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FIFTEEN CENTS

JOBLESS RISES TO 5 MILLION

SEE PAGES 3 & 8



Local 1199 Hospital Workers Union held demonstrations against killing of organizer Norman Rayford by a guard. See story on page 3.

Canadian Labor Party Sweeps BC Elections

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—British Columbia workers took the lead for labor across Canada and the United States on August 30 by throwing out the Social Credit government headed by W.A.C. Bennett and electing a New Democratic Party (labor) government in their province. The overwhelming NDP victory in BC came the day after the announcement of Prime Minister Trudeau's intention to recall Parliament now in summer recess to smash the BC dock strike.

Two days later at the emergency session of Parliament, which passed the bill ordering the British Columbia dockers back to work, Prime Minister Trudeau announced federal elections for October 30th.

The Social Credit Party has ruled the province for 20 years. Bennett has been vanguard of the Canadian capitalist class in his attacks on the workers. In the last few years, the crisis has spurred Bennett on to directly challenge the very existence of the trade unions in British Columbia.

Under the Bennett government, teachers, doctors and civil servants all had a ceiling put on

their salaries while prices skyrocketed. The Social Credit regime passed special legislation, Bill 3, to limit the salary increases of teachers. In 1968 it passed Bill 33, the Mediations

Commissions Act, in order to enforce compulsory arbitration in labor disputes.

In June of this year, the Bennett government made the decision to use this legislation

against the construction workers strike. It backed it up with 52 raids on construction union offices by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police with full approval of Trudeau's Liberal government in Ottawa.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bennett's actions in British Columbia are what every worker in Canada will face in the next period. This is the great signi-

(Continued On Page 18)

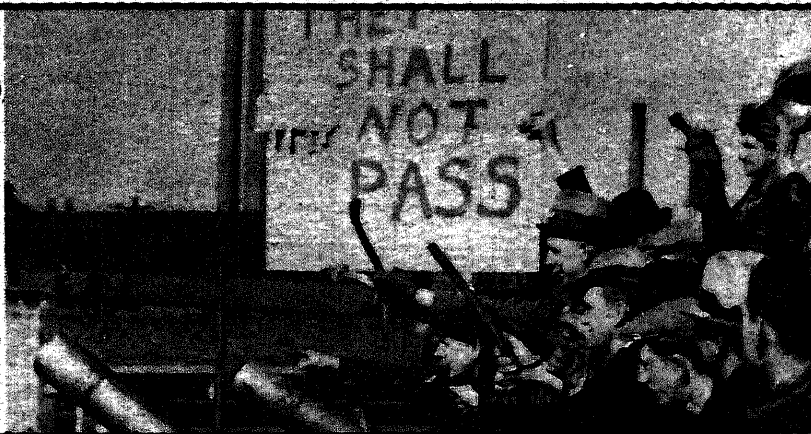
From Sit-Down to Lordstown

The Story of the UAW

By Max Lewis

PART 3

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What we think

The Liberal George Breitman

The Republican Convention posed in the sharpest terms the dangers now confronting the American working class. In spite of the carefully programmed events, the reactionary character of the convention could not be disguised. Within the hall, the most right-wing elements of the Republican Party dominated the proceedings; and Nixon accepted their nomination with a speech calculated to whip up an anti-communist hysteria. Outside the Convention Hall, members of the Nazi Party paraded while police arrested over 1,000 protesting youth and armed troops stood ready to move if needed.

What was revealed at the Convention is the determined preparation of big business for war against the working class and its trade unions. It would be the mark of the most criminal complacency to doubt that the Republicans are considering dictatorial methods to meet the movement of the working class and impose a crushing defeat.

But little more than one week after the Republican Convention, the Militant, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, publishes an article entitled, "Who Is Better For The Ruling Class: Nixon or McGovern?" Its author, George Breitman, argues that the bourgeoisie is not acting in its best interests by backing Nixon, because it is McGovern who would deal more effectively with "the threat posed by radicalization—if not altogether, then by reducing it to more manageable proportions."

This idle rubbish about the capitalist class making a mistake by backing Nixon, as Breitman puts it, serves the purpose of disarming the working class just as it faces the most vicious attacks by the government. Breitman detaches himself from any responsibility to prepare the working class for the impending battles. Rather than attempting a serious examination of the reasons why the American bourgeoisie wants to keep Nixon in the White House, he dismisses the dangers that exist and comments that "the ruling class does not see the situation correctly..."

Breitman's article is a flight from reality. He does not understand any (Continued On Page 8)

British Unemployment Tops One Million Mark

BY MELODY FARROW

Following the end of the British dock strike two weeks ago, the Tory government is pressing ahead with its strategy to divide and crush the trade union movement. Their key weapons against the working class are the Industrial Relations Bill and a soaring unemployment rate.

This past month unemployment went over one million. The official figure is 930,123 but does not include many unemployed workers who have not registered. The figures show that large numbers of workers have been without a job for a long time.

ULTRA-RIGHT

Ultra right-wing Tory groups, the fascist National Front and rightist politicians like Enoch Powell, with the support of the government are using the unemployment to whip up a racist movement against immigrants and especially against the Ugandan Asians who will be coming to Britain.

The Tories' aim is to pit the unemployed against those who are working to destroy the unions and weaken the ability of the workers to strike and unite against the government.

INTEND

The Tories also intend to use the Industrial Relations Act to the fullest to prosecute unions which strike for their wages and basic union rights. The National Industrial Relations Court has threatened to begin contempt proceedings and confiscate the funds of the Trade Union Congress for suspending unions which cooperate with the Act.

CONFRONTATION

The Tories know that this threat to virtually abolish the TUC will mean an even greater confrontation with the working class than the British dock strike. The Tories seek to settle accounts with the working class once and for all.

The British capitalist class is faced with an all-out trade war with Europe and the United States, growing inflation and economic collapse. This trade war, in which each capitalist country

will seek to make its own goods cheaper, means a future of massive unemployment for British workers.

This was the issue at stake in the dock strike. This strike, the most powerful and militant in recent British history, posed the mobilization of the whole labor movement to bring down the Tory government. On August 18, after three weeks of strike, the dockers were forced to return to the very same conditions which had begun the strike.

CONTAINERIZATION

The strike was aimed at the shipowners' plans to use containers to reduce the number of jobs from the present 40,000 to 10,000. The dockers demanded the right to strip and stuff containers, no more layoffs and no reduction in the dockers register. From the beginning they showed their strength and their determination to fight the government.

The criminal responsibility for the sellout of this strike lies with the Communist Party and the trade union leaders who consciously sought to divert the workers from a political fight against the government. The CP encouraged the illusion that the Tories could be pressured to make some future concessions and that job security could be secured within capitalism.

The revisionist groups, the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group, completely agreed with the Stalinist perspective. They denied that any political fight against the Tories was needed to win and called for "more militancy." After the strike was over, the IS blamed the workers by stating that they "proved unworthy."

SSL

The Socialist Labour League was the only organization in Britain which campaigned throughout the strike for a General

Strike to force the Tories out, for a return of a Labour Party government pledged to carry out nationalization of the docks under workers control and repeal the National Industrial Relations Act.

LESSONS

The Stalinist and revisionist groups play the same role in the U.S. by rejecting the fight to build a labor party. The lesson of the British dock strike for American workers is that only a labor party will be able to defend their jobs and their unions. This will mean a constant fight to throw out the trade union and Stalinist leaderships.



Right-wing racists organized a couple hundred people to march in London against Ugandan Asian immigrants. Workers booed them.

Street Battles Shake Allende As Rightists Prepare Coup

BY ED SMITH

Shaken after a week of bitter streetfighting between the right-wing youth, leftists, and the police, constituent parties of Dr. Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government in Chile have announced plans for a massive demonstration of support for the Allende regime.

The announcement followed a night of street fighting in Chile's capital, Santiago. Pro and anti-Popular Unity youth battled within two blocks of the presidential palace with gasoline bombs, bamboo poles, rocks, and fists. One high school student was shot in the chest and fifty others were injured.

RIGHT WING

In the past two weeks, the Chilean right-wing has seized the initiative in its struggle to overthrow the Allende Popular Unity government. The right started its offensive when massive government-ordered price increases were announced. A nationwide protest strike against the price rises and "government interference" was announced by several business associations. Allende threatened to expropriate the striking stores but quickly backed off when the

owners announced that they would then shut down permanently.

The strike touched off demonstrations and assaults on Allendeists and the police by the emboldened right-wingers. In the continuing violence of the past two weeks, four provinces have been put under states of emergency and control of police, taken out of the hands of Popular Unity officials and placed in the hands of the army.

The latest violence grew out of a strike, the third in two weeks, called by the anti-Allende Federation of Secondary Students of Santiago, controlled by the Christian Democrats. Seventy thousand high school students responded to a call to protest the appointment of an Allendeist as principal of a girl's high school.

Fighting was reported also in the city of Concepcion, where earlier a policeman had been

killed during right-wing rioting.

The new right-wing offensive in Chile shows clearly the present precarious state of the popular front government. Such a government is absolutely incapable of protecting the workers and peasants from the vicious plans of the capitalists. If left to itself the overthrow of the Allende government is only a matter of time.

DEMORALIZED

Large sections of the working class have been demoralized while essential sectors of the middle class, such as the shopkeepers and students have been driven into the arms of reaction by the actions of the government in: the contract dispute with the copperminers, in the use of troops for strike breaking on the railroads and finally in the recent police shootings—sometimes organized by members of the Communist Party—of peasants attempting to occupy land.

Allende has no perspective to impede such a catastrophe. In a recent speech to left-wing students at the State Technical University, Allende stated:

"I am horrified to hear people irresponsibly talking about a possible civil war. I will fight with all my strength to maintain normalcy in the country, for if there were to be a civil war, even if we were to win—and we would have to win—it would mean the destruction of the Chilean economy and brotherly coexistence for several generations."

PREPARATORY

This talk gives a green light to the right-wing which is now in the preparatory stages of a civil war.

There is no other road but the construction of a revolutionary party, fighting to take the power from the betrayers of the popular front, to rally the workers and peasants to defeat the capitalists and establish the rule of the working class.

Scandal Upsets Brandt's Election Plans

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The major political parties of West Germany have begun their campaigns for the December national elections in an atmosphere dominated by the deepening economic crisis, growing working class militancy, an open split within the ranks of the Social Democrats, and a major scandal.

Just as Chancellor Willy Brandt was preparing to undertake the defense of his coalition government, the regime suffered a major blow when police raided the offices of the right-wing magazine, Quick.

DISAVOWED

Although Brandt disavowed any advance knowledge of the raid, it is known that the government was angered by the publication of "secret" documents by the magazine.

The scandal grew even more serious when police discovered

that Quick received its information by paying bribe money to members of the government. This revelation promptly led to the resignation of two junior Social-Democratic ministers.

While Brandt was under fire from the reactionary Christian Democratic Union for the raid, he was confronted by the possibility that his former finance minister, Karl Schiller, would join the CDU before the elections.

For more than two weeks, Schiller, who had resigned from the government the month before, publicly considered whether to drop all pretences of

being a socialist. He went so far as to arrange a meeting with Rainer Barzel, leader of the CDU.

Schiller's outspoken wife, Etta, openly attacked Brandt's economic policy, declaring: "Only the bourgeoisie can handle money."

For the time being, Schiller has decided to remain in the Social Democratic Party, but his obvious sympathy with the CDU is a stunning indictment of the anti-working class policies that the Brandt coalition has been following for the past three years.

"EVOLUTIONARY"

The very man whom Brandt has entrusted with the task of building "evolutionary" socialism turns out to be an open partisan of the most reactionary section of German big business.

It is Brandt's cringing collaboration with the capitalists that is paving the way for a victory of the CDU in the elections and an

all-out attack on the trade unions.

As he rules in coalition with the bourgeois Free Democratic Party, Brandt's policies are determined by the demands of the most right-wing elements in the coalition.

STRIKES

Spontaneous strikes have erupted during the past month in heavy industry. Krupp steelworkers in Rheinhausen and Bochum struck for higher wages. In Dortmund, 1,000 workers from Hoesch demonstrated against layoffs, and Teves workers organized a protest strike.

These struggles emerge against the background of growing inflation and the threat of tremendous unemployment. No less than 52,000 Hoesch workers are faced with the loss of their jobs.

The economic situation will deteriorate as the Common Market negotiations are faced with trade war with the United States.

U.S. Trade War Plans Threaten Big Increase In Unemployment

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

A new stage in the development of international trade war is now looming throughout the capitalist world. While Nixon's trade agreement worked out last week in Hawaii with Japan's Prime Minister Tanaka is hailed by the capitalists as some kind of breakthrough toward greater international cooperation, beneath this thin facade Nixon is preparing the most massive attacks since the 1930's against his capitalist rivals in Europe and Japan.

For the working class international trade war has one unmistakable meaning. It must now result in massive worldwide unemployment affecting millions of workers all over the world. In the U.S. unemployment rose from 5.5 to 5.6 percent bringing the number of jobless close to five million.

The opening of a new stage in the international trade war coincides with the explosive collapse of the monetary negotiations which have been carried out between the Americans, Europeans and Japanese over several months. These negotiations were a vain effort to paste together the disastrous situation opened up last August 15.

The sharpness of the situation was clearly expressed in the barrage delivered this week by U.S. Under Secretary of the Treasury Paul Volker to European Monetary heads at the Albach European Forum.

Volker, with complete arrogance, stated that fixed currency rates might be all right for the Europeans but sharply warned them not to try to "impose" their ideas on the rest of the world.

UNDERCUT

In other words, what Volker said was that, while it is all right with the U.S. if the Common Market wishes to maintain a fixed relation of its currencies internally, the United States in its drive to undercut European capitalism in the world market will do all in its power to force further upward floats of European currencies against the dollar.

Above all, what Volker made clear is that there will be no restoration of the link between the dollar and gold.

In a sharp attack on French representatives, who raised the question of gold and the need to restore the principles of Bretton Woods, Volker asserted that under no conditions would the U.S. raise the official price of gold above \$38. He also reaffirmed the U.S. position that it was determined to phase gold out of the monetary system.

Volker stated that although gold would be around for a long time, its role would be that of a "pretender to the world monetary throne much like the fact that there are today pretenders

to the French throne 200 years after the French revolution."

PROGNOSIS

Gold, Volker further added, "will have to go the way of silver" and that that is the "clearest possible prognosis for gold." Volker's blast comes within days of the break-up of the international monetary talks of many months duration that have been conducted by the Organization for International Cooperation and Development (OECD). Last week, William Eberle, Nixon's trade representative on OECD attacked the report by issuing a special addenda rejecting the main line of its findings.

Eberle's rejection of the report is based upon the refusal of the Europeans to agree to massive tariff concessions to the advantage of American exports as a basis for conducting monetary talks; the Europeans' refusal to agree to early dismantling of the Common Market farm program which protects European agriculture and upon which the whole Common Market is essentially based; the refusal of the Europeans to agree that they have equal if not principal responsibility for U.S. trade and payments deficits which should be corrected through trade concessions and a new round of European revaluations.

In short, Nixon's position is to continue to demand from Europe that they pay the price of the huge crisis precipitated by U.S. imbalances through concessions

(Continued On Page 18)



Henry Nicholas, secretary-treasurer of 1199 was jailed for leading protest against killing of 1199 organizer.

Court Arrests 1199 Leader For Protest Of Organizer's Murder

BY DIANNE ISAACS AND IRA WADE

PHILADELPHIA—Over 500 hospital workers and other trade unionists from three states rallied at Metropolitan Hospital Wednesday in defiance of a court injunction after the fatal shooting of Norman Rayford, an organizer of Local 1199C, National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees.

The city retaliated by taking Henry Nicholas, Secretary-Treasurer of the local, into custody, threatening him with arrest if any more demonstrations were called and ordering him to appear at a contempt hearing Tuesday. Meanwhile John Daniels, the security guard who shot Rayford, has yet to be charged.

Local 1199C workers of the Delaware Valley Laundry had been on strike since July 29 at five city hospitals which use the laundry, including Metropolitan Hospital, where Rayford was shot by Daniels, a Diamond Security Corporation guard whom the hospital was using to drive laundry to New York.

MURDER

Rayford was left in the driveway for 15 minutes after he was shot in the chest and was pronounced dead inside the hospital. A knife supposedly belonging to Rayford was found near the body—without fingerprints.

Nicholas said: "He (Rayford) never carried a knife to my knowledge. I think this is an attempt to cover up an apparent murder as self-defense."

(Continued On Page 18)

Parole Board Flatly Denies Farinas Bid Without Review

BY NANCY FIELDS

NEW YORK—On Monday, August 28, Juan Farinas was informed that the U.S. Board of Parole had refused to review his request for parole. Through this action, the Board has denied any chance for parole until next March when the case will again come up for review.

Farinas has served six months of a two year sentence in Danbury Federal Penitentiary for allegedly violating the Selective Service Act at his induction in 1968.

Juan's sole "crime" was to distribute a leaflet to his fellow inductees which expressed his opinion on the Vietnam War as a war waged against the workers and peasants there in the interests of American big business.

SOLIDARITY

This refusal by the Parole Board follows an intensive campaign among trade unionists and youth who rallied in solidarity with Juan to demand his

freedom. The case drew tremendous support from the working class who saw the political attack on Farinas as part of the growing assault by the government on the trade union movement.

NICHOLAS

In fact, the Defense Committee has just received a letter of support from Henry Nicholas, National Treasurer of Local 1199 Hospital and Nursing Home Employees. Nicholas has just been arrested during the demonstration against the brutal murder of a 1199 union organizer in Philadelphia last week.

In their action, the Parole Board did not issue any statement giving any reasons for their decision. While there is no specific requirement in the law that the Board must issue an explanation for their actions, the matter is pending before the Supreme Court because the actions of the Parole Board are completely arbitrary and offer no method of defense for the prisoners.

RIGHTS

Thus, the frame-up and continued persecution of Farinas cannot be seen as an isolated case. It is part of the increasing attack on the fundamental rights the working class has won.

The Defense Committee will continue the battle to free Juan. In order to carry on the campaign, funds are urgently needed. Please send all contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., New York, New York 10011.

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Newark News Closure Hits At Printing Unions

BY DAVID NORTH

NEWARK, N.J.—More than 500 workers on the staff of the Newark News were thrown out of work Thursday as the 88 year old paper shut down production, after having given its employees less than 48 hours notice.

The shutdown of the News is the latest in a series of attacks aimed at destroying the jobs of New Jersey workers. Just three weeks ago, American Can announced that it plans to close its Jersey City plant. In March, 3000 workers joined the growing ranks of unemployed when Ballantine closed its Newark Brewery.

News employees were notified Tuesday morning that they would be without a job by the end of a week via a memorandum from the publisher, Bruce Mair, casually posted on a bulletin board by the editor's secretary.

In his statement, Mair referred to the strike by the Guild that stopped production for 10 months as the cause of the News' financial difficulties and decision to cease publishing. But this explanation is a total falsification of the events that led to Thursday's shutdown.

CONGLOMERATE

In 1970, the Newark News was sold by the Scudder family to Media General, Incorporated, a Richmond-based conglomerate. Media General purchased the News primarily because it owned

the lucrative patents on a profitable newsprint recycling process operated by its subsidiary, the Garden State Paper Company.

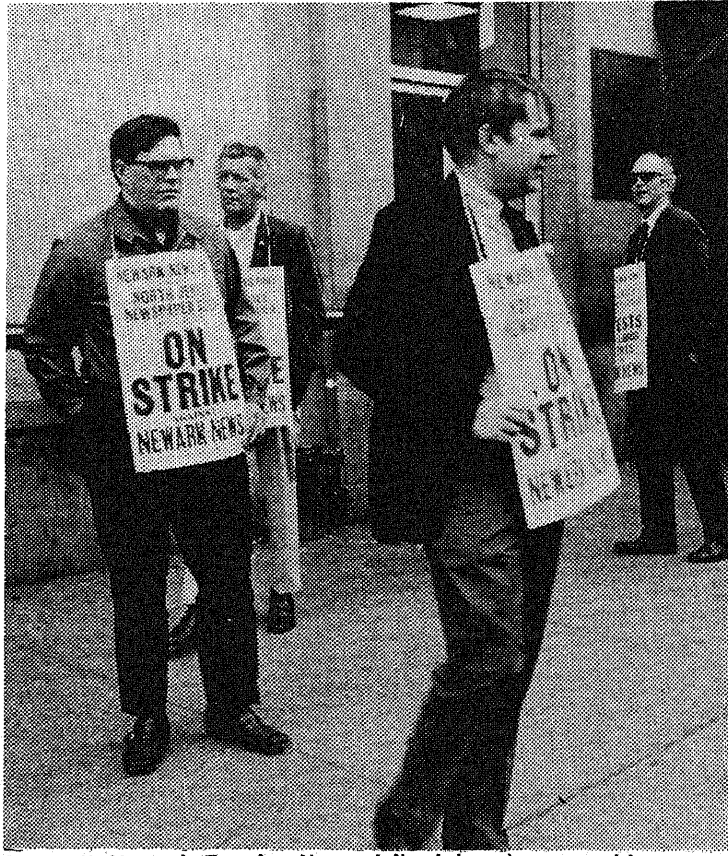
Media General had very little interest in the publication of the News, which was the least profitable aspect of its operation. Almost immediately after taking over from the Scudder family, Media General forced the newly organized Guild local into a strike by rejecting its wage proposals, demanding the dismissal of 50 staff members, and implementing drastic work rule changes.

SALE

Before the News resumed publication last April, Media General announced the sale of its Sunday edition and plant equipment to the Newark Star-Ledger for the price of \$20 million.

"After that deal, Media General had gotten all it wanted out of the News," said one reporter after leaving work for the last time Thursday. "If they were really interested in running this newspaper, the owners would not have shut it down until waiting to see the results of the fall subscription campaign."

Reflecting the satisfaction of



10-month Newark Evening News strike (above) was used to prepare for the closure of the paper as part of the drive against the unions.

Media General with the shutdown of the News, its stock immediately rose on the American Exchange. All the employees with whom this reporter spoke were stunned by the death of the News.

"My father worked for Ballantine, and now I know how he felt on the last day at work," said a young editorial assistant who began work for News last June.

TERRIBLE

"It was really terrible the way they gave us the bad news—just an impersonal note. The publisher never said a word to us."

The New York Times, which was hit by a one day strike two weeks ago, published a vicious editorial on the shutdown of the

News in which the blame was placed on the "senseless ten month strike," and then warned: "A similar specter will hang over other newspapers everywhere until management and labor begin to act on a recognition that even high quality is no automatic guarantee of survival."

In this editorial, the Times speaks not only for itself but for all sections of industry. It is saying that if the working class resists productivity measures and wage cuts, owners will shut down their plants.

This is the strategy of the employers, and it must be met by the working class by demanding that industry be nationalized and administered by the working class.

GM Speedup Pushes Men To Breaking Point

BY CAROL MARKS

ST. LOUIS—Tensions among auto workers at the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant here are at the breaking point as the management attempts to force through the new working conditions that are set out for the 1973 model.

Workers are being sent home after only half shifts as virtually hundreds of incomplete models pile up at the end of the pro-

duction line. By claiming sabotage, GM does not have to pay the guaranteed number of hours covered by the union contract.

Since the model changeover, the truck line has not run for longer than four hours on any shift. Without a doubt the major cause of the pile up is the speed of the line.

IMPOSSIBLE

It is impossible for workers to carry out their jobs on the new models and take the work of those who have been laid off. This includes over 250 workers since August. Some men are required to carry out work on both sides of the truck line. Never has this situation been posed before and was specifically ruled out in the 1970 contract, which has been torn up with the introduction of GMAD.

COMPUTER

One auto worker described to the Bulletin what was required: "They have a computer in Detroit and it sets out the time for a job at 60 seconds. They then want 60 jobs an hour per man. They want us to be like machines, but we aren't."

"It's impossible to keep up. The working conditions are being driven down to the level of the depression. This is to make extra profits for the GM shareholders. We can't do it."

FORCED

The management has a contract similar to that forced on the Lordstown workers ready to be signed by the union. The inter-

national leadership is strongly urging both the Norwood and St. Louis locals to sign. A section of the St. Louis officials just as at Norwood know they cannot sign this contract because the men would not stay in the plant.

Consequently a revolt of the rank and file and sections of the local leadership is building up nationwide from Norwood and St. Louis to Fremont, California against Woodcock and the present international UAW leaders. Thousands of grievances have been submitted over the job overloading but these have been arrogantly answered with disciplinary layoffs (DLO's).

DISGUST

Another worker expressed his disgust with the union leadership when questioned on the situation. "What have they got to discuss? Every week we remain at work we allow GM to stockpile more cars and trucks. They can then hold out against us longer. We should strike immediately instead of letting them prepare for it."

The management is consciously using this period to weed out the strong union supporters with DLO's and are calling back some men who have experienced the unemployment crisis to replace them. The fighting spirit of the ranks has to be taken into the union to force the leadership to call an immediate shutdown of GM. Only with a nationwide strike can GM be forced to rehire all those laid off and thrown out from the GMAD speed-up.

Philadelphia Teachers Strike To Defend UFT

BY ESTHER GALEN & A. BRILL

PHILADELPHIA—Teachers here went out on strike Tuesday in the face of the mounting offensive by the Board of Education to destroy all the conditions that the union has won.

The Philadelphia Board of Education has offered no pay increases, intends to increase the work week for secondary school teachers by three hours a day, increase class size, cut non-teaching assistants jobs by 50 percent and fire 485 teachers. Last year they fired 500 teachers.

NEW YORK

In New York, teachers are facing similar attacks. The city refused to begin negotiations until August 28, although state law requires that negotiations start no later than July 15, and the UFT requested in March that negotiations begin.

To date the Board has not presented any contract. They are proposing only a 4 percent wage increase. The teachers voted unanimously to defy the Pay Board and fight for \$12,000-\$25,000 (after 7½ years). The Board refuses to discuss class size as they prepare for layoffs. Five thousand teachers were laid off last year.

They are attempting to eliminate preparation periods, and prevent per diem substitutes from having union privileges. The Board is proposing that grievances be denied any satisfaction, and that they have the right to make decisions without consulting or negotiating with the union on anything not specifically covered in the contract.

While campaigning to divide the teachers from the communities, the city is out to provoke a strike in order to destroy the union. Albert Shanker, President of the New York AFT, declared:

"The Board seems to want to destroy public education in our city in its intemperate desire to crush the union. If the Board is hell-bent on provoking a strike, the city will see one. Teachers are not about to see themselves destroyed as educators, nor will they let their union be crushed."

However, Shanker is not discussing the wage demands and is backing down from calling a strike if no contract agreement is reached.

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Workers League invites you to

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW! CHICAGO-OCT.21-22

The purpose of this conference will be to establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to call a congress of labor to establish a labor party. The conference will also consider the program around which such a labor party is to be constructed as well as the situation facing specific sections of the labor movement.

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Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

What Internationalism Really Means

The theme of the recent Young Socialist Alliance Educational Conference was internationalism.

Internationalism does not simply mean supporting the struggles of the working class in other countries. It means understanding the international character of capitalism and its crisis, and fighting to develop an international strategy for the working class so that it can take power in every country.

Trotsky developed the Transitional Program on the basis of his assessment of capitalism as a world historical system. Because capitalism had entered its death agony, the building of the sections of the Fourth International in every country to lead the working class to power was necessary.

In 1953 Michel Pablo sought to liquidate the Trotskyist movement based on his theory of the "New World Reality." Rejecting the Marxist conception of socialism arising through the struggle between the working class and capitalist under conditions of crisis, Pablo saw the defeat of capitalism occurring gradually through the expansion of the Stalinist bureaucracies. The Socialist Workers Party defended the Fourth International by calling for a split from Pabloism in 1953.

In 1963 the SWP-YSA abandoned internationalism through their unprincipled reunification with the Pabloite forces. This was done without a discussion of the original split which had been caused by Pablo's rejection of every principle of Trotskyism and of the Transitional Program based on the death agony of capitalism. Today, Pablo openly admits that he does not consider himself part of the Fourth International and says he is not a Trotskyist.

The YSA's theory of the "New Radicalization" is a product of the unprincipled reunification and reflects a totally nationalist perspective. Ignoring the international crisis, it does not see the sharp clashes now taking place between the working class and the capitalist class. This false theory claims that the principle struggle in the United States is that of the liberal middle class against its alienation. The "New Radicalization" has become a rationalization used by the YSA to adapt to all the middle class protest movements while doing nothing to construct a Marxist leadership in the working class.

It is this policy that has led the YSA into so-called "anti-war" coalitions with supporters of McGovern rather than fighting for the independent mobilization of the working class against the imperialist war by breaking the labor movement from the capitalist parties that are responsible for it. The YSA has encouraged the formation of separate Black, Chicano and other racial parties at a time when forging the unity of the working class through the construction of a labor party is the main task before all those worthy of the title of socialist.

The Young Socialists have announced their support for the campaign of Jenness and Pulley. We support it because it is a socialist campaign and as part of our campaign for the labor party.

The International crisis poses the necessity for a break by the American working class with the Democrats and Republicans. Jenness and Pulley have ignored the crisis and refused to fight for the labor party.

The Young Socialists call on the YSA and the supporters of Jenness and Pulley to break with this bankrupt policy and to use this campaign in order to pose the only alternative for the working class: the labor party.

Join the Young Socialists!

___ I would like to join the YS.

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

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 PHONE _____

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



Youth looking for jobs line up in front of an employment center in Brownsville, N.Y.

Youth Jobless Hits 17% In August

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

Unemployment among youth has shot up over 2 percent in the month of August. The rise was from 14.8 to 16.9 percent. During the summer there were practically no jobs whatsoever for the youth, but even now unemployment has jumped drastically, expressing clearly the grim future for the youth.

In New York thousands of youth were unable to get summer jobs and depended on the fall months for employment. However, the figures show this will not be possible.

ST. LOUIS

In the St. Louis area, jobs declined by 12,600 in July. By the end of this year, it is expected that 6,000 more workers will be unemployed.

The GM plant, McDonnell-Douglas, and other corporations plan to reduce their work forces also. In the metropolitan area approximately 300 persons per week run out of unemployment benefits and are dropped from the rolls.

AUGUST

In Chicago, 14,000 persons were unemployed in the month of August and this figure is steadily rising. Women are being hired at Ford plants to do work requiring the physical strength of a man. Since they are unable to do this, the Ford Corporation pays them less than union wages.

In California's Hunters Point there are approximately 3,000 unemployed, 2,000 of whom are youth of working age and ability.

A youth from Weaver High School in Hartford, Connecticut said: "For the poor people who live in the ghetto like this, when they get laid off it means everything. Like at Royal Typewriter

where 3,000 people were thrown out into the street."

Another Hartford youth spoke of the 33 kitchen workers who were laid off at McCook Hospital: "If they can lay them off, then they can lay everybody off."

With this tremendous rise in unemployment among youth as well as older workers and the sharp cuts in education, the role of the Republicans and Democrats becomes clear. Both the Republicans and Democrats are responsible for these attacks and neither intends to do anything except to sharpen them.

UNIONS

Nixon's acceptance speech openly expressed his plans for attacking unions and the living standards of workers. McGovern, a strong supporter of the wage freeze and the Pay Board, openly advocates the right-to-work laws which are an attack on all union rights.

It is clear that neither of these two parties will stop these attacks. Workers today face tremendous layoffs. This is what the youth are now confronted with—massive unemployment, and continuous cuts in education with colleges closing down and tuition costs rising.

DEFEND

The only way in which the workers and youth can defend themselves is by destroying this

capitalist system along with its defenders. Only a socialist system where workers run the factories and educational system can ensure workers and youth a future.

ATTACKS

The trade unions must begin to take up this fight against all the attacks on workers and youth. Only the construction of a labor party based on the trade unions which will take up the questions of full employment, end of speed-up and wage cuts, along with the questions confronting the youth of decent education and meaningful skills, can begin the fight against these attacks.

CONFERENCE

With all the developments and the urgency of workers building their own party, the Young Socialists sees it critical to take the lead in the building of the labor party.

On October 21-22 in Chicago, the National Conference for a Labor Party will be called by the Workers League. Committees of rank and file trade unionists will be established to begin the fight to call a congress of labor to build a labor party.

At the same time a pre-conference of the YS will launch the drive to expand the YS into a mass revolutionary youth movement and prepare for a national conference in the spring.

East Palo Alto Co-Op Venture Goes Bankrupt

BY A YS REPORTER

The only supermarket in East Palo Alto, the Nairobi Co-op, has closed down. One hundred twenty thousand dollars raised in a nationalist share-profit scheme is gone and the only thing they left was a note of apology hanging on the boarded structure.

The Co-op was not an ordinary store. It was the product of the Black nationalist movement, which reached its height in 1968 here and throughout the country.

NATIONALISM

It is these programs which the nationalists have been peddling to the youth for years. The bankruptcy of the program reflects the bankruptcy of the nationalists' political perspectives.

The local Black nationalists pushed forward the Nairobi Shopping Center as a community project to solve the immediate needs of the community, such as increasing and distributing the wealth, providing employment, lowering the burglary rate, and keeping money within the community. It was set up by the nationalists, the city council, local businesses, and Nairobi College, and financed by former Assistant Defense Secretary David Packard (Hewlett and Packard Corporation) and Ford Foundation.

\$120,000

To open the store in 1971, they raised \$120,000 from the community, where most of the people are already on welfare. People in the community who owned shares were not notified before the closing and do not know what happened to their money.

This summer, the nationalist

groups held a festival in the Nairobi Shopping Center aimed at the youth, appealing for support for the Co-op and the other local businesses. Already it was clear that the Co-op was going bankrupt because people did not have the money to meet rising prices and the nationalists charged that massive quantities were stolen every month.

FRAUD

The fraud of Co-op and community control is self-evident in what a San Mateo County Commissioner of East Palo Alto said when he stated that: "The Co-op was in it for themselves. They wanted more profits. The community didn't have anything. The guy who ran the T.V. shop had to get out, he was so crooked, either he got out or he'd have gotten killed."

CRISIS

The closing of the Co-op is a reflection of the crisis of this system. East Palo Alto is rapidly moving towards becoming a depression town, with massive unemployment and numerous houses boarded up as people are forced out of their homes. Youth are on the streets with nothing to do.

What is necessary today is to expose these bankrupt middle class nationalists through the fight to build the revolutionary youth movement, the YS.

Santa Clara Nationalists Join Cop Patrol

BY A YS REPORTER

SANTA CLARA, Calif.—At the Santa Clara County Fair which just closed, all the nationalist organizations on the East Side of San Jose, including La Raza Unida Party, the Black Berets, Community Alert Patrol, and the Pintos joined in a "Monitor Program," working with the police to patrol the youth and "keep things cool."

This plan, which was worked out between the Sheriff's department, the county supervisors, the fair directors and the nationalists, was praised by the sheriff and the right wing San Jose News, as "a tremendous success."

The chairman of the fair's board of directors was delighted to have "this fine devoted group of young persons" performing such an "outstanding community service."

RIOTS

Last year at the fair, riots broke out almost nightly between the youth and police and this year the conditions facing youth on the east side have gotten even worse. Unemployment is now running as high as 50 percent among minority youth, and the City Council and Police Chief Murphy closed down the city parks to youth earlier this summer.

Thus, the youth have nowhere to go and clearly the fair directors did not want any of them interfering with their money-making venture.

POLICE

The police were eager to have the nationalists working with them. The monitors rode around in police carts often accompanied by plainclothes police, with radio equipment to stop what La Raza Unida calls race riots. What the monitors did not do was to interfere with the brutality and harassment of the youth by the police which continued this year at the fair. One youth almost had his arm broken off by an officer and dozens of arrests were made.

COMMUNITY

Beginning with their nationalist programs of community control they now come into direct conflict with the real needs of



Youth showed interest in Marxist literature at table run by Young Socialists in Philadelphia last week

Job Corp Youth Train In Prison Camp Conditions

BY CARMEN LIZARDI

"Not a day passed without a fight breaking out between Blacks and Puerto Rican youth," said a youth formally enrolled in the Job Corps. The Job Corps is a government agency designed to train youth in a useful skill so as to ensure them a future.

The brochures advertising the Job Corps present it as "a place where those who don't have it can get it." They claim that it is a place where a youth can get a skill and further his education.

OPPOSITE

However, the experiences of the youth are actually quite the opposite. The living conditions in various Job Corps sights all around the country are worse than in army barracks.

youth and instead act as agents of the government to control the youth. One of the monitors revealed his hatred of the youth when he said that:

"PUNKS"

"They get loaded and come here to impress each other. They're nothing and they want to show that they're something. Most of them are just punks."

This shows the real contempt for youth which is bred from the method of the nationalists. They begin with the community and end up defending the capitalists' right to make his profit.

DISTURBED

A member of La Raza Unida who didn't participate in the program, was somewhat disturbed by it and said that what he did not like was that they enabled the businessmen to make a lot of money."

The YS states that this government cannot meet the needs of the youth. We demand recreational activities so that young people can enjoy themselves instead of having being made to reap profits for businessmen.

One particular sight, Atterbury in Edinburg, Indiana, which is affiliated with Westinghouse Corporation, is actually a part of an Army training camp completely equipped with barbed wire and a mine field. All the youth are forced to wear army fatigues.

ANTIQUATED

Youth are taught with antiquated equipment which can provide little or no training at all for jobs such as car mechanics.

To cover up the bankruptcy of the agency, the government uses racism to pit Black youth against Puerto Rican youth. In one incident, a race riot occurred at this camp which resulted in the stabbing of many youth, one seriously injured.

One youth at this Indiana Job Corps characterized this program as a "prison camp complete with security guards." The deplorable conditions and the immense tension result in many fights between the youth there. Rumors spread throughout the

camp that "whites from the town (Edinburg) were coming around at night to kill members of the Job Corps."

Drugs are rampant in the camps and the agency officials make no effort to stop the drug traffic. They understand that this is the only way in which they can hold back the youth from taking up a fight against the conditions.

A 17 year old youth said: "The place is so boring and there is nothing to do so we smoke marijuana for fun." Because this agency is unable to provide any programs, youth are forced into desperate situations.

BANKRUPT

The government has proven to be completely bankrupt in providing any type of programs for the youth. The Young Socialists see the only fight to defend the future of the youth is for the trade unions to take up a fight against unemployment and provide job training programs for the youth at union wages.

NATIONAL PRE-CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

The purpose of this conference will be to elect a provisional national steering committee of the Young Socialists and to consider a programmatic statement around which a national conference will be organized to found the Young Socialists. Plans for the launching of the Young Socialist as an independent paper will also be considered.

The conference will be held in conjunction with the Workers League Conference For a Labor Party Now!

Chicago October 22

Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)

For more information, see ad on Page 4.

Young Socialist

PSP EMBRACES ANTI-SEMITISM, ANTI-UNIONISM

BY LUCIA RIVERA

NEW YORK—As the dateline for the teachers strike nears, the government is preparing all its reactionary forces against the teachers union. Nationalist groups, who were previously quarreling among themselves, are all finding a common denominator as they begin their onslaught against the union.

Luis Fuentes, who played a big role against the teachers union in the 1968 strike by advocating community control, has been appointed School Superintendent of District 1 (Lower Manhattan). Fuentes' appointment must be viewed as a conscious act by the City Administration to once again attempt to utilize him to destroy the unity of the teachers and students with the community control issue.

Behind Fuentes' union-busting scheme, the nationalists are exhausting themselves gathering support for this man who has nothing but contempt for the unions and working class youth.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (formerly MPI), in their recent editorials on the threatened strike desperately try to hold a middle of the road position. On the one hand, they criticize community control and on

the other they say "still and all, this does not mean that we should avoid struggles around the community control issue."

PRAGMATIC

Like all nationalists, PSP begins with the pragmatic methods of the ruling class. They actually accept capitalism. They begin with what is immediately given and try to work within that framework. The nationalists do not raise the demands for more teachers but rather they accept whatever the government gives them.

In the PSP editorial the line that is given is actually that even though teachers are workers and their demands are legitimate ones, Puerto Rican students need education so they must do the best with the insufficient numbers that Mayor Lindsay is allowing. In 1968 this method led

to nationalists keeping schools open and even physically attacking pickets.

PSP agrees completely with Fuentes who declared to the press that he is not against the union as such but that the teachers are going to have to work for their salaries. Expressing his deep hatred towards the working class, he stated that the dispute over his appointment is one of "who will run the schools—the people or the union?"

Fuentes has a history of making racist statements against Jewish, Black and Puerto Rican workers. But this doesn't stop PSP from supporting him and the article in their paper Claridad on August 13 reveals the depth to which these nationalists have gone by even utilizing racism at this point.

The article covered a rally held by the Puerto Rican Defense Committee in support of Fuentes. Gerena Valetin, ex-member of the Communist Party, was a speaker and delivered an extremely racist attack. Speaking on the opposition to Fuentes, she said:

JEWISH

"In reality this attack apparently comes from the Jewish groups who see Fuentes as a menace to their interest because he has introduced a number of educational reforms. For this reason the Jewish followers of Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers want to get Fuentes out."

Claridad printed this article completely uncritically. It was one of the filthiest racist slanders against Jewish workers and the UFT, and PSP, through their silence, actually express their agreement with the statement.

The impending teachers strike is exposing the PSP who sides with the government against the UFT. Their nationalist perspective has put them on the side of the capitalist class.

In trying to stay in the middle between the two opposites of community control or support to the UFT, they have recognized that community control has "certain limits." They even state that it is counterrevolutionary but then go on to say that it is a legitimate demand of the Puerto Rican people.

YS

The Young Socialists is the only movement that has consistently called for support for the UFT and every union against the attacks by the Democrats and Republicans. At the same time, we call on these unions to take up the defense of the rights of youth to decent education by demanding more teachers, a program where millions of dollars can be used for education, and a labor party that will implement socialist policies.



British Young Socialists picketed showing of the movie "The Assassination of Trotsky" in Edinburgh. They distributed a leaflet denouncing the film for demeaning Trotsky's fight to build the Fourth International and making excuses for the Stalinist executioners.

BRITISH YS BATTLES RACISM

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

The fight of the British Young Socialists around the Right-to-Work campaign takes on increasing significance as the ruling class seeks to defend itself by destroying the working class.

The YS has struggled consistently to smash racism with internationalism; to mobilize a general strike to bring the Tories down; to elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies as a transitional step to bring the working class to power. It is only through this strategy that the youth can be armed to defend their futures against the brutal acts of desperation brought on by capitalism's death agony.

FIGHTING

Early last month fighting broke out between Black and white youth in Liverpool, after a number of Black families had recently moved from their rotten decayed houses to nearby, newly built ones. Unemployment in the area is high, while those who work do so under the most deplorable conditions earning low wages.

Over 50,000 youth in Liverpool are on welfare. This is why the police must encourage intra-class warfare by "favoring" white gang leaders who provoke the incidents.

The recent expulsion by General Idi Amin of 55,000 Asians from Uganda to try to control the economic crisis within his own country is now being utilized by the British to create more incidents like the one at Liverpool.



These docksides slums in Liverpool, England were scene of racial tension between white and Black youth.

The Tory government, which just survived the 23 day old dock strike brought on by rapid containerization methods and the subsequent crisis in job shortages, now welcomes racism to further divide and divert the struggles of British workers. Over one million British workers are currently unemployed—the highest August total since 1939.

Right-wing extremist forces have seized upon the expected influx of Ugandan Asians to whip up racism and anti-union propaganda as a cover for the capitalists' policies of unemployment, dilapidated and inadequate housing and cuts in the social services. On Thursday, August 24, a small group of meat porters from Smithsfield marched to London's Home Office, protesting Asian immigration as the cause for heightening those difficulties which workers and youth are now

facing.

These racist moves have been resisted and condemned by London's Royal Group of docks shop stewards as "diversionary just when they're making an onslaught on the trade unions."

It is no coincidence that Danny Harnston, one of the Smithsfield march leaders, has ties to the British Union Movement (BUM) which organized fascist and pro-Hitler forces in the 1930's. He also led the 1968 Enoch Powell (Britain's George Wallace) protest.

RACIST

As a result of this racist campaign, the government revoked the right of British Asians to enter freely. It now issues 3,000 "vouchers" a year to the heads of Asian families.

These tactics by the ruling class in Britain serve as a war-

ning to the American workers and youth. The American ruling class will try to divide workers here as the labor movement moves forward.

Already the Republican Party convention prophesied the intentions of the capitalist class with elements such as the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Nazi Party marching in the wings. The emergence of the Wallace movement plays the same role as Enoch Powell's in Britain.

The British Young Socialists are taking forward their fight to build a revolutionary party that, through the socialist revolution, will rid workers and youth of the damning conditions which the ruling class has prepared.

It is this common international struggle which the American Young Socialists are waging through the fight for the labor party here.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon's Work Ethic: An Attack On Labor

Nixon's message to American workers on Labor Day is a preview of what the employers and the government have in store after the election. Not mincing any words Nixon made clear that this is going to be a period of "sacrifice" and that it is the working class and not the employers who are going to be doing the sacrificing.

Invoking what he calls the "work ethic" Nixon said: "Everything valuable in life requires some striving and sacrifice." Under conditions of rising unemployment and fully aware that the corporations are preparing massive unemployment, Nixon viciously put the blame on the millions of workers who have been thrown out of their jobs by the employers. "Some may call this work ethic selfish or materialistic but I think it is natural for a worker to resent seeing a large chunk of his hard-earned wage taken by a government to give to someone who may even refuse to work."

This is an open lie. The employers with the help of the government are creating unemployment, closing plants across the country and throwing thousands of workers into the streets. The rising unemployment figures are testimony not only to those who are every month joining the unemployment lines but also to those who have been looking months, some years for other jobs. Under these conditions there is no possibility for those on welfare to get jobs.

Behind all his talk about the "work ethic" are the real preparations for massive unemployment as big business faces its deepest crisis and seeks to maintain its profits at the expense of the entire working class.

Nixon also has a new plan which he calls the "National Commission for Industrial Peace." This Commission has all the earmarkings of the kind of machinery that was set up by Hitler in Germany to incorporate the unions into the state, outlawing strikes, eliminating collective bargaining and destroying them as independent organizations of the working class.

In the face of Nixon's plans, the Democratic Party stands in shambles. McGovern can say nothing. He has not for a moment repudiated his support to the Pay Board which is what has been robbing workers of "a large chunk of hard-earned wages." He has not for a moment repudiated his stand on the right to work laws.

The New York Times is now forced to admit that there is a tendency in the labor movement that with "the disillusionment with the political process may move labor leadership in the direction of forming a labor party."

This is the immediate task now facing the labor movement. Rank and file workers must take the lead in this struggle as Meany maintains his "neutrality" stand and Woodcock and others mobilize for McGovern. Rank and file workers must begin this fight now by attending the conference called by the Workers League on October 21-22 which will lay the basis for the beginning of this campaign.

Only a labor party fighting for socialist policies and a workers' government can answer the plans of the employers and the government for massive unemployment. If the companies like American Can say they cannot provide full employment, cannot provide a thirty hour week at forty hours pay and say they must close down, then we must say that the workers must take over these plants and run them not for the profit of the few but in the interests of all the working people.



What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

aspect of the development of the world capitalist crisis. His perspective is that of a pathetic liberal reformist, totally blind to the objective struggle of classes in a period of profound economic crisis. Not even mentioning the working class once in his article, Breitman sees nothing more on the horizon than a conflict between willful oppressors led by Nixon and the middle class radicalized by alienation.

As far as Breitman is concerned, even this conflict could be avoided if the capitalist class would prove itself sufficiently clever to support McGovern, who "wants to smother the radicalization in a tight embrace and dissolve it into reform politics, sporting a new rhetoric and sideburns."

Reality, of course, does not conform to Breitman's imagination. The capitalists are not turning to Nixon in a fit of absent-mindedness. What concerns them today is not appeasing alienation through a new wave of reforms but rather destroying the living conditions of a working class organized in the most powerful trade unions in the entire world.

Behind the all-out assault on the working class that has already begun is the unprecedented crisis of capitalism that reached a new stage on August 15, 1971, and which has in the ensuing year grown even more profound. The post-war epoch of reformism, which was to begin with a concession to the working class by a bourgeoisie fearful of civil war, has already reached the end of its rope. The virtual disintegration of the Democratic Party around McGovern is an expression of the crisis.

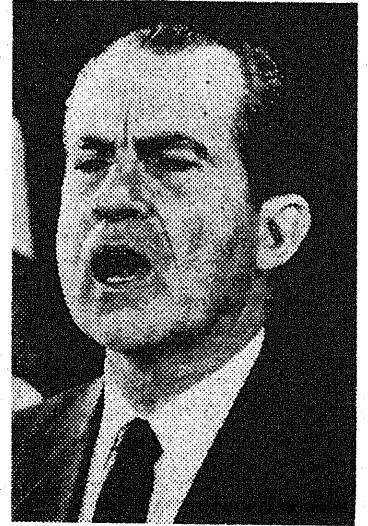
Another expression is the emergence of a powerful movement of the working class toward the formation

of a labor party and the consolidation of the leading sections of the bourgeoisie around the Republican Party to meet the offensive with dictatorial methods.

Breitman understands none of this. But his inability to understand the developments flows from his political history, which reflects in the sharpest manner the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party through its abandonment of Trotskyism. Breitman is able to write an article in which he advises the bourgeoisie that reformism is in its own best interests—very much in the same spirit that McGovern appealed to the robber barons on Wall Street last week—because he broke with Marxism long ago and is today a devout liberal.

Breitman is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, and his political trademark has been the most shallow impressionism and pragmatism. His open disdain for questions of theory and principle was exhibited as early as 1953. At a time when the Fourth International was threatened with total liquidation by Pablo and Cannon was preparing the historic Open Letter, it was learned that Breitman was writing "Dear Ernest" letters to Mandel, the theoretician of the capitulation to Stalinism. Cannon called Breitman to order, who then reluctantly changed the tone of his correspondence. But it is clear that Breitman, along with George Novack, was in disagreement with the Open Letter that saved the Fourth International.

Just as Breitman was prepared to reject the Transitional Program and its characterization of capitalism as being in its death agony in favor of Pablo's "new world reality," he was ready to adapt to reformist politics in



the United States, basing his perspective on the appearances of the post-war boom. His conscious turn away from the construction of a revolutionary leadership within the working class was brought out into the open when he authored the SWP's resolution on "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality."

Breitman hailed Martin Luther King's reformist Southern Christian Leadership Conference for "opening new possibilities for the development of mass struggle methods on a broader basis." Part of Breitman's strategy of fighting for reforms in a "militant way" was advocating the sending of Federal troops to the South to enforce desegregation.

Breitman capped his abandonment of the Transitional Program in favor of reformism in 1969, when he wrote: "The essence of Marxist strategy, or any revolutionary strategy in our time, is to combine the struggle for reforms with the struggle for revolution." Furthermore, the only substantial difference between a revolutionary and a reformist, according to Breitman, is that a revolutionary remembers to explain that reforms will not be sufficient over the long haul.

The rejection of an international perspective and the adaptation to the fraudulent theories of "neo-capitalism" required a turn away from the working class and a denial of its revolutionary role.

The career of George Breitman is the clearest proof that the abandonment of Marxism for bourgeois methods of thought and the rejection of an international perspective must end in the betrayal of the working class at the moment when the question of leadership is most urgently posed.

Only the Workers League, which has developed through a struggle against revisionism, has a policy for the working class in this critical period. In the struggle to develop Marxism, the Workers League has prepared for this crisis and can lead the fight for the labor party and the building of the revolutionary movement.

Need 1,000 Subs To Complete Drive

While the sub drive took an important step forward with 472 subs last week, it has now fallen back to 329. This is due both to not hearing at all from Detroit, Montreal, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Boston but also some very low figures from areas we have heard from.

Critical areas such as the Twin Cities branches, the Bay Area branches and the Connecticut branches are within striking distance of their goals, while Ft. Greene has just about made its goal. Brownsville and East New York, which have very large quotas are over 300, while Bushwick, which has had great difficulty, is now doing serious work.

As of this writing we have one and a half weeks left in the drive and a grand total of 4,041. This means there has to be a real drive to bring in close to 1,000 subs in this remaining period. We are convinced that every branch can make its goal if an all out drive takes place NOW!

From Sit-Down to Lordstown 3. THE WAR & THE RISE OF REUTHER

the story of the UAW by Max Lewis



The movement of the Roosevelt administration into the global conflict between the imperialist powers, in preparation for the actual military involvement that began on December 7, 1941, required that the capitalists housebreak and discipline the new powerful industrial union movement that was represented by the CIO.

This was the task of Franklin Delano Roosevelt: a task which he attempted to carry out on a number of levels. While the Roosevelt administration was preparing to railroad the Minneapolis Teamsters' Trotskyist leadership to jail under the notorious Smith "gag" Act, he was working overtime to line up the labor bureaucracy behind his war plans. The heart of this policy was the wage freeze and the no-strike pledge.

As part of this preparation, it was essential for the capitalists and FDR to maintain the domination of the Democratic Party over the labor movement, particularly the CIO, which under its President John L. Lewis, threatened to take the road of independent political action through the formation of a labor party.

Lewis' break with Roosevelt was a pragmatic response. The greatest weakness of this break was the lack of any clear political alternative. That is why Lewis ended up with the bankrupt policy of supporting Wilkie in 1940. This policy actually stabbed the labor movement in the back. However, behind Lewis' break was an acute perception that Roosevelt's preparations for war, and the war itself, would mean that the ruling class would try to destroy the independence and militancy of the labor movement altogether.

The capitalists under Roosevelt also faced another challenge, in the massive strike outburst of 1940. The labor bureaucracy was split down the middle in their attitude toward these strikes and especially toward Roosevelt. The Stalinists played a leading role in some of these strikes and in agitation against Roosevelt during this period—making a sharp turn from their previous popular front toadying before Roosevelt. This policy flowed from Stalin's pact with Hitler, which for the Stalinists now meant a turn against Roosevelt. Of course, this policy came to an end when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941.

That section of the CIO bureaucracy close to the Stalinists was now in op-

position to Roosevelt and in alliance with Lewis. At the UAW convention in St. Louis in August, 1940, UAW Vice President Wyndham Mortimer opposed endorsing Roosevelt for a third term, and referring to Lewis, who had yet to declare himself, stated that the proposed endorsement would be "a direct kick in the face to the greatest labor leader this country or any other nation has produced."

On the other side, Walter Reuther and his brothers, Victor and Roy, were emerging, together with Sidney Hillman, as the main leaders of the opposition to Lewis and supporters of Roosevelt and the war, as Roosevelt maneuvered to isolate Lewis from his "lieutenants." At the St. Louis convention, Reuther led the denunciation of the Stalinists for their "flip-flops" and together with his allies put forward a resolution denouncing the "brutal dictatorships and wars of aggression of the totalitarian governments

representatives, was a carbon copy of the War Labor Board which had served the corporations so well during World War I and is comparable with Nixon's Pay Board.

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, almost every top union leader promptly declared their support to their "commander-in-chief" by voluntarily giving a no-strike commitment. This voluntary surrender of the right to strike by the union leaders was done without consulting the union membership.

The corporations and their government agents unleashed a savage drive on labor's standard of living and job conditions. Wages and jobs were frozen so that workers would not be lured by competing firms with offers of higher pay. The slogan put forward to justify the surrender of the right to strike was "Equality of Sacrifice" which the employers knew was a

previous Spring.

Roosevelt moved rapidly against labor with a series of more specific demands and commands, designed not only to freeze wages but to force the unions to surrender contractual conditions already won and enjoyed. General Motors precipitated the attack on contractual standards by refusing to continue to pay double time for Sunday work, to which the UAW promptly responded by submitting this hard won union gain to the WLB for a decision. Most all union contracts provided for time and a half on Saturdays and double time wage rates for working Sundays or holidays.

Donald Nelson, newly-appointed head of the War Production Board, speaking for the Roosevelt Administration, delivered an ultimatum that if unions did not agree within 30 days to give up premium pay for weekends and holidays, the Administration would press for a law to compel such surrender. The top union officials of the CIO and AFL yielded immediately and surrendered this hard won gain without consulting the ranks. They agreed to abrogate premium pay clauses in hundreds of newly signed contracts.

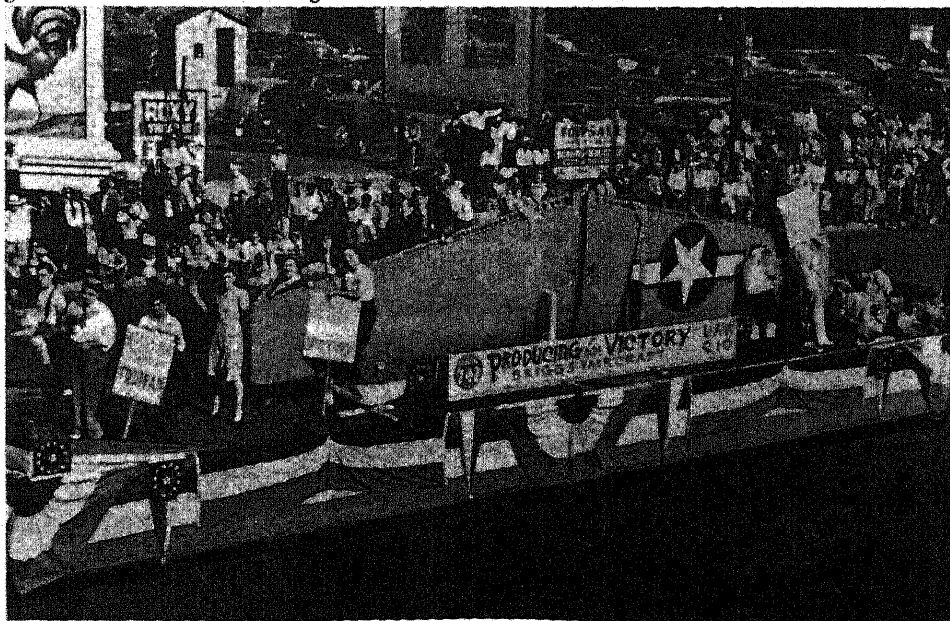
Many militants in the UAW however refused to accept this "Equality of Sacrifice." At the UAW emergency conference in April 1942, delegate John McGill from the Flint, Michigan Buick local stated: "We are not convinced that giving up double time is vital to winning the war. Labor is making sacrifices everywhere. We gave up the right to strike. Our brothers and sons are dying in the trenches. Can anyone show any sign that the men who sign checks have made any sacrifices?"

Resentment was so strong among auto workers that the UAW leaders were forced to call a special national delegates convention in Detroit to explain and vote on the arbitrary decision they had just made. Arrayed against the ranks at this convention was a united front of the top leadership, Thomas, Addes, Frankenstein, Reuther, and the Stalinists, pleading patriotism, increased productivity and "Equality of Sacrifice." A letter from Roosevelt was read assuring these delegates that the savings from relinquishment of their premium pay "would not go to the employers but to the nation" and that premium pay "in wartime...puts a brake upon production."

Frankenstein bellowed into the microphone: "Are you going to tell the President of the United States to go to hell?" To which 150 delegates responded courageously by standing on their feet to vote their opposition openly, as the UAW resolution to give up premium pay was adopted and crammed down the workers' throats anyway.

ROOSEVELT'S PROGRAM

With a wage freeze in effect as well as abolition of premium pay, Roosevelt then called for labor endorsement of his "three-point" and "seven-point" programs. These included purchasing war



Above, UAW led workers to support of war and no-strike pledges. Top, 1946 GM strike of Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan." Reuther's "exposure" and red-baiting of the Stalinists was a smokescreen behind which he was lining up the labor movement for Roosevelt.

After Lewis had declared for Wilkie, Reuther attempted to reduce Lewis' opposition to Roosevelt to a question of "personality," declaring in a radio address carried in 13 cities that: "The personal spite or the hatred of one man will not switch labor's votes from Mr. Roosevelt...The issue is wholly and simply: Roosevelt or reaction! American labor will take Roosevelt!"

In order to impose war-time restraints and controls on trade unions to curtail their right to strike, the Roosevelt Administration had to offer a substitute means of conciliating the class struggle which could be passed off as a court of appeals for workers grievances. The National Defense Mediation Board (NDMB) was rigged up as that agency. The plan for this tri-partite board, composed of four labor, four employer and three "public"

smart gimmick to defraud labor while they assaulted the unionized gains of the working class.

As the cost of living began to soar, it generated rank and file strike pressure for wage increases to offset the inflation. To quiet the growing demands for wage increases, Congress passed and Roosevelt signed a War-Time Price Control Bill giving the Office of Price Administration (OPA) power to fix prices. The purpose of it was to deceive workers into accepting the claim that prices were being controlled and therefore wages must be controlled.

Many auto workers thought that the price control was a fraud from the beginning. On February 7, 1942 UAW delegates from 90 General Motors plants met in Detroit and adopted demands for a dollar-a-day pay increase and a union shop. Motivating the wage demand, Walter Reuther, then GM director for the UAW, pointed out that the auto workers were "worse off than they were a year ago" despite the ten cent hourly boost the

bonds, limitation of credit and installment buying, freezing workers on their jobs for the duration of the war and a new withholding tax to drain off "excess" purchasing power of the workers into supporting the war effort, backed up by an outright ban on all strikes.

The war gave contracts to large corporations and guaranteed profits ranging as high as 246 percent. This clearly exposed the lie of "Equality of Sacrifice." It gave tremendous impulse to the further concentration of wealth in the hands of the largest corporations and financial cliques which was to fuel the postwar boom and expansion.

Auto workers, determined not to accept this "Equality of Sacrifice" fraud without a fight, rebelled at their August 4, 1942 UAW convention by shouting down their own War Policy Committee, headed by Reuther, Frankenstein and Addes. The ranks demanded that they withdraw the Committee's resolution calling on auto workers to comply with WLB and voluntarily sacrifice all overtime premium pay. Stalinist speakers who attempted to defend this resolution were roundly booed by the delegates. UAW leaders, in order to prevent the defeat of their resolution, confused the issue the next day with a revised resolution limiting the premium pay ban for only 30 days. After a long patriotic harangue, it passed.

The treachery of the UAW leaders knew no bounds as they next traveled to Washington on August 28th and requested Roosevelt to abolish all premium pay. In effect, they requested that a wage cut be imposed on all of organized labor. Roosevelt was only too happy to comply.

During the early period of the war, all sections of the UAW bureaucracy, with the Stalinists leading the pack, were united against any attempt by the rank and file to rebel against the "Equality of Sacrifice" program.

Walter Reuther, later to emerge as a more militant, "left" critic of the extreme jingoism of the Stalinists, was the author of the "500 planes a day" plan. This plan was a program of conversion of the auto industry to war-plane production. Reuther used this plan to establish a closer relationship with Roosevelt. At the same time, Reuther spelled out the program of mutual collaboration with the auto barons in a "debate" with General Motors President Charles E. Wilson, over the "500 planes a day" scheme.

"If we can rise above our partisan considerations and go down the line arm in arm, uniting in effort and will, working together, sweating together, we can win together. Democracy will be safe in America only if we can perfect this teamwork."

Reuther, in his statements in this period, emphasized that the U.S. "was losing the war because men in high places charged with the responsibility of operating these plants seem to have the idea that you can win the war with press releases, with publicity and ballyhoo." Reuther and the labor bureaucracy attempted to use the fear of fascism, which was legitimately felt by the working class, to stifle militancy in the unions during this period when the axis powers were still on the offensive.

But the opposition to the no-strike pledge, spelled out in the "little steel formula" which said that wage increases must be limited to 15 percent above the rates of Jan. 1, 1941, was more consciously expressed among the UAW ranks than in any other union.

The unity of the International leadership against the opposition in the ranks was expressed by Reuther in his nominating speech for his former factional opponent Secretary-Treasurer George Addes, at the August, 1942 convention: "There is one fight that we have got and that job is against Hitler, so I say, let's vote Brother Addes in unanimously. Let's support the officers of this union, back Philip Murray (CIO President) and President Roosevelt, and knock hell out of Hitler!" Addes, who throughout most of his UAW career followed the political lead of the Stalinists, in turn seconded Reuther's nomination for vice-president, asserting that "Brother Reuther is an able leader, an energetic leader, one whom I have become convinced in the last year is desirous of establishing, along with others of us, unity in this great organization."

Underneath the unity of the leadership, a rebellion was spreading. Militants were

especially upset when the UAW lost a representation election to the AFL at the 20,000 man Curtiss aviation plant in Buffalo, largely because the AFL had not given up premium pay for overtime. A reporter for the New York newspaper PM, Harold Lavine, wrote in July 1942:

"Actually, union officials in the war industries are working overtime to keep their men from striking. The AFL and CIO in the war industries at least couldn't be more tractable and more cooperative if they were company unions...Walter P. Reuther...told C. E. Wilson of General Motors in Washington recently that if the disgruntlement continued another six months the auto industry would find itself 'with the biggest strike on your hands you ever saw.'"

Reuther is reported to have added, "We can't hold the men down much longer."

With the turning of the tide of the war more in favor of the allies, the working class more and more refused to surrender to the wage freeze and no-strike pledge, while prices and profits skyrocketed. In the face of the growing revolt in the labor movement, the American Communist Party revealed to the capitalists how useful they could be to them if only American capitalism would make some kind of permanent deal with their masters in the Kremlin.

They became so flagrant in their betrayal of the workers that they openly called for speed-up as "an adequate war program" for the CIO. Their chief spokesman in the trade unions, Harry Bridges, West Coast longshore leader, bluntly spelled out this program for "demanding greater emphasis on production." He proposed that:

"The majority of the time of officers, of grievance committeemen, of the unions as a whole must go to winning the war. How? Production. I'd rather say speed-up, and I mean speed-up. To put it bluntly, I mean your unions today must become instruments of speed-up of the working people of America."

The Stalinist controlled leadership of the United Electrical Union demanded that their membership increase individual production 15 percent. The UAW auto workers, who had fought heroic battles in order to do away with the sweat shop piecework system, now faced a Stalinist drive to reinstitute piecework speed-up under the guise of their call for the "wage incentive plan."

This was heralded in the proposal in the Daily Worker on February 25, 1943 by Communist Party Chairman Earl Browder for placing production on a piecework basis. "It is patriotic," wrote Browder, "to demand increased earnings based on increased production."

The Michigan state convention of the Communist Party in March, 1943 voted to send a letter to the FBI, demanding that it "discover and expose" the sponsors of leaflets which were being distributed at war plants in the Detroit areas. The leaflets denounced the Stalinist incentive pay plan as a return to the notorious "Bedaux piecework system."

Before FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover could act on their request, UAW Ford Local 600 President Paul St. Marie issued a statement saying that he took responsibility for the leaflet. He again denounced the Stalinists for trying "to bring back the stretch-out and speed-up which the UAW has eliminated from most organized plants."

The Stalinist pursuit of the incentive-pay plan, supported by UAW President R. J. Thomas and Secretary-Treasurer George Addes, and the furor among the ranks that this caused, was at the basis of the rupture of the earlier unity of the top leadership. Reuther, who had warned General Motors that "we can't hold the men down much longer," now moved to take the leadership of the rebel movement which had gained strong support among a group of secondary leaders including Emil Mazey from Briggs Local 212 and Ed Carey from Chrysler Local 7. A writer in the Detroit News wrote in May 1943:

"Reuther is the fair haired boy of the rank and file...principally for his stand against the introduction of the incentive-pay system in the automobile system." Reuther led the fight on the incentive-pay question over which Addes and Thomas attempted to retreat and the Stalinists were decisively defeated at the October, 1943 convention.

But on the more fundamental question,

the no-strike pledge, Reuther and the Stalinist-Thomas-Addes group differed only slightly. The role of Reuther was to attempt to defuse the opposition of people like Mazey who not only were opposed to the no-strike pledge but advocated formation of a labor party at that time.

At the same time, the demand of a two dollar a day wage increase for the coal miners put forward by John L. Lewis, found a response among the ranks of the UAW. While 30,000 Chrysler workers shut five Detroit plants in May, 1943, and the Kelsey-Hayes plants were also on strike in defiance of the no-strike pledge, it was the national coal strike that raged throughout most of the year of 1943 that inspired militants in the UAW and throughout the labor movement.

The national coal strike of 1943 brought to a culmination the strikebreaking activities of the Stalinists as they competed with the vilest enemies of the unions to break strikes. In the columns of the Daily Worker they called on miners to defy Lewis. At the same time they sent organizers and speakers into the coal fields to try to mobilize scab elements for a back-to-work movement. The CP leaders who urged the miners to return to work were Earl Browder, Louis Budenz, William Z. Foster and Charles Spencer. They told the miners "not to follow Lewis into a treasonable strike." The defiant striking miners stubbornly stood their ground against Roosevelt's threats to "draft" them, lynch cries of the press, Murray's stab-in-the-back attacks and the Stalinist strikebreaking attempts.

They conducted a bitter struggle involving a succession of four national strikes over a six month period which were models of solidarity and discipline and encompassed some 530,000 miners.

On June 3rd, Roosevelt threatened to call out troops unless the miners returned to work in four days. The miners merely shrugged and repeated their classic phrase: "You can't dig coal with bayonets."

Roosevelt ordered that all draft age miners be reclassified for immediate military service and that all miners be forced to work as military conscripts. He declared that he had initiated measures "to set up the machinery" to carry this out in order to compel them to mine coal under military orders, subject to court-martial for refusal.

SMITH-CONNALLY BILL

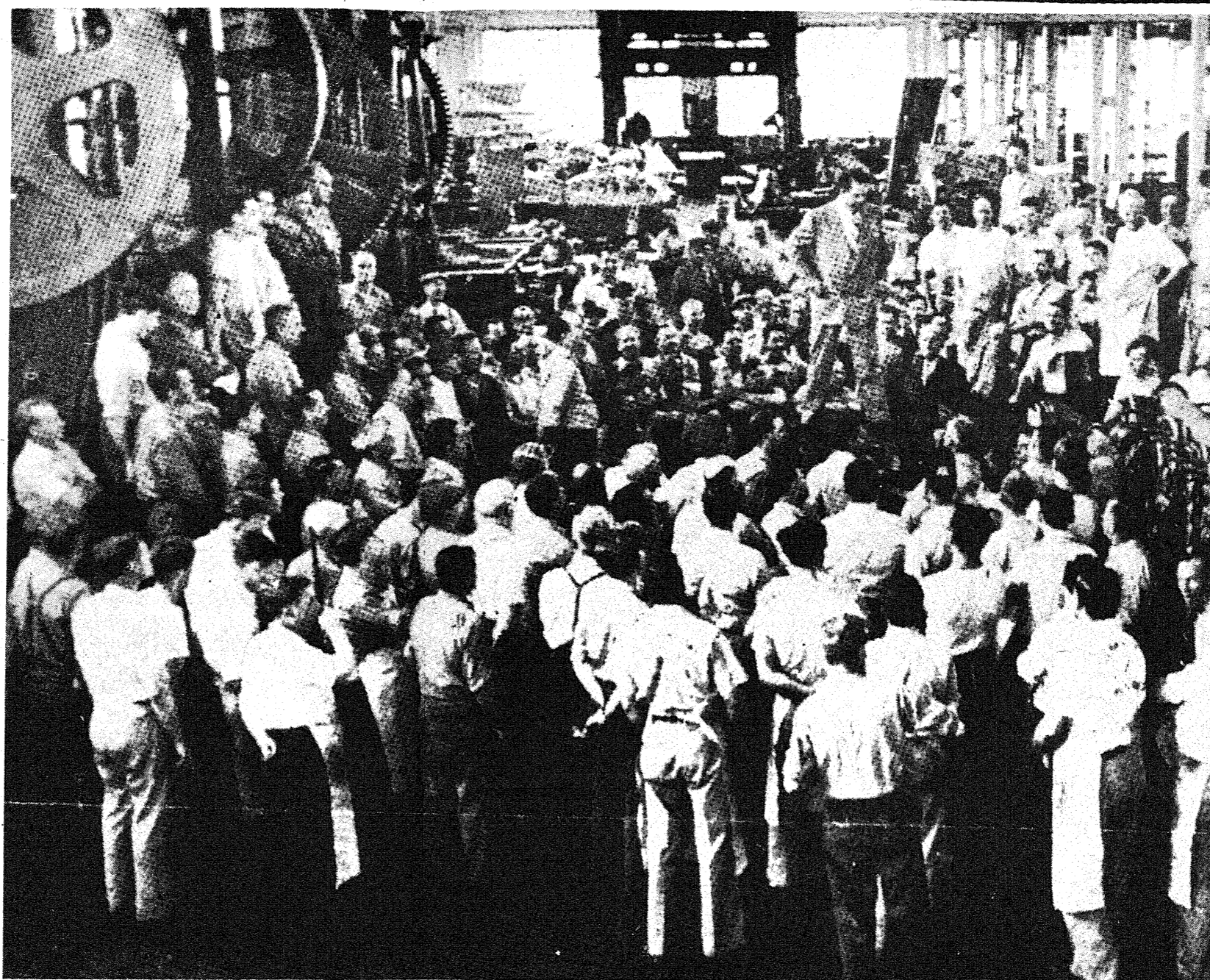
Congress pushed through the first federal anti-strike bill in the country's history, the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Bill. This law made it a crime punishable by one year imprisonment and \$5,000 fine to "coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with or encourage any person to interfere by lockout, strike, slowdown or other interruption with the operations of plants in possession of the government."

A five dollar fine was levied against every miner representing a collective fine of more than \$2,500,000. This only added fuel to the fire and the miners' reaction was immediate and violent. Hundreds of mine locals held stormy meetings that voted immediate strike action. This "fine" was quietly dropped as miners swore to "strike until hell freezes over."

The reaction to passage of the anti-strike Smith-Connally Act was evident by the debate and decisions of 1800 delegates to the Michigan State CIO convention. They adopted by a two-to-one majority a resolution scrapping their no-strike pledge, which covered 700,000 industrial unionists, against the leadership's and the Stalinist's objections.

They then proceeded to answer the government's political assault on their class interests by passing a resolution calling for an independent labor party. This labor party resolution proposed a referendum vote by all affiliated unions on whether or not they "favored setting up an independent labor party." The vote for this resolution passed 2,519 to 1,909 for the Stalinists once again attempting to shout it down by displaying the bitterest opposition and obstructionist tactics.

This convention also forced a vote condemning the anti-strike Smith-Connally Act and another one giving unconditional support to the miners. Once again Stalinist objections were raised as their floor whip John Anderson, who also was president of UAW Local 155 complained: "You cannot win the war and strike as you damn please." One delegate replied amid



UAW first-vice-president Frankenstein speaks to auto workers in their plant in 1945 as he campaigned for mayor of Detroit. He ran as an independent labor candidate which UAW president Thomas said "could be the beginning of a labor party in America."

applause: "If Lewis pulled the strike to protect the rank and file, hats off to Lewis." Nat Ganley, Stalinist floor leader from UAW Local 155, came back with the assertion: "Regardless of what reactionary legislation is passed, this still remains a just progressive war against fascism." At this point Victor Reuther was forced to reply: "It is not a war for democracy if we allow fascists to destroy our democratic rights at home."

The top leadership of the CIO, Haywood and Brophy, combined with the head of the Industrial Union Councils Department, UAW President R. J. Thomas, and Michigan State CIO President August Scholle. They were buttressed by all of the Stalinist delegates at this convention. But they were all handed a resounding defeat as the delegates overwhelmingly rejected subordinating their class interest to the war machine of the ruling class.

The victory of the miners' strike following Roosevelt's retreat, and the signing of a contract with the owners for a daily wage increase of \$1.50 plus overtime allowances after 5 days, was the biggest single blow to Roosevelt's wage freeze as spelled out in the "little steel formula."

Throughout the labor movement, workers increasingly engaged in "unauthorized" strikes in an effort to catch up with the ever-rising cost of living. Prices had risen 43.5 percent above the 15 percent adjustment allowed by the "little steel formula" during the war years.

These were the events that formed the background of the 1944 UAW convention. This convention, held in September in Grand Rapids, Mich., was the arena for the sharpest revolt against the no-strike pledge, which was to gain substance in the mounting strike wave itself. This convention was also important as an expression of the caucuses and tendencies which were to play a role in the post-war period. The fundamental battle of the auto workers against FDR and the corporations was expressed in the opposition of the Rank and File Caucus to the Stalinists who were allied with UAW Secretary-Treasurer George Addes.

The Rank and File Caucus was composed of militants and led primarily by left-wing socialists, including the Schachtmanites of the Workers Party, and sup-

deal between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

The American ruling class worked in concerted effort to finance Japanese and European recovery. They exported vast amounts of capital for investment, provided billions in low interest loans and gave outright in order to stabilize and rebuild European capitalism, financed with inflated war time dollars in order to create market outlets for America's vastly expanded productive capacity. While U.S. capitalism was undertaking the rebuilding of the world capitalist system following the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement, which tied all currencies to the dollar which was set at the price of thirty-five dollars to the ounce of gold, it was necessary for the U. S. ruling class to confront and push back the demands of a powerful working class who were determined to avoid a return to the conditions of the depression.

Even before the war ended, capitalist spokesmen such as B. E. Hutchison, vice-president of Chrysler Corporation and director of NAM, was calling for all-out war against unions by outlawing strikes, prohibiting the closed shop and offering government protection to scabs and strikebreakers. The battle between capital and labor began as an offensive of big business against the working class. Immediately on V-J Day, the industrialists let loose with a program of slashing wages, discharging millions of workers, downgrading, etc. Philip Murray, CIO president, thus summarized the case:

"There have been four major, whopping big cuts in wages and salaries that, according to the U. S. Commerce Department have taken 20 billion dollars out of the national pay envelope. First: The cut in hours of work—generally from 48 to 40 hours a week, with the elimination of overtime. The average manufacturing worker who earns \$46.35 in June, is now making only \$35.60, a cut of \$10.75 a week...Second: Unemployment, one month after V-J Day two million men and women were laid off entirely and the number is mounting daily..."

"Third: Downgrading, the third big cut in the nation's pay envelope came when, as production was cut down, wage earners were downgraded from higher to lower paying jobs. Fourth: The last big cut is a hidden one. During the war, according to the War Production Board, labor's productivity rose about twenty-five percent overall, that is to say, what before the war took five workers to make now requires only four workers. This means fewer workers drawing wages or salaries."

V-J Day unleashed a wave of bewilderment and resentment as fear of the future began gripping the working class. Jobless union members began to demonstrate and surge through the streets of major industrial centers under official CIO leadership protesting the attacks.

On August 21, 7,000 CIO workers demonstrated through Chicago's Loop. New York's Madison Square saw a rally of 50,000 on August 29. About 25,000 shipyard workers marched on August 28, in Camden, N. J. and some 30,000 paraded in San Francisco on Sept. 3. In Detroit on September 4, more than 20,000 marched two miles down Woodward Avenue to Cadillac Square where scores of thousands joined them for a demonstration against the layoff of more than 300,000 from the war plants.

The demonstrators in Cadillac Square from the UAW carried banners reading: "Is war the only answer to unemployment; We did it in '37—we can do it in '45;" "Guaranteed Annual Wage—30 percent wage increase;" "It happened in England—it can happen here" (a reference to the sweeping victory by the Labor Party in the 1945 British elections); "Elect Labor's candidates" and "Labor needs its own political party."

The highlight of this rally was the announcement by UAW President R. J. Thomas that the political working class upsurge that swept the English Labor Party to power could happen here as he introduced the UAW first-vice-president Richard T. Frankenstein as the announced independent labor candidate for mayor of Detroit with official PAC and UAW backing. Thomas warned that politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties had better beware of their anti-labor stance because "Frankenstein's candidacy could be the be-

ginning of a labor party in America." This brought a thunderous roar of ovation that met with overwhelming approval as it reverberated through the city of Detroit.

The sharp revival of the movement for formation of a labor party took place throughout the labor movement but was most advanced in the UAW. This was expressed both in the Frankenstein campaign and even earlier, in the formation by a number of UAW secondary leaders of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation (MCF), obviously modeled after the Canadian Commonwealth Federation.

The MCF was supported strongly as an independent labor party by large sections of the UAW, particularly in the Ford locals, Chrysler Highland Park and the Flint Chevrolet locals.

However, the top CIO leadership was able to work out an alliance—a mutual non-contest policy—between the MCF and the Michigan Democratic Party. Although the MCF ran a full slate of local candidates in 1944, its leaders individually supported Roosevelt.

Pulled toward Roosevelt and the Democratic Party by top CIO leaders, especially Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, despite the desire of many UAW supporters, the MCF failed to take the road of an independent labor party. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation soon faded away.

The Frankenstein campaign was a real step toward the formation of a labor party. Not only was Detroit's Mayor Jeffries opposed to Frankenstein, but so too was every reactionary, racist, scab element that could be dredged up. Thousands of handbills appeared in the streets of Detroit charging that if Frankenstein were elected Mayor "you couldn't keep the niggers out of City Hall."

A Frankenstein victory, coming in a period of mass upsurge and political radicalization in the working class would have greatly strengthened the movement for a labor party. Even so, Frankenstein was only narrowly defeated. In part, this was because he and his supporters shied away from a real labor campaign, hoping to attract some liberal middle class elements and the campaign failed to mobilize all of the labor support it could have in the election. The attitude of Walter Reuther toward the campaign was significant. Reuther, who together with his brothers had in the recent past occasionally spoken in favor of a labor party, reportedly "frowned on the Frankenstein campaign."

While the UAW was at the center of the movement of trade unionists who were calling for formation of a labor party in the post-war period, the auto workers were also at the center of the most massive strike wave in U.S. history.

The UAW leadership served notice on the employers that it expected the 40 hour week with no reduction in pay. This amounted to a 30 percent wage increase, since the auto workers, like most sections of industry, had been working 52 or more hours per week. Throughout the labor movement, the battle cry was "52-40 or fight"—a 40 hour week at 52 hours pay.

Early in September, under continuous prodding from the ranks and after 90 auto plants were on strike in Detroit alone, the Executive Board decided to inform the ranks that "our commitment to the no-strike pledge had come to an end," and strike votes would commence immediately at GM, Ford and Chrysler. It declared that the UAW would demand an industry-wide wage increase of 30 percent.

Strikes began to break out in other industries such as United Mine Workers, lumber, longshore, flat glass, machinists, textile and Midwest truck drivers. On November 21, 1945 some 225,000 auto workers walked off the job and shut down 92 General Motors plants in 50 cities. For the first time GM, which was the largest industrial corporation in the country, was shut down completely. The ranks of the GM strikers were determined, tenacious and strong, but could not, by themselves, win the battle against the entire capitalist class. That class was backed up by President Truman's efforts to pass anti-strike legislation to break the GM strike.

The lack of a national strategy on the part of the CIO leadership became quite apparent. The leaders of steel and electrical unions, the two other major unions of the CIO, proceeded with their own negotiations at a leisurely pace, as if their pragmatic actions had no bearing on the

GM strike. The other CIO unions in packinghouse, rubber, maritime, etc. conducted themselves in similar fashion.

The Stalinist leadership of the electrical union even went so far as to refuse to call out on strike 30,000 odd GM workers under their jurisdiction.

The GM workers were themselves prisoners of the "one-at-a-time" strategy authored by Reuther which was to be used in every auto strike to date. This strategy, instead of isolating the corporations, threatened to isolate the GM strikers.

Instead of demanding the total shut-down of Chrysler and Ford, Reuther insisted that Chrysler and Ford be kept working.

Rather than calling for a steel strike to bring the strike crisis to a head, Reuther resented the steel strike, as interfering with his "one-at-a-time" strategy. Thus, while the momentous battle between labor and capital was now on in earnest, only one division of labor's army actually took to the field.

The GM strike held out, virtually isolated, for two months before much needed reinforcements began to arrive. On January 15, 1946 200,000 members of the electrical union struck, closing down GE, Westinghouse, RCA and GM electrical plants. The packinghouse workers, both CIO and AFL-affiliated, struck the next day and finally on January 21, 750,000 steel workers walked out and brought the strike movement to its thunderous climax. Almost two million workers were on strike at the height of the strike wave.

It is very significant that this strike upsurge swept throughout the armed services at the same time, infecting the troops with "strike fever." This upsurge culminated in massive "Bring US Home" demonstrations wherever they were stationed, paralyzing and almost disintegrating the army as a fighting force. Emil Mazey, present financial secretary of the UAW, was one of the leaders of the massive Manila demonstrations which wired the UAW for support.

As the strike movement of 1945-46 was brought to its climax, the top CIO leaders had already given away a considerable part of their original demands. In fact, they had already lowered the stakes for which the strikers were battling.

They did this when they completely reversed their previous stand against Truman's Fact-Finding Boards. In this one move, the CIO leaders actually scaled down their wage demands by almost 40 percent.

The first Fact-Finding Board appointed by Truman in the GM strike recommended on January 10 an increase of 19.5 cents per hour to the GM workers, which the union promptly accepted. The factional rivalry and lack of unity among the CIO leaders led to Murray's acceptance of a penny less (18.5 cents) for the steel workers. The Stalinists, not to be outdone in their treachery, signed with GM plants in their UE Union for 18.5 cents increase while the UAW was still holding out for 19.5 cents. The packinghouse workers agreed to scale down their demand to 17.5 cents and finally settled for 16 cents. True to their factional pettiness, the other UAW leaders, Thomas, Addes, Frankenstein and the Stalinists signed contracts with Chrysler and Ford for wage increases of 18.5 cents and 18 cents respectively. They even threw in a company security clause agreement to boot. This clause gave these two auto companies the unrestricted right to hire and fire, promote and demote, fix production schedules and standards and discipline strikers and others charged with violating company rules. The GM strikers were still holding out for the 19.5 cents that the government "Fact-Finding Board" said they ought to have.

There can be no doubt that the labor movement emerged out of the fight stronger than it was when it went into the fight. The battle originated as an offensive on the part of capital, with labor fighting defensively to maintain its standard of living. But the battle soon took on the character of a counter-offensive on the part of labor. Despite the indecision of the top union officers, the working class by the sheer strength of its organization, discipline, self-confidence and will to fight brought things to a head within two months after the GM strike began. Thus, they were able to frustrate the design of the industrialists to wear out the unions and were able to smash through to a

victory—a victory because they hurled back the anti-labor offensive of the employers and came out of the fight with a strengthened position, winning significant concessions.

While the cold war, the witch-hunt and the repressive attacks on labor by the Truman administration were necessary to discipline the working class and rebuild world capitalism, this was carried out in alliance with the U.S. labor bureaucracy. The anti-communist drive was launched to put pressure on the labor bureaucracy in the post-war stabilization of capitalism. At the heart of this stabilization was the rebuilding of capitalist Europe through the Marshall Plan, NATO and the massive export of the dollar.

This involved a conscious decision to hold back the working class, but to avoid a fundamental confrontation which would have meant taking on the most powerful unions in the world with the onslaught of a fascist movement. Instead, the American ruling class took up the financing of the

convention represented a sharp turn to the right-wing forces in the CIO led by Philip Murray, who were carrying out an anti-communist purge. These forces were openly lining up with Truman and the Cold War. Of the top leaders in the labor movement, except for the Stalinists, only John L. Lewis opposed signing the non-communist affidavit of the Taft-Hartley Act.

On October 31, 1947 Reuther announced that their Executive Board voted to comply with the Taft-Hartley provisions and this was immediately heralded in the daily press as a "capitulation" that would "break the log jam" in the CIO against submission to the oath. CIO President Philip Murray's administration moved directly to destroy Stalinist control over unions such as UE, and Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Where they were too entrenched, Murray engineered splits. Members of CIO Boards had complained that their unions were under attack for "harboring Communists."

Murray replied: "It is high time the CIO

protect him from the ranks in every way and to ignore his history as a leader of the anti-communist purges—aimed at all socialists and militants—in the Cold War period. Today, the CP tries to groom Paul Schrade, recently deposed West Coast regional director of the UAW, as Reuther's heir.

Reuther's ability to establish domination over the UAW bureaucracy, first in his election as President, then in the defeat of the Addes-Thomas forces and their replacement with loyal Reuther men, was only made possible through his leadership of the General Motors strike and his demagogic attacks on the sellouts of the Stalinists. To masses of auto workers, Reuther was identified with the statement he made during the strike, in denouncing the effort to undermine the 19.5 cents an hour increase which the UE had made in settling for 18.5 cents. Reuther stormed:

"I won't be made a damn fool of forever. The President's (Truman) offer of 19.5 cents was a compromise of our demand and I will be God damned if I will compromise a compromise. We are not going to take less than this and this is all horseshit about going back to work!"

So spoke the man who was later to become a master of compromise, in a period when some gains could still be made.

Despite all his demagoguery, Reuther's accession to top leadership of the UAW hardly threw the U.S. ruling class in a panic. The liberal journalist Philip Taft, for example, wrote in *Harpers* at the time that the election of the full Reuther slate in 1947 was "a sign of the unions coming of age... a good day for the free world."

Reuther lost no time. Following the election he dismissed more than 100 UAW staff members who were allegedly Communists or supporters of the CP's policies. One of Reuther's first visitors after the 1947 convention was Henry Ford II who dropped in on Reuther "for a talk." Explained Reuther, the man who had been beaten by Ford goons ten years earlier: "Our chat was very satisfactory and very pleasant all around."

"By the end of 1952," according to Reuther's biographers, Cormier and Eaton: "Reuther could say of Communists in his union, 'There are very few of them left and we've done a pretty good job of learning how to get rid of them'."

The overriding character of Reuther—an expression of the method of the entire labor bureaucracy—was his real lack of principles. In other words, Reuther for all the background of German Social Democracy, for all the socialist beliefs of his youth, turned his back on Marxism, and accepted the philosophy of Henry Ford—pragmatism—lock, stock and barrel.

He was fascinated with Soviet Russia in his visit there in the 1930's, not from the point of view of a search for an understanding of what brought about the Russian Revolution, but primarily because he was concerned with the application of his technical knowledge and understanding which he had gained as a Ford Tool and Die maker, to the development of Soviet industry.

Reuther's background in the socialist movement, his independence from the Stalinists and his demagogic qualities enabled him to play a particularly valuable role for the ruling class in using bits and pieces of Marxism, of phrases and demands borrowed from the Trotskyist movement, precisely in order to confuse and obstruct the development of a genuine Marxist leadership in the UAW.

During the period of his conduct of the GM strike, Reuther on the surface appeared to be projecting not only an economic battle against GM, but through the slogan of a 30 percent increase in wages without any raise in prices, he seemed to go beyond the realm of "bread and butter" trade unionism into a plan for the management of society as a whole. But the framework of Reuther's demand remained in the framework of capitalism, notwithstanding all of GM's accusations about "socialism."

Reuther accepted the system, and all of his schemes for "improving" it, his pragmatic "vision" that endeared him to the liberals, increasingly became a cover behind which one of the most powerful bureaucratic machines was constructed for the purpose of controlling the rank and file.



Reuther defeated Thomas-Addes-Stalinists in 1946 by promising militant leadership.

boom through credit and deficit spending, the export of paper dollars all over the world, through which they were able to make material concessions to the U.S. and European labor movements and achieve relative class peace for a whole period.

With the settlement of the long 113 day GM strike on March 15, 1946, the great historical strike wave of that period came to a close. The factional struggle for power inside the UAW erupted anew as the Reuther caucus prepared to challenge the Thomas-Addes and Stalinist caucus for control over the dynamic UAW. Reuther, who had realized that he had lost much influence and status among auto workers in the 1944 "no-strike convention," vigorously conducted the GM strike as if his future depended upon it.

The GM strike gave him his chance to regain his prestige as a "militant" leader and he grasped it for all that it was worth in his struggle to the top. The UAW convention of March 23-30, 1946, was treated as top-ranking news by press and radio. Enraged by the GM strike victory, the capitalist press openly campaigned against the "socialistic" Reuther. The press and radio attacks on Reuther's long-abandoned "socialism" served to have an opposite effect among auto workers and bolstered his image of militancy.

Philip Murray appeared in person at the UAW convention to throw his support behind the Thomas-Addes-Stalinist faction and against Reuther through the use of a slander campaign. When the election for UAW president took place, the great majority of the most militant wing of delegates supported Reuther, which assured his victory by a narrow margin of 124 votes.

The Reuther victory was very contradictory. On the one hand, Reuther had won the support of the militants in opposition to the Stalinist-Thomas-Addes bloc, who were compromised by their open support of the no-strike pledge during the war. At the same time, Reuther was elected against Thomas, but Addes and his supporters captured nearly all the other positions on the International Executive Board. Reuther's battle against these forces up to and into the next UAW

leaders stopped apologizing for Communism. If Communism is an issue in any of your unions, throw it to hell out, and throw its advocates out along with it. When a man accepts office... to render service to workers, and then delivers that service to other outside interests, that man is nothing but a damned traitor."

Then, the Murray administration followed up this pronouncement by forcing the resignation of four Stalinists on his own staff who had served him faithfully for years. He next pushed for adoption of a resolution supporting the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan for the re-militarization of Western Europe.

Riding the tide of anti-communist reaction that flowed from the State Department, the Reuther machine was now attracting right-wing forces within the union, including the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), as Reuther mounted his own internal witch-hunt inside the UAW. The ACTU's Detroit paper *The Wage Earner* acted as an unofficial factional voice of the Reuther machine. In the UAW convention of November 9-14, 1947, the Reuther machine seized full control of the entire UAW apparatus with the cry, "get the commies!" The Thomas-Addes-Leonard group, who tried to stem this red-baiting tide by taking a stand against signing the Taft-Hartley anti-communist oath, were all defeated as Reuther consolidated his power.

Reuther's swing to the right was now complete as he became the chief spokesman inside the labor movement for the Truman Doctrine. Reuther, to his very death, attempted to silence and drive out all opposition which he never fully succeeded in doing because of his strong-handed bureaucratic measures. These measures included imposition of receiver-ships on recalcitrant locals, removal of local officers, etc.

An assessment of the method and role of Reuther is critical for the construction of a new leadership in the UAW. Today, nearly all tendencies in the UAW attempt to obscure the real history of the Reuther group. The Communist Party, after Reuther's "conversion" to a dove position on the Vietnam War, attempted to

Lucy St. John Books

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1933-1934). Edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 379 pages. \$3.45 (paperback).

The period which we enter today, like the 1930's, is one of tremendous political upheaval. As the capitalist class internationally faces its deepest economic crisis and is forced to turn more openly to the extreme right, the conditions for civil war and revolutionary struggles are prepared. The battles the working class now face raise the question of taking power.

The struggle in the United States today to build a labor party and through this struggle to construct a Marxist leadership in the working class requires a turn into the working class and a struggle against the present consciousness of the class and all those tendencies which seek to maintain the working class under the domination of bourgeois thinking.

The writings of Leon Trotsky in the 1930's contain the rich lessons of the struggle to turn the cadres of the Left Opposition to the construction of the Fourth International, particularly the struggle against the centrists and the sectarians who fought against its formation. The publication of these writings, many for the first time since the 1930's, are invaluable for training a new generation of workers and youth for the struggle today.

The writings of Trotsky in the years 1933-1934 cover the period following the rise of Hitler in Germany in which the revolutionary forces which had fought as part of the Left Opposition were faced with a decisive turn. The role of the German Communist Party and the Communist International in the defeat of the German working class proved conclusively that there was no longer any possibility of reforming the Third International. It had become the major force internationally for counterrevolution.

It was necessary to embark on the road of the construction of a new International. This meant a sharp change in the practice of the forces of the Left Opposition which, from their origins, had existed as a faction inside the Communist Party, isolated from the masses and hounded by the Stalinists. Early in 1933 Trotsky spoke of the difficulties in making this turn:

"In many countries all the work of the Left Opposition is chiefly, if not exclusively bound up with the official (Communist) Party. It has penetrated very little into the trade unions and has been almost totally uninterested in what is happening inside the Social Democracy. It is high time to put an end to narrow propagandism! It is necessary for each member of our organization to think over the problem thoroughly. The events will help: every day will bring irrefutable arguments on the necessity of a new International. I do not doubt that carrying out the turn simultaneously and decisively will open before us a broad historical perspective."

From 1933 onward all of Trotsky's work was devoted to this struggle. Under the most difficult conditions and as far as circumstances would allow Trotsky actively participated in the building of the revolutionary party. The founding of the Fourth International was in fact his greatest achievement.

OBJECTIVE

Trotsky did not begin with the weaknesses of the revolutionary forces which were largely a result of the conditions under which they developed isolated from the working class. With no links to the masses in a period of defeat for the

working class, the development of Marxist theory was very difficult. He began from the objective requirements of history and the class struggle. Trotsky strove to direct the forces of the Left Opposition to the turns in history gaining the maximum of knowledge from this struggle.

Trotsky saw the consolidation of the cadre in principle through the struggle against Stalinism and its revision of Marxism as preparation for this new turn. "All our previous work," he wrote, "had only a preparatory character. In the full meaning of the word, we are entering a new epoch; from propaganda circles we



Leon Trotsky

are becoming fighting political organizations of the proletariat."

Not only had the German working class come to such a bloody defeat because of the policies of Stalinism but the working class throughout Europe was entering into massive struggles, particularly in France and Spain, entering them under the stranglehold of the Stalinists and the Social Democracy and with the fascists waiting in the wings. This period, as Trotsky put it, was one of tremendous "political ferment" in the ranks of the working class who were breaking from reformist policies and moving towards Marxism. In this period centrist tendencies "of all colors of the rainbow" emerged.

Some of these organizations turned to the International Left Opposition after the defeat in Germany.

Trotsky fought to turn the cadres of the Opposition into the working class through a struggle with these centrist forces, educating those workers in this struggle. Only through this struggle could a new leadership be built and the most advanced workers developed theoretically.

"The relation between class and idea is not mechanical but dialectical. The class attains self-consciousness not through revelation but through difficult struggle within the proletariat itself. . . our struggle against centrism is an important component part of the struggle of the working class for self-knowledge."

The centrists of today, like the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) which split from the International Committee, reject this central understanding of the relationship between theory and practice and the development of consciousness within the working class through conflict. They attempt to substitute an amalgam with the centrists for the theoretical and practical struggle against centrism.

The OCI claims that the Fourth International has been destroyed and must be "reconstructed" through "regroupment" with centrist forces which it is assumed all begin from the same point—that there is no necessity to understand the lessons of past revolutions and betrayals and all differences are blurred over. Not only does

the OCI try to make a formal identification between today and the formative years of the 4th International, but it denies the whole essence of Trotsky's struggle which proceeded on the basis of the principles of the Marxist movement against Stalinism, reformism and centrism.

It was on this basis that Trotsky and the Left Opposition approached the conference called by the Independent Labor Party (ILP) of Britain in September of 1933. The Left Opposition participated under its own banner in order to separate

the Social Democrats, a charge, in fact, being levelled at this time by the Stalinists.

Behind these charges was the opposition of these forces to the founding of the Fourth International. They contended that a new International could not be built in this period but only on the wave of ascent of the working class and thus all attempts to do so were doomed to defeat. This was the same arguments being used against the Left Opposition by those forces who were completely hostile to Trotskyism and had first opposed the Left Opposition's remaining within the Third International in the 1920's. It was also the basis upon which the leadership of the ILP opposed the signing of the Declaration of Four.

Their opposition began not from the objective crisis and the necessity of bringing this understanding of the crisis into conflict with the practice of the party and the present thinking of the working class in order to transform it and construct an alternative leadership within the class, but with maintaining the party as a propaganda circle.

PRESERVE

Today tendencies such as the Spartacist League, which broke from Marxism direct all their fire against the International Committee and the Workers League and desperately seek to preserve their middle class circle against the movement of the working class.

Trotsky, taking up the role of such tendencies, says:

"Long experience has shown that, precisely at the time when an organization is getting ready to get out of the narrow alley onto a wider arena, elements can always be found who have grown accustomed to their alley, know all their neighborhood, are used to carrying all the alley news and rumors and are busy with the terribly important affairs of the 'change of ministries' in their own alley. These conservative and sectarian elements are very much afraid that on a wider arena their art will find no application. They grab, therefore, the wagon by its wheels and try to turn it back, and they justify their, in essence reactionary work by terribly 'revolutionary' and 'principled' arguments."

CENTER

At the center of this struggle in the 1930s against centrism and sectarianism was the question of Marxist method itself, of the relationship between theory and practice.

Centrism and sectarianism appear to be opposites but both deny the conflict between theory and practice. As Trotsky put it, theoretically centrism "is amorphous and eclectic; so far as possible it evades theoretical obligations and inclines (in words) to give preference to 'revolutionary practice' over theory, without understanding that only Marxist theory can impart revolutionary direction to practice." The sectarian begins not from Marxist theory but with hollow formulas detached from life, from the crisis as it is developing and the new tasks of the party. Living reality cannot be grasped without theory. Abstract propaganda about a Marxist program is supplanted for the intervention into the actual struggle of the working class and a conflict with its consciousness.

It is this question of the conflict between theory and practice which is at the heart of the construction of the party today, of taking the theoretical understanding of the world which is developed historically into conflict with the immediate concrete changing world.

The lessons of Trotsky's struggle are critical today. While this is not the period of development of large centrist movements out of the Second and Third Internationals; the development of a leadership in the working class requires as it did in the 1930's the most intransigent struggle against revisionism, against those centrist tendencies that have broken from Marxism and seek to divert the working class from its historic tasks.

the reformists and centrists and bring together the revolutionary elements at the conference.

At this conference three organizations joined with the Left Opposition in signing the "Declaration of Four" calling for the formation of a new International. These included the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland. Point Eight of the Declaration stated:

"While ready to cooperate with all the organizations, groups and factions that are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxist policy, the undersigned, at the same time, declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement can be attained not by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions nor by adaptation to the Stalinist policy but only by combatting the policies of both Bankrupt Internationals."

This declaration represented a tremendous step forward for the forces fighting for the new International. But this step was opposed by sections inside the Left Opposition who resisted the turn towards the formation of the Fourth International and the turning of the cadres into the masses of the working class. These sectarian elements reflected the capitulation to Stalinism and the Social Democracy as much as the centrist leaders who fought the founding of the International.

These elements sought to hold onto formulas from the past and covered their resistance with left-sounding phrases. Contending that no gains had been made at the Paris Conference, they said that the International Left Opposition was turning towards the Social Democracy because they had negotiated with the leaders of the organizations. As Trotsky points out in his article "Success or Failure?" there could be no negotiations or agreements without discussion with the leaders who, because of the pressure of the rank and file, were forced to turn to the International Left Opposition. But more serious were that charges that the ILO was moving towards

“Senator McGovern does not speak for the workers of this country. He speaks of employment, but not full employment.”

FITZROY HOWELL is a worker at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center in Brooklyn, and a member of Local 1199.

It is ironic to see the highly paid members of the Pay Board sitting back and cutting the salaries of workers struggling to make ends meet. If the job of the Pay Board is ever finished, these men will be millionaires.

I'm not quite clear on how a labor party would come about, however. First of all it would have to be very well organized. I can see a situation where the organizing of a labor party might mean the loss of many jobs. The millionaires who own the giant corporations would close their gates against the workers. What would be the outcome then?

The labor party would be faced immediately with the issue of what to do. It would be faced with extreme militancy coming from the right wing. After the grim situation at Kent State, Attica, Jackson State in Mississippi, we can see the dangers involved. At Attica we saw the military machine of the state move into action quickly.

I believe that Nixon and McGovern are one and the same. Both the Democrats and Republicans are supported by the well-established corporations. That's the main reason they have so much money to spend.

Senator McGovern, for instance, does not speak for the workers of this country. He speaks of employment, but not full employment. As long as the Democrats

and Republicans are being supported by the giant corporations, the voters won't have a say on the crucial problems that affect their fate.

We need full employment, job security, socialized medicine, and training programs for youth. These are some of the elementary needs of all workers. We need training programs not coated with a thick layer of corruption. In the past, a lot of money has disappeared from even the inadequate programs, like the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action in New York.

If the union leaders are going to advise us to vote for McGovern, they may as well advise us to vote for Nixon. These leaders want to show their trustworthiness to big business. That's what their endorsement of McGovern is all about.

I heard that, in response to George Meany's neutral stand, some unions say this means he is supporting Nixon and are calling on Meany to resign.

I agree he should resign, if he has no policy at all. He has no policy. It is left up to each individual union to endorse whom they please.

Now if the unions were to say let's organize into a united front and form a labor party, Meany would be very displeased. That's not what he expects. If a labor party were formed, the shock might be so great Meany would come out and support Nixon. He wants to show he is trustworthy and will always be there to toe the line.

Local 1199 President Leon Davis says elect McGovern to end the wage freeze. I don't agree. McGovern couldn't end the wage freeze if he wanted to. He's supported by big industrialists. Even if he were to promise it, which he hasn't, it wouldn't mean a thing. It would just be word of mouth.

GEORGE WALKER is an assemblyman at the General Motors Assembly Division plant and a member of UAW Local 25.

I think a labor party is the only way the working people can have a say in government policy making. I didn't vote for either Humphrey or Nixon in 1968 because I couldn't see any difference between them. With this latest Democratic convention I don't know yet whether it will mean anything better for poor people or working people. I have a little more confidence in McGovern but when you look at his defense reduction proposals closely they aren't anywhere near what is required.

The program McGovern adopted at the Democratic convention is still based on a false economy, inflation. If anything is to be gained by the working class a whole new economic program must be adopted.

The wage freeze is completely against the interests of workers but it will stay. What we are going to see in the future is more production from fewer workers. The introduction of schemes like General Motors Assembly Division at our plant show that. We have to unite not only all auto workers against these proposals but workers in all industries.

This is the real task, to get the working

people to build a party of their own. Everybody thinks someone else will do the job. But we have to realize that if we want to change things then we have to do it ourselves.

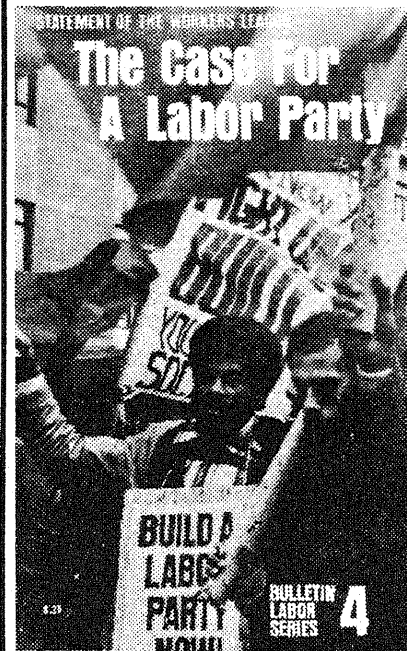
At the GM plant, the primary concern of management is producing cars. That means that the safety and sanitation conditions are ignored. We have to work with poor ventilation, filthy rest rooms and rats and roaches all over the place. The plant dehumanizes you.

I have been working in the plant for two and one half years after being transferred from the ammunition plant. It was owned by the government and leased by GM. We were all in the same UAW Local 25. There the conditions were a lot different. The rest rooms were cleaned every day and extermination work was carried out regularly.

The workers were united. There were about 50 percent Black and white workers and there was never any racial trouble. But that plant was closed down in December, 1969 and 3,000 workers were laid off.

In March 1970, I was taken on at the Chevrolet plant with about 1000 others

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.

The 1199 contract settlement in July has been a great disappointment to the workers. We have been sold out again. Davis said he wouldn't go to arbitration. Then he played around with words, claiming it was mediation. This was an insult to the intelligence of the workers. How can you settle for 15 percent over two years when rents are going up over 15 percent? It's not even enough to meet the cost of living.

At City Hall on June 13 Davis said he wasn't going to accept anything that wasn't acceptable to the members. He said: "I'm not afraid of Lindsay, Rockefeller, or the President of the United States." This militancy was short-lived. It was words, not deeds. The members were optimistic. Now a great gloom has been cast on the members from the leadership.

If this continues to happen in the future, it could very well mean the breaking up of

the union, or a change of leadership, or widespread militancy that the union will not be able to control.

I would say that the prospects for a labor party would be very bright, but only when the situation changes to one that is more depressing than it is now. As things are now, the prospects for a labor party winning elections do not seem big to me. But I consider it a real possibility in the next two or three years, because the economic situation is going to get worse.

The right to a job is the right to live. Not only to live, but to live decently. Certain salaries are really dehumanizing workers. The poor are not treated like human beings. To deal with this we need a labor party.

There are at least five million unemployed. The workers should be fighting back. Where this fight does not take place, it is because of lack of leadership.

from the ammunition plant. I was on the truck line first. The work load was a lot heavier and they were only running about 35.5 trucks per hour. I have heard they are increasing that to 44 trucks per hour while reducing the work force by 235 men.

The GM management has consciously hired men who live 50 to 250 miles out of St. Louis. These are men who have been forced off their farms, or out of jobs and had to look for work miles away from their homes. The management knows these men are more insecure and less militant. Even 90 percent of the Black workers are originally from small towns. Blacks have been hired for assembly work only since 1958 in the St. Louis plant.

The introduction of GMAD has meant layoffs, massive layoffs. It is the guys whose eyes have been opened by unemployment that we have to mobilize. The local elections have been nothing but a popularity contest in the past. We have to put forward candidates running on a political program if we are to build a leadership which will fight back against these layoffs.

Now we see all workers being affected by speed-up and layoffs. The bosses are abrogating contracts when they want to and the present union leadership is going along with it. I don't think any workers



should stand for job overloading. There can be no pussy-footing around on this issue. The union leadership has to be changed if they do not fight.

We don't need another party by itself, but a party controlled by working people. It's no good to have a voice once at a convention, like the Democrats, and then be forgotten for another four years. Working people must control the party all the way.

It has to be a party which will fight for jobs and a decent standard of living so that working people will be mobilized to build it. That is why I think the program for the labor party set out in the Manifesto is a good one.

“The introduction of GMAD has meant layoffs, mass layoffs... We have to put forward candidates running on a political program if we are to build a leadership which will fight back against layoffs.”



STAMFORD, A CITY OF 100,000 . . . WITH PUBLIC HOUSING FOR 570

BY SHEILA BREHM

STAMFORD, Conn.—This city, an hour's drive from New York City, is a city of marked contrast. It is one of the wealthiest cities in the state and has become the refuge of many corporations fleeing the high taxes and other inconveniences of New York City.

It now houses the new headquarters for Xerox Corporation and General Telephone Company. Corporate executives reside here in plush homes surrounded by luxurious greenery with their acreage providing a comfortable distance from their neighbors.

The new corporate headquarters, however, provide no employment for the ever-growing number of workers seeking jobs. The unemployment rate has jumped from 5.9 percent in December of last year to over 7.7 percent today. It is rated "D" for substantial unemployment.

It is here in the midst of multi-million dollar construction of corporate office buildings, that one of the most critical housing shortages in the country exists. The rate of vacancy is .4 percent, the lowest in the nation. The funds for the Redevelopment Agency were recently cut off completely because families could not be relocated to better housing anywhere in the area.

FORCED

In this city of over 100,000 people, there is only one public housing project accommodating 670 families. Most of the families are forced to crowd into dilapidated privately owned apartment buildings. These private landlords charge between \$175-200 for the rat and roach infested apartments.

On August 1, when the Connecticut Family Assistance Plan (commonly known as the flat grant) went into effect, over 100 people from seven different

buildings began a rent strike to protest the already intolerable living conditions which will worsen with the new welfare policy. The tremendous cutback in welfare aid now threatens hundreds of families in the city with eviction. Rent supplements from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) are unavailable, being restricted only to tenants in federally financed housing.

WELFARE

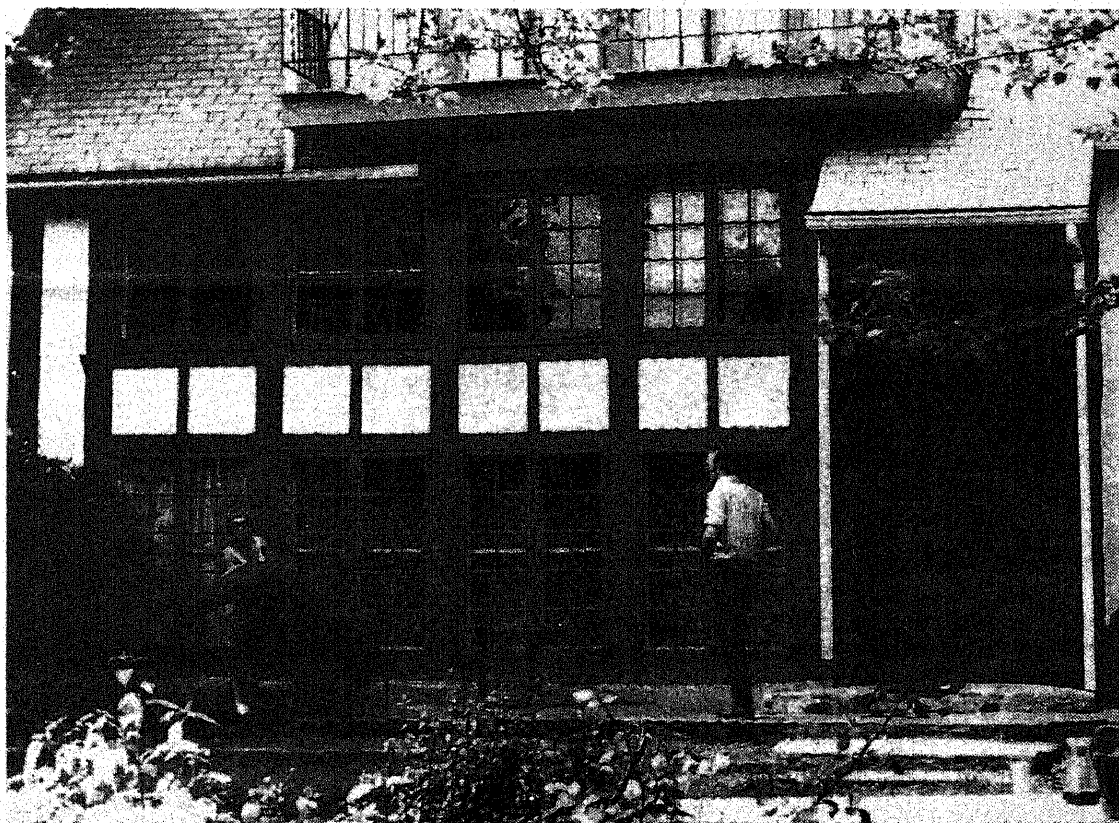
The new welfare policy replaces the direct rent payment system with a flat grant, eliminating money to welfare recipients for special needs, utility expenses, and emergency expenses. What this new policy amounts to is the slashing of the already meager payments by an average \$48.17 a month. The cuts to the 1300 families receiving welfare aid in Stamford alone will amount to over \$760,500 or over three quarters of a million dollars for the year.

It is clearly through depriving people of the basic necessities of life that Governor Meskill intends to wage his battle to balance the budget, while the Connecticut legislators voted themselves a 50 percent increase in salaries a few months ago.

What effect does the flat grant have on families dependent on welfare? Mrs. Elinda Warren, a leader of the rent strike and mother of six children, like her neighbors, faces an impossible situation with the institution of the new assistance plan. She said:

"Food, clothing, rent, and utilities—these are necessities, these things we can't live without. I don't know how we are going to make it. It was hard enough before."

Mrs. Warren's check on the first of the month was \$229; it



Top: families interviewed outside homes where they live. Above: the landlord's home in the suburbs.

used to be \$268. She lives in the Richmond Hill row houses, where tenants, along with withholding their rent until the building is repaired, have filed a slumlordism suit for \$80,000 in damages against landlord Nancy Todd and her son, James Royce. The Board of Health recently posted 221 violations against the building. Nevertheless, the building still stands in disrepair.

As Mrs. Warren spoke to Bulletin reporters, children played outside in garbage and rubble left by the landlord's son. When the tenants recently complained about a rickety porch, Royce happily obliged by tearing it down and leaving it to rot in front of the building.

The rent here is \$202 a month for six rooms of inadequate heating and plumbing, peeling paint, holes in the walls, and rats and roaches. This is typical housing for low income families, though some families pay even more rent.

Elinda Warren moved to Stamford from Louisiana in 1967

hoping for a better future. She worked in the city's hospital until a few years ago. "If I had known that I would be living like this, struggling like this, I would never have come up here."

"I want to work as hard as a dead man needs a coffin. With school starting soon, I don't even have enough money to buy my children clothes and you know, they cost a lot. I've put applications in at many places—the Post Office, Pitney-Bowles, and the Clairol plant. They all said the same thing, 'You can fill out the application if you want to, but we're not hiring.'"

Mrs. Warren explained that they would continue the rent strike until the buildings were repaired and made fit for people to live in.

"Mayor Wilensky said the rent strike isn't 'appropriate,' but I ask, is it appropriate for us to live like this? We never have any luxuries. I get angry at the people who think we have a bail on welfare. I just wish those people could see how we're forced to

live—buying used furniture, like beds that carry diseases.

"And I'm sick and tired of the politicians that promise jobs and everything else, and then it never happens. They always try to cover it up like Nixon and what's his name...McGovern."

And where does the \$202 that Mrs. Warren and the other tenants pay each month for the "privilege" of living in this decrepit housing go? Bulletin reporters paid a visit to landlord Nancy Todd. While her young grandchildren swam in the pool in front of her huge, three story home in the suburbs of Stamford, Mrs. Todd complained: "I have four extra bedrooms here, and I just don't know what to do."

Mrs. Todd, quoted in the Hartford Courant recently, said she "feels sorry" for her son, to whom she transferred the title of Richmond Hill a year ago. "He's been marvelous to the tenants and now they're out to get us. What for, I don't know."



MOZAMBIQUE: Torture And Massacre In Portugese Colony

BY MELODY FARROW

In 1962 African workers in Mozambique went on strike for their rights and were gunned down in the streets of the capital city, Lourenco Marques. Prior to this, 500 workers were brutally massacred in the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

Today in Mozambique, like its neighbors South Africa and Rhodesia, the conditions are being prepared for a tremendous uprising against the brutal Portugese regime. Together with its other African colonies, Angola and Guinea, Portugal rules over Mozambique through vicious slave labor, exploitation and terror.

Not only has its colonia' policy remained fundamentally unchanged for centuries but now the exploitation and repression becomes even more intense. The Portugese dictators fiercely defend their colonies as bastions of apartheid and white supremacy.

These conditions are maintained to milk the country of its important natural resources and to provide profitable investment opportunities for South Africa and the United States, its biggest trading partners, as well as other European countries. It produces and imports sugar, maize, copra and cashew nuts as well as aluminum ore, bauxite, gold and precious stones.

SLAVES

The Portugese government has led a systematic drive to force African workers out of even the most menial wage jobs and to turn them into slaves. Many work on concessions owned by Portugese landowners or are forced to cultivate the large plantations where they must pay tribute as in feudal times. It is not an uncommon sight in Mozambique to see children under 15 toiling in the agricultural industries.

The majority of Mozambique workers have no choice but to seek work in the mines of South Africa, leaving their families behind for years. A part of their "salary" is kept by the mine owners and is given to the Mozambique government upon their return so that, in the words of the Provincial Secretary of the Economy, "they don't spend it all at once." Those who work in the port cities of Lourenco Marques and Beira make barely enough to survive.

To establish a rigid segregation of the Portugese settlers

and the African workers, the government has sought to resettle the Blacks in slum areas outside of the major cities and towns. This policy was crudely summed up by the Portugese military commander for Mozambique as follows: "Firstly, growth of the white population, then secondly, the limitation of the Black population."

In the capital, where downtown streets are lined with fancy tourist shops and travel agencies, no Black workers dare stay after dark. It is estimated that 90 percent of the Mozambique population lives outside these cities.

SUPPRESSED

The Mozambique peasantry has been ruthlessly suppressed and kept in a forced state of backwardness, poverty and illiteracy. It was not until the 1960s that any form of elementary education was provided.

These are not just the policies of some aging colonial power but are sanctioned and encouraged by all the major capitalist countries. NATO plays a key role in protecting the coast of Mozambique while the United States has recently granted a fat loan of \$430 million to Portugal.

Marcello Caetano, Prime Minister of Portugal, needs this aid because his rule over these colonies is being shaken by an increasingly powerful national liberation guerrilla movement called Frelimo.

Portugal must spend huge sums of money to maintain 40,000 troops in a ruthless and desperate attempt to crush the liberation movement. It has already introduced chemical warfare in Angola and is preparing to bring it into Guinea. Forty two percent of Portugal's budget is spent in these campaigns.

GUERRILLA

After eight years of guerrilla struggle, Frelimo has won control over most of the four northern provinces, Cabo Delgado, Massa, Zambesia and Tete. Beginning with a force of 250 people which infiltrated into the North from Tanzania, they now have about 10,000 under arms and



Top: Mozambique guerilla fighters. Above: Portugese troops decapitate an African political prisoner.

special womens' battallions. They have taken up a struggle in these provinces to combat illiteracy and provide whatever medical care they can.

The Portugese Army treads with fear in the North where every road is heavily mined and ambushes take a heavy toll. The Portugese Commander in Chief, General Kaulza De Arriga, says they will win, "maybe in three years."

In 1970, the Portugese launched an enormous offensive involving 35,000 troops to drive Frelimo out of the North. The venture was completely unsuccessful.

The character of Portugese rule is revealed in the brutal torture methods of the Army. A missionary priest, Father Luis Alfonso da Costa smuggled out a report about the murder of 92 people including old men, women and children between last May 1971 and March 20th, 1972.

In the prisons, prolonged torture, including castration and mutilation is common. The priest describes how the Army has set up concentration camps in Tete where the population is forced to stay. The Portugese troops often take 10 or 20 hostages from these camps and torture them in retaliation for Frelimo's activities.

The struggle of Frelimo is now centering in the province of Tete where a huge dam, Cabora Bassa, the largest ever to be built

in Africa, is in the initial stages of construction, on the Zambesi River.

The Cabora Bassa dam project is a giant international consortium called Zamco. The countries involved, France, Germany and South Africa, are responsible for different aspects of the dam's construction. Two thirds of the cost is being supported by East Africa which will take virtually all the electrical power.

Twelve thousand workers and engineers are engaged in the construction. But the 8,000 Black workers who will not profit at all from it are housed in segregated facilities at the nearby town.

The dam is being built in territory where Frelimo has a strong base. The dam area is surrounded by a mine field and a ring of artillery posts. Frelimo attacks such as on the rail line from the coast which brings in supplies has already held up the dam's construction.

In an effort to prevent the Frelimo forces from crossing over from the northern banks of the Zambesi River, the army has destroyed all the river boats and patrols the river with armed speed boats ready to gun down anyone who attempts to cross.

OPPORTUNISTS

Frelimo was formed after the 1962 massacres but in the beginning it welcomed anyone into the organization, asking only that

they be opposed to Portugese rule. This policy brought many opportunists into the leadership of the movement.

In 1969, the assassination of Frelimo founder, Mondlane, by the Portugese government led to an open split in the movement. The opportunist section of the leadership openly sought to preserve the old colonial structures and favored the maintainance of tribalism and the disbanding of the womens' battallions.

These forces were expelled from Frelimo. The 1969 split led to the strengthening of the organization. The program of Frelimo is not a socialist one and remains very vague.

The governments of Western Europe and the U.S. are only too happy to turn their back on the suppression and murder of the Mozambique workers and peasants as long as they are making profits. The Common Market recently agreed to give Caetano a lucrative trade deal which will give preferential treatment to Portugal's exports which compete with Common Market goods.

Today these reactionary dictatorships are under attack by the powerful movement of the African working class. These are not isolated uprisings but are hitting the colonialists at a time when their own working class is moving into battle. This is a time when Trotskyist parties must be built throughout Africa.

Sugar Bosses Declare War On UFW

BY BRUCE MCKAY

CLEWISTON, Fla., Aug. 30—Two sugar companies announced here yesterday they will under no circumstances grant recognition to the United Farmworkers or enter into talks with union representatives.

The two companies remain anonymous. They made their announcement through Nelson Fairbanks, general manager of the Florida Sugar Cane League—the organization which speaks for all the sugar bosses.

According to Fairbanks, seven companies have received demands from the union but the other five are refusing even to reply, at least at this time.

This early and decisive reaction from the cane moguls confirms predictions that the UFW will face a major battle in its recently-announced drive to organize the entire sugar industry in Florida.

CONFRONTATION

The ruling class has, in fact, chosen this as the battleground for a decisive confrontation with the union. The sugar bosses are spearheading their drive to completely break the movement of farmworkers.

This became abundantly clear earlier this summer when the Talisman Sugar Corp.—where the UFW supported a bitter recognition strike early this year—was sold to the St. Joe

Paper Company, controlled by the two billion dollar Nemours Foundation.

At the head of this giant empire sits Jacksonville financier Ed Ball, one of George Wallace's most fervent backers and the man who broke the backs of 11 rail unions in the nine year Florida East Coast Railway strike. Ball is now preparing against the UFW the same vicious strikebreaking methods he used to crush the F.E.C. strike.

Against the backdrop of these developments is the reformist union leadership around Cesar Chavez, who is urging farmworkers to support McGovern and the bankrupt Democratic Party which in Florida stands behind men like Ball and the passage of open shop and anti-strike laws.

It was this leadership which led the Talisman strike off the picket line and into the capitalist courts and which backed down from any concerted effort to mobilize the entire labor movement to shut down Talisman.

Thus, while the early picketing put a dent in the company's production, it was able to complete the harvest and milling with only

a small loss due to the strike.

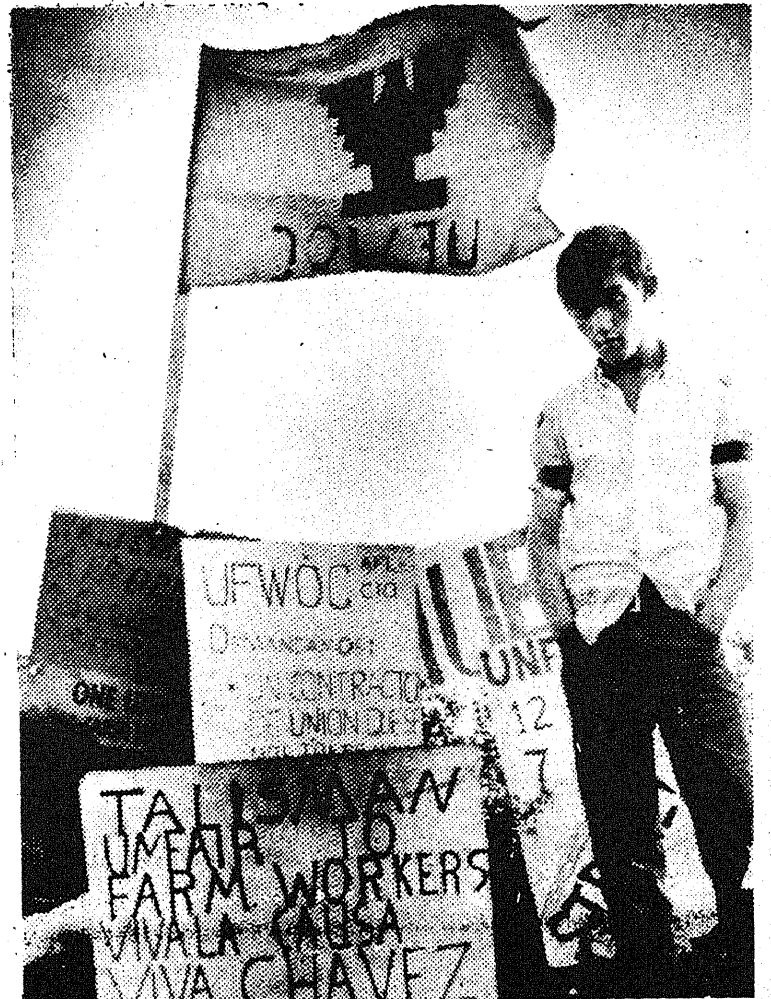
QUESTION

The key question facing the union in its attempt to organize the sugar industry is the companies' use of Bahamian and Jamaican workers as cane cutters in order to keep wages down to a bare minimum.

The approach of the union leadership has been to play right into the bosses' hands by calling on the state to ban the importation of such labor. Since the companies can only import labor if domestic workers are "unavailable" (refusing to perform this wretched labor for slave wages) the union has also been trying to get domestic workers to sign up for cane cutting.

Such policies can only divide American farmworkers from their brothers in the islands by playing one off against the other in a struggle for jobs. This strategy represents a retreat from earlier statements of union leaders that the UFW would organize farmworkers on an international scale.

This is the only answer to the use of foreign labor in the bosses' attempts to drive down wages and create unemployment among



Weakness of Farmworkers leadership in Talisman strike (above) has encouraged sugar companies to now try to break the union.

domestic workers.

The rank and file farmworkers must fight for a policy within the union to demand jobs at decent wages and decent working conditions for both domestic farmworkers and the Jamaicans and Bahamians who come here every year.

A new leadership must be developed within the union to carry forward this struggle as well as a fight to mobilize the entire labor movement behind the demands of farmworkers and their efforts to gain union representation. The

union cannot rely on the boycott tactic to fight men like Ball in a period when the ruling class must drive all workers back to wage levels and working conditions of the 19th century.

Farmworkers must be prepared to call upon the combined strength of the American trade union movement to shut down the entire sugar industry, and they must carry their struggle forward to fight for the construction of a labor party to meet the political attacks being prepared by the ruling class.

What Is Good For Big Business Is Great

BY MELODY FARROW

Last week, in a series of policy speeches, George McGovern shed the last remnants of his "liberal" image as he scraped and bowed before the most reactionary and right-wing forces in capitalism. McGovern is going all-out to reassure big business that he is a loyal imperialist and labor hater.

On Tuesday, McGovern sought to convince a gathering of Wall Street security analysts that he was no threat to the profits and investments of big business. "What is good for business is essential for the country," he declared.

In the course of this speech, he dropped his original proposal for a \$1,000 flat grant for everyone and instead made the usual empty promise of "guaranteed jobs." He called for a \$4,000 minimum in federal assistance for a family of four on welfare and the creation of one million public service jobs for welfare recipients.

There is nothing in these plans that is any different from Nixon's present welfare proposal, the Family Assistance Plan (FAP). Not only could a family not survive on any of these measly sops but the entire program consciously evades the problem of unemployment.

COVER

All the talk about closing tax loopholes and taxing capital investment gains was a cover for the real thrust of the talk which McGovern summed up by saying: "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

In case anyone did not get the message, McGovern ended with

warm words for Congressman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the right wing and racist chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. He said he would choose him as Secretary of the Treasury if he was elected.

On Wednesday, addressing the New York Board of Rabbis, McGovern pledged full military support to Israel's war against the Arab workers and peasants.

McGovern was so anxious to outdo Nixon as a staunch defender of imperialist interests in the Middle East that he made the ludicrous charge that Nixon was in alliance with the Soviet Union against Israel. "I was not the President who imposed the long and dangerous delay in the shipment of Phantom Jets and other vital arms to Israel." These are the jets which Golda Meir's regime has used to destroy Arab villages and drive the Arab people out of their homes.

But the most sickening part of the speech was his law and order defense of the racist campaign to prevent a low income housing project from being constructed in Forest Hills, Queens. The President of the Board of Rabbis is opposed to the project.

In a reference to the problem of "safe and clean" neighborhoods, McGovern said that



George McGovern

people "should be protected from projects that destroy the familiarity and identity that go with the concept of a home." This is an openly racist statement that equates Blacks with crime and condones segregation and the ghettos.

McGovern's position became even clearer in response to questions on his Vietnam policy. McGovern came right to the defense of South Vietnamese dictator Thieu:

"He's been our man in Saigon, we put him there. He may not represent the ideals of democracy but is our man. If he and some of his friends feel endangered by a political settlement, we ought to welcome him here."

McGovern also apologized for Johnson's escalation of the war by saying he "inherited the war" and claimed that Johnson's refusal to run for re-election was an "effort to end it."

McGovern is interested in

For McGovern

withdrawing troops from Vietnam for only one purpose. As he said himself: "The obsession with Southeast Asia has eroded the ability of the U.S. to keep its commitment elsewhere in the world."

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Democratic Party has historically posed as the capitalist party of reform to hold the working class back from creating its own independent party. Today it can no longer play this role.

The economic crisis forces the government to attack all the gains made by the trade union movement. This is why large sections of former Democratic big business backers are rallying to Nixon's banner of war against the working class.

This crisis is the real cause of the organizational chaos infighting and openly contradictory statements that are turning McGovern's campaign machine into a shambles.

The Communist Party now finds itself in a slightly awkward position. They have urged support to McGovern who is now rapidly moving to the right. Does this mean that the Communist Party will now recognize McGovern for what he is? Not in the least!

In an editorial following the statement about Forest Hills, the Daily World, organ of the Com-

munist Party, states:

"Senator McGovern seems to be losing his bearings. He seems to be losing sight of the shores from which he set out... The choice is either strengthening the mass movement against Richard Nixon—or futile opportunism."

What they mean by the "mass movement" is spelled out in the August 19th issue: "Without receiving constant and growing pressure on the issues, McGovern will seek greater and greater accommodation with monopoly capital and its old line political spokesmen."

Thus, the Stalinists continue to peddle the illusion that McGovern can be returned to the true path through criticism and pressure. This is the real role of their "independent and left movements." They oppose the fight of the Workers League for an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

The neutrality of George Meany in the elections and support by sections of the trade union leadership for McGovern will only strengthen Republican one party rule. The next four years will be decisive for the future of the working class.

The time is now to build a labor party for 1972 to end the wage freeze and nationalize industry under workers control with a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to end unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

on a scale that would mean the complete prostration of European and Japanese capitalism.

The arrogance and intransigence of the United States on these issues is further expressed in reports from White House sources that if the International Monetary Fund's annual conference to be held in three weeks turns into an anti-American forum that Nixon will personally mount the podium and deliver a "brutal" attack.

OVERSHADOWS

It is this situation that entirely overshadows the accord announced September 1 between Nixon and Japan's Premier Tanaka at their meeting in Hawaii.

Tanaka's agreement to buy \$1.1 billion dollars worth of American aircraft, agricultural and uranium products does not even begin to confront the 3.8 billion trade deficit the United States will have against Japan this year. Already in fact the United States has launched a new offensive aimed at going all-out to force the Japanese to make massive concessions that must include among other things a re-valuation of the yen.

The breakdown of the OECD talks and the preparation for trade war on an unprecedented scale reflect the absolutely desperate position of world capitalism at this point and reveals the full depth of the impasse into which capitalism has been thrust by the historic rupture between the dollar and gold last August 15.

This crisis while finding its reflection in the outbreak of the sharpest capitalist rivalry since the period leading up to the Second World War, must however be translated into the most brutal assault on the working class principally in the form of massive unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is already massively on the rise in Britain and France. The sharp growth of unemployment in Europe—which must become doubly sharp under conditions of the absolute preponderance of American capitalism over its European rivals—will now pose the opening of a revolution in Europe. This was clearly shown in the huge upsurge of the British dockers last month.

At the same time, this trade war must now have the sharpest implications for the growth of unemployment in the United States. The increase in August of unemployment to 5.6 percent must now go much higher. The very mechanism through which Nixon must conduct this drive against Europe and Japan must

be the rapid acceleration of the plant closures and consolidations which are right now throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs.

It is precisely preparation for this that lies behind the sharp rightward moves at the Republican National Convention and again behind Nixon's vicious and vitriolic Labor Day Speech. He demagogically attacked what he termed the replacement of the American "work ethic" with the so-called "welfare ethic". This was nothing more than a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between the employed and unemployed workers as he is preparing to throw tens of thousands more workers out of their jobs.

CHAUVINIST

Under these conditions whole sections of the American labor bureaucracy have not only abandoned any kind of fight against Nixon's policies but are leading a reactionary chauvinist campaign to put the unions in support of Nixon's trade war against Europe and Japan.

VANCOUVER. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

finance of the situation in this province. Here only three months before the federal election, all the major class questions facing Canadian workers are being fought out.

FEDERAL

The intervention of the Trudeau government on the British Columbia docks makes this clear. The dockers were not simply answering Bennett, but were taking on the federal government as well.

Bennett described the NDP victory as "mob rule." This is exactly the same line he used around the time of the FLQ crisis in October 1970.

The victory of the NDP in British Columbia shows the future now for all Canadian workers to throw out the Liberal government and put in an NDP government pledged to socialist policies.

OBSTACLE

But the greatest obstacle to carrying out this is the NDP leadership itself. Federal NDP leader David Lewis said of the bill against the dockworkers: "My colleagues and I will support any bill that gives a justifiable solution."

This stab in the back for the dockers is a follow-up to Lewis' treacherous support of the bill ending the Quebec dock-strike. Lewis must be held accountable for his action before all Canadian

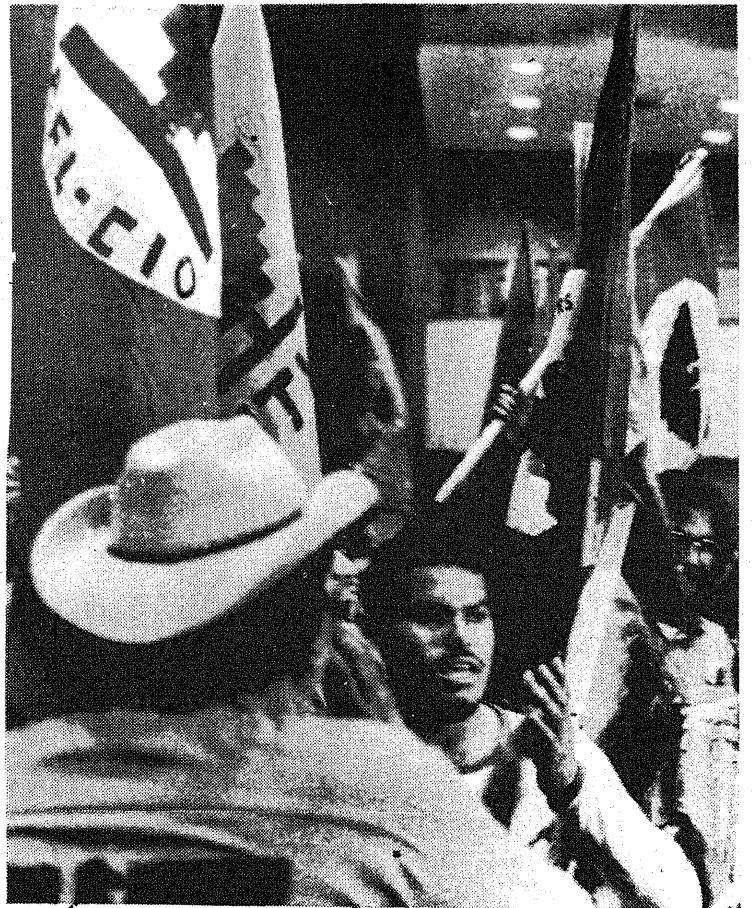
The ILGWU is today spending thousands of dollars on propaganda posters depicting little American flags with the trademark: "made in Japan."

The fact is that the lesson of the whole twentieth century is that there is no national road out of the capitalist crisis for the working class and that this road leads directly to fascism and imperialist slaughter.

These bureaucrats will soon find that the grist they are supplying Nixon's mill will soon be used to justify further attacks on the employment and wages of their own members.

SOLIDARITY

The only road out of the present crisis is on the basis of the international solidarity of the working class through the fight to overthrow capitalism in every country. This means the sharpest fight against these demagogues in every union and for the construction of a labor party now dedicated to socialist policies.



UFW demonstrated at recent California AFT Convention to demand support to fight anti-farmworker laws. Now UFW faces similar threats in Florida by sugar growers. See story on page 17.

workers.

The NDP, led by David Barat in British Columbia, ran its campaign on the basis of "People's Issues." They talked about pollution, Canadian ownership of foreign industries, appealing to the middle class. The NDP promised repeal of both Bill 33 and Bill 3 hated by the working class. Barat had to immediately reaffirm these promises following his victory.

At the same time he immediately came out and thanked

union-busting Bennett for "his great service to the people of British Columbia." He followed this by making it clear that the real meaning of his "People's Issues" was that the NDP government would not be that closely tied to the trade unions. "The business community has nothing to fear from us," he added.

DETERMINATION

The working class in British

Columbia has shown its determination to fight both in the dockers strike and now by electing an NDP government. This must now be carried forward into the federal elections to fight to throw out the Liberals and for an NDP government pledged to socialist policies.

In the U.S. this victory gives a lead to American workers who must break with the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party.

1199. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

In fact, the shooting is part of a vicious campaign waged by city hospitals against 1199C since they began organizing here in 1969. A year ago when the union began an organizing drive at Metropolitan, the newest hospital in the city, the Delaware Valley Laundry and the hospital hired the law firm of Morgan, Lewis, and Bockluis, which union members call "1199 killers."

The Diamond Security Corporation has been doing the dirty work, which included last week's beating of union organizer Barbara Gale and gun threats to the pickets.

For a year, laundry workers

have been trying to obtain a contract. Both the laundry and the hospital have flatly refused to even recognize the union. The 55 employees make between \$2 and \$2.20 an hour.

After a meeting of officials of 1199 from Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, including Leon Davis, national president of 1199, the morning after Rayford's death, over 200 hospital workers rallied at Metropolitan to demand a probe of the shooting. That night workers announced plans to hold daily rallies at Metropolitan. It was at the demonstration Wednesday that Nicholas was arrested for

defying the injunction handed down the night before.

One union member, when asked about the murder, said: "In my opinion, this was a planned assassination, every hospital in the city should go out. We live on trolley car wages; enough to get to work and back."

PREPARING

The murder of Rayford, the most respected local organizer of 1199C, must be seen as the way that hospital management and the government are now preparing to take on the unions and its fight to unionize all hospital workers.

The union leadership, with the open endorsement of the Communist Party, is now relying on Mayor Rizzo and the courts to prosecute Daniels. Mayor Rizzo, former Philadelphia Police Commissioner, has said in the past that in cases of police brutality, he would defend the police no matter what the circumstances are. The same courts which issued the injunction and released the murderer Daniels, can only serve to set the unions up for further attacks.

An injunction has been issued against construction workers, banning picketing, the most basic right of the unions, from within a mile of the Altemose sight. At present, nine workers are under arrest and are being held pending \$80,000 bail in connection with the struggle against Altemose. This clearly indicates the responsibility of all trade unionists in Philadelphia; to demand that a congress of labor be called to build a labor party to meet these attacks.

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West Coast News



Chinese businessmen set up "Freedom Schools" against busing and teachers' demands in San Francisco. Board of Ed. supports them.

Right Wing School Bd. Voids AFT Contract

BY SOL NOSAR

SAN FRANCISCO—The newly elected San Francisco Board of Education began its first two months in office by firing the liberal Superintendent of Education and junking the agreement on conditions and pay reached by the San Francisco AFT and the previous Board of Education.

"We have no choice but to strike when school starts in September," declared one AFT teacher to the recently seated board.

The new school board members who were backed in the election by a coalition of big business, the Chinatown Six Companies and the anti-busing rightists came to office on a platform of throwing out the liberal education superintendent, continuing segregation and "putting the school system back in order."

In the midst of the hysteria whipped up by the capitalists and their press on busing, the Six Companies, a Chinese business association backed by the Kuomintang set up "Freedom Schools" for thousands of Chinese children.

The Six Companies warned Chinese parents that integration meant that their children would be beaten up by Black children and left unattended in slum schools. The thousands of children who left public schools are now under the instruction of the Six Companies with the active support of the San Francisco Board of Education.

The newly elected school board includes supporters of the "Freedom Schools" and they intend to implement the same methods in all of the city schools.

American Federation of Teachers President, Jim Ballard, and the entire AFT leadership has been completely paralyzed by the election of the reactionary board and its vicious assault on the teachers.

A measly wage increase of 2.5 percent agreed to by Ballard, along with agreement that there would be no layoffs with a freeze on hiring, was immediately voided by the new board. Ballard

had agreed to a 2.5 percent increase and a freeze on hiring on the threat by the old school board that it would go bankrupt if anything greater was given.

Upon taking office, it was announced by the new Board of Education that a seven million dollar surplus had been discovered in the budget and the Board was refunding the seven million to property owners.

Teachers are now being laid off by the tens of thousands all across the country and strikes are being met with mass jailings of teachers as in Newark, New Jersey. This Board of Education intends to do the same.

Only a policy by the AFT of immediate strike action against the board and the fight for the launching of a labor party with a program to defend the unions and the entire working class will defeat these attacks.

MECHANICS...

(Continued From Page 20)

worked out by the bureaucracy with Continental, which settled for 5.5 percent without a catch up increase, was rejected by the ranks.

BREAK DOWN

A mechanic at the sprawling United Airlines complex at San Francisco International Airport, which has seen its work force cut by thousands, told the Bulletin that United is trying to break down established job categories. They are demanding the right to use part-time employees to do the work of full-time mechanics. He pointed out that the key to United's strategy is unemployment.

"I've got 13 years seniority and I don't feel secure. It would take

Trudeau Passes Emergency Legislation To Halt Dock Strike

BY MARTY MORAN

VANCOUVER—The Canadian government moved last week to smash the two week old British Columbia dock strike. Liberal Party Prime Minister Trudeau recalled the federal parliament from summer recess to pass legislation against the strike.

The shutdown on the West Coast, particularly in Vancouver, which is the largest grain port in the world, has crippled the Canadian economy. Grain is the single largest source of foreign exchange earnings for Canada.

Only six weeks ago the strike of longshoremen in the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) against St. Lawrence River ports was broken by a special law against the union. The ILA dockers were forced, under threat of jail and heavy fines, to work out the remainder of their three year contract with no defense against the destruction of jobs by port employers.

In British Columbia, the ILWU longshoremen's contract has already expired July 31. The strike is legal even under the law which broke the Montreal strike, and a whole new kind of anti-labor legislation will be needed to outlaw it.

The Liberal Party, facing the fall elections staggering from the insoluble economic crisis, must move openly and viciously to smash the power of the working class.

DISPUTE

The work stoppage began in Vancouver August 5 in a dispute over steady men. The ILWU wants all dock work to go through the hiring hall on the basis of day by day rotation of work among all the men on its rolls.

The employers, intent on slashing the number of docks jobs, want to retain the old practice of hiring a few hundred men on a permanent basis to handle the new automated loading, while the rest of the dockers fight over a steadily shrinking amount of break-bulk work.

The union leadership, although armed with a province-wide strike vote, held off until August 23, when the employers as-

sociation broke off negotiations on the provincial contract, demanding that Vancouver go back to work before talks could resume. This was a deliberate provocation aimed at speeding government intervention against the longshoremen, for contract talks were resumed the day after the province-wide strike began.

Federal labor minister Martin O'Connell was rushed out to Vancouver, where more than 40 ships were now tied up. On his report back to Ottawa, Trudeau announced he would recall parliament.

NATIONALIZATION

The ILWU leadership in British Columbia sent a proposal to Ottawa calling for nationalization of the grain trade, with those dockers working on grain exports to be hired by the Federal Wheat Board. The government replied contemptuously with the grain minister saying he could not consider such proposals with a gun at his head.

In BC the provincial resources minister countered by demanding a no-strike pledge as a condition for nationalization. (BC law forbids strikes by public employees.)

Health Cutbacks Doom Hunters Point Center

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Lynndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" was designed to spread false hopes and illusions among the poor. For the poor and sick of South East San Francisco even the decaying remnants of that "war" are to be taken away.

Last week the Hunters Point-Bayview Community Health Service announced a two week moratorium on services with no

The role of the ILWU International leadership has been completely criminal. Most non-grain cargo has been diverted from Vancouver to Seattle, where ILWU men are working it. Seattle has become so choked that cargo is beginning to trickle down the Coast as far as San Francisco.

SLOWDOWN

No effort has been made to ban work on diverted cargo, even though the Seattle dockers are engaged in a slowdown against SeaLand over the same issues at stake in Vancouver. However, so far the vital grain exports have piled up in Vancouver, since no nearby port has the facilities for bulk loading of millions of tons of grain—half the ships tied up in Vancouver are bulk carriers bound for the Far East.

The New Democratic Party leaders have refused to take up a serious fight against federal strikebreaking. In fact, NDP Premier, Allan Blakeney of Saskatchewan, a grain growing province, publicly called for a parliamentary session to deal with the crisis, providing a cover for Trudeau's intended back-to-work law.

guarantee of full level operations after that. The CHS is in the last year of a five year HEW grant and may very well go out of business in April if not refinanced.

Before CHS Hunters Point residents had nowhere to go but S.F. General Hospital for medical treatment. There is not a single health facility in all of South East S.F.

CHS acts to refer people to doctors and dentists and pays or supplements the cost of treatment. It was intended for the working poor or those without Medi-Cal benefits.

Slashes in Medi-Cal, soaring medical costs, and a rising number of workers seeking assistance combined with a \$120,000 HEW economy cut has left the program near bankruptcy. At the end of the moratorium only \$9000 a month will remain to finance medical payments.

When the Schlage Lock Company, the largest production facility in the area, published news of the program in its paper over 2000 applications flooded CHS from workers who could not afford decent medical care and discovered they were eligible.

The answer to these attacks is not reformist pressure but the construction of a labor party committed to bringing about the right to free, decent medicine for all through socialized medicine.

period. This means a direct confrontation with the government.

Nixon's Secretary of Labor, James D. Hodgson, with the full backing of McGovern and the Democrats, has made clear the government's intention to pass legislation for compulsory arbitration in transportation after the elections.

Only the spineless policy of the IAM bureaucrats of retreat before the Pay Board and support for McGovern prevents the labor movement from defeating these attacks.

In 1966, when Johnson tried to break the airline mechanics' strike, four West Coast locals cabled Meany, Reuther and Bridges calling for a labor party. Now is the time to carry forward that policy.

DEFENSE

The defense of all the gains of the mechanics and of thousands of jobs requires strike action and the defiance of any attempt by Nixon to impose a cooling off

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN; WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310



Pro-McGovern union leaders in San Francisco brought the Democratic Presidential candidate to the traditional Labor Day picnic (above). Over 5,000 trade unionists attended the picnic but gave McGovern a lukewarm reception. Thousands of workers left as McGovern spoke. Reagan spoke at another Labor Day picnic elsewhere. He was booed and heckled by steelworkers who confronted him with his anti-farmworker legislation.

Airline Mechanics Set For Strike Clash With Nixon

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—International Association of Machinists (IAM) mechanics at eleven airlines across the country are bracing for a strike and a direct confrontation with the Pay Board and the government.

Eleven months of negotiations with giants like United, TWA, National, and Eastern have produced nothing. All of the mediation and arbitration procedures imposed by the government under the Railway Labor Act have failed to break the determination of the ranks to win higher wages, better pensions and fringe benefits, and the defense of union conditions.

Under the provision of the Railway Labor Act, the mechanics have been forced to work under the old contract since its expiration on December 31 of last year. Strike action is set for Sept-

ember 11.

There can be no doubt that Nixon will move in to break the strike with the 80 day cooling off period provided by the emergency section of the Act.

In 1966, the IAM mechanics struck United and four other major airlines for 43 days, after working a year and one half under the old contract. The strike broke through President Johnson's 3.2 percent wage increase guidepost and won 5 percent.

This year the union is demanding a 5.5 percent increase plus a catch up increase which would raise the base rates from \$5.50 - \$5.80 to the \$6.45 - \$6.54 level won last year by the Transport Workers Union from Pan Ameri-

can and American.

RETREAT

The IAM leadership has retreated before the attacks of the employers. They have done nothing about the thousands of layoffs, which have weakened the union and removed the younger more militant workers. They have held the wage demands to just above the 5.5 percent ceiling, hoping to avoid a strike and a confrontation with Nixon.

But the companies have made it clear that they intend to inflict a defeat upon the mechanics. This year they have banded together for the negotiations, forming the Airline Industry Relations Conference. The deepening trade and monetary crisis will compel the government to beat back any assault on its wage freeze ceiling.

During the second quarter, the airlines topped all other industries in percentage increase in profits—a huge 250 percent. United's profits were up 134 percent from last year. This sharp reversal from previous losses is based on the massive layoffs and speed-up which the IAM leadership has refused to fight.

These profits have been won in a feverish race by the companies to strengthen themselves for the new contract. At the same time, the industry has purchased strike insurance.

The ranks have to this point beaten back every attempt by the government, aided by the leadership, to impose a sellout. The federal arbitrator asked the union to go to binding arbitration and was flatly refused. Last month, a tentative agreement

(Continued On Page 19)

Editorial

The Reformist Dialectics Of Huey Newton

In the September 2 issue of the Black Panther, Huey Newton justifies participation in every community institution by saying: "We believe in intercommunalism—the relatedness of all people. We want to be part of the whole."

He claims that a revolutionary must "contradict the system while you are in it until it's transformed into a new system."

He goes on to say that those who do not understand dialectics are "thinking in absolute terms and that's foreign to me at this point. I only think in terms of how we can make things better by analyzing the process."

Speaking of the Panther electoral campaign for mayor of Oakland, Newton maintains that this is not to win office but is "an attempt to tell the people that we care a lot about them."

Lenin saw things differently. In his essay "On the question of Dialectics" he states: "For objective dialectics there is an absolute within the relative. For subjectivism and sophistry the relative is only relative and excludes the absolute."

For Newton then, there is no absolute. Everything is relative, that is to say reduced to the gradual struggle for reform.

Newton's rhetoric about serving the people, showing them we care, developing a strong voting bloc "so that the people will have a voice in spending tax money and in the employment practices of various financial institutions and the city administration" is a primitive restatement of the views of Bernstein and the Russian "economists" who sought to turn the Social Democracy into a party of social reforms at the turn of the century.

While Newton claims to "contradict the system" he never contradicts the "people." They are to be fed, clothed, comforted and registered as Democrats by devoted revolutionaries but never contradicted in their present methods of thought.

Indeed Newton is not even on the level of the "economists" who attempted to adapt themselves to the spontaneous militancy of the working class. For Newton the "people" are a mass of sheep. "You've got to take the fear out of them" as he puts it.

Throughout the Bay Area, the nationalist movement is fighting to bring this outlook into the working class.

In San Jose, Chicano nationalism and the Stalinist influenced Community Action Patrol have gone so far in working within the system that they assist the police in patrolling the youth at the Santa Clara fairgrounds. This is community "control" with a vengeance.

In Palo Alto, the bankrupt schemes of the nationalists have led literally to the bankruptcy of the Coop, a so-called community controlled shopping center.

In Berkeley, the radicals on the City Council participate in a budget cutting administration and showed their real class position in opposing the city workers' strike.

Working in the system has been taken so far by the Raza Unida Party that a section of its leadership, cheered on by the Stalinists, participated in the Democratic convention for McGovern.

Now the Panthers come forward to run for office in Oakland and have already succeeded in electing members to administer the decaying Model Cities Program.

These developments take place precisely at the point that the movement of the unions in the Bay Area has begun to develop into massive united actions that begin to raise questions of political power.

Under these conditions, nationalism is being groomed to play a valuable role for the ruling class.

It is for this reason that astute politicians like Dellums and a number of businessmen and clergymen are building up the Panthers.

For these gentlemen the Panthers may prove useful in heading up the sort of movement that was used against striking New York teachers and that Leroi Jones has constructed to be pitted against the labor movement in Newark.

The dialectics of Huey Newton are the dialectics of class collaboration. The working class must break up these reactionary developments through the construction of its own labor party to unite the unions, minority people and youth.

The Case for a Labor Party

Public Meeting

SUNDAY, OCT. 8 — 2P.M.

HOTEL SAN FRANCISCAN
1231 MARKET ST. — NOB HILL ROOM

Contribution: \$1.00

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