pay). In addition, because the poverty program exceeded its original hiring limit with the 1000—it was forced to terminate two weeks early.

When the youth reacted to their counselor, he replied: "You should be glad you got what you got...I get paid whether you get paid or not." Meanwhile, the Panthers continue to sell papers, spewing forth antiquated "sur-

vival-program" rhetoric that poses no STRATEGY for the youth to actually survive.

In the greater Boston area, where 40,000 youth were seeking jobs, the Department of Employment Security announced openings for 700. Poverty programs here have completely collapsed in the face of larger industrial towns such as Lowell and Lawrence (textiles), Lynn (G.E. plant) and New Bedford (commercial fishing and textiles) reaching 10-11% unemployment.

Such developments in the capitalist crisis are met with petition-writing and demonstrations by Progressive Labor (PL) who, in typical reformist fashion, poses the "30 for 40" fight isolated from any political perspective to bring the working class to power. As a result of the crisis, and the movement of the youth and the trade unions, the Communist Party comes forward in its traitorous role to deliver the working class into the hands of "liberal" De-

mocrats and Republicans. While actively campaigning for Black Democrat Hubie Jones in Boston and tacitly supporting McGovern for President, it smugly whips out its "left" cover for working class neighborhoods: the Gus Hall-Jarvis Tyner (CP) campaign.

Rising unemployment here, particularly amongst youth and minority workers, will be used by the government as a bludgeon against older, unionized workers to completely throw out rights which they've gained in fierce struggle with the bosses. Among those rights it will have no qualms about discarding are the Child Labor Laws and minimum-wage coverage (neither of which migrant workers and the poorest workers have ever been protected by).

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

It is only through the fight of the Young Socialists around demands for free higher education, meaningful job-training, full employment for all, thirty-hour week at forty hours pay and nationalization of basic industries under workers' control that the youth, in calling upon the trade unions to spearhead this fight, can forge the only weapon able to defeat the capitalist class and ensure the survival of the working class. This fight must now be organized around building a labor party, the vehicle by which youth and workers will begin to establish political independence from the Democrats and Republicans, confront their own traitorous labor bureaucracies, break with reformism, clarify their class interests in opposition to those of the capitalists and pose the question of power, itself, by the struggle for socialism.

It is with this assessment of the present economic crisis and this strategy—both of which derive from Marxist theory and life and death struggles to bring the working class forward—that we now call upon all youth, unemployed and trade unionists to build the Labor Conference being called by the Workers League for the Fall of '72—to meet the sharpness of the attacks from the Government and big business with a qualitatively developed weapon of working class strength: the labor party.

MILITANCY GROWS AMONG GERMAN YOUTH

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

There is tremendous militancy growing among the German working class and youth because of the increasing attacks of the capitalist system. The *Young Socialist* got a special interview with a young German worker named Uli on the political and economic situation in Germany.

Uli stated that while there is a severe economic crisis in Germany, the unemployment level is comparatively low to that of other advanced countries. The industries and development of Germany took place with the Bretton Woods agreement in 1944.

After the war thousands of dollars were pumped in to save the economy of Germany. Now, with the breakup of Bretton

Woods and the convertibility of the dollar, workers and youth face enormous difficulties. They confront unemployment, working shorter hours, and a lower salary.

Several companies have started their moves to drive back

the living standard of the German working class. The Volkswagen company in Hanover has laid off 15,000 workers already.

Meanwhile, a layoff of 80,000 coal miners is being prepared. "Layoffs are used to divide the working class to create a large

army of unemployed workers to knock down wages." Uli explained.

An expression of the increasing attacks on the German working class and youth can be seen in the school system.

"Germany had a system of free university which is now being taken away. Not everyone can go to the universities now. Those who do attend are placed under tremendous pressure. Students are given a certain amount of time to finish their work in.

"There are very few teachers available to teach in the public schools. School days are missed because there aren't enough teachers available to teach. The common class size is around 50 to 60 youth in one class."

INTOLERABLE

Uli said that the conditions of the schools are intolerable. Because of this, there are many student strikes and walk outs. Students frustrated by the conditions just walk out and march to the City Council and put

(Continued On Page 18)



Youth must turn to older workers who in Germany are now entering the sharpest battles with the capitalists since postwar period.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Union McGovern Drive Covers Pay Board Retreat

(Continued From Page 1)

fight the wage freeze and unemployment. But who is this man McGovern and where has he stood?

It was McGovern in fact that voted for the open shop in the Senate. It was McGovern who was one of the first advocates of the wage freeze even before Nixon announced it on August 15th of last year. After the announcement McGovern's only remark was that it was too little too late.

What indeed has McGovern in this campaign and in his attempts to woo labor had to say about ending the wage freeze? What has he had to say about General Motors' 16 per cent hike in profits? What has he had to say about the plant closures that are now creating mass unemployment? Nothing.

The Democratic Party Convention and the declaration of neutrality by the AFL-CIO marked the end of the coalition of the labor movement with the capitalist class that was built behind Roosevelt by the labor bureaucracy and the Communist Party. This break posed what Meany has refused to carry through—the organization of a labor party. But it is precisely this that the Stalinists are desperately seeking to prevent in their attempts to hold together the coalition and “unify” the Democratic Party.

The July 22 editorial in the World makes this quite clear: “The most reactionary, chauvinistic, racist and aggressive sections of big business think their big chance has come this election year and they are determined to make the most of it. They think that they have an opportunity to sharpen divisions in labor to a breaking point, and that they can shatter the coalition of labor, Blacks and liberals which has been the key to the defeat of ultra-reaction in the past.”

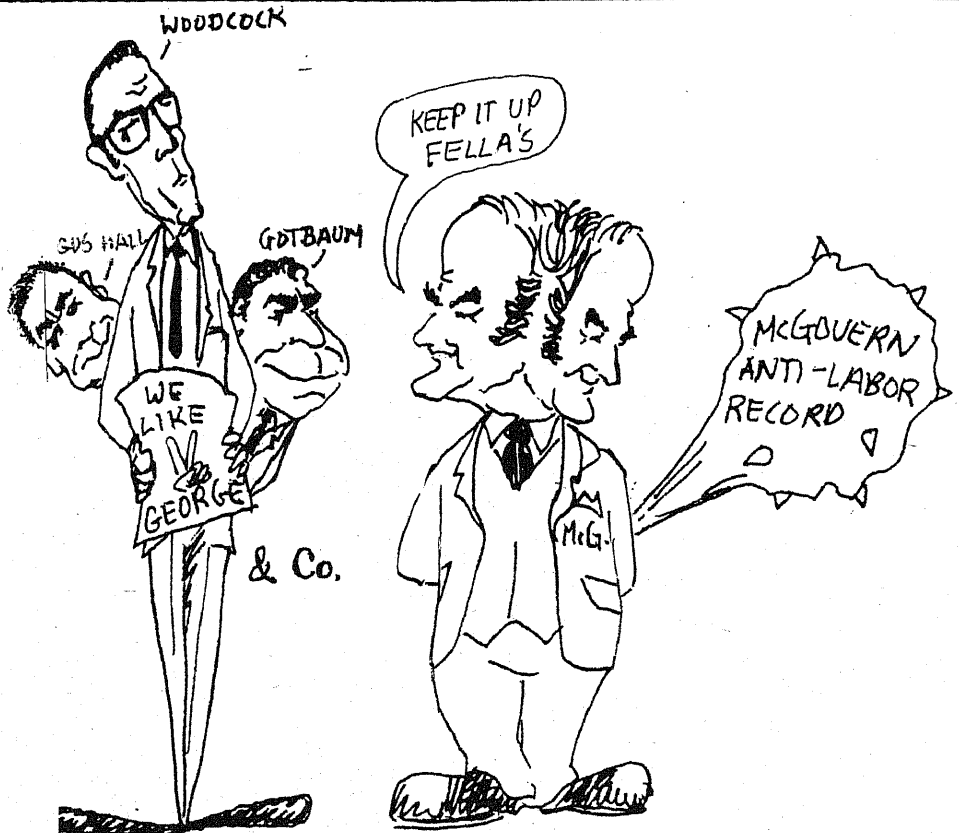
It is this crisis which is now forcing big business and its henchmen in BOTH the Democratic and Republican parties to destroy the living standards and the unions of American workers that has brought labor to the breaking point with the Democratic Party.

Part of this grand coalition the CP seeks to foist on the working class in fact includes those spokesmen for the “aggressive sections of big business.” These are the forces being brought into the fold by Shriver and includes such representatives of Eastern big business as John D. Rockefeller IV. These are the interests the CP seeks to tie American workers to, handing them up for slaughter when the election is over.

Behind the moves of the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists is the attempt to prevent the showdown that must come between labor and the government. This is the meaning of the Pay Board's meeting. They want to head it off at a time when the capitalist class is the most vulnerable.

Now is the time to mount the offensive for strike action and the building of a labor party as both the Democrats and Republicans hope they can tread softly until November and then go full speed ahead with their plans for wage cutting, unemployment and speed-up.

We call on workers and youth to go forward in this fight to defeat the government's attacks and build a labor party by attending the conference of trade unionists and youth called by the Workers League in October in Chicago.



What we think

Nixon's Strategy One Year Later

One year ago, on August 15, 1971, Richard Nixon appeared on nationwide television to announce his “New Economic Policy.” The measures which he implemented were: 1) a 90-day wage freeze to be followed by special controls; 2) a new surcharge to be imposed upon foreign imports; 3) the suspension of the dollar's convertibility into gold.

Of the three principal decisions, the suspension of convertibility was the most decisive. Acting “pragmatically” to prevent the total depletion of the United States' gold resources due to the development of enormous trade deficits, Nixon acted in defiance of the laws of value through which capitalism operates (whether he likes it or not), and created the conditions for the collapse of the international monetary system and world trade itself.

Along with the suspension of convertibility, the imposition of the surcharge exposed Nixon's determination to throw as much of the crisis as possible onto the backs of the European bourgeoisie, forcing it into a reckless showdown with the working class in its own countries.

Finally, Nixon was compelled to end the post-war era of compromise with the working class in the United States. On August 15, this government of big business began its drive to take away from workers everything they had won since the 1930's.

These policies were the product of the deepest crisis in the history of capitalism, and they reflected the desperation of the American ruling class. Nixon's August 15 decisions could not solve the crisis. Quite the opposite: they only deepened the contradictions within the economic system, and have brought the crisis to the very brink of catastrophe.

It is clear today—on the anniversary of August 15—that even from the standpoint of Nixon's pragmatic outlook, his strategy for defending the interests of the giant corporations is in disarray. None of the fundamental problems that led him to the August 15 program have been solved or even slightly ameliorated.

The international monetary system is in shambles. With the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreements, Keynesian reforms were ex-

hausted. Every attempt to establish some new international arrangement has failed. The currency realignments established December 18 at the Smithsonian Institute collapsed in June when England devalued its pound.

*The price of gold now stands in the area of \$70 an ounce, 100% above its official value this time last year. Nixon's 12% devaluation of the dollar is absurdly inadequate; and in any case, he refuses to restore convertibility.

*In spite of Nixon's economic warfare against Europe and Japan, the United States' balance of trade deficit for 1972 will be about \$4 billion, double the total for 1971.

*The immediate future holds the certainty of devastating trade war; for both Europe and Japan are being forced to retaliate against the United States. Japan is now considering a competitive devaluation of the Yen in order to recapture markets that were restricted by earlier revaluations forced at gun-point by the United States.

Domestically, all the developments are taking place beneath the dark shadow of the international crisis. The meagre pick-up in industrial production which Nixon's economists are hailing as a breakthrough have been paid for at the price of provoking world-wide financial chaos.

*Inflation has not been halted. Massive pumping of dollars into the economy by the government in order to keep it going has kept the rate of inflation between 3 and 4%. Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson jokingly refers to the attempt to control inflation as “Mission Impossible.”

*Unemployment has not been brought down. Even the government's suspect statistics record only a .2% decline to 5.7%. The consequences of the economic crisis will produce in this period a sharp rise in unemployment.

Whatever strategy the government had for improving the economy has already been exposed as a fraud. What remains at this point is merely the hope that a full scale collapse on the economic front can be averted

until after the November elections.

However, there is one aspect of the strategy announced last August 15 that remains very much in effect; and that is the plan to smash the trade unions and destroy the living conditions of American workers.

If Nixon can report any success whatsoever, it is that the Pay Board has been able—through the sniveling retreats of the trade-union bureaucracy—to hold wage increases down 1% from last year.

There will be no let-up in the attack. As warned by the Bulletin early last month and now confirmed in the August 13 issue of the New York Times, “There is already hushed talk of tightening the guidelines next year to meet the danger of overstimulation and, rather than being phased out, it looks as though controls are going to be relied upon more than ever to curb a recurrence of inflation in the second half (of the year).”

Let no worker harbor any doubts about the policies that Nixon—or McGovern—intends to pursue after the election. There will be sharp attacks on wages through the Pay Board. Speed-ups that will recall the turn-of-the-century sweat shops will be brought into the plants. C. Jackson Grayson has gone on the record to insist that only increased productivity can control inflation.

A tremendous leap in unemployment is being prepared. The shutdown of plants announced last week by American Can shows the future threatening millions of workers.

Both Nixon and McGovern hope to squeak through until November—and then it will be open season on the working class. But the trade unions must take matters into their own hands. Nixon's strategy, already shaken by the objective development of the economic crisis, can be blasted to bits by the forceful intervention of the organized working class.

Do not let Nixon and McGovern choose the time and place for the showdown! The AFL-CIO must call for strike action before November against the Pay Board and the plans for increased productivity. At the same time, the AFL-CIO must call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

This party must have a program that will meet the needs of the working class. It must answer the Democratic and Republican parties' plans for unemployment with a program for the nationalization of all industry under workers' control.

The plans of big business can be defeated by the mobilization of the working class in political struggle against the government. It was the power of the working class in the post-war period that led Nixon into the quagmire last August 15. It is this power that must be brought forward to defeat Nixon's attacks and actually prepare a socialist solution to the capitalist crisis.

500 Weekly Subscription Quota Is Urgent

As we complete our first full week of subscription work after the vacation period we have received 272 subs bringing the grand total to 2881. Serious work was done in East New York, Brownsville, Hartford, Northfield and Minneapolis. A beginning was also made by the Bay Area, Bushwick, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Portland.

However, no area is as yet getting subs anywhere near the level now required to fulfill our goal on time. As reported last week we must now achieve at least 500 subs a week. This last week's figure makes this now even more urgent.



IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM

AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY OUR HISTORY BY TIM WOHLFORTH

THE MEANING OF REUNIFICATION

AFTER HAVING repudiated the 1953 split, our author refused to discuss the International Committee's history from 1953 to 1961. Instead he turns to an episodic and totally inadequate history of the SWP as if it existed outside of any international movement. Thus the question of reunification is discussed abstracted from the related and more fundamental question of the SWP split from the International Committee.

But this history must be seriously investigated. First and foremost it is clear that the Socialist Labour League persisted in two related respects within the International Committee meeting resistance from the SWP on both counts. The SLL proposed and fought for a reopening of discussions with the Pabloites, not with the view of some unprincipled amalgam, but in order precisely to clarify all the theoretical questions raised in the 1953 split and educate the movement in this fashion. Next the SLL insisted that the nature of Pabloism did not change with the passing of

time but had actually deepened in its liquidationist and anti-Marxist character.

But there is more to this history. In 1956 came the Polish and Hungarian Revolutions. These events not only marked the beginning of the end of Stalinism and the complete vindication of Trotskyism, of everything Trotsky had fought for, but they were the prelude of the break-up of all the relations of the boom period.

Because the International Committee had fought it out against Pabloism, it was able to take a correct stand on these events. Particularly important were the speeches made by James P. Cannon on March 9th, 1956 and June 15th, 1956 and the resolution of the National Committee of the SWP of April 1956.

In England important sections of the Communist Party joined what was soon launched as the Socialist Labour League precisely through a principled struggle around the perspectives of the International Committee and the Open Letter that Stalinism, far from being a revolutionary force, was completely counterrevolutionary. The Pabloites developed the position, in opposition, that these events "proved" that the bureaucracy would break up molecularly under mass pressures and centrist and revolutionary tendencies emerge from out of the bureaucracy itself. They actually deepened their break with Trotskyism on the key question of Stalinism.

The International Committee then went through important developments among the youth which came to the International Committee precisely because of its stand on Hungary and Stalinism. This is the origin of the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States. In England the theoretical struggle against Pabloism prepared the way for a very rapid development of a youth movement within the

British Labour Party itself. This movement was built in an extreme bitter struggle not just against the right wing of the BLP but against the British Pabloites who supported the right wing even going to the point of aiding it in expelling the British Trotskyists.

It should be recorded that in the midst of this period the Socialist Labour League was formed. The SWP supported and defended the formation of the SLL while the Pabloites attacked it. The Pabloites based themselves on the liquidationist theories of deep entrism which are a part of the 1953 split. For them the purpose of work inside the BLP was not the construction of the alternative leadership but of assisting in the break of center forces from the right. It is these forces that the Pabloites saw carrying out the revolution, not the Trotskyist cadres.

What would have happened to the British Trotskyists if they had stayed inside the Pabloite international—as if they could on any terms this side of complete renunciation of Trotskyism? Would it have been possible to construct the youth movement which has emerged

in England? It is this real material movement which our author is completely distant from. He feels no responsibility for it or to it.

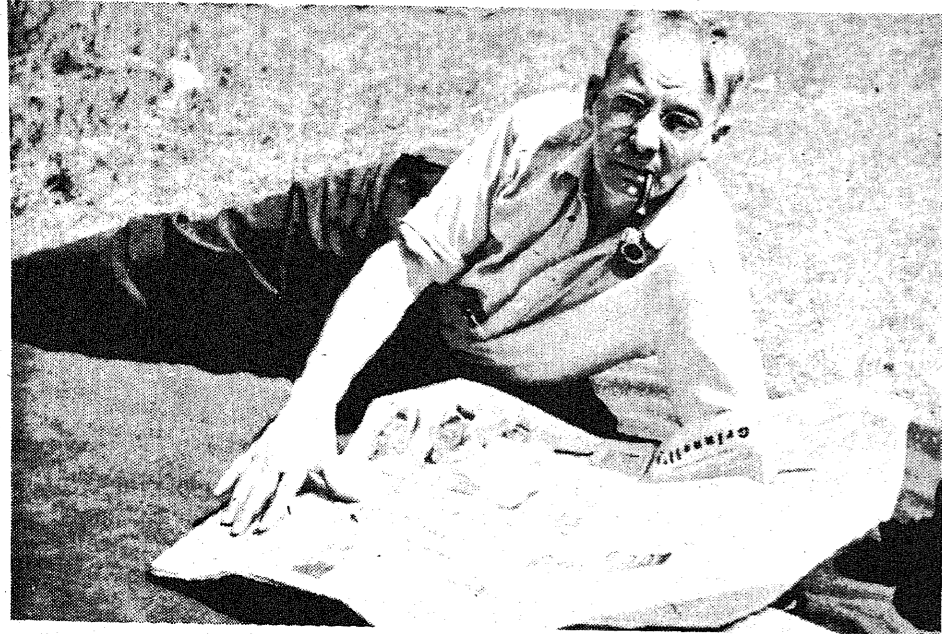
We have chronicled the history of the SWP in this period elsewhere. After a brief fight with Pabloism it dropped the international struggle altogether. After beginning a Trotskyist struggle against Stalinism over Hungary it drifted into adaptation to centrist forces emerging actually to the right of Stalinism. After defending the SLL against Pabloism it was to prepare through a letter to Leslie Goonewardena for a new regroupment with the Pabloites aimed against the British and the French.

The account of this period given by our author is not serious because it is abstracted out of the actual existence of the International Committee. Thus he can comment favorably on oppositionists Joyce Cowley and V. Gross who opposed aspects of the SWP's regroupment tactics at the time:

"We agree with these criticisms of Cowley and Gross. . ."

Once again we have positions plucked

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.



The great strength of Trotskyism in Minneapolis and in the whole of the Socialist Workers Party in its earlier years was the determined struggle of its cadres to actually construct a party based on international principle in the American working class itself. Vincent Dunne, shown at lower left with a comrade at a Raspberry Festival in Minnesota in 1946, and Oscar Coover, shown at upper left at a Midwest summer school in 1947, played important roles in this struggle. A section of the party leadership led by George Clark and Bert Cochran joined with Pablo in 1952 in an attempt to liquidate this party. George Clark is shown above on left with Mike Bartell, who led Cochranite opposition in New York, at the 1947 Midwest summer camp. The Twin Cities SWP stood solidly against the Cochranites who were expelled for boycotting the 25th Anniversary celebration of the SWP. The Minneapolis banquet is shown here upper center. Minneapolis Militant supporters are shown in 1955 in lower center photo. Woman seated second from right is Fanny Curran who was expelled from the Young Pioneers at the age of 12 for questioning the expulsion of Cannon from the Communist Party.



Carl Skoglund (above) was forced to spend his last years confined to the state of New Jersey facing the threat of deportation to his native Sweden. He was one of the central figures in the Minneapolis SWP. Farrell Dobbs writes of him: "A Marxist worker with a high level of intellectual development, he understood the importance of theory and its use as a guide for action. He started me on a reading course in Marxist classics; then we would discuss what I had read and he would patiently explain points I didn't understand."

out of their actual context in the development of the history of the Fourth International. These two tendencies were both very different and both completely agreed with Cannon on the question of internationalism. Neither saw the opportunism within the SWP in relation to the construction of the International Committee and its struggle against Pabloism.

V. Gross was a leader of the Marcy group. This group was and is an extreme Pabloite group which supported the Soviet tanks against the Hungarian working class. It was to repeat this position over Czechoslovakia!

Joyce Cowley represented a section of the SWP with a program of orienting to the trade unions quite similar to that of the recent Proletarian-Oriented Tendency. It refused to grapple with the question of the turn of the SWP away from the working class, theoretically and to thus see it in its international perspective. Therefore the group soon broke up, some leaving the party, including Cowley.

Our author is unable to make any real sense out of the events of 1961 to 1963. He states:

"During this period the Wohlforth-Robertson opposition emerged. We feel that we are basically resuming the fight that was ended with their expulsion—the fight to return to the Transitional Program—During the course of the fight the Wohlforth group developed agreement with the Socialist Labour League, and today functions as an American appendage of the Socialist Labour League, sectarian to the core. Robertson's Spartacist League, while having better politics on paper than the Workers League, has been mired since its inception in a petty bourgeois orientation. . ."

And:

"The Socialist Labour League represents, to us, the incarnation of the sectarian tendency always inherent in the Fourth International, just as the Pabloites represent the Fourth International's centrism. . . The SLL itself has been totally unable to utilize dialectical materialism to reach a correct position."

And again:

"The fact is that the SWP was being pressured by the Socialist Labour League to discuss Pabloism, to make an historical assessment of what it was and where it was going. As is well known, the Socialist Labour League no longer considered the Fourth International—i.e. the Pabloite Fourth International—a section of Trotskyism and wanted the SWP to agree

to the same. Thus, partly to again avoid the important discussion and assessment of Pabloism and partly because of their common impressionist method has been liquidationist path to more or less merge, the SWP wanted to get back together with the Fourth International and to get rid of the troublesome Socialist Labour League and the OCI, who kept pressing for criticism—something alien to the SWP."

And finally:

"We consider the 1963 reunification an unprincipled reunification. How can it be otherwise. All political differences were buried. . ."

It is necessary to place all these quotes together because just at the point where our author approaches the central issues his reasoning gets completely muddled. First it must be stated that what occurred in 1961-1963 was not simply a reunification of the SWP with the Pabloites but most fundamentally a split of the SWP with the International Committee which represented and represents today Trotskyism, the Fourth International.

The fight to return to the Transitional Program was not initiated by Wohlforth or Robertson but by the Socialist Labour League. This is the historical record. Wohlforth and Robertson had differences with the SWP leadership on several questions, including Cuba, prior to January 1961 but these differences were of an episodic, not fundamental character. The discussion was opened up by the SLL on the international arena directed to the fundamental question of Pabloism.

The "Wohlforth group" did not develop agreement with the SLL at some later point. That agreement was reached on the basis of a memorandum on the world movement issued in January 1961 and agreed to by Robertson as well as other members of the group formed around that memorandum. It was one year later that Robertson broke with the International Committee group which included the OCI as well as SLL.

This presents our author with several difficulties and brings him to the point of utter confusion. He must recognize that it was the SLL which pressed the struggle against Pabloism, a struggle which today he must admit is correct. He even comes to the conclusion that the reunification—which the SLL forces fought alone—was unprincipled. But he ends up stating that the SLL is completely sectarian and is "unable to utilize dialectical materialism to reach a correct position." Was not the SLL correct on Pabloism and

correct on 1963?

But this is only part of the confusion. If the SWP should never have led a split from the Pabloites in 1953 how can it be condemned for reunifying with them in 1963? Clearly what made the reunification unprincipled in 1963 was not just that no discussion was held. The discussion was not held for a reason. Such a discussion would have revealed the principled character of the split in 1953—principled because the differences which separated the factions involved all the fundamentals of Trotskyism. This would have meant reunification could only take place on the basis of a break with all the positions of 1953 and the method which underlies those positions.

What we are discussing are not just bits and pieces to be divided or united with or without discussions. We are speaking of the Fourth International which Trotsky founded in 1938, which Pablo almost destroyed in 1953, which went forward as the International Committee, which the SWP deserted in 1963 to fuse with the renegades.

THE CRISIS OF REVISIONISM TODAY

PRECISELY BECAUSE THE reunification of 1963 was not based on principle, today the United Secretariat breaks up under the blows of the movement of the working class. Two tendencies have developed within the Pabloites. The majority tendency is led by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank. It is the original group which was formed around Pablo in the late '40s and early '50s. The minority tendency consists of little more than the SWP.

The majority tendency supports a completely liquidationist perspective of guerrilla warfare in Latin America. It is forces supporting this tendency which carried out the kidnappings and

murder in Argentina. The SWP tendency opposes this counterposing "party-building." While neither of these tendencies has any principled disagreements, it is still significant that the split within the United Secretariat has taken place along the lines of the original split in 1953.

While these two tendencies stand together on method today, while each is centrist, they have a different history. This history, which our author and Fender dismiss, has much to do with their division today even though they have sought for some time now to avoid discussing this question. Mandel stands upon the basis of Pablo's liquidation of the movement. His present political position flows directly from his refusal to break with Pablo in 1953. He rests thus on a history of revisionism.

The SWP, on the other hand, rests upon a history of struggle against revisionism, albeit a weak struggle and one that was cut off in the end. That history cannot simply be dismissed. In fact the current divisions in the movement not only were prepared by this historical difference but bring this historical difference forcibly to the fore of the discussion despite the wishes of the participants of the discussion.

This has been shown so clearly in the comments of these tendencies on the split of the OCI from the International Committee. When they tried to intervene in this discussion all they revealed was the depth of the differences which remain among themselves over the meaning of the 1953 split and the nature of Pabloism.

The question is not one of supporting one of these factions against the other but of understanding how it is that the history of the Trotskyist movement grips the living. With this understanding one can struggle for a theoretical development through the freeing of the past from the grip of the revisionists. That is, we must bring forward the real history of the Trotskyist movement, including the history of the SWP with all its strengths and weaknesses, against the present SWP, to break it in every way from the SWP.

It is at this critical point that the tendencies we have been discussing evolve.

THE SWP - PARTY OF THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION

MILITANT '55

Their role is the most reactionary of all—to turn upon this history itself, to spit upon it, to do everything they can to free themselves of its grip so that they may proceed in their full flight from the working class as it enters into a new period of struggle.

Here is what our author says about the present divisions within the United Secretariat:

"The fact of the matter is that in the period from 1963 to 1972, just as in the period from 1953-1962, both groupings, the SWP and the Mandel-Maitan leadership, continued to apply impressionism and subjectivism instead of Marxist analysis to the events of the day and both groupings are still seeking a substitute for the vanguard party rooted in the working class. The difference is that today the SWP is heading along the liquidationist path by jet while the European leadership is heading along the path not by oxcart, but by something a little slower than a jet—perhaps by locomotive."

First our author once again refuses to see the break in 1953 as qualitative in character. Not only does he see the difference at the time of the Open Letter as only a matter of quantitative degree of revisionism but he projects this for the whole period of the existence of the International Committee with the SWP as supporting it. This is another example of this school's attempt to break down the distinction between Trotskyism and centrism.

Then our author reverses the quantitative ratio so that the original group around Pablo emerges as the better, if by only a few hundred miles per hour, than the SWP. Let us remember that the Vern-Ryan group utilized this travelling to liquidationism at different rates of speed argument to justify a bloc with Cannon against Pablo. It can only mean in this context a bloc with the United Secretariat Majority against the SWP.

This is exactly what our author has in mind:

"It is apparent to us from reading the documents of the International Marxist Group and from discussions with IMG comrades, that these comrades have come to understand the importance of a proletarian orientation, and feel that they have broken with Pabloism."

The IMG, we should note, is the organization which refused to support the Labour Party in the last elections. Its distance from the working class is so profound that some of its members urged that Labour Party election meetings be broken

up! Its latest recruit is Robin Blackburn, known as "Britain's Weatherman." It supports guerrilla warfare not only in Argentina but in Ireland as well.

What may we ask is a "proletarian orientation" in Britain if it is not an orientation aimed at breaking the British working class from the British Labour Party? How can the workers be broken outside of a struggle for a Labour government devoted to socialist policies against the Tories?

These critics never discuss the actual strategy of the movement in relation to the resolution of the crisis of leadership of the working class itself. Their distance from the working class is at the heart of their whole pragmatic theoretical approach and cannot be covered over with talk of "proletarian orientation"! These people have positions on all manner of questions but never have a policy for the working class itself. They are willing to overlook all sorts of "weaknesses" and the like in petty bourgeois tendencies like Haston and Tariq Ali but have nothing but blind hatred for those who fight for a Trotskyist policy in the actual workers movement.

So our author's discourse on the whole history of the Fourth International, on the nature of Pabloism, on the Marxist method lead him to one concrete conclusion: critical support to the worst of the modern day Pabloites!

THE OPEN IDEALISM OF THE IMG

IT IS ACTUALLY the position now arrived at by the IMG on philosophical questions which expresses most clearly the real meaning of this historical tendency. The last conference of the IMG, held in the end of May, 1972, adopted a perspective drafted by A. Jones and C. Howard. The main theoreticians of this tendency appear to be A. Jones and C. Marshall.

A. Jones sees this tendency as at war with:

"...A well known series of mistakes which usually stalk around under the

name of 'old British Trotskyism'..."

And:

"...This document may also be taken as part of the process of settling of accounts with the said 'British Trotskyism'..."

And:

"...The perspectives document is designed to draw a sharp dividing line between the IMG and the tradition of British 'Trotskyism.'"

And finally:

"When we deal with 'British Trotskyism' and its degeneration, are we dealing with a few organizations such as the SLL that were basically healthy but 'somehow' went off the rails, or are we dealing with a far more deeply rooted phenomena produced by the whole culture and society within which they operate? Unquestionably the document comes down on the latter side of the fence. We think a viable section of the Fourth International cannot be built on what has gone on before, in the SLL, RSL, etc., but only in a struggle against that tradition."

What Jones has in mind is even more than repudiating the whole history of Trotskyism in Britain. He, like our anonymous author in the United States who supports him, is after the whole history of Trotskyism itself.

"On the contrary, the whole aim of the operation is to finish off 'Trotskyism' and 'Leninism' and get back to Lenin and Trotsky."

The other theoretician of this group, C. Marshall, is even more explicit on their aims:

"...The object of my attack is, in one sense, Cannonite Trotskyism. I may well introduce a section to establish the essential methodological unity of the SLL and the SWP."

The battle cry of the old Cochran liquidationist group within the SWP in 1962 was "Junk the Old Trotskyism." Now the IMG has taken this up with a vengeance demanding a complete repudiation of the whole history of Trotskyism in Britain. Moreover, it is forced from this position into an attack on the strengths of Cannon, on Trotskyism as such and, as we will see even directly on Lenin and Trotsky. It is this tendency which our author supports against the SWP!

The methodological basis of this position is developed in the actual perspectives resolution presented to the recent IMG conference. Discussing the question of consciousness of the working class the document states with special emphasis:

"Not consciousness as understood in the

bourgeois sense of idea in people's heads, but in the Marxist sense of the active relation to its circumstances and the problems which confront it."

This position is then expanded on at some length by A. Jones in a discussion article already quoted from. Jones first notes that Marx explains profit, ground rent and interest in terms of the more abstract category surplus value rather than explain surplus value in terms of the concrete categories of rent, interest, profit. He then proceeds in the form of a polemic against a critic by the name of Joseph:

"Once this essential point is grasped, then we can see that comrade Joseph's essential mistake is in trying to explain consciousness in terms of 'thought,' and 'reality' instead of explaining thought and reality in terms of more abstract concepts. He commits the same logical mistake as the economists who think surplus value is to be explained in terms of rent, interest and profit instead of explaining these in terms of surplus value. Marx, naturally, did not make the same mistake as Joseph and A. W. He does not look for the 'connection' of thought and reality but instead explains both in terms of a more abstract concept. In other words, Marx does not 'solve' the subject-object problem but shows instead that this is not the real problem at all, and in so doing solves the problem and abolishes it simultaneously by explaining both subject and object in terms of a more abstract concept."

And to sum up:

"Marx rejected both materialism and idealism."

We have here, of course, a complete reversion to the old theories of the Empirio-Critics and Pragmatists which Lenin denounced as well as a reflection of the idealist thinking in contemporary academic circles. Hegel, to his credit, could find no more abstract term than "being," and thus begins his Logic with this term. Being encompasses all that exists, the entirety of the material world. These charlatans take our thinking about this material world—that is thought—counterpose it to this material world and come up with a "more abstract" concept which is nothing more than the relationship of our thinking to this material world. The material world is thus made subordinate to, dependent on, this relationship.

As Lenin discusses in his criticism of the Empirio-Critics this can only mean that prior to the development of this relationship, that is before man in his evolution from ape developed to the point of

thinking, there existed no material world! It is therefore a completely subjective outlook.

Marx discusses in Grundrisse his understanding of the relation of the concrete to more abstract categories in thinking and in the real world:

"The concrete is concrete because it is a combination of many determinations, i.e., a unity of diverse elements. In our thought it therefore appears as a process of synthesis, as a result, and not as a starting point, although it is the real starting point and therefore, also the starting point of observation and conception...Hegel fell into the error, therefore, of considering the real as the result of the self-coordinating, self-absorbing and spontaneously operating thought, while the method of advancing from the abstract to the concrete is by the way of thinking by which the concrete is grasped and is reproduced in our mind as concrete.

"The whole, as it appears in our heads as a thought-aggregate, is the product of a thinking mind which grasps the world in the only way open to it...The concrete subject continues to lead an independent existence after it has been grasped, as it did before, outside the head..." (emphasis added—T.W.)

Marx's point is that the thought process must proceed differently from the process of development of the material world in order to be able to reproduce in our minds as a "thought-aggregate" the highly complex concrete world around us. This is why we theoretically proceed through synthesis from the concrete to the more abstract categories. It was Hegel, Marx notes, who confused this process by substituting this necessary theoretical movement for the actual movement of reality, by substituting thought categories for this material world which, as Marx notes, continues all the time to develop outside our heads.

From this openly idealist position, the IMG group of course denies any conflict between theory and practice. Theory is practice; practice is theory. Theory and the material world are only moments in the process of practice or active relation. C. Marshall is explicit on this question:

"Either, it logically follows, immediately, as a matter of course, from the

knowledge created and diffused ('theoretical treatise, propagandist pamphlet, and agitational speech...') that certain actions should be undertaken. That is to say—because there is no divorce between understanding and practice—there is no necessary need, directly, explicitly, in so many words, to issue a 'call to action.' "

This question of the relation of theory to practice is the most fundamental of all because it is here that the philosophical basis for the complete liquidation of the Marxist movement is found. If theory and practice are the same then the practice of the working class in struggle with the capitalist class will produce the theoretical consciousness necessary for the revolution. It is precisely the conflict between the practice of the working class brought about by changes in the objective situation with the thinking of workers which requires the party to bring in from the outside the theoretical understanding necessary for the development of a leadership of the working class.

This question of theory and practice is at the same time central to the theoretical development within the party itself. It is precisely at the point where the party members must take the theoretical understanding of the party into the actual material movement of the working class that all the methodological questions are most sharply raised. If there is no struggle at this point than there is no development.

The question of theory and practice is an historical question. The theory which the party brings into conflict with actual material development is itself the product of the historical experience of the party. To see theory as identical with practice is to make this whole historical development of theory irrelevant. This is why Lenin insisted in *What Is To Be Done?* that the struggle took place on three levels, the theoretical as well as the political and economic.

It was this question of theory and practice which lay behind the OCI's split from the International Committee. The OCI viewed theory as simply emerging out of the working class, that if only the proper united front forms of struggle could be developed the consciousness would take care of itself. At the same time no struggle took place within the OCI to confront middle

class sections of the youth to bring about an actual development theoretically.

C. Marshall goes the furthest in carrying out the liquidationist conclusions of this methodological position. He begins with an open attack on Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*:

"Now what is undoubtedly true is that Lenin, in the early years of World War One, rejected the epistemology of 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism'...It is a significant fact that the sharp degeneration of the SLL dates precisely from its development of philosophical pretensions, and in particular from the appalling attempt by C. Slaughter in 'Lenin on Dialectics' to reconcile 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' with the 'Philosophical Notebooks.' "

It is undoubtedly not true that Lenin ever rejected *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* but this is a question dealt with adequately in the Slaughter pamphlet referred to. The point here is that Marshall is an open opponent of the materialist position Lenin defends in that book. For this reason he is also a bitter political opponent of the SLL and the International Committee.

Marshall continues:

"What is clear is that there is an alternative course to the SLL's. If one recognizes *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is pretty terrible, not least in its assertion: 'That both thought and matter are "real," i.e. exist, is true. But to say that thought is material is to make a false step...' nonetheless there is no need to reject in toto *What Is To Be Done?* "

"On the contrary, the presupposition of this whole paper is: the (implicit) philosophical assumptions of 'What Is To Be Done?' are fundamentally incompatible with the epistemology which, at that time and for some years later, Lenin was able to articulate (i.e. *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*)."

Marshall then proceeds to attack the "ambiguities" in *What Is To Be Done?* which stem from this "error." He particularly attacks Lenin for his position that theory, that socialist consciousness, must be brought into the working class from outside. For Marshall there is no outside as there is no difference between theory and practice while thought and the

material world are only moments of an "active relation." Thus Marshall attacks the role of the party in developing theory and struggling for it against the prevailing bourgeois thinking of the working class.

Having had a go at Lenin for his "pretty terrible" *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and for his at least "ambiguous" *What Is To Be Done?* Marshall moves on to Trotsky. Trotsky fails even worse in Marshall's eye than Lenin.

"But Trotsky never broke explicitly from the epistemology of 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism'...Thus Trotsky endorses the very work...It is of course theoretically possible that Trotsky should have been reluctant, because of Stalinist "Leninist" orthodoxy, to explicitly disavow 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.' However, there are good reasons for rejecting that hypothesis."

Marshall then proceeds with a series of quotes to prove conclusively, beyond the shadow of a doubt that Trotsky was to his dying day an adherent of materialism. And, crime of crimes, Marshall reports:

"Furthermore, he distinguishes between the ('real') economic role in production of that class and its 'subjective' (i.e. for him 'unreal') consciousness."

Then we finally get to the heart of it all: "Trotsky is at his very best (in this writer's opinion) as a historian, and as a critic of the mass workers' parties, especially the CPs (and that, especially in his writings of the late 20s and early 30s)..."

"But Trotsky is much less convincing when the relationship of forces is at the opposite pole, when the 'party' has next to no chance decisively and continuously to influence the life of society, is when he is discussing from the viewpoint of the subjectivity of the (nascent) Fourth International."

Then follows a lengthy quote to back this up from—Isaac Deutscher!

So now the circle is completely rounded. Jones begins with an attack on "British Trotskyism" while Marshall broadens it out into "Cannonite Trotskyism." Then Jones declares we must be finished with Leninism and Trotskyism altogether and get back to Lenin and Trotsky. At this point Jones and Marshall stand forehead square with our American author in his attacks on the meaning of the history of Trotskyism.

Then Jones and Marshall make clear that this rejection of the history of Trotskyism is based on a methodological attack on materialism—an open return to the idealist theories of the Empirio-Critics and the Pragmatists. By refusing to see idea as a reflection of the material world they destroy the contradiction between theory and practice and in this way lay the methodological basis for the destruction of the party itself.

They cannot rest their labors at this point. The theoretical labors of Lenin and Trotsky are too well known and too well developed precisely on these points to go unchallenged. And so Marshall, clearly the man out in front of the pack on these questions in the IMG, must take on Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and *What Is To Be Done?* With this behind him he is forced to attack Trotsky as well. He particularly attacks what Trotsky considered his most important work—the Fourth International.

Our American author seeks to avoid the logic of his own position by contrasting Trotsky with the ranks of the Fourth International. This is also borrowed from Deutscher. But Trotsky's greatest creation was the Fourth International which was and is a body of men organized to carry forward a program within the working class. To attack the Fourth International is to attack Trotsky. This Marshall makes clear. In the end it must all lead to an open rejection of Marxism, of Leninism, of Trotskyism, and an attack on Marx and Lenin and on Trotsky.

Clearly we are here dealing with a vicious anti-Marxist tendency hostile to the workers movement. It moves in this direction precisely to avoid responsibility for leadership in this new period of class struggle. The International Committee, however, will grant nothing to such tendencies, will fight them to the end. This is because we view this struggle for Marxism as a central preparation now for our development of Marxist cadres in the working class which will prepare to lead socialist revolution itself.

CONCLUDED

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

Tim Wohlforth Books

THE GRUNDRISSE. By Karl Marx. Edited and Translated by David McLellan. Harper & Row, New York, 1972. \$2.25.

On August 15, 1971 President Nixon was forced to tear up the Bretton Woods agreement upon which the post war boom has been based, to launch a direct attack on the wages of American workers through a wage freeze, and to deliver serious blows against the economies of competing capitalist nations.

With impudence Nixon announced that America would no longer recognize gold as the basis of currency. But today gold, without even consulting Nixon, has impudently risen to over \$70 an ounce, threatening to transform the American dollar into mere pieces of paper.

No serious person can any longer deny that world capitalism is in a deep crisis. No one can make any serious effort to understand this crisis, let alone resolve it in the interests of the mass of people who work for a living, without turning to Marx. Gold has acted according to the laws which Marx outlined in *Capital* and not according to the dictates of Nixon.

Herein lies the importance of the publication of the *Grundrisse*. It is an indispensable aid to the study of Marx's *Capital* at a time when this study is critical to the day-to-day political tasks confronting the working class.

BASIS

The *Grundrisse* is a document, around 800 pages long in its complete version, that was written around the same time as *Capital*. It was, in fact, a sort of first draft of *Capital*. What we have in this particular volume is a small selection from the original chosen by David McLellan, an academic hostile to Marxism who makes his living off of Marx.

We, of course, have no way of telling if this selection accurately reflects the content of the larger work. In fact there are certain indications that McLellan selected what interested him, particularly any reference to alienation.

McLellan makes the point that *Capital* was viewed by Marx as only the first of a six part study of political economy. He holds that the *Grundrisse*, which is German for "ground" or "basis", was meant by Marx to be the basis not just of *Capital* as we know it (and except for the first volume even this is incomplete) but of the whole of his study of political economy. This leads McLellan to conclude that the *Grundrisse* is more "fundamental" than *Capital* and thus that all Marxists until McLellan came along did not know the fundamentals of Marxism.

Marx did not begin with "Capital in General" accidentally nor was it without reason that he began "Capital in General" with a study of the commodity. Marx's aim was to get at the heart of capitalism and to expose in a thoroughly scientific manner the contradictory movement within this heart which in the end would spell the downfall of capitalism. McLellan's aim is to dissolve this sharp contradiction of *Capital* into the general background of the *Grundrisse* instead of utilizing the *Grundrisse* for the purpose of enriching one's understanding of *Capital*.

HEGEL

Particularly significant is the discussion which occurs in the *Grundrisse* of various aspects of dialectics. This can be of the greatest help to an understanding of *Capital* which as Lenin emphasized can only be fully understood through a study of Hegel's *Logic and Phenomenology*. For instance, the "General Introduction" to the *Grundrisse* contains a point which is also in the Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* explaining why *Capital* begins with the commodity instead of "concrete" factual matter. In the

Grundrisse Marx develops this further contrasting his materialist dialectics to Hegel's idealism:

"The concrete is concrete because it is a combination of many determinations, i.e., a unity of diverse elements. In our thought it therefore appears as a process of synthesis, as a result, and not as a starting point, although it is the real starting point and, therefore, also the starting point of observation and conception. By the former method (Marx here refers to the empirical beginning with the concrete in thought—T.W.) the complete conception passes into an abstract definition; by the latter the abstract definitions lead to the reproduction of the concrete subject in the course of reasoning. Hegel fell into the error, therefore, of considering the real as the result of self-coordinating, self-absorbed and spontaneously operating thought, while the method of advancing from the abstract to the concrete is but the way of thinking by which the concrete is grasped and is reproduced in our mind as concrete. It is by no means, however, the process which itself generates the concrete. The simplest economic category, say, exchange value, implies the existence of population, population that is engaged in production under certain conditions; it also implies the existence of certain types of family, clan or state, etc. It can have no other existence except as an abstract one-sided relation of an already given concrete and living aggregate."

Marx here is polemicizing against empiricists and pragmatists who think that theoretical study is a simple matter of noting facts, of cataloguing the "concrete" and making generalizations from this concrete data. He insists rather that scientific theoretical thought must begin with simple abstraction moving into more and more complex interrelations in order to in the end be able to reproduce the concrete in one's thought in all its richness. But he then goes on to distinguish his method of thought from Hegel's in that this thought process does not "create" the concrete but rather enables the mind to come as close as possible to reflecting an already existing and independent objective material world.

He writes further on this point:

"The whole, as it appears in our heads as a thought-aggregate, is the product of a thinking mind which grasps the world in the only way open to it, a way which differs from the one employed by the artistic, religious or practical mind. The concrete subject continues to lead an independent existence after it has been grasped, as it did before, outside the head, so long as the head contemplates it only speculatively, theoretically. So that in the employment of the theoretical method in political economy, the subject, society, must constantly be kept in mind as the premise from which we start."

UNDERSTANDING

Thus Marx warned that in seeking to understand political economy we must at every point realize that what we are doing is developing in a conscious way through our thought processes and understanding of an actual world of social relations which not only exists outside of us but changes quite independently of our speculation right while we are in the process of thinking. Thinking thus always is in conflict with the real world the thinking expresses.

Marx develops in the *Grundrisse* the general relations between labor and capital with the method of dialectics which is later developed in scientific detail in *Capital*.

"But if capital thus appears as the product of labor, the product of labor also appears as capital—no more as a simple product, nor as exchangeable goods, but as capital; objectified labor assumes mastery, has command over living labor."

And:

"This process of the realization is similarly the de-realization process of labor. It establishes itself objectively, but it establishes this objectivity as its own non-being or as the being of its non-being—of capital."

The Groundwork For 'Capital'



Portrait of Karl Marx in 1867 at about the time he wrote the "Grundrisse".

Marx develops this same point of how the worker's own non-being or dead being, the product of his labor expressed as value, takes the form of capital and exploits and suppresses the worker himself:

"The worker, in fact, produces himself within the process, as labor power and as the capital that opposes him, just as, on the other side the capitalist produces himself as capital, as well as living labor that opposes him. Each one reproduces himself in that at the same time he produces his opposite, his negation. The capitalist produces labor as something alien to itself; and labor produces its product, also as something alien. The capitalist produces the workers and the workers produce the capitalists, etc..."

These selections should suffice to show that while the *Grundrisse* neither supplants *Capital* nor contains really anything startling new not found in *Capital*, it does help us to understand *Capital* from the viewpoint of the dialectic and to see it as the expression in an abstract form of the actual struggle of mutual antagonistic and hostile social classes.

We must in conclusion draw the reader's attention to one selection which alone makes this short book worth reading, "The Critique of Bastiat and Carey." Marx assesses the method of a contemporary French and an American economist showing how from different national viewpoints and different theoretical traditions, the two economists shared a common ground of hostility in a serious understanding of historical development.

In this sense these two writers used methods which today have found their expression within the Trotskyist movement itself in the evolution of the French OCI and the American SWP.

PRAGMATISM

Marx places Carey in his historical framework:

"He belongs to a country in which bour-

geois society has not developed from a background of feudalism, but began of its own accord; a country where this society was not the surviving result of centuries of development, but the starting point of a new movement; where the state unlike all other national structures, was from the start subordinated to bourgeois society and to bourgeois production, and could never pretend to a purpose of its own; where, finally, bourgeois society itself, linking the productive forces of the old world with the gigantic natural terrain of the new, has developed to hitherto unknown dimensions and freedom of movement, and has far exceeded previous effort to overcome the forces of nature, and where the contradictions of bourgeois society themselves appear only as transitory phenomena."

He then shows how the peculiar conditions of American development found expression in Carey's method of thought:

"Carey, a true Yankee, collects a quantity of material from all parts of the old world; it is not that he recognizes the spirit inherent in all this material, thus conceding to it the right to a life of its own; he uses the material for his own purposes, as lifeless records, indifferent material that he can work over to prove theses inspired by his Yankee point of view."

Today the United States has entered a period where the contradictions of capitalism, far from even appearing as transitory phenomena, are tearing up relations of class compromise. The pragmatic methods expressed by Carey over a century ago today persist in the Marxist movement.

If we approach Marx and *Capital* as a certain "quantity of material" for our use we will not be able to lay bare the actual class relations here and the tasks posed before the working class. We must rather insist on an understanding of the "spirit" of *Capital*, its dialectical spirit. For this *Grundrisse* can be a great help.

Shriver Courts Big Business For George McGovern's Campaign

BY FRED MUELLER

Sargent Shriver has been given the difficult task, as McGovern's vice-presidential candidate, of attempting to win back the votes of millions of workers to the Democratic Party by this November.

The tone for this was set in the warmed-over demagoguery of Shriver's speech on August 8th accepting the nomination for the number two spot on the Democratic ticket.

There is a note of near desperation in the attempts of the McGovern camp to hold back the breakup of the Democratic Party and the coalition first consolidated in the Roosevelt years.

According to Shriver, the Democratic Party "...is the oldest political party in the Western world but it's still the party

of life...It renews itself with every generation. It seeks new people. It's the party of Franklin Roosevelt's concern for the depressed and weak; of Harry Truman's toughness. It's the party of John Kennedy's courage and Lyndon Johnson's desire to help people as poor as he was when he was a young man.

"It's the party of my friends—Mayor Daley and Shirley Chisholm; of Averell Harriman and Philip Murray and William Green; of Hubert Humphrey and Cesar Chavez, and of Ted Kennedy and Ed Muskie..."

Whatever remains of the so-called Kennedy magic Shriver is supposed to bring with him into this election campaign. The more he refers to the Democratic Party of the past the clearer it is that it cannot be revived.

Shriver's combinations of "friends" who are supposed to represent the diversity of the Democrats is truly revealing. Railroad tycoon and prominent Democratic politician and diplomat Harriman is still alive and active at 80, but Green and Murray, the heads respectively of the AFL and CIO, died within a few weeks of one another nearly twenty years ago. The growing disaffection of labor from the Democrats is ironically underlined by this reference to the leading union officials during the heyday of labor-Democratic collaboration.

Whatever reforms were attempted during the Roosevelt era were the by-product of huge class struggles and were only possible on the basis of the predominant privileged position of American capitalism as against its rivals, even during the depression years.

Of course, the Roosevelt reforms were not able to revive the capitalist economy and only the world war holocaust set off a new boom. The alliance between the labor movement and Roosevelt was always shaky and was preserved only through the betrayals of the labor leaders and with the vital aid of the Communist Party in particular.

The boom is over, and with its passing goes any possibility of reviving the old Roosevelt coalition. The senile liberalism of McGovern and Shriver is a reflection of the mortal crisis of capitalism in the 1970s. It is this crisis which gives the words of Shriver such a hollow ring:

"We will build again the coalition Robert Kennedy dreamed of; of the Polish people and the Italians, and the Irish, of the Blacks and Latinos, of the farmers and workers, the party of the streets and the neighborhood; the party dedicated to the children and the families of America. Because unless all move together—white and black, poor, middle class and rich—we do not move at all. There must be fairness for each or else there is fairness for none."

Big business and the workers will not move together in 1972 or afterwards. Shriver knows this. His demagoguery is a cover for the most vicious assaults on the labor movement. He goes on in his acceptance speech to shed crocodile tears over economic insecurity, unemployment, rising taxes, and "job oppression." But when he presents his program his uncompromising defense of capitalism is clear for every worker

to see:

"We intend to go out and ask of our young people not just to protest against inadequate schools but to teach children; not just to complain about the quality of law enforcement but to enlist in the police forces or join the workers in the prisons; not just to make speeches about the Third World but to serve abroad in a revived Peace Corps; not just to talk about love but to work with the retarded and the elderly and the lonely, and the ill and the blind, and the millions of hungry children around the world."

Shriver's phony promises dissolve into the most sickening drivel. The Democrats, in spite of or rather precisely because of their crisis, can offer no concrete reforms to the working class. The McGovern-Shriver program means, just as much as Nixon's, that labor will pay for the crisis.

FRIENDS

The kingpins, in fact, in Shriver's coterie of influential "friends" include the representatives of the Eastern big business establishment. Shriver himself comes from a prominent investment banking family from Maryland. Beginning his campaign after his acceptance speech Shriver travelled to West Virginia. Dressed in his "Paris tailored suit," Shriver shook hands with steelworkers. At his side was one of these "friends," John D. Rockefeller, IV, whose family among other things not only controls banking interests in New York but owns mines in West Virginia.

Shriver also met up with a few more of his backers including Andy Houvouras, president of Huntington Plating, Inc. and Jeff Seabright, the son of a prominent businessman who is the Ohio County Democratic Chairman. The young Seabright informed Shriver he was a great pal of his son at the posh private school for the children of the Eastern establishment—Philips Exeter Academy.

It is these interests Shriver represents. They pose as the benevolent exploiters justifying their profit-making with the thin gruel of liberalism. As Shriver put it in West Virginia, "The regular people of America will be coming to dinner at the White House. At least occasionally we'll invite people who are hungry."

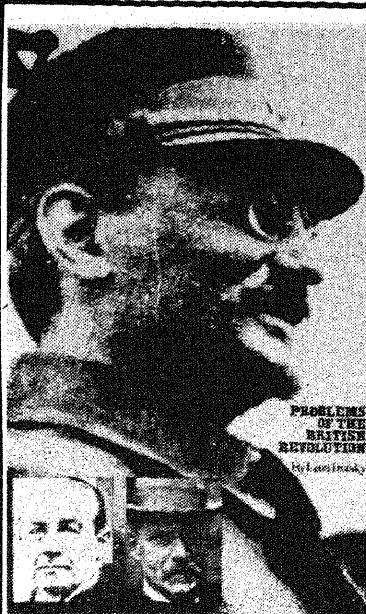
The contempt men like Shriver have for the working people knows no bounds. While backing the wage freeze and unemployment, which is forcing millions of workers into poverty, Shriver offers the sop of an "occasional" meal for a few poor at the White House.

The working class needs protection against rising prices, jobs for all and an end to racism and discrimination, job security and decent living conditions for all. This can be achieved only through the fight for nationalization of basic industry and other socialist measures, fought for through the building of an independent labor party.

McGovern and Shriver stand behind the Pay Board completely. They stand for unemployment, inflation, and speed-up. That is their program and that is why Shriver's speechifying is as phony as a three dollar bill.



Shipbuilders at Bethlehem Steel Corporation shipyards in Boston (above), Baltimore and Hoboken voted to accept contract, but with tremendous opposition. Earlier in the six-week strike, they had rejected almost the same contract, but union leaders gave no leadership to win the demands of \$1.00 raise per hour.



Problems of the British Revolution \$.95

This collection constitutes Trotsky's reply to various critics of his then recently published *Where Is Britain Going?* It is a necessary corollary to that work. Dissects the arguments of all the opponents of Marxism and unravels many of the difficult problems facing the new Communist Party in the development of a strategy for power in the revolutionary epoch.

NEW TROTSKYIST WORKS FROM ENGLAND

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

Fourth International Quarterly Journal of International Marxism, Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International. Summer 1972. \$.75

This edition issues a call for an open discussion on the fundamental questions of Marxist philosophy. Contains the documents detailing the split with the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), French Section of the I.C. Also included are major statements by the I.C. on international perspectives and the documents from the Fourth International Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The New Course 1923 by Leon Trotsky \$ 1.95

Written in the aftermath of the Civil War and in the period of the New Economic Policy, the work details Trotsky's struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. At that time, there still appeared to be a chance of overcoming this bureaucracy. Serves as a bridge between Lenin's last struggles against Stalinism and the later founding of the Unified Left Opposition.



We Demand The Right To Work \$.45

The British Young Socialist pamphlet which details, in a day-by-day account, one of the most remarkable political campaigns ever waged in the British working class movement. The march culminated in a rally of 8,500 at Empire Pool, Wembley. It centered on the demand to bring down the Tories and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

IBEW Official Calls For Labor Party

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN
CLEVELAND, Ohio—A statement in the AFL-CIO newspaper here, *The Citizen*, July 21, reflects the feeling of a significant section of secondary leaders in all areas of the trade union movement. In his report for IBEW (electrical workers) Local 38, Richard D. Acton writes:

"For the first time in 40 years, organized labor finds itself without a presidential candidate that is friendly to labor.

"Some months ago, I proposed in this column that in the near future labor might be forced to band together and run a man of our own choice for the office of president..."

"Since we have been given such a poor choice of candidates under the two party system in recent years, it seems inevitable that we will see the emergence of a strong third political party in the very near future, and with a unified effort on the part of organized labor we could be that party."

PLEASANT HAMPTON is a member of AFSCME 1166, University of Minnesota Employees and is active in the Committee for a Decent Contract. The union is presently negotiating its first contract.

I think this pamphlet really is a good thing because it lets the workers know exactly what's going on.

If we can get this contract at the hospital it's a wonderful thing because we workers have protection against layoffs, shift changes, seven day work weeks. If we can get five days a week and weekends off that's a help. Seven days is pretty hard.

If we get this contract we're fighting for, the Pay Board couldn't tear it up if it's signed. Actually, a contract is our protection. We want these things down on paper signed and sealed. They can say they'll give us anything if we wait two or three years. In the meantime what's going on in those years that's our problem.

I think the Labor Party is good. Labor is the only thing we got to fight with. The way the government is set up, we don't have nothing to fight with unless we get a labor party. If you don't have a labor party, what do you have? The government can still continue to do the things the way they have been doing. Contracts—they can always rip them up. If the labor party comes through, we have something to fight the government with.

Without a contract and a Labor Party, we haven't got nothing to fight with. It's like sending me to Viet Nam to fight with my mouth and the other side has a gun. If

JERRY HAYFORD of St. Paul, Minnesota is a member of the Bookbinders Union.

I want at the outset to let your readers know that I am neither unemployed nor on strike. In fact I am employed in one of the highest paid industries where we average from \$2 to \$2.50 an hour over most workers.

Even so, I still see a threat to my job and living standards by the present crisis and the actions of the Pay Board. Imagine men on Nixon's Pay Board all of whom are in the \$100,000 a year bracket, telling workers earning \$2 or \$3.00 an hour that they can not have a raise.

The money for increases that had already been granted employees is going back into the pockets of the businessmen, who have not cut prices, so that their profits are even greater than before.

When the wage freeze was enacted by Nixon, I did not hear any Democrat, certainly none of any stature, objecting to it. McGovern to me is one of the first to come out and say that it should have been done before. For this reason we can't back McGovern.

The action of Meany and the entire AFL-CIO Executive Board in not endorsing either the Democrats or the Republicans is not enough. To me it falls short of leadership. To refuse to present any alternative is not giving us leadership. These union presidents, high paid executives and probably very talented men, if they can't present us with an alternative, then we need new leadership.

From my standpoint the big union leaders occasionally talk about an alternative, specifically a labor party, but I've never seen them do anything about it. If anything is going to be done, I think you have to go back to a lower level. The large labor leader, like the big business executive, is in an entrenched position. And I don't think he'll get into anything that will jeopardize that.

We're probably too late to do much about the presidency for the '72 election, but we have to come out with an alternative and I think the labor party is a good alternative. Let's run men for Congress



Pleasant Hampton sits at home with his son.

we get this contract we got to have protection. That's the Labor Party.

Morale is bad at the hospital. These people didn't get the raise they were supposed to get. The patients still have to have care no matter what. The government should think think the patient comes first. In order to give the patient the things he needs, the things he should be getting from the workers, you should make the workers feel they are—I don't know how to put it. Well, if a man if working and he's making money, he knows what he is supposed to do. But if a man isn't getting the kind of money he knows he is supposed to get...You either quit or you keep on working. So what are you going to do? You

have to keep on working or starve.

We'll get a decent wage increase through the Labor Party. That's the only way I know.

I don't know if I got it right but some workers in Connecticut were getting a 7.4% raise and they wanted to drop it to the 5.5% guideline. They didn't have any protection. The point is now if this does happen here, you know what the situation is going to be—that's where the Labor Party comes in. It's a good thing to have. The getting it is the point about it. You have to fight to get anything. You don't expect to win all battles. You have a few scars, but you fight long enough and you come out ahead. If it is worth fighting for.

The workers are the ones who got to fight for it. If we're fighting, the others will know. It's like a crowd in the street. Two people start fighting and the first thing you know, you got a crowd. It's like a fire. You start a fire and the heat is supposed to run people away. But the right kind of fire, you know, it will bring people to it.

If the workers know what we're fighting for, they will step in line right behind us. There's no question about it. You start the ball rolling and it either gets bigger or smaller. Our problem is to get it bigger. I think if we fight hard enough we will get a Labor Party. I think it's going to work out well.

problem of education.

The trouble is that they start showing up and voicing their opinion after the company has decided to close the plant up. To prevent that, you have to move earlier. At our meetings we always have the same solid core, and I can tell you to a man who will be at the next one.

When I grew up in the Twin Cities, the printing unions were already fairly well-established there. But some of the older guys told me that getting the unions into the Twin Cities they had to really battle. And I've been in some real battles myself to get unions established in other towns.

I feel that our own union is not doing a proper job of education. Too often the union office doesn't keep us informed of vital issues and we don't know what's going on till we get to the union hall. There's a speed-up going on right now in the plant.

There have been attempts to freeze the apprentices' wages worse than what the Pay Board allowed. That is, they were running machines that should have given them a sizeable increase. Here, the union wouldn't let them get away with it. I don't think the Company could have even thought of pulling anything like that in a more active union.

In the program of the "Case for a Labor Party" the most important plank for me is the 30 hour week. It is an absolute "must" for all labor. Here I agree with you 100%.

Now as for your stand on the Vietnam War. I really don't believe it is a peasants' war. I can't see fighting with tanks and missiles. I think we have to say that it is a war of the Russians and Chinese against the U.S.

We've got to have employment at a decent level for everyone who wants it. If it takes nationalization to get that, I say we've got to have nationalization. If we can't get full employment through the capitalistic system, then I say we got to get rid of the capitalistic system. It's a drastic step. It frightens me slightly, but I think it's better than the way things are going now.

I think another four years of Nixon is going to push the working man so far down, his union is going to become a marching society. It isn't going to have any value, it isn't going to have any power.

What will Nixon do to us if we don't have the power? The millions of unemployed we have now will be nothing compared to the misery of the additional millions if we can't have our own alternative to the two parties.

TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party

The following articles are part of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.



but not in the two parties but as direct representatives of labor. And when they're in Congress let them prove they are labor men.

People may not pay attention to our voice if we have only 10 or 15 thousand supporters, but when we have 10 or 15 million, then they have to listen.

In the meantime we have to do something to express our dissatisfaction with Nixon and McGovern, but staying away from the polling booths is not enough, we have to do it in a more intelligible way.

The trouble is that the union leaders themselves are dragging their feet. To my mind, Meany hasn't shown any leadership. Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters—I suppose this could get into a libel thing—but I think he sold out. I think if the Teamsters threw him out next month, I think Fitzsimmons would be called Mr. Ambassador within two years. Fitzsimmons goes down to Washington and tells Nixon he can deliver two million Teamster votes but I don't think he can deliver 200.

Mr. Nixon might like to hear this—and make the most of it—but the guy driving a truck or working on a dock, when he walks into that voting booth, he doesn't really care what Mr. Fitzsimmons says. And I think when the next Teamsters convention rolls around, they'll tell Mr. Fitzsimmons to go fly a kite.

We come down to a very simple solution on the matter of unemployment, one that will have to be pushed down certain people's throats. But what we got to have—we've got six million unem-

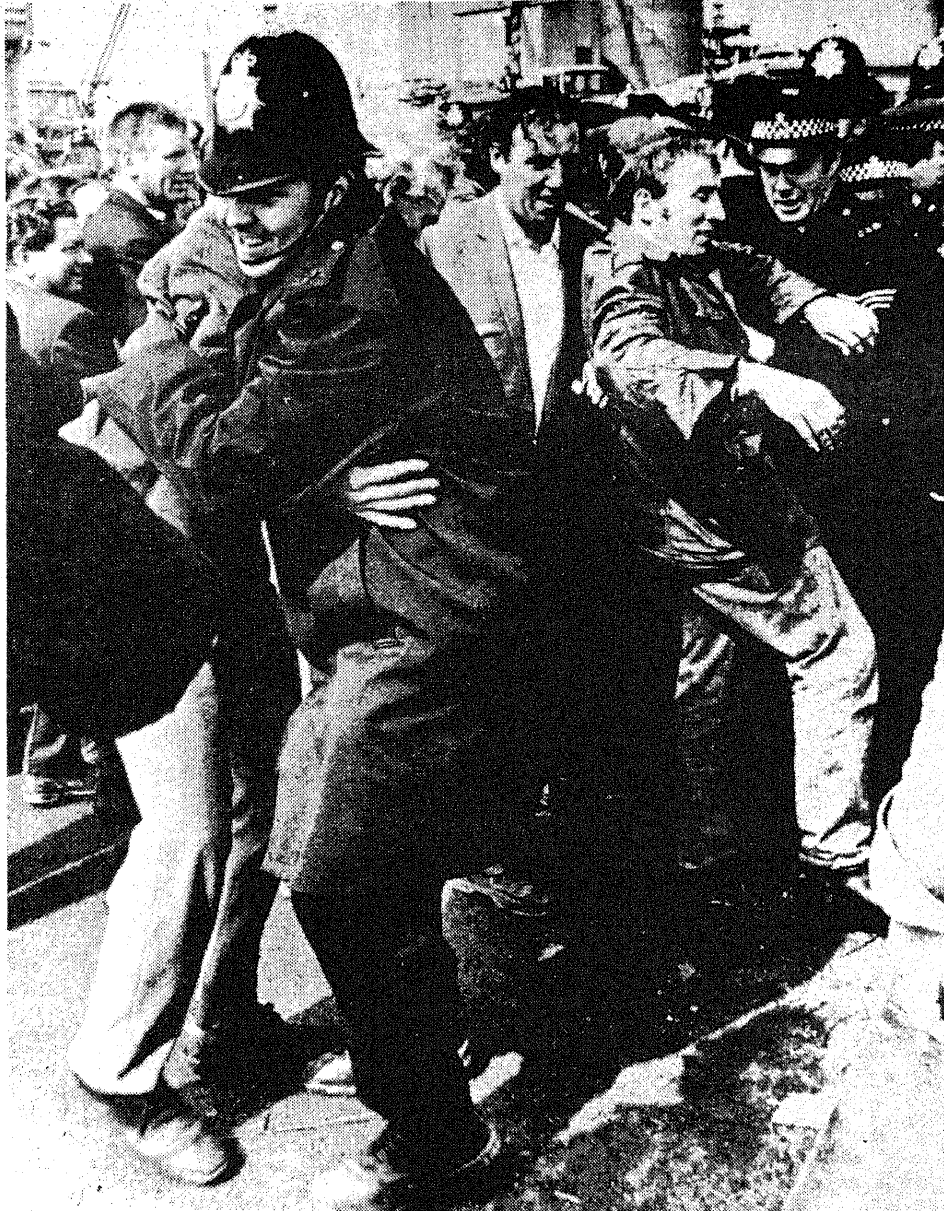
ployed—what we got to have is a 30 hour week and we wouldn't have any one unemployed that wanted to work.

In the printing industry a few years ago we went to a 35 hour week when we saw automation coming. Now we're talking a 30 hour week. In fact, a few contracts on the East Coast have gone to 30 hours. In certain areas where we are faced with increasing automation, we are forced to push the 30 hour week. But we can't have a 30 hour week if it's only pushed by the craft unions. All unions are going to have to get behind this demand.

As for the clause about nationalization in the "Case for a Labor Party," certainly the employer will not keep his plant open if he doesn't find it profitable. Well, a Labor Government nationalizing industry, somehow nationalization doesn't appeal to me. Well, I've got to hedge on it a little. I don't think it worked too well in England, but I think it worked fairly well in the Scandinavian countries where you have Labor governments. I'm just not sure.

On the matter of how to win youth over in support of the unions, I have seen in my own local where 20 years ago, we consistently had 65 to 75% of the membership appearing at a meeting. Now when our local meets an average meeting has 5 or 10% of the members. It's a little discouraging to someone who remembers when unions were not generally accepted and had to be organized through a struggle.

So many of the younger members today only think of the union as something that takes \$15 or 20 out of your paycheck each month. They don't realize that unions can be changed if they only get out there and do the changing. Of course, that's a



THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY DAVE NORTH

The class struggle in Britain has now entered its most critical stage since the General Strike of May 1926. Within the past three weeks, there has begun a massive movement of millions of British workers into political struggle against the Tory government. Standing in the front lines of this battle are 40,000 striking dockers, who are now threatened with the brutal intervention of the army.

The developments in Britain have the sharpest international significance. In the convulsive decline of the oldest capitalist society in the world, all the advanced industrial nations can see the image of their immediate future. Under the pressure of the most devastating economic crisis in history, all basis for class compromise is being totally undermined. It is in Britain, the very homeland of "compromise," that the greatest shocks are now occurring. These shocks will soon be felt in the rest of Europe.

UNITED STATES

But the crisis in Britain is no less decisive for American capitalism. The center of the world crisis is the United States itself, whose fantastically inflated dollar is tearing the international monetary system to shreds and creating the conditions for trade war and world depression.

Although the United States seeks to throw the weight of the crisis onto the backs of the European bourgeoisie, and insists that it fight its working class now, the full force of the crisis will soon come home to roost.

As Trotsky wrote in 1925 in his American preface to *Where Is Britain Going?*:

"Driving Europe more and more into a blind alley, American capitalism is preparing wars and revolutionary upheavals which will then strike, in frightful repercussion, at the economy of the United States itself. Such is the prospect before America. Along the line of revolutionary development America occupies only the second place. The American bourgeoisie will yet be able to watch the destruction of its elder European sister. But the inevitable hour will strike for American capital, too."

The dockers' strike is the prelude to a

general strike, which will be the first since 1926. However, the issues over which such a strike will take place are even more fundamental than those which were raised 46 years ago. In 1926, the General Strike occurred in response to the ultimately successful attempt of the mine owners—supported by the Tory government then led by Stanley Baldwin—to cut wages.

Today, the Tory government of Edward Heath intends to go beyond wage cutting. British workers are faced with a government that is determined to destroy their trade unions, break their living conditions, create mass unemployment, and impose a dictatorship that would wipe out all their historic rights.

To carry out this task, the Tories have constructed a monster of a legal system, based upon the Industrial Relations Act, which has already levied great fines upon trade unions and even imprisoned individual trade unionists—for the "crime" of defending their rights.

The Industrial Relations Bill became the law of the land in August 1971, after the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy had deliberately sabotaged the struggle of workers against the Bill. It was not until this past February that the Tories began to make use of the law. This was in the aftermath of the miners' strike, in which the workers had won their wage claim and forced the government to retreat.

HEATH

To understand the real meaning of the Industrial Relations Act and the political tasks now posed to British workers, it is important to grasp the character of the Tory government.

Heath came to power in June of 1970. From the start, he made it clear that the trade unions would have to be broken if capitalism was to survive in Britain. It was Edward Heath who stunned the United Nations when he declared with icy frankness that the 1970's would be an era

of civil war rather than war between nations.

That Heath meant what he said has been graphically shown in Ulster, where the Tories have used internment, torture, and massacres to defend the interests of imperialism.

But because Heath realizes that the problems of British capitalism cannot be finally solved in Ireland, he is determined to defeat the working class in England. This is what the Industrial Relations Act is all about.

In so far as the Industrial Relations Act has been mentioned in the American press (which does not like reporting the turbulent developments in England), it has been described as a British Taft-Hartley Law. The truth is that the Industrial Relations Act is far more devastating in its provisions and powers than the Taft-Hartley.

Not only does it place enormous restrictions on the right of unions to strike (way beyond the 80-day "cooling-off" period of the Taft-Hartley), but the Act is enforced by a special court—the National Industrial Relations Court—which has more or less replaced the legal framework of British common law that emerged over several centuries. This court, operating upon the instructions of the government, can throw practically any militant trade unionist behind bars. In England, where the trade unions have developed a powerful shop steward movement, the Act is clearly intended to break the leadership of the working class.

But the Act goes further. The government is actually empowered to seize the assets of any union if it defies the strike breaking provisions of the Act.

The Tories did not pass the Industrial Relations Bill in a fit of absent-mindedness. They knew very well that it would meet powerful opposition from the working class. But they also realized that there is no other path for capitalism except one that leads to a confrontation with the trade unions.

There can be no negotiations with the Tories. If the working class in England is to survive, it must first of all defeat the government, force it to resign, and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. The reformists, revisionists, and Stalinists deny this. For them, there is no pressing need

for the working class to do anything more than persuade the Tories to retreat from the attack—to "reconsider" the Act.

But the lessons of the past few months are clear: as long as the Tories are in power, they will use every ounce of strength that the state can muster to destroy the working class.

What lies behind the Tory strategy is the capitalist crisis. The strength of the working class plays an objective role in deepening that crisis, as we will see when we examine the events since February.

MINERS STRIKE

On February 18, 1972, following a five week strike of miners that had received tremendous support within the entire working class, the Tory government was forced to make substantial wage concessions.

The power shown by the miners threw Heath and his cohorts into the deepest crisis the government had ever faced. The strike proved conclusively that the working class has the power to defeat the Tories. But the leadership of the miners union, following the lead of the TUC (England's AFL-CIO) did not press forward a political fight. It allowed the Tories to live and fight another day.

Ten days later, the Industrial Relations Act went into effect. Within a month, the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) clamped down on the dockers union (T&GWU) with a \$120,000 fine for picketing action by dockers fighting against a firm trying to use non-union labor.

It was at this point that it became clear that the TUC's official policy of ignoring the Act was absolutely inadequate. Whether or not the trade union bureaucracy wished to recognize the law could not change the reality that the Act exists. The leaders of the T&GWU came to the same conclusion—not to fight the Tories, but in order to make their peace with the Act they paid the fine.

RAILWAYS

But even though the bureaucracy had decided to betray the working class and accept the Act, thousands of workers began to intervene in the Spring in a fight against the government. Another retreat

was forced upon the government by the railway workers, whose massive strike vote threatened the government with a two front battle with them as well as the dockers.

Once again, all the conditions were ripe for general strike action to force the Tories out of office. But the TUC prevented this, because what the bureaucracy fears above all is that the working class will throw the Tories out and discover its strength. The bureaucrats realize that every victory won by the working class is one more nail in their coffin.

With the acceptance of the wage increase for the railway workers, the stage was set for the showdown with the dockers. While the Tories had been unable to deliver a decisive blow against the trade unions, they still retained power and were able to make plans for the big confrontation.

What has made this confrontation inevitable, we repeat once more, is the capitalist crisis. The inability of the Tories to defeat the miners and the railway workers deepened this crisis enormously—to the extent that the government was forced to devalue the British pound and open a new stage in the international monetary chaos.

DEVALUATION

The decision of the Tory government to float the pound last June came immediately after a major confrontation with dockers.

Three militant shop stewards who had been leading the picketing against firms using non-union labor were arrested upon the orders of the NIRC. This provoked a strike by 35,000 dockers throughout the country, throwing the Heath regime into confusion. Through complex maneuvering, the Tories used an unknown functionary employed by the courts called the Official Solicitor to "demand" the release of the three men.

This retreat by the government resulted in a loss of confidence by its European and American capitalist partners in the ability of Heath to deal with the English working class, and led to a run on the pound. The enormous decline in the foreign exchange reserves forced the devaluation upon the Tories.

Above all, the devaluation exposed the crisis of Toryism and the strength of the working class. But although the relation of forces are entirely favorable to the working class, there is another aspect to the crisis. That is the subjective factor. The Tories realize they are weak and the working class is not fully conscious of its strength.

It is the role of the trade union bureaucracy and the leadership of the Labour Party to prevent the working class from discovering its strength. Without the treacherous activities of the labor aristocracy, the Tory government could not have survived the miners strike, or the railroad settlement and devaluation.

On July 21, the National Industrial Relations Court began rounding up dockers once again. This time, five militants were arrested. A great movement of workers began. In every part of the country, workers began strike action in support of the dockers. The TUC was forced to call for a one day general strike for the following Monday.

Again, the government sent in the Official Solicitor to have the men released. But this time, the Tories actually strengthened the Court. The Official Solicitor was not used until the House of Lords had upheld the legality of the Act, and then declared that the NIRC can penalize unions and their leaders if they do not take action against rank-and-file militants.

Prime Minister Heath hailed the decision, saying that the House of Lords is the highest body in the land. In this way the Tories are seeking to reactivate the institutions of feudalism against the modern proletariat—for those of capitalism alone are inadequate.

Furthermore, the decision of the House of Lords actually revives the infamous Taff Vale decision of 1901, which was used at the turn of the century to break the trade union movement.

In that period, the defence of the trade unions required the construction of the Labour Party in 1906 through a break with the old Liberal Party.

But today, with the crisis of capitalism so much deeper, nothing less than the building of a revolutionary party to lead the working class to power and put an end to capitalism can defend the historic rights of the working class.

This is shown clearly in the dockers strike. The Tories are mobilizing the full resources of state power against the 40,000

dockers. At stake is the most fundamental question: the right of workers to have a union to defend their right to work. There is no doubting the fact that the Tories are getting ready to challenge this fundamental right with the same troops that were used three weeks ago in Ulster.

In this situation, the reformist leadership of the working class has already revealed the side of the fence on which it stands. The entire bureaucracy of the TUC is engaged in cynical negotiations with Heath, deliberately giving him the cover he needs to prepare military action against the dockers. The Labour Party leadership has already indicated that it would join a government of national emergency to put down the working class. In 1931, the Labour Party betrayed the working class in just this way.

STALINISM

The Stalinists refuse to mobilize the working class in this dangerous situation. It remains their policy to call upon Heath to be reasonable. Just like the Communist Party of the United States, the British CP follows the counter-revolutionary line of the Kremlin, which is in complete solidarity with the Tories.

As for the revisionists, they hold great responsibility for the dangers faced by the working class today. It was the Pabloite International Marxist Group that urged workers to abstain from participating in the 1970 General Elections, because to these middle class radicals, the Labour Party of Wilson is the same as the Tory Party of Heath. To this very day, the IMG will not fight to mobilize the working class to bring the Tories down.

Neither the reformists, revisionists, or Stalinists begin with the crisis that faces

international capitalism. They did not foresee the crisis nor do they understand it today.

Only the Trotskyist movement has fought to prepare the working class for this crisis, with the view of constructing a revolutionary party to resolve the crisis of leadership. It is only the Socialist Labour League that warned the working class about the aims of the Tories from the moment they took office.

ROLE OF SLL

On June 23, 1970, five days after Heath took over, the headline of the *Workers Press* read: "Prepare To Fight The Tory Government". The article beneath the headline stated:

"... The working class is now saddled with the most reactionary post-war Tory government. This, however, is no cause for despondency or political paralysis among socialists, provided they clearly understand the objective situation, and the economic crisis which determines it.

"The Tories cannot overcome their economic crisis except by consistently attacking the standard of living of the working class. They will aggravate it by increasing the number of unemployed, possibly devaluing the pound, and putting the clock of trade union history back 70 years..."

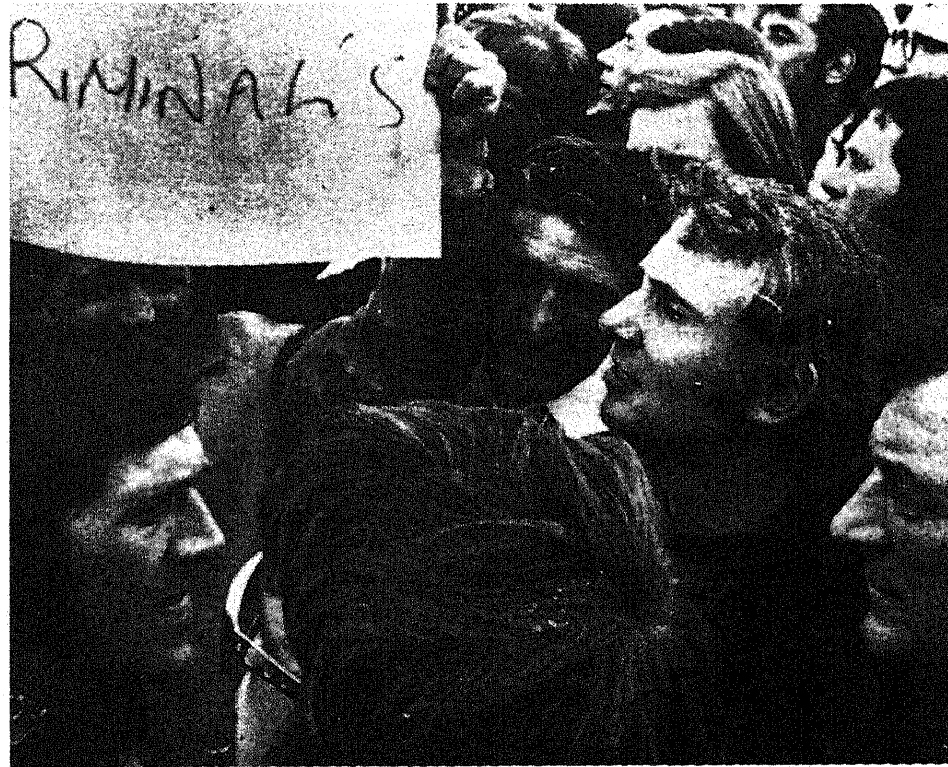
At every point, the Socialist Labour League has gone about its work with great confidence that the working class would fight the Tories. Now, the movement of the British working class opens the greatest possibilities for the construction of the revolutionary party.

The whole working class can be mobilized around the struggle of the dockers. In 1889, Frederick Engels wrote of London dockers "... if they can combine, and terrify by their resolution the mighty Dock Companies, truly then we need not despair of any section of the working class... If the dockers get organized, all other sections will follow... It is a glorious movement and again I envy those who can share in the work."

The social revolution is developing in Britain, and in the coming weeks millions of workers will be drawn into politics. Under the shocks of historic events, great changes will take place in the thinking of the working class. But the spontaneous movement of the working class will not put an end to capitalism. The question of leadership is going to be posed with great urgency.

Marxism develops in conflict with the consciousness of the working class. In this sense, the working class and the Marxist movement are opposites united in conflict. But the great crisis of capitalism and the movement of social classes are creating the conditions which can bring about the transformation of opposites through the struggle to build the revolutionary party.

It is with an understanding of this objective situation that the Socialist Labour League will transform itself into the revolutionary party before the end of 1972.



Tories jailed five dockers but freed them (above) when general strike threat grew.

British Columbia Government Adopts Police State Measures

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

VANCOUVER, B.C.—On the eve of a provincial election, the British Columbia Social Credit government of Premier W.A.C. Bennett has shown to workers in British Columbia and all across the country the intentions of the employing class toward labor if it is allowed to continue to rule.

The most striking landmark in the recent history of this government was the decision in June of this year to raid the union offices of all striking construction locals which defied the government back-to-work legislation of June 7. The RCMP raided 52 union offices throughout the province including carpenters, plumbers, electricians, ironworkers,

boilermakers, heat and frost insulators and one plasterers local.

Charges were filed against the construction unions under the 1968 B.C. Mediation Commission Act (Bill 33). Up until June the government had retreated from this showdown with the working class, but finding itself backed into a corner by the strength and determination of the construction workers and other sectors of B.C. labor—the government decided to use the Act which provides maximum fines ranging from \$1,000 for individuals to \$10,000 for unions. For continuing offenses under the Act, the maximum fine is \$150 a day for each day the offense continues.

EMPLOYERS

The construction employers are relying on the government to back them up in their policy of removing contract clauses which they can no longer afford such as hiring halls which guarantee workers' jobs on a strict rotation basis to guard against layoffs and the individual whims of employers. Some of these contract agree-

ments (e.g., the electricians) have been fought for and maintained since 1907. The C.L.R.A. (construction employers association) also wants to introduce a policy of allowing a segment of management to use tools. These would be used as strike-breakers to liquidate workers' attempts to maintain a decent living standard.

The government, reacting to the rapid withdrawal of foreign capital invested during the boom of the 1950's, has now resolved to use force to implement a policy of smashing the right to collective bargaining, reducing wages, unemploying thousands and cutting back on welfare payments.

UNEMPLOYED

Over 76,000 people are now out of work in B.C. and 5,000 of these have been cut off a guarantee of welfare. On the recommendation of Walter Boyd, single workers who are unemployed only receive financial assistance for a maximum of 14 days! When various delegations brought to the attention of Mr. Boyd and the City Council of Vancouver that such workers would be unable to even pay their rent—to mention only one expense—Boyd replied, "How they meet their expenses has always been their problem."

The Social Credit government is carry-

ing out the warning issued to the Canadian working class by Trudeau's War Measures Act of 1970. All sections of B.C. workers from construction to civil servants (who face a 6.5% ceiling on their wage increases) to the dockers, now taking a strike vote against the employers refusal to continue long standing agreements on hiring hall practices, are up in arms against the Social Credit government. Many union federations have stated that it must be gotten out of office.

ELECTION

In the provincial election of August 30 this can and must be carried out. The employing class has shown that reforms and compromises are impossible. Socialist policies of nationalization of the construction industry and of the docks under workers control is the only answer for the working class. Barret, the provincial leader of the NDP in B.C. has refused to take a class stand on these issues throughout the struggle.

The fight to throw the Social Credit government out must be linked with the fight to force the NDP to implement socialist policies in the interests of the working class. This must be the policy of the Canadian working class as a whole in the coming Federal election.

Editor's Notebook

The Honeymoon's Over

The Cleaver section of the Black Panther Party have been on the receiving end of some sharp lessons on the nature of their "fellow revolutionaries" in the Algerian regime of Houari Boumedienne.

Cleaver demanded back \$1 million the Algerians confiscated from five airline hijackers so it could be used for purposes of "Black revolution."

However, by now Boumedienne and his associates were less interested in "revolutionary" window dressing than in multimillion dollar deals with the U.S. for natural gas deposits.

Last Friday Algerian police surrounded the International Black Panther Party head-

quarters, a villa on the outskirts of Algiers. The Panthers' phones were cut off, and since then have been answered by an Algerian interpreter. Cleaver has not been located and is presumably under house arrest.

Back in New York, the Cleaver faction's national communications secretary, Bernice Jones, announced that Algeria was "veering towards the capitalist camp."

With North Korea's Kim Il Sung arranging an accommodation with the U.S. puppets of South Korea and Mao Tse-Tung hosting Richard Nixon, there may soon be no "anti-imperialist strongholds" left for the Cleaverites.

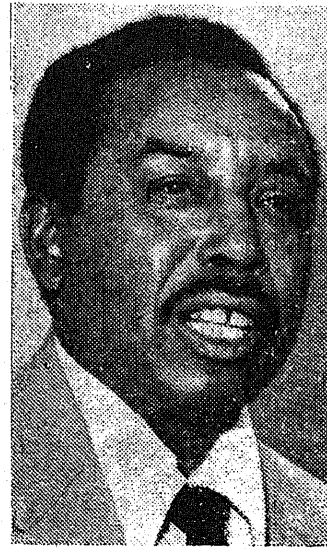
High Price For 'Soul City'

Floyd McKissick, former director of CORE, has had some sort of reputation as a "Black militant." He was instrumental in swinging CORE behind "Black Power" when that came out and was one of the big wheels behind the recent Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind.

McKissick has come a long way from the day when he advocated Blacks arming themselves for self-defense. The other day McKissick held a press conference to announce his support for President Nixon's re-election.

He urged Blacks to join the Republican Party "because they can appeal to middle Americans," and of course added that Nixon's opposition to busing to eliminate segregation "ought to be erased as an issue."

Naturally, the fact that McKissick is getting a \$14



Floyd McKissick

million loan from the Nixon Administration for development of a "Soul City" in North Carolina had nothing to do with his decision to "help re-elect the President."

As the revisionists would say, it is simply a case of nationalism being consistently carried out.

What's Cooking In The DA's Office?

The Knapp Commission on police corruption in New York issued its findings last week recommending that Governor Rockefeller appoint a special deputy attorney general to begin a five year "war on corruption."

Not only did Knapp find a few rotten apples in the police force but that "large numbers" of cops were padding their pockets with payoffs and were a necessary link in the drug trade.

Knapp's recommendation for a special deputy revealed that it was not just the local cop on the beat but that he was being protected by the courts and the district attorneys. This proposal was important not from the standpoint of ending the corruption but for the response it received from the local district attorneys.

Bronx DA Burton Roberts denounced the report as "a cheap shot" and Queens DA Thomas Mackell, an ex-cop, said that Knapp's revelations about the failure of DA's to prosecute policemen was a "damnable lie." "This office," said Mackell, "has never flinched when evidence of police corruption has been brought forth."

But Mr. Mackell was doing some flinching this week.

While Mayor Lindsay, the police and the DA's were comforting themselves with the fact that the Knapp business was finally over, a new "graft study"

was released, this one done by the Temporary Commission of Investigation. This one charged the Police Department with failing to investigate reports by a Federal agency between 1968 and 1972 that 72 cops including detectives, sergeants, lieutenants and a captain of being "improperly engaged in the narcotics traffic." A few of those involved have retired but the rest still have their jobs, many "in extremely sensitive positions."

Not only did the Police Department with the blessing of the Mayor's office ignore these reports but the Commission also charged the Queens DA office with letting cops charged off the hook. Specifically involved was none other than Mr. Mackell's son-in-law who allowed a detective indicted on charges of selling heroin to plead guilty of a misdemeanor and get off with a year's suspended sentence. The Judge of course claimed to know nothing about the detective's record.

Almost concurrently with this report one of the head judges for this so-called capitalist system of justice, Powell of the Supreme Court, lashed out at the "persistent and destructive criticism" of free enterprise which he claimed was eroding the moral authority of American institutions.

MEATCUTTERS . . . MINN. CLUC . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

policy differences with Belsky when he took an equivocal stand on the question of election of district directors.

But by the time he had requested that the roll call election vote be discontinued (after Belsky had received a clear majority), Caldwell had rolled up close to one-third of the votes.

A large portion of the union was looking for an alternative.



George McGovern

The Caldwell vote was a clear expression of that. By agreeing with the leadership on most issues or taking an equivocal position, Caldwell and his forces insured their defeat.

As for the members and supporters of the Stalinist Communist Party, they were either introducing pro-Zionist resolutions on Palestine, or whooping it up for McGovern or hustling votes for Belsky.

The significance of the Caldwell vote is that so many votes were cast in this direction. Had Caldwell shown up to have differences on the policy and direction of the union, he might have brought enough more locals into action and behind him. "This is quite a machine my friend Gorman has," he said conceding defeat.

The building of a leadership in this union that can take up where the present leadership has left off in fighting the Pay Board will require the creation of a national movement within the union, based on Marxism and not equivocating on the issues the labor movement faces.

What has to be brought out is that by the endorsement of McGovern instead of joining the movement for a labor party, the leadership of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters is marching their membership towards disaster. The Caldwell vote indicates that a large portion of the ranks are in no mood to stop fighting.

GERMAN YOUTH . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

forward their demands on what should be done about the conditions.

With the increasing attacks on the living conditions of workers and youth, the government has now taken certain steps to increase repression in Germany. However, since the government in Germany is a coalition between the Free Democrats, a bourgeois party, and the Social Democrats, a workers party, they cannot come out openly and attack the working class. Behind this, the emergence of a sharper form of attack on the working class, aimed at the unions, can be seen.

"With the crushing of the middle class protest movement by the movement of the working class, terrorist groups began to emerge. Attacks were made on the armed forces and the police by these terrorists," Uli said. "As a response to this, the bourgeoisie opened up a massive campaign for Law and Order."

Emergency measures were taken in which 15,000 new police were put on the force. Other

(Continued From Page 4)

Pay Board, is behind the growing movement for a Labor Party. It is this anger that forced the action of the CLUC. This also explains Roe's extreme hostility to the CLUC action, shown by his refusal to even talk to a *Bulletin* reporter and his repeated contemptuous statement, "Go talk to Tom Loberg, he's the one that's for this kind of thing"

However, the workers' disgust with both parties must now be

directed into a massive rampign to put content into the CLUC stand for a Labor Party; to force the calling of a Congress of Labor to actually launch such a party.

To this end, the Minnesota Workers League and Young Socialists will lobby the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers in St. Paul next week, as well as the state convention of the AFL-CIO in Rochester next month.

AMERICAN CAN . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

ever. As a matter of fact, after it destroys 4,800 jobs through these closures, it expects this action to raise its earnings by 30% by 1975!

The plants that are being shut down are old. The Jersey City plant was built in 1928 and many of the machines still in use go back nearly that far. The company claims they are obsolete and uneconomical, and is simply transferring production to more modern and automated facilities. In New Jersey, a good deal of the production will be transferred to a plant in Hillside.

Of the 1,000 workers now at the Jersey City plant, only 150 at the most will be allowed to transfer to these other plants.

One worker explained the situation:

"During the 1950's we had about 3,000 people working here. Then they started to close down different departments. We once produced the best cans in the area. Now we just produce pressure cans.

"They kept consolidating the production in the plant until, now, I guess the next step is to close down here and consolidate the work into other plants with newer facilities."

Workers who spent 20 and 30 years in the plant are now expected to sit by and watch everything their sweat has created taken away from them.

Meanwhile, even workers on pension or eligible for it who are hoping to escape the full brunt of the closure on their living standard, are threatened. A union delegate of Steelworkers Local 6300 at the plant expressed fear of the Supreme Court ruling, which states that a company is not responsible for the pension plan after it shuts down:

"We have people down in Washington, D.C. now pushing

for the government to take over these pension plans. I don't know how much money we got in the pension fund; but I don't think it will last too long if the plant closes and all these guys who are eligible start drawing pensions."

There is wide interest among these workers in a program to nationalize the plants and other industries which threaten to shut down. An older worker aimed a warning especially at the youth just getting jobs now:

"Believe me, you're going to see a big change. More and more of these younger workers are going to get hurt. They feel this more because they got the bigger part of their life ahead of them. It's going to be tougher on them.

"A labor party? Maybe not right away, but we can let things only go so far. The companies got to have a certain amount of power, but when they get too big, you can't talk to them anymore. They want to be the law all the way around."

When the Ballantine Brewery in Newark shut down, the afternoon shift sat down in the plant until the union leaders talked them into leaving. But the men showed a determination to defend their jobs.

The same question is now posed to workers at American Can Company all across the country. Can thousands of workers afford to watch their livelihood wash down the drain just for the sake of extra profits for the bosses?

The answer must be a resounding NO! The Steelworkers Union must prepare now to hold a nationwide strike of the American Can Company of all its 127 factories in the U.S. and Canada against the closures. The fight must center on the demand for the nationalization of the industry and the construction of a labor party to implement these policies.

jobs to watch the debates.

Uli described what happened: "Thousands of trade union protest strikes were sparked off momentarily by the attempt of the CDU to replace the liberal government. Union bureaucrats did everything possible to try and smash the strikes. They told the workers that political strikes were prohibited. The workers responded by saying 'Sure it is but if we do it its allowed.'

"The ability of the German working class to participate in determining maneuvers of Parliament shows the strength of the working class." It is this strong movement which the union bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie fear will turn towards Marxism.

The launching of the Socialist Youth League on October 1st by the German League of Socialist Workers, section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, will mean a sharpening of the political movement in Germany.

"Under these conditions it is very important to construct a movement to fight for socialist policies," declared Uli.

CAN . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

binging age and years of service. Those over fifty need 70 points to retire immediately, those under fifty need 75. Men with fewer points but over fifteen years of service have their pension vested and receive benefits at age 65. Laid off workers can draw up to two years of supplementary unemployment benefits at 28 hours pay a week, or else retire immediately and draw a plant closure bonus.

Most of the workers are unhappy with the pension benefits, which will shrink even further with inflation. A fifty-three year old worker said, "We get \$8.50 a month for each year of service, plus the bonus. Well, I thought, \$350 a month, why we can survive on that, just my wife and I. But then we sat down and figured it all out. We like to take a drive in the country once in a month, up to Sonoma and Napa, leave early in the morning, have dinner out there. But that's twenty-five or thirty dollars. We can't do that any more. And there's other things—clothes. I'll have to get another job. I've been working here 27 years, I don't know what it's like on the outside. Who'll hire a man 53 years old?"

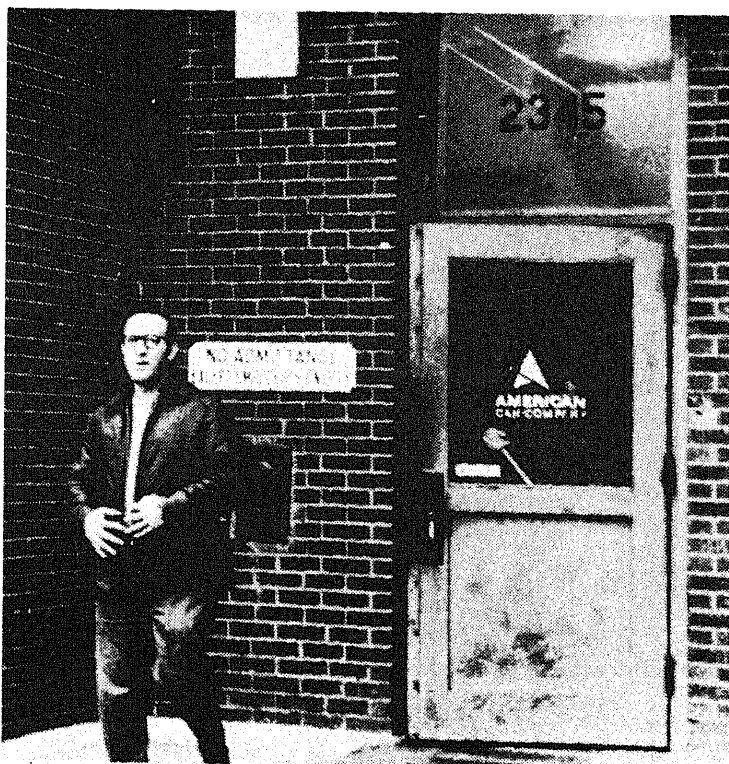
"It stinks," a woman at the plant for 22 years told the *Bulletin*. "I know you need a union, but our union just sold us out. I've got a husband so when I retire we'll be all right. But what about guys with a wife and kids—they can't live on that pension. They'll have to find work, and companies don't want somebody that old. And there's lots of guys who won't be getting a pension. They've been paying in for 15 or 20 years and won't get anything until they're 62. Who's getting all that money? They close this place down. What's to stop them from opening up a small place out where the taxes aren't so high and hiring a lot of young people they don't have to pay so much and starting all over again? The government ought to do something about it. They should freeze those pensions so anybody who works 15 or 20 years someplace gets something."

A younger worker said "I've given them a good piece of my life, and now they're turning me out. We've been crapped on." A 39 year old worker voiced the common complaint: "I could get a job at another place, but then I get nothing till I'm 65. Who knows, 26 years from now 200 dollars a month may be worth 50 cents. I almost have to try to catch on at Oakland and get in eight more years, for my thirty. They're hiring off the street there, but they have to give us priority."

The union has done nothing to defend the right of its members. Few of the men who would like to be able to transfer to Oakland. Most who retire will do so because they have to, not because they want to. The closing of the plant is accepted as inevitable, and the local is going to be dissolved.

Steelworkers Local 1684 president Leo Gerval claimed the union had always had good relations with American Can management—there have been no strikes since the plant was organized in 1937 and all disputes have been settled through binding arbitration. "This place just isn't economical anymore," said Gerval.

The real needs of workers in can, steel, and aluminum—a \$500 a month pension, no layoffs, and the thirty hour week at forty hours pay—can only be won by mobilizing the labor movement politically in an independent party based on the unions.



American Can Company will end jobs of nearly 5,000 workers as part of productivity offensive against the workers.

Rockwell Uses Speedup To Get NASA Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—A few weeks ago the *Bulletin* ran an article detailing the introduction of Detroit's auto speed-up methods into production at North American Rockwell.

The results of this campaign are now clear with the awarding of the main part of the Space Shuttle contract from NASA to North American.

Rockwell's \$2.6 billion bid was almost \$1 billion less than its competition. This bid will be adhered to with the introduction of intensive speed-up and efficiencies.

North American is setting up a control center to keep a week by week compilation of people employed and money spent. In addition they will keep watchdogs overseeing production at all subcontractors.

North American has also been awarded the contract for the Orbiter engine, another part of the system.

An indication of the new methods being brought into aerospace production is that the prime factor is no longer performance. Design requirements will be altered to stay within stringent budgetary require-

ments in what is called a "trade-off" between cost and performance. We are sure that those who eventually ride the shuttle will be delighted to know this.

NASA itself will not retain a large engineering staff to oversee the project, relying instead on North American as part of its cost-cutting program.

Although up to 50,000 people will be involved on this project there will be no massive hiring program as a large number of these will simply be shifted from projects now shutting down.

The successful bid by North American is a warning to its competitors and to the labor movement that the crisis in aerospace continues to deepen and will involve the sharpest attacks on the working class.

Indeed while Rockwell celebrates its victory over its rivals McDonnell-Douglas has announced new layoffs of over 13,000 workers.

Foster City Mayor Moves To Break AFSCME Strike

BY BARRY GREY

FOSTER CITY, Calif.—Since August 1st, the city park and public works employees of Foster City, AFSCME Local 756, have been on strike for parity in wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions with the rest of San Mateo County.

The strike has thrown the city administration into a desperate crisis. Foster City is a new residential development built on land-fill extending into San Francisco Bay. The city's sewage system depends upon the operation by city employees of special sewage pump stations and a treatment plant. The strike now threatens to result in a back-up of sewage which could force an evacuation of the entire city.

Foster City's mayor, William Walker, has fought tooth and nail to keep his town a scab enclave in the middle of heavily unionized San Mateo County. After Local 756 won recognition, Walker tried to buy off the membership by offering a higher scale of wage

increases to nonunion employees. Since that failed, he has refused to bargain seriously with the union, provoking a strike, through which he hopes to break the union.

Foster City employees receive wages as much as \$100 less per month than the average for San Mateo County. Basic fringe benefits available to city employees throughout the county, such as insurance for dependents, a dental plan, and disability insurance are not provided.

Local 756 Business Agent, Tom Jones, told the *Bulletin* he thought the strike was coming to a head. He said he expected Mayor Walker would try to bring scabs in on Monday, the day before new talks are scheduled. Asked what the union would do in that event, Jones stated they would stage a mass picket, calling in the local labor councils and AFSCME locals.

Mayor Walker's anti-union vendetta is a miniature version of government policy nationally. The local labor movement must come to the support of 756.

West Coast News

'Law And Order' Men Nabbed In Oil Scandal

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The law and order boys are falling on hard times. It was only last month that scandal rocked Britain's Tory Party, forcing the resignation of Reginald Maudling, Heath's Home Secretary and second in command.

The collapse of the boom means bankruptcy for numerous enterprises engaged in speculation in inflated stock and real estate values. These collapses give us a glimpse of the absolute corruption at the highest levels of capitalist society.

Maudling was first exposed as a front man for the Real Estate Fund of America, an offshore fund engaged in moving funds from underdeveloped countries into investments on Wall Street or banks in Switzerland. These operations involved currency smuggling, false passports and a myriad of illegal operations. The head of REFA, Jerome Hoffman, is presently in a New York penitentiary for fraud.

POULSON

The latest revelations about Maudling involve his association with John Poulson through a directorship in International Technical and Construction Services engaged in the export of construction Techniques.

Poulson, now facing bankruptcy, was involved in a network of payoffs and bribery to secure lucrative contracts. Maudling lent his name and prestige to the success of these ventures.

Not to be outdone by their British cousins, a similar scandal is about to break out in California involving the publisher of the L.A. Times, the Attorney General of California and a host of famous people yet to be named.

Otis Chandler, publisher of the Times, has apparently been busy in his spare time rounding up well-known and well-heeled people to back the speculative ventures of his friend Jack P. Burke, who collected money to engage in oil drilling schemes.

Mr. Burke seems to have done other things with the money than drill for oil. Money invested in Geo Tek Resources Fund Inc. was diverted into a number of other operations controlled by Mr. Burke who also managed to unload a number of worthless properties on Geo Tek for astronomical prices.

FRAUD

As a result, Burke, who is unable to pay his bills, faces charges of fraud, misappropriation of funds and breach of judiciary duty. A large number of very important people from L.A. Times executives and political and society figures to Hollywood movie stars are out about \$30 million.

Like Mr. Maudling, Chandler used his name and influence to line up important friends and contacts to be drilled by Mr. Burke.

A particularly interesting

member of this group is Evelle Younger, California Attorney General, well-loved for his consistent championing of the death penalty and stronger "law and order" methods.

"LENT"

Mr. Younger, along with others, was "lent" money by Burke to invest in his project, induce others to invest and see to it that no interference took place. It seems that Mr. Younger, although warned, was able to resist any temptation to investigate Burke's swingles because of this loan and of course because he believed that Burke was "honest and trustworthy."

The Chandlers and the Youngers are the ones who scream the loudest every time a trade unionist asks for another few cents an hour. These are the men who lead the way for the political witch hunters.

NIXON

Coming as it does after the Pentagon Papers, the ITT scandals and the bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters, we will not be at all surprised to learn that some of these L.A. investors in Southern California may very well turn out to be old cronies from Richard Nixon's Orange County days.

These revelations are only a hint of what is to come as the capitalist crisis exposes more and more of the rotteness of those who rule this completely bankrupt system.

EMPORIUM . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

Indeed at a mass meeting held the morning after the sit-down the leadership did everything in its power to turn the meeting into a campaign rally for McGovern, calling off all future solidarity action for five days in order to give the management time to agree to the compromise.

RANKS

The reaction from the ranks was one of confusion with a large number going along with the proposal yet determined to have a showdown if necessary.

A number of workers saw these proposals as a sell-out. "I was hoping that he'd put a P.S. on that—that we'd shut down the city Monday morning," was the statement of one woman worker.

Another stated, "I don't like it. I make \$2.86 an hour with five years seniority. We are willing to go to jail for this strike. We should keep doing what we did yesterday every day till we win. We know they would have used the police on us this morning. A lot of us are housewives and we brought our children with us this morning purposely."

West Coast News

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Emporium Workers Settle After Unions Rally Support

STOP PRESS, August 15—Retail clerks voted today 742-74 to end their five week old strike and accept a new three year contract. The settlement contains a 20¢ an hour minimum increase each year, double time for Sunday, improved medical and dental care coverage. On the key issue of union security, 150 non-union veteran employees will be encouraged, but not required to join the union.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike of over 1500 retail clerks against the Emporium Department Store is moving into its fifth week. Each day the store is surrounded by mass picket lines of militant chanting workers determined to win a victory.

The store is being manned by scabs and the Emporium is defending the right of approximately 150 workers not to join the union against the demand of the union ranks that there be no "free riders."

The situation is now so sharp that with the lessons of the Teamster bottler strike and the U.C. battle behind it the Bay Area labor movement has formed an Ad-Hoc Strike Support Committee uniting Teamsters, longshoremen, AFL-CIO Labor Councils and building trades councils from S.F., Alameda, Contra Costa, San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties.

According to James Herman, ILWU clerks leader and head of the committee, this committee intends to function on a per-

manent basis. "Any strike where anyone needs help we're going to try to be there."

Mr. Herman told a packed meeting of strikers that "We are serving notice that no strike under any conditions is unimportant. The trade union movement in this area has made an announcement for all to hear that an injury to one is truly an injury to all."

That announcement was clear for all to see when over a hundred labor leaders showed up to lead a demonstration of thousands of unionists that resulted in occupation of the Emporium and a temporary shutdown of operations.

There is no question that this demonstration and the formation of the support committee opens up a whole new period for Bay Area labor. The



Over 2,500 trade unionists including bookbinders, longshoremen, farmworkers, demonstrated in support of Retail Clerks' contract demands. Later, they occupied the Emporium department store.

ranks are determined to put an end to isolated strikes starved out by scab herding employers. The traditions of 1934 are once again on the march.

Nevertheless the strike remains in grave danger of betrayal from the leadership itself. On the question of union membership the leadership has indicated a willingness to go along with a proposal of Mayor Alioto to leave 2% of the work force non-union. This is a compromise on the basic principle of trade unionism and leaves the door open for future attacks on the right to a union shop. To speak of such a compromise under these conditions where labor has begun to mobilize its strength is to speak of betrayal.

(Continued On Page 19)

American Can Workers Face Pension Loss In SF Closure

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—American Can Company is shutting down its San Francisco factory and warehouse, laying off over 500 workers. This is part of a cost-cutting drive that will shut nine plants nationwide. The plant, once one of the city's largest, with 1600 employed, had been run down steadily over the last five years.

"We've been expecting it for six months," said a forklift operator in the warehouse. Pointing to a large deserted section of the building, "Look at it, that used to be jammed with equipment. Now they only use

one floor of the building. The rest is empty. They took away the machinery."

The plant is over 60 years old. Only steel-body cans are produced, and buyers have been switching to aluminum. Loss of the Hamm's and Lucky breweries to Kaiser cut into production sharply, and the shutdown of the Burgermeister brewery was the finish. Some production will be shifted to Oakland and San Jose, and American Can will take a 105 million dollar write-off on this year's income.

PENSIONS

The massive layoffs up to 1970 stripped the work force of everyone with less than fifteen years seniority. The pension plan negotiated between the United Steelworkers and American Can is based on a point system com-

(Continued On Page 19)

Editorial

California AFL-CIO Delegates Must Break With Democrats

The California state AFL-CIO convention will meet in Los Angeles on August 21. At the center of this convention will be the battle to hammer out a political policy for the elections.

Millions of trade unionists will be looking to the delegates for a fighting lead.

In California hundreds of thousands of aerospace jobs have been eliminated and additional tens of thousands face imminent layoffs. The battle on the waterfront is just beginning with an entire industry facing decimation.

From the Teamsters bottlers strike to the U.C. strike and now the Emporium the situation is such that in the most powerfully unionized section of the state, the Bay Area, the unions face an all-out drive by the employers to smash up their organizations with scabs and the legal assistance of the state.

It is no accident that it is in California following the Angela Davis trial that the trials of Daniel Ellsberg, Ruchell Magee and Billy Smith are to take place. These trials are part of the judicial preparation to take on and break up the labor movement.

Delegates will be under enormous pressure to stampede to support McGovern. The executive officer of the state AFL-CIO, John F. Henning has been campaigning across the state to warn that a Nixon victory will mean loss of the Assembly and the state senate to the Republicans as though the present legislature has shown the labor movement anything but the back of its hand.

The Communist Party through its organ the People's World has been leading a drive to portray Meany's refusal to endorse McGovern as opening the door to reaction. Issue after issue has been filled with articles baiting Meany and Abel, denouncing them as out of step and supporting every movement against them in a hysterical drive to line up labor support for McGovern.

The strikebreaking attacks on the unions will not be answered with right-to-work man McGovern.

Low wages and soaring unemployment will not be answered with the man who voted against minimum wage programs and against summer jobs for youth.

On every central question from the Pay Board to unemployment and speed-up to anti-labor legislation McGovern stands as one with Nixon.

Henning's policy of "defeating Nixon" is no policy at all. Meany and Abel have stopped half way in simply refusing to endorse McGovern. The task facing delegates to this convention is to go beyond them by taking up the fight for the immediate construction of a labor party to unite the unions, the unemployed and the youth in a fight for power.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers' party

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