

Bulletin

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STEEL CONVENTION LAMBASTS DEMOCRATS

BY DAN FRIED

LAS VEGAS, Nev. September 19—A sharp debate over the question of endorsement of a presidential candidate has marked the first two days of the Sixteenth Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America here.

After some three hours of debate today, the nearly 4,000 delegates voted by a more than two to one margin to support the motion of USWA President I.W. Abel and the International Executive Board to withhold any endorsement for President.

On the other side a significant minority led by the leadership of a number of large locals and supported most enthusiastically by the Communist Party in its paper the Daily World pressed for endorsement of George McGovern.

The debate opened on Monday when the Convention was addressed by AFL-CIO President George Meany. Meany made it even more clear than before that the fundamental question was not just McGovern but was indeed the support of labor for the Democrats which has gone on for some 36 years and today is at the breaking point.

As Meany put it, Abel's speech at the Miami Democratic Convention denouncing the hypocrisy of McGovern and the Democrats was "really a declaration of independence as far as labor and any political party is concerned. We are not a political party, we are not in partnership with any political party. We don't own a political party in whole or in part, and no political party owns us."

Meany pointed out that this party, which according to him "history shows from the Roosevelt days up to now had its bone and sinew furnished by the American trade union movement," almost completely pushed out representation of the trade union movement at the Miami Democratic Convention.

The predominance of middle class delegates and middle class

protest politics represented by the "New Politics" was likewise a sore point with Meany.

Meany also said that: "The attitude of those who controlled the Democratic Convention toward organized labor was reflected in expressions like 'big labor bosses,' 'power brokers'

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Adele Plateau explains Juan Farinas' case to youth at Young Socialists' Brooklyn College dance.

UAW Local 25 Demands National GMAD Shutdown

BY CAROL MARKS

ST. LOUIS—Members of United Auto Workers Local 25 at the General Motors Assembly Division here last week voted to demand that the International leadership of the UAW call a nationwide strike of all GMAD plants.

This vote occurred as the strike at the GMAD plant in Norwood, Ohio continues and is now the longest strike in GM history.

In St. Louis workers on the night shift have not worked for more than three or four hours any day since model changeover in August. Due to the introduction of GMAD speed-up, the line is going so fast that hundreds of cars are piling up unfinished.

Faced with this situation, the GM management has remained firm in its decision to force through the speed-up and not to recall any of those who have been laid off.

They are also trying to drive a

wedge between the workers on the two shifts by allowing day shift workers to work a full eight hours and dismissing the night shift workers early every night. The company claims sabotage,

and so is not required to pay the night shift workers for the time off.

The situation has prompted the union to call a series of meetings (Continued On Page 18)

INSIDE

Harlem Comes To Florida story and photographs by Bruce McKay Page 9



Bulletin
Expansion
Drive

\$2,799 Sent
In First Week

The Fall Fund Campaign has gotten a good start with \$2,799 received this week. Chicago and Brownsville made major contributions with \$800 and \$650 respectively. Some \$376.20 was received from the collection at the Midwest Camp (another \$100 is coming in shortly in pledges) and \$80 was raised by Bushwick at a street party.

We must however now start raising funds uniformly in all branches so that we reach the level of \$4,000 a week. Only in this way will we be able to reach our goal of \$50,000 by December 15 and make a major stride towards our own press, the expansion of the weekly Bulletin, an independent Young Socialist paper, and a daily paper in the future.

Arab Soldiers Deal Blow To Israeli Attack

BY DAVID NORTH

Confronted with heavy resistance from Arab soldiers and commandos, the Israeli army failed to exterminate the Fedayeen guerrillas in spite of an all-out invasion of Lebanon.

Although vastly outnumbered in terms of men and materiel by the Israeli army, the Lebanese succeeded in inflicting heavy losses upon the invaders.

Reliable reports indicate that 18 Israeli soldiers were killed and seven tanks were destroyed. The Israelis claim to have killed 60 guerrillas.

Harassed by ambushes, the Israeli timetable was slowed down and some troops returned from Lebanon 12 hours late. While most of the fighting occurred in the southern-most regions of Lebanon, Israeli Skyhawk fighters destroyed bridges as far north as Nabatiye, only 30 miles from Beirut.

While Israel claims that the raids are in retaliation for the death of 11 athletes in Munich, the scope of the attack indicates a full scale war of aggression to conquer Lebanese territory is being prepared.

Israeli Lieutenant General David Elezar admitted that "the operation will not end the war." In addition to using napalm bombs against the Lebanese people, survivors of the attacks reported that Israeli forces ransacked Arab communities for plunder.

While the Israeli government is using the Munich incident in order to cover its naked aggression in the Middle East, the United States plans to whip up a hysteria over terrorism to witch-hunt the socialist movement, specifically the Fourth International.

The September 18 issue of Newsweek states that the "model" of the "avant-garde in international terrorist organizations" is the "figure of Leon Trotsky—the Russian revolutionary who sought to spread Communism throughout the world."

Newsweek adds that "Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society."

The attempt by the capitalist press to manufacture a link between the Trotskyist movement and the Munich incident reveals not only plans for a witchhunt but also the fear of the capitalist class of the movement of the working class and the construction of a conscious leadership.

Uganda Dictator Hails Hitler Genocide

BY ED SMITH

Fighting broke out last week in Southern Uganda as Ugandan exiles from Tanzania clashed with the army of General Amin.

As the army moved against the guerrillas reportedly sympathetic to former President Milton Obote in the South, Amin was planning a blood-bath against the thousands of Asians which he has ordered to leave the country.

General Idi Amin, the Ugandan military strongman, has announced his support for the genocide practiced by the Nazis against the Jews during World War II.

In a letter to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Amin declared: "When Hitler was the Prime Minister and supreme commander, he burnt over six million Jews. This is because Hitler and all German people knew that the Israelis are not people who are working in the interest of the people of the World."

General Amin is in the process of expelling tens of thousands of Ugandan Asians from the country, descendants of Indians who settled in the country in the 1890s and dominate Uganda's professions and commerce.

The general has announced that any Asians remaining in the country after the deadline of November 7 will be interned in military camps. But official machinery for processing the Asians out of the country has



Right wing racists demonstrated in London last week against Ugandan Asians who are fleeing General Amin's terror campaign.

broken down.

With Amin's refusal to let foreign airlines provide transportation for the expelled Asians, thousands face the prospect of being placed in Amin's concentration camps after November 7. After Amin's genocide-approving statement, their prospects appear grim.

The politicians and the capitalist press in Britain have raised a hypocritical outcry against Amin's statement and his expulsion of the Asians. They prefer to cover over the fact that Amin is a product of the British colonial system. He graduated from the imperialist military academy at Mons and was trained in the colonial wars against the Kenyan Mau-Mau.

His seizure of power in Uganda in a coup d'etat was greeted with undisguised glee by the British



British trade unionists lobby Trades Union Congress in Brighton to demand that leaders fight against Tories.

British Union Leaders Obey Anti-Labor Law

BY MELODY FARROW

The leadership of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) officially dropped any opposition to the Tories Industrial Relations Bill at its annual conference held in Brighton last week.

At Brighton, the right wing of the labor leadership openly

declared its intention to collaborate with a government that is bent on destroying the trade unions and imposing a wage freeze on the working class.

The majority-supported TUC report allows unions to go before the court and pay fines. Those unions which are fined cannot expect any aid from the TUC.

In addition, a minority section of unions went even further by declaring their intention to appear before the Industrial Relations Court and then walked out of the Convention.

CAPITULATION

This capitulation comes only months after the dockers led a national strike, freed five of the shop stewards jailed by the court for defying a picketing ban, and almost precipitated a general strike for the first time since 1926.

It is this militancy and determination of British workers to fight the government that has terrified the labor bureaucracy and turned it decisively into an agent of the government against the working class.

But the right wing of the TUC could not have triumphed if it had not been for the refusal of the "left" union leaders to lead any fight against the right wing's policies.

Originally, the "lefts," headed by Hugh Scanlon of the engineering unions, proposed a resolution to the TUC to "use all means, both political and industrial, to oppose its (the Act's) implementation, including opposition to the payment of fines and appearing before the National Industrial Relations Court."

The union of cinema technicians proposal was the only one that called for a campaign to bring down the Tories and for a fight to re-elect a Labour govern-

ment pledged to socialist policies.

By the time these resolutions reached the floor they were completely changed and only threatened "discipline" for using "any facilities of the Act." Any mention of a fight to throw out the Tories and mobilize the working class around this goal was dropped. This resolution was defeated 5,677,000 to 3,479,000.

COLLAPSE

It was after the collapse of any challenge that the right wing came out in the open with union leaders calling for cooperation with the Act and some openly favoring wage restraints.

On the question of wage controls, the TUC adopted a resolution to refuse any discussions on wage restraints but not to cut off talks with the Tories. The TUC has already agreed to a conciliation and arbitration service with the Confederation of British Industry.

The outlook of the trade union leaders was summed up by George Smith, TUC President, when he said that the Tories "have been compelled to recognize the need for cooperative effort" and "we must never imagine that we are an alternative form of government."

The TUC acceptance of the Industrial Relations Act now encourages the Tories to push their next attack, a wage freeze. In upcoming talks with the TUC and the CBI, Heath will threaten the unions with a 1.4 million rise in unemployment unless wages are reduced. This is in line with the demand of Nixon that inflation in Europe be tackled with a wage freeze.

CYNICALLY

The British government is cynically using the pliable union leaders to push through their

(Continued On Page 18)



8,000 Philadelphia construction workers held rally at city hall against injunctions used by scab company.

8,000 Builders Rally In Philly For War Against Scab Contractor

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA—Eight thousand construction workers rallied here at the Spectrum determined to fight it out with J. Leon Altemose, a non-union contractor and the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), which is standing behind him.

This rally is a continuation of the campaign that started last June which produced the historic march of 50,000 construction workers in Norris-

town, Pa. The construction unions are fighting an attempt by Altemose to make permanent an injunction prohibiting picketing within a mile of Altemose building sites. This would be a heavy blow against the union and open the doors for the destruction of union conditions and wages.

The rally was widely supported by delegates from all over the state, with busloads from Pittsburgh, and IBEW members from Erie, Pa., as well as delegations from Atlantic City and other parts of New Jersey.

The most important was the support of the Teamsters, pledged by Lewis Platone, President of Local 107 and supported by locals with a combined membership of 125,000. The Teamsters voted to support the drive of the construction unions and not to cross the picket lines.

At the rally, Francis X. Annley, Assistant to the General President of the International Union of Operating Engineers, spoke on the situation that the union now confronts. He said:

"Politicians are union supporters when they ask for your vote. Then they go away. It is labor that has produced all the wealth in this country. In Baltimore and the South, where the unions are weak, they've got people scabbing on each other."

But having said that, all that Annley could propose was that the workers should remain militant. What has to be understood is that the building trades are becoming the center of a national right to work campaign, backed by the building contractors, the government and rightist forces. These forces employ the power of both the Republican and Democratic parties to destroy the construction unions.

The leadership of the unions is relying on the courts to protect the unions and channels the militancy of the workers into protests. At the rally Annley proposed voting for "friends of labor" in Congress, who together with Nixon represents the interests of big business.

These bankrupt policies must be repudiated and the struggle taken up for the construction of a labor party now.



entire labor movement. A labor party dedicated to socialist policies is far from being "too utopian" as Mr. Levy claims, but an absolute necessity to defeat the government's attacks.

Pay Board Robs Printers' Pay

BY TIM STEVENS

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 18—The Pay Board this week cut \$4 to \$15 from the weekly paychecks of all editorial and printing trades employees of the Washington Post and the Star News.

At approximately the same time as the Pay Board announced the cuts, the Post was announcing a 53 percent increase in profits for the first quarter of this year over the same period in 1971, as well as a 9.2 percent increase in ad rates and a 13.6 percent increase in home delivery prices over the past year.

These cuts mark the beginning of a new round of attacks on the

living standards of the American working class and preparations for lowering the Pay Board guidelines after the election. The employers and the government are forced to mount a sharp attack on labor in the form of wage cuts and unemployment in order to preserve their profits.

COURT

While correctly assessing the Pay Board's intervention as a move aimed at "killing collective bargaining and destroying legal contracts," the chairman of the 2300 member Washington Post newspaper guild unit, W. Levy, told the Bulletin that the only avenues open to the guild are negotiations with the Pay Board and a possible court fight.

STRIKE

These attacks cannot be met through dependence on the "justice" of the capitalist courts. The

entire rightward move of the courts is but a reflection of the direction of the whole ruling class as it prepares further attacks on jobs and wages. The only way the Pay Board will be stopped is by strike action of the

15% Executive Salary Hikes Are Fine With Pay Board

While the Pay Board has been busy this last month slashing contracts down to 5.5 percent and making plans after November to lower the guidelines down to 2.5 percent, the executives of the big corporations are enjoying record increases in their salaries. These increases are increases the Board is not touching. These executives already receive salaries that run in five and six figures a year.

The biggest increases were in auto where executives received salary raises of 21.1 percent and in airlines where they rose

16.7 percent. In meat product companies where workers in some locals were asked to pay back retroactively their increase over 5.5 percent, the executives got boosts of 14.4 percent. In building products they received 15.8 percent, household appliances 15.7 percent, rubber 15.2 percent and in the tobacco industry 12 percent.

Now the big corporations have decided to go before the Pay Board next week demanding that rules concerning executives' salaries be changed because they are "too stringent."

General Abrams Gave OK For Lavelle Raids

BY MELODY FARROW

Lieutenant General John Lavelle has revealed that it was General Creighton Abrams, then Commander of U.S. forces in South Vietnam and Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who authorized him to make air strikes against North Vietnam in 1971 and then falsely recorded them as "protective reaction."

But only days after this admission, which included the testimony of Sergeant Lonnie Franks—the first to reveal the unauthorized raids—the government, through the Armed Services Committee, is preparing to close the whole case and proceed with Abrams' nomination to the Army Chief of Staff.

Lavelle was demoted to Lieutenant General and relieved of his command last March for raids against North Vietnamese air fields in November of 1971. The reports of these raids were falsified to make it seem as if the U.S. pilots had been provoked to attack.

Lavelle testified that one raid on an airfield was approved personally by Moorer and that he had shown him pictures of the raid following its conclusion.

Lavelle stated that at a December meeting of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Honolulu he was urged to be more aggressive in the air strikes and that later he had received a call from Admiral John McCain, commander in chief of the Pacific forces, who told him that:

"He had been called from Washington and Washington didn't believe that he had done a good job on hitting that air-

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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.

Workshops on Steel, Auto, Longshore, Teachers, Civil Service, others.

Young Socialists will hold:
NATIONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT
 Chicago OCTOBER 22

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)
 Advance Registration Necessary: trade unionists: \$5.00 youth & unemployed: \$2.50

Contact:
 New York: 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., NYC 10011 924-0852
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Inexpensive accommodations available

SSEU Delegates Vote General Strike Motion

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—Last week's Delegates Assembly meeting of the Social Service Employees Union passed two critical resolutions both put forward by the Committee For New Leadership.

In response to the Pay Board's wiping out SSEU productivity increases for July, the delegates overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling on the leadership to take up a fight inside the District Council, City labor and the AFL-CIO to prepare action up to and including a national strike against future attacks by the Pay Board.

A motion calling for a labor party as the alternative to the anti-labor, pro-Pay Board candidates Nixon and McGovern, narrowly failed. Bart Cohen, union president, called on the membership to fight the Pay Board by defeating Nixon in November with a vote for McGovern.

The call for a labor party received more support than ever before in the Delegates Assembly, as more and more workers are becoming disenchanted with McGovern.

FREEZE

The delegates also passed a motion which will freeze all union cooperation with new programs and stop the movement of staff until the City negotiates a complete blueprint of its plans for staff in all agencies covered by the union. This blueprint will have to be ratified by member-

ship vote before any new movement will take place.

The militant stance taken by the Delegates Assembly reflects the tremendous anger of the ranks in response to the City's drive against Social Service employees. It was recently revealed that if the federal revenue sharing bill passes, millions in funds to New York

City services will be slashed. Jules Sugarman, Commissioner of Welfare, stated that one-third of the 2700 remaining case-workers would have to be cut off the payrolls.

This is what is behind the City's plans for the Community Social Services program. The City intends to push thousands of

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Bethlehem Steel Plans Slash Of 12,000 Jobs

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE, Sept. 17—"Seventeen years I've given them and it's the junk heap for me now." The steelworker who said this is one of thousands at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point installation who have lost their jobs or classifications as part of the steel bosses' drive for higher productivity and profits.

Since August 15 of last year what was once the largest tidewater steel mill in the world has reduced its workforce from 33,000 to 21,000 with the threat of more layoffs to come. John W. Colbert, Sparrows Point General Manager, has let it be known that he feels an optimum

workforce would be around 9,000.

To carry this out, Bethlehem has spent over \$500 million since 1959 on modernization and automation. Presently Bethlehem is preparing to replace the remaining blast furnaces with basic oxygen vessels, eliminate the ore railroad with a conveyor and is beginning construction of a 500 ton a day CONSOL-BNR coke pellet plant for a cost of \$25 million.

Nine thousand steelworkers in Baltimore have been thrown onto the streets by Bethlehem as 12,000 more steelworkers' jobs are on the chopping block. It is these questions of jobs and livelihood which the leadership of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) has refused to confront.

Faced with four more years of layoffs, pay cuts and speed-up, the USWA bureaucracy confronts these attacks tied up in joint productivity committees with the steel bosses. It is only through the fight to confront the bosses and their government directly that these attacks on the basic rights of the working class can be beaten back.



Somerville, Mass. teachers (NEA) picket in defiance of injunction and threats of contempt citations. Parents, students, firemen and even police have joined picket line and aided strike. One teacher said: "I was against unions before, but this is a whole different ball game. We're willing to go to jail for this."

Teachers Demand Shanker Reveal Contract

BY A UFT DELEGATE

NEW YORK—United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker is paying the way for the New York City Board of Education to advance their attempts to destroy the teachers' union by his refusal to even let the members see the rotten contract he is trying to shove down their throats.

The union bylaws state that the membership must have the printed contract for 24 hours before the vote may be taken, and a contract is not recognized until it is ratified by the rank and file. Yet at this writing, teachers have been working for over a week and no contracts have been distributed.

Shanker's fear that the members will reject the proposed agreement is behind this

and was revealed when he presented the terms to the delegate assembly in a cautious and highly deceptive manner, on the day before school opened on September 7.

RAILROAD

By allowing no discussion he managed to railroad through a vote recommending acceptance by the ranks, with about 20 percent opposition, and assured the delegates that copies of the contract would be in the hands of the membership the very next day. The vote was to be taken in the schools rather than at a central polling place as in the past, to diffuse opposition and force the members in to work.

When the teachers got to school, they found they were given the ballots but no contracts. Many teachers cast their ballots expecting to read the contract during the day. It was not

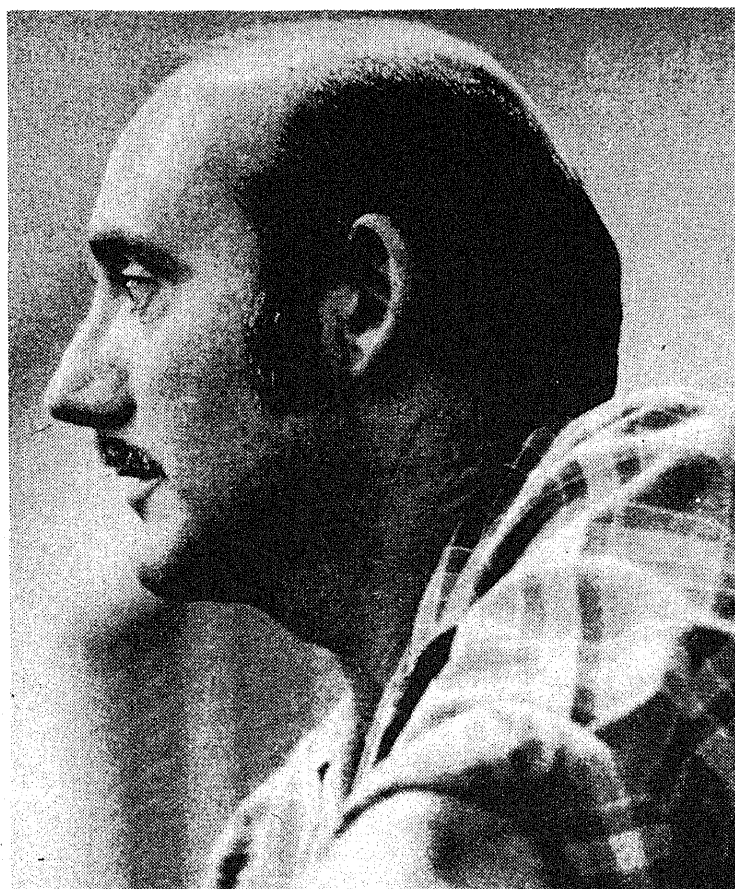
until Wednesday that teachers were to learn, only by reading the New York Times, that the contract had not even been written yet and that the leadership had been cynically deceiving them all along.

Resistance to these treacherous tactics was expressed as many chapters throughout the city demanded that the ballots which had been collected be returned.

LAYOFFS

The settlement offers no protection against layoffs which the Board is again carrying out (5000 teachers were laid off last year) and accepts reduction of staff by attrition. It also allows for three more years with no improvement in the already difficult working conditions.

In fact, further layoffs will mean increased attacks on contract protection of maximum



William Beasley, leader of the Public Works workers told Fort Pierce city commissioners that workers "face a financial crisis as well."

Florida City Workers Refuse Wage Freeze

BY BRUCE MCKAY

FORT PIERCE, Fla., September 15—A wage freeze blew up in the faces of labor-baiting city commissioners here this week as 161 of 174 Public Works Department employees called in sick Monday and Tuesday.

Underlying this spontaneous two day walkout are the intolerable wages and workload in Public Works and other city departments.

One worker in the parts department of the municipal garage told the Bulletin his last merit increase amounted to only six cents—from \$2.03 to \$2.09 an hour.

Mechanic William Beasley, who acted as the workers' spokesman, told the city commission Monday night: "We are well aware of the city's financial crisis. Your workers are in a financial crisis as well."

According to Beasley, some of the workers in the Public Works Department are forced to supplement their miserable wages with food stamps.

He told the Bulletin that although he is a mechanic with 20 years experience, when he went to work for the city a year ago he had to start at the bottom of the

pay scale. He now earns \$2.98 an hour, although he must service heavy road equipment, garbage trucks and hydraulic systems.

The workers' demand is modest indeed: a 5.5 percent wage increase to bring their earnings into line with city Utilities Authority workers' wages.

Democratic Mayor Dennis Summerlin called the workers' action "disgusting" and the commission refused even to allow Beasley to speak more than once to answer their attacks.

Summerlin had made it clear two weeks ago that he intended to make city workers pay for the city's budget crisis, and he said the workers should accept a wage freeze as well as a freeze on filling vacancies, since it is a "privilege" to work for the city.

Now that the workers have returned to their jobs, the city administration is moving swiftly to exact even heavier payment. Officials are negotiating with a private company to take over the city's trash and garbage collection, sacking the 70 sanitation workers in Public Works.

Like most public employees in Florida, city workers here are completely at the mercy of the government. They do not have the right to strike, to form unions or to bargain collectively.

It is the Democratic Party here which joins forces with the Republicans and the most vicious right wing forces to spearhead the attacks on the rights and living conditions of the working class.

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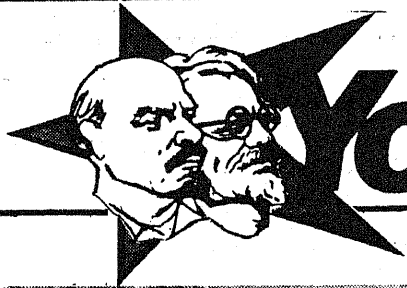
class size and work load which are already openly violated.

SALARY

The salary provisions, which Shanker has presented as major gains, are even below the 5.5 percent Pay Board guidelines. This is in opposition to the vote by the teachers to defy the Pay Board and fight for a 30 percent salary increase. The leadership claims that the real advances have been "hidden from the public."

Whatever raises there are have been concentrated on the higher salary steps which are reached only after seven years and/or advanced educational degrees. For the first four steps, the raise only amounts to one percent per year or two dollars per week, and none of the raises approach the rate of inflation.

The ranks of the UFT must vote this contract down.



Young Socialist

Send your letters to:
 Abby Rodriguez, Editor
 Young Socialist
 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street
 New York, N.Y. 10011



Over 125 youth had a "Rare Experience" (the live band) at Brooklyn College dance held by the Young Socialists. The dance was held to aid the Juan Farinas Defense Committee and netted \$128 for the Defense.

Face The Real Issues!

YSA's Jenness-Pulley Campaign Must Fight For The Labor Party

STATEMENT OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

At the Republican Party Convention, big business revealed its determination to destroy the rights and living conditions of the working class and youth.

As every capitalist country is thrown into trade war and toward the brink of economic collapse, Nixon outlined his strategy to deal with the crisis.

The government plans to create mass unemployment and take away from the youth what few jobs they have now. It will press ahead with its attacks on education by slashing financial aid, cutting program budgets, and firing teachers.

Nixon will continue the brutal imperialist war against the Vietnamese people, and send more youth to die to preserve the interests of the ruling class.

RACISM

The government will use the poison of racism to divide and weaken the working class, as Nixon prepares for an all-out assault on the trade unions.

Nixon must launch these attacks in order to defend the profits of the corporations that control this country. The crisis will not permit any more reforms. It is for this reason that McGovern and the Democrats can offer no alternative to the Nixon program.

Because the Young Socialist Alliance refuses to understand this crisis, it has failed to use the Jenness-Pulley campaign to prepare the working class for the dangers that lie ahead and pose the necessity to break with the Democrats and build a labor party.

What is the Jenness-Pulley campaign actually accomplishing? Everyone knows that they will not be elected President and Vice President; and it is also obvious that they cannot defend the working class from the attacks planned by Nixon.

By refusing to turn to the only force in society capable of fighting Nixon—the working

class organized in powerful trade unions—and fighting for the building of an independent party of labor, the YSA is running a campaign that is an empty but dangerous diversion.

The YSA does not concern itself with the life and death issues facing the working class. It is interested only in the petty problems of building a middle class radical organization. Therefore, the YSA has nothing to say to the youth about the crisis and no program to propose in order to meet it.

But while the YSA uses the Jenness-Pulley campaign to engage in bankrupt propaganda to gain the attention of all sorts of liberals and radicals, it opens the door for the Stalinist American Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League who are oriented toward the trade unions with a reactionary program to keep the working class tied to the Democrats.

The Young Socialists have supported the Jenness-Pulley cam-

paigned as part of our struggle to build the labor party. Only through this fight can the working class be armed for the battle against the government and expose the Stalinists.

STEP

It is on this basis that we will continue to support the Jenness-Pulley ticket. Furthermore, if the YSA should take even the smallest step toward utilizing the campaign for the purpose of fighting for a labor party, we will be willing to immediately prepare for closer collaboration with the YSA in building the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

At the same time during the coming month, the Young Socialists will work day and night to bring as many workers and youth as possible to the National Conference For A Labor Party Now! and the National Preliminary Conference for the Construction of a Revolutionary Youth Movement.

Jane Fonda Tours For McGovern

Once again the Young Socialist Alliance is rejecting everything in their past as they join with the Stalinists in the latest attempt to disarm the working class and youth.

The YSA is supporting the nationwide tour of Jane Fonda which the Stalinists are using to get McGovern elected.

Miss Fonda is making a series of appearances which will include a film showing of some of the atrocities committed by the U.S. government in Vietnam.

The Young Socialists condemn the attempts by the State Department to jail Miss Fonda for visiting North Vietnam to expose the role of the U.S. government there.

But we stand against the Stalinists who use the hatred the American working class has for the slaughter of the Vietnamese people in an attempt to deliver the workers and youth into the hands of the criminal Democratic Party which is responsible for the slaughter.

The YSA is engaged in a traitorous role when they refuse to pose the real issues facing the American working class by denouncing both Nixon and McGovern and calling for the building of a labor party.

The YSA is increasingly aiding the Stalinists in their attempt to patch up the Democratic Party. No sooner does the YSA jump for the bait, by endorsing and calling on everyone to build the tour, when Miss Fonda in one of the first meetings makes the call for support to McGovern.

These are the fruits of the liberal policies of the YSA in the anti-war movement. Their liquidationist political line, which drops any fight for the independent mobilization of the working class to end the war, and instead calls for coalitions with the Stalinists and McGovernites, has given the Stalinists the greatest weapon to mislead the youth.

It is these same Stalinists that the YSA supports who are receiving the sharpest attack from the Hanoi leadership itself. The Stalinists in Hanoi are forced to take up the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies because they threaten Hanoi's very existence through their collaboration with the imperialists.

Yet the YSA finds itself aiding those counter-revolutionary forces which support the back-stabbing of the Vietnamese.

The YS understands that any activity against the war and every question facing the working class must pose a break from the two parties of capitalism through the building of a labor party.

Anything short of this means that the so-called "leave your politics home" myth of the YSA will turn the anti-war movement into a mainspring for the McGovern campaign.

The YSA stands exposed as incapable of posing any alternative to the Stalinists. They are moving closer to them because of their refusal to fight for the labor party.

The YS stands out as the only movement on the campuses and in the communities that is carrying out a consistent fight to arm the youth against the Stalinists. The education of the youth in the history of the Trotskyist movement and the betrayals of Stalinism becomes our greatest weapon for the construction of a labor party and a revolutionary leadership within the working class.

3800 Students Cram 1200 Capacity School

BY

CALVIN TAMUKA

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Soldan High School, like other St. Louis public schools, provides inadequate education.

Soldan, a school built in 1907 for 1200 students, had a record enrollment last year of 2800 students. This year the Soldan enrollment has reached an all-time high of 3800 students.

Teachers are having to double the number of subjects they teach. Bruce, a student at Soldan, described the conditions as impossible. He said:

"There should never be 50 or more students in a class, because nothing can be learned. I

agree with the program of the YS on education and jobs. This summer I had no job and if that wasn't bad enough, I had to return to an overcrowded school, only lessening my chances for an education. These conditions can't last. Something must be done."

SOLVE

The only way to solve the problems of education is by putting billions of dollars into education. The building of the Young Socialists becomes vital in this period to organize youth and workers to demand that a labor party be built to implement socialist policies to ensure a decent education.

NATIONAL PRE-CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT Chicago October 22

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!

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)

Advance Registration Necessary: trade unionists: \$5.00; youth & unemployed: \$2.50. Contact: New York: 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street, NYC 10011 924-0852 Chicago: P.O. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago 60607 West Coast: Rm. 313, 3004 16th Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94103. 415-621-1310 Inexpensive accommodations available.

Young Socialist

New York Schools Begin Fall Term: Conditions Are Worse Than Ever

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The attacks on the youth can be seen clearly in the tremendous cuts in education. Public schools and high schools have already felt the brunt of the cuts which have paralyzed many schools in the first two weeks.

Meyer Levin Junior High School in Brooklyn has just reopened after disputes between the School Board and the Brownsville community. The dispute stems from the refusal by Meyer Levin to accept 90 students from the Tilden Houses. The District 18 School Board contended that the influx of minority students would tip the racial balance of 50 percent white and 50 percent Black.

In P.S. 76 in Harlem only 45 out of 1,000 pupils have shown up to classes. The parents of the community were protesting against the replacement of four substitute teachers by regular licensed teachers. They feared that the changes in personnel would jeopardize the effectiveness of the program.

Susan B. Wagner High School in Staten Island needs a minimum of nine teachers to restore classes. Academic and elective as well as remedial courses have been eliminated. Dr. S. Altman, principal of the school revealed a loss of 45 classes and 22 positions while the enrollment has increased by 300.

OVERCROWDED

Students were programmed with two or three majors and four or more study periods. Over 140 teachers protested against the cuts in teachers and the overcrowded class size.

John Dewey High School has also felt the brunt of the cuts. The school was established as an experimental teaching system three years ago. Today the programming computer has placed 75 youth to a class without a teacher available to teach.

Certain students now have priority. Those who are graduating have first choice while those who are not just will have to wait. Fifteen teachers have been fired and not one more has been hired for this term.

If the cuts do not affect teachers' employment, students, or classes, they affect other fields. For example, at McKee High School they 'have not dropped any courses but we are undergoing some tightening in the areas of sports and guidance.'

ATTACKS

All these incidents are part of a massive wave of attacks that the capitalist class has in store for the youth and workers. The contract that was agreed to by the UFT and the Board of Education opens the way for these attacks.

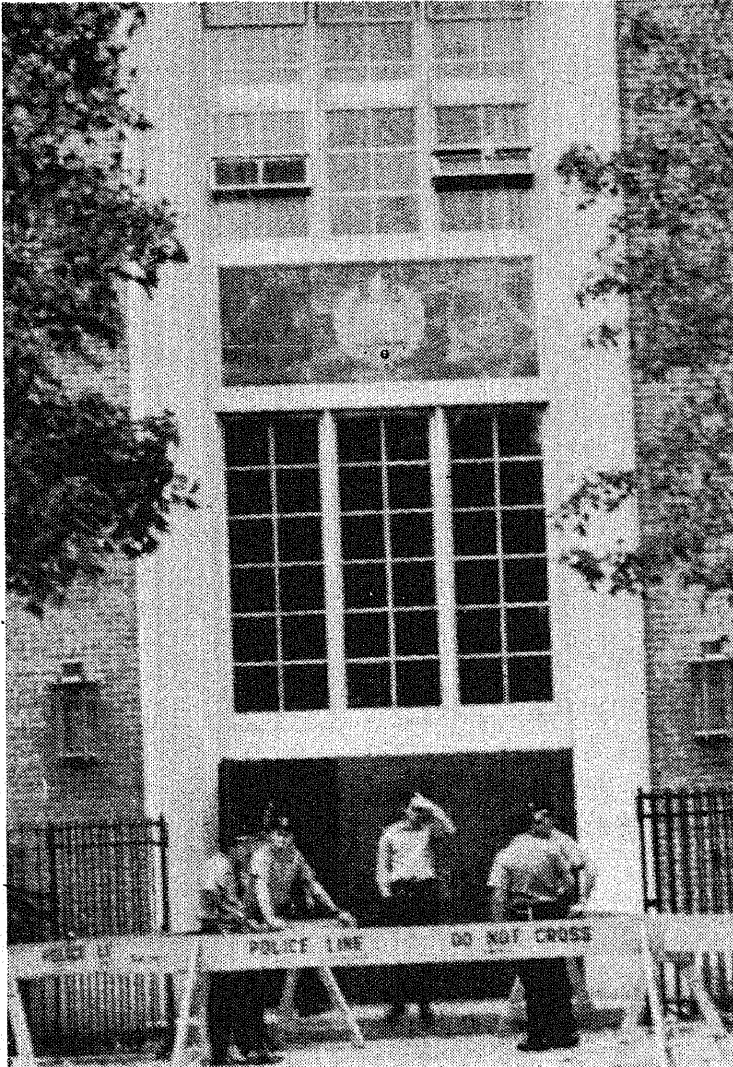
The contract permits the layoff of regular substitutes and allows for the reduction of teachers.

This means larger class sizes and the legal firing of thousands of teachers.

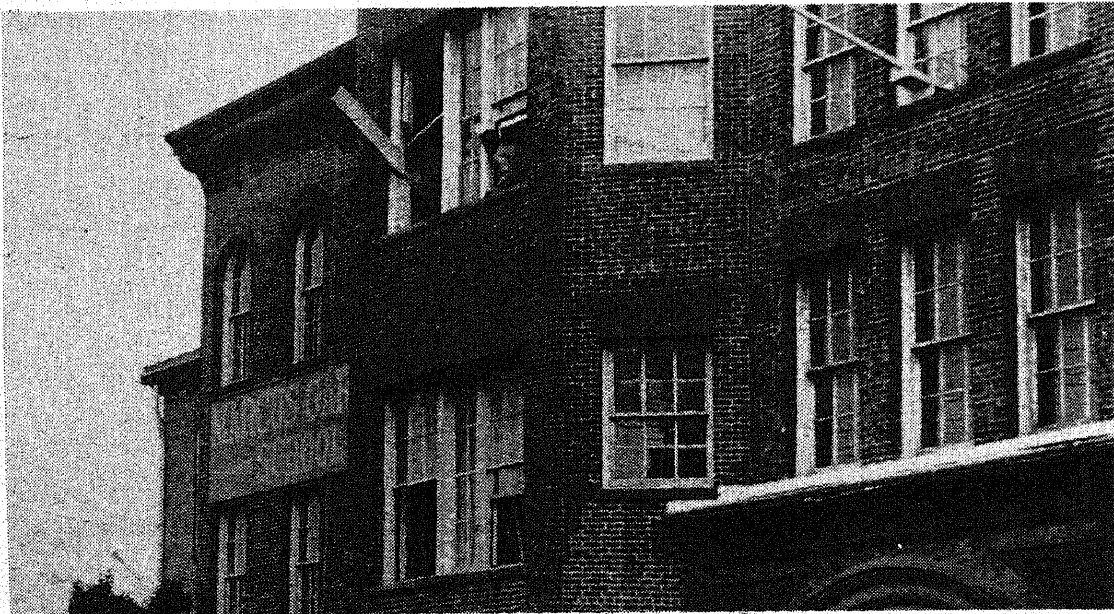
GUARDS

At the same time that teachers are being laid off and the education of the youth is threatened, the government knows that the youth are going to move against these attacks. Therefore, preparations have been made to place 6,000 security guards in the high schools to try and prevent any outbreaks.

These developments place the Young Socialist program as the only alternative which sees that the fight must be to unite with the teachers against the source of the attacks.



Cops barricade Brooklyn's Meyer Levin High School where community is demanding entry of local Brownsville youth into the school.



A ceiling collapsed in an empty classroom at the Marcus Garvey elementary school in Newark two weeks ago. It would have killed many children if it had been in use at the time. The City's solution now is to tear down the old plaster ceilings and put up hung ceilings in a cramped, 86 year old building that deserves to be condemned. The school is part of LeRoi Jones' Black nationalist community control program.

Germany

Trotskyist Youth Hold Conference

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

On October 1, the League of Socialist Workers will hold the founding conference of their youth movement, the Socialist Youth League at Essen, Germany. This is of immense importance for the German working class in its fight against capitalism and the betrayals of the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties.

The following are excerpts from a statement published in *Der Funke (The Spark)*, their weekly organ calling for the youth to attend.

"Every form of class collaboration today means the weakening of the working class and is deadly. The break with every form of class collaboration is necessary in order to defend the working class with socialist policies.

"The struggle to defend the working class against the crisis and the fight for socialist policies can be led only upon the foundations of Marxism as the theory of knowledge for the working class.

"Only an alternative leader-

ship of the working class that is free from the betrayals and defeats of the past, of the Second and Third Internationals, can develop such a Marxist policy and lead the working class in the struggle for socialism.

"The construction of the League of Socialist Youth is an important step in the struggle for an alternative revolutionary leadership in the fight against the betrayals of Social Democracy and Stalinism.

"It is the task of the youth to bring Marxism into the working class and thereby renew the confidence of the older genera-

tion—disillusioned by the betrayals and defeats of the past—in the revolutionary action and strength of the working class.

"The youth have a special task in the fight against the division of the working class.

"In order to accomplish this task in the working class and among the youth, the building of our newspaper, *Der Funke*, is of great importance. *Der Funke* is the instrument with which we lead the movement for the defense of every right and gain of the working class through the struggle for socialism."

Jury Frees Cop Who Killed Boy

BY A YS REPORTER

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.—A grand jury here acquitted Patrolman Frank Ortalano of criminal negligence in the killing of unarmed 11 year old Ricky Bodden.

Ortalano had shot Bodden through the heart late last month as the youth fled from a stolen car. The cop claimed that he had fired because he thought one of Bodden's companions was armed and that the bullets he fired from guns in both hands accidentally struck Bodden.

TESTIMONY

However, the testimony of numerous witnesses contradicted Ortalano by establishing that neither Bodden nor his companion had any weapons. The jury ignored this testimony.

Several years ago, a New York cop was suspended from the police force for shooting an unarmed youth. Today, not even this minimum penalty is imposed for the brutal murder of an 11 year old.

It is no accident that this occurs now. The government is preparing massive attacks on all workers and youth. The courts are now used to justify and encourage these actions.

Funds Cut At Madison

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON, Wis.—The University of Wisconsin in the fiscal year 1972-1973 is faced with a critical money squeeze.

Student financial aid has been cut sharply and the University has been ordered to cut 7.5 percent or 12.5 million dollars of its biennial base budget.

Increased productivity and efficiency in present programs is to make up for the cuts. This means bigger classes, a greater teaching load, and elimination of classes in special area studies.

There are less teaching assistants than last year and in some cases students are being used instead of TA's. The cuts have already caused the elimination of 500 or more staff positions and will mean at least 200 more cuts by 1975.

BEGGING

Throughout the entire week of registration, students did not know how much loan or grant money they would receive. Most students were in the position of literally begging for some type of loan or work-study position to pay the fees.

Many out of state students were denied fee remissions this year without advance notice. An administrator stated that:

"As students progress through school, we feel their earning power increases, so a student will receive more money as a freshman. Then as he progresses to a sophomore and so on, he is cut."

These cuts attack the working class as a whole and are felt sharply by the students and their families because of the scarcity of jobs and the rising tuition rates.

THE POLITICAL DEGENERATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Young Socialist

2. Eldridge Cleaver: The liberal who picked up a gun

BY JOHN HILLS

The split between Newton and Cleaver goes beyond the tactical and organizational differences played up in the capitalist and radical left newspapers. At the heart of the dispute were fundamental class differences. To expose the liberal politics of Eldridge Cleaver required that Huey Newton base the Black Panther Party on the needs and tasks of the working class in order to meet the capitalist crisis with a strategy for taking power.

Only Marxism can arm the working class for its historical role—the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Only the Workers League continuously warned the Black Panther Party during that period that a systematic study of the history of the Marxist movement—particularly the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism—is essential for preparing revolutionists for the new situation.

Newton turned his back on our warning by refusing to make an assessment of the history of Marxism. Consequently, he could not take forward his earlier turn to dialectical materialism and remains today an idealist. The survival program and intercommunalism are policies that flowed from Newton's concessions to Cleaver on questions of theory.

For a clearer understanding of the class nature of the split, a brief history of the political evolution of Eldridge Cleaver is necessary. It must be noted immediately that Cleaver, from the time he entered the Black Panther Party, represented the most anti-theoretical section of the movement.

At every point Cleaver's political activities were the product of his wildly subjective impressions. Unable to understand the objective relationship of the movement of Black workers in the United States to the international crisis of capitalism, he was totally hostile to the white

working class and never concerned himself with developing a revolutionary strategy for all American workers, let alone the working class of all the advanced countries.

Even his four year stay in Algeria reflected his liberal method of thought. Having concluded that America was in the grips of fascism, he fled to Algeria to seek the protection of the extreme right-wing nationalist Henri Boumediene, whom Cleaver praised as a "revolutionary." Now this so-called revolutionary is interested in negotiating a deal with the United States over natural gas deposits and he has placed Cleaver under house arrest. In response to this development, Cleaver is trying to get back into the United States.

Even before he joined the Panthers, Cleaver demonstrated his hatred of Marxist theory and contempt for the working class. He was involved in a number of petty-bourgeois and nationalist circles. He was a staff writer for the liberal magazine *Ramparts*. With the publication of his book, *Soul On Ice*, financed by *Ramparts*, Cleaver became famous among liberal avant-garde circles. This book is the most blatant example of the racist mentality of Cleaver as well as the sick antics of the middle class.

Only after Huey Newton's confrontation with police in front of the *Ramparts* headquarters in 1967 did Cleaver decide to join the Black Panthers. Cleaver was impressed with the romantic activism

that was distant from the working class, and had no patience with theoretical issues. Newton himself was somewhat dazzled by the witty pragmatism of Cleaver.

At a later stage, Newton was sent to jail on the trumped up charge of killing an Oakland policeman. With Newton gone, the BPP was turned over to the leadership of Cleaver. He imposed upon the Panthers his own anti-theoretical stamp. In this period the Panthers were overwhelmed with a number of defense cases, especially that of Newton. Under Cleaver's direction, the Party immersed itself neck-deep in reformist and conservative activities.

While the government turned to sharper attacks on workers as the boom collapsed, Cleaver revealed his capacity for treachery in the manner in which he conducted the defense of Huey Newton. He established a relationship with the middle class reformist Peace and Freedom Party, which was created to bolster the two party system after the Democratic debacle in Chicago. He agreed to become its presidential candidate—ostensibly to publicize the case of Newton.

The Party operated closely with the Stalinists and was primarily an alliance of middle class radicals. Cleaver sought to cement this alliance by choosing as his running mate Jerry Rubin, who criss-crossed American campuses telling students to kill their parents.

Unconcerned with the struggle of Trotskyism against the Stalinist betrayals of the working class, Cleaver joined the Stalinist popular front against fascism, which the Panthers claimed had conquered in the United States.

The Panthers were also enthusiastically trying to establish a community civilian police review board throughout the country and, of course, the free breakfast for children program.

In the course of this campaign, Cleaver publicly defended the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin Stalinists.

In a speech delivered at Stanford University we get a concise picture of Cleaver's hatred of American workers as well as the way the defense case was handled:

"We say if there's going to be massive death for the Black people, the best we can do is get into a position so that there'll be massive death for white people."

REFORMIST

Here we have the middle class reformist gone mad, overwhelmed by the

development of the crisis and the movement of the working class. Functioning without any sort of class perspective, the attacks of the capitalists throw him into despair. Cleaver had no strategy for the working class except race war to aid the reactionaries.

Cleaver's presidential campaign culminated in a revocation of his parole, forcing him to flee the country but still holding the ideological leadership of the Panthers.

It was in Algeria where Cleaver developed his conceptions of urban guerrilla warfare for the Panthers back in the United States just at the time when the Panthers were beginning to understand the futility of guerrilla theories. A section on the West Coast headed by David Hilliard began to grapple with Marxism. When the conflict erupted, Cleaver defended the capitalist philosophy of pragmatism from his Algerian hideaway against a section of the BPP that wanted to fight for theory.

On the surface, the conflict between Newton and Cleaver seemed to center on organizational questions. The Algerian section wanted to expel Hilliard because the latter had expelled members of the Panthers on the East Coast. Newton fought to keep Hilliard on the Central Committee.

ESSENCE

But the essence of the struggle involved fundamental class positions. For all his talk about violence and the gun, it was Cleaver who led the forces that wanted to strengthen the influence of capitalist thinking within the working class. Newton made his turn to dialectical materialism but was incapable of taking it further precisely because he did not root his understanding in the objective situation of capitalist society and the history of the Marxist movement.

Newton could not fight Cleaver with a Marxist understanding but rather he used Cleaver's method—pragmatism.

Because they both shared the same method, Cleaver and Newton now travel the same road. While Newton negotiates with the Democrats to implement his survival program, Cleaver negotiates with the Nixon administration to get back in the United States.

For the Workers League and Young Socialists, Marxist theory is essential to fight the swamp of reformism and prepare the working class for power.

TO BE CONTINUED



Bushwick, N.Y. Young Socialists held a block party last weekend that raised \$83 for the Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Conscious Leadership & The Labor Party

On October 21-22 the Workers League is holding a National Conference For A Labor Party Now in Chicago. This conference is being called at the most critical time in the history of the American labor movement.

We are entering a period like the one in which the Republican Party was created. It developed on the eve of the Civil War, out of the "irrepressible conflict" between the system of slave labor and the system of free labor. It is this conflict which threw the parties of that time, the Democrats and the Whigs, into crisis.

The formation of the Republican Party came out of the historical necessity of developing the productive forces not only in America but throughout the world. What was at stake in this struggle was the progress of mankind itself. Only if slavery was destroyed could the productive forces be further developed.

It was this "irrepressible conflict" that created the conditions for the development of the Republican Party almost overnight. Within two years, it had replaced the Whig Party and within six years it had elected the President.

The capitalist class that emerged strengthened from the revolutionary struggle of the Civil War and reaped all the benefits from it has now entered a new "irrepressible conflict." But this time it is with the the working class. It is this conflict that is behind the break-up of the Democratic Party.

The conflict has already begun. Look at what Nixon has done. He has instituted the Pay Board which has slashed the wages of American workers. Together with the corporations, the government has consciously created unemployment, throwing close to five million workers out of jobs. Workers remaining in the plants are being driven at inhuman levels. Education, housing, health care are under attack.

Workers are forced to pay for and to die in wars against workers in other countries to preserve the profits of the corporations.

Just as the development of the productive forces in the 1850s required the destruction of slavery and the expropriation of the slaveowners, today it requires the end of wage slavery, the expropriation of the capitalist class and the establishment of socialism. It is this irrepressible conflict that now not only necessitates the building of a new party, this time a party of the working class, but creates the conditions for its being built quickly.

What is different today is that the class that created the Republican Party held power in the North and controlled the wealth. Today the working class does not hold power, it cannot conduct its battle with the methods of thinking of its oppressor. It must, if it is to win, build a conscious leadership.

We have seen all too well what the present leadership of the labor movement will do. It has refused to lift a finger against the Pay Board or against the growing unemployment. While Meany refuses to pose the alternative to the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party, Woodcock mobilizes the funds for McGovern.

The fight to build a labor party requires a conscious leadership with a program to defeat capitalism and which is educated in Marxist theory. The building of this leadership will be at the center of the Workers League Conference on October 21-22. It is urgent that all workers and youth take the fight for the labor party forward.



"I got one from the other side who's gonna give him a transfusion."

What we think

The Role Of Labor's 'Left'

Leonard Woodcock, Floyd Smith, Jerry Wurf and other charter members of the new National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver are the number one traitors in the labor movement today. These men, who were in complete agreement with George Meany when he led labor onto the Pay Board, are suddenly outraged when he refuses to fully back the Democrats who gave Nixon the power to establish wage controls.

Meany's real crime is not that he withheld support to McGovern, but rather is his refusal to go beyond "neutrality" and call for a labor party—leaving the door open for the Woodcocks and company who parade as labor's left wing while endorsing McGovern.

The pro-McGovern bureaucrats are now the greatest obstacle within the labor movement to the construction of a labor party. This received striking confirmation at last week's convention held by the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (UE) in New York. It was the leadership of old-time "progressive" President Albert Fitzgerald that led the fight against a resolution calling for a labor party, and which browbeat the delegates with sheer demagoguery to win support for McGovern. For this task the services of UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey were also required.

At the third session of the convention, a delegate spoke in favor of a resolution that had been passed by a UE local, which read:

"It is not enough to battle the boss on a day-to-day basis in the shops to preserve and better our standard of living. We must go outside into the political arena and challenge the bosses' parties and candidates under our own banner, the banner of the coming American labor party."

This was the only resolution that could meet the dangers referred to again and again by UE delegates—the danger of layoffs, speed-ups, anti-strike laws, and wage controls. But in a lengthy harangue aimed against the Workers League,

Fitzgerald summed up all the shopworn arguments against the labor party heard for the last 40 years, especially that "it can't be built overnight."

The labor party question—as Fitzgerald knows very well—is not something that was raised yesterday for the first time. It has been raised continuously since the nineteenth century, and the American working class has prepared for the labor party with more than 80 years of struggle.

Following the establishment of the CIO, the building of a labor party was placed on the order of the day. It was only through the efforts of the Stalinists and the trade union bureaucrats that the working class remained tied to the Democrats and in the betrayals of the 1940s Mr. Fitzgerald played a leading role.

But it must be understood that the bureaucracy could not carry out this wrecking operation against the labor party were it not for the political activities of the Stalinist Communist Party. The arguments used by the bureaucrats against a break with the Democrats are borrowed right out of the pages of the Daily World, organ of the CP. Fitzgerald, who had close connections with the CP during the 1940s (going along with the no-strike pledge), spoke to the UE delegates about a new people's coalition to be led by McGovern.

Even those sections of the bureaucracy who supported the red-baiting against the CP in an earlier period, like the Woodcock leadership, depend upon Stalinism to maintain a left cover. Woodcock and Mazey have just returned from Moscow, and they are hailed by the Daily World as champions of "peaceful coexistence."

As it produces the theoretical basis for the bureaucracy's support for McGovern, the CP carries its activities into the rank and file to prevent a fight against the Woodcocks of the labor movement. Not only does it applaud every violation of the neutral position put forward by Meany, but also the CP has come to the defense of the bureaucracy and fought the

labor party at every convention and trade union gathering. They played their most criminal role at Labor for Peace last June, when the Stalinists saved the "progressive" bureaucrats from the labor party resolution.

Under the present condition of crisis which is ripping to shreds the fabric of the bipartisan, two party system through which the capitalist class has ruled, the bureaucracy is the principle prop of the dying Democratic Party. The chief guest speaker at the UE Convention, Emil Mazey, made this very clear.

The trade union bureaucracy has now become the main fund raiser for the Democrats. Vast sums of money that could be the backbone of a national labor party are being wasted on McGovern. "Workers must dig down in their pockets for McGovern," declared Mazey, and he boasted that the UAW has already contributed \$125,000. The United Auto Workers plans to raise another \$275,000 for McGovern. "If you have the money, you ought to use it—and I believe in using it," Mazey said.

Where the bureaucracy is unable to hide McGovern's anti-labor record, it simply shrugs its shoulders. In the current issue of the UAW's Solidarity, columnist Frank Wallick has the audacity to write: "I find it amusing to see him (McGovern) castigated by some narrow minded labor people for a vote against 14-b."

McGovern is the candidate of the trade union bureaucracy, not of the working class. Even the newspapers of big business, like the New York Times, admit that in spite of the hostility for Nixon felt by millions of trade unionists, there is little support for McGovern within the ranks.

The trade union bureaucracy is without a program to defend the working class. Both sections of the bureaucracy—that which supports McGovern and that which seeks to remain simply neutral—are opposed to the historic step that now must be taken toward the building of the labor party.

But this treachery is in violent conflict with the movement of the American working class. At every point in its history, the working class in this country has mobilized its enormous strength and fought for its rights against the wishes of a bureaucratic leadership. That was the case when the CIO was built and it has been the case during the past year as the ranks have fought the Pay Board which the bureaucracy has been willing to accept.

It is with this understanding that millions of workers are prepared for a political struggle in defense of their rights that the Workers League will hold the National Conference For A Labor Party Now! in Chicago on October 21-22.

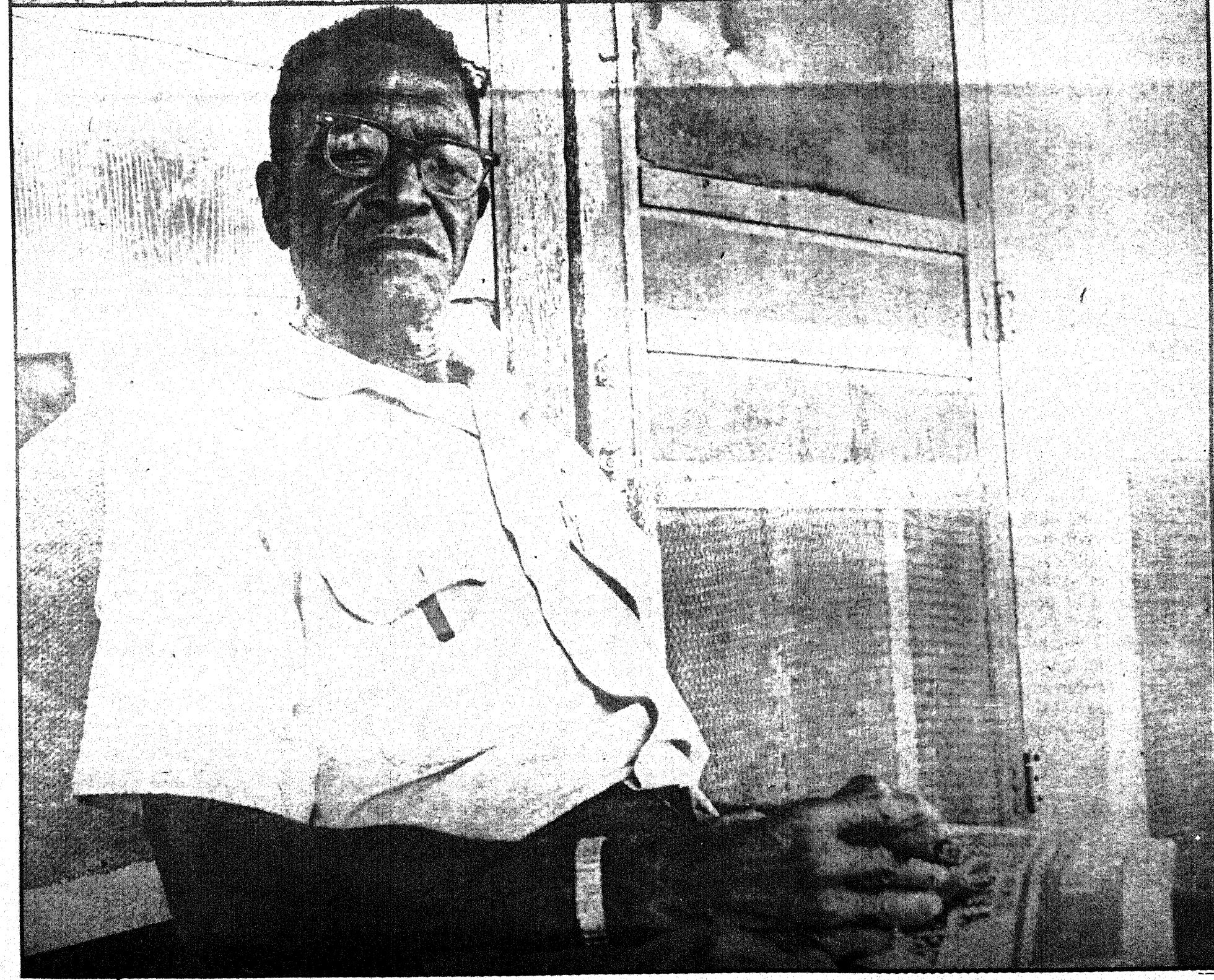
Over The Top!

We are happy to report that these last few days of the sub drive have brought in 668 subs giving us a grand total of 5,294 surpassing our goal of 5,000 subs. Mention must be made of the following branches which made of went over their quotas: Baltimore, New Haven, Hartford, St. Louis, Bay Area, Portland, Minneapolis, Northfield, Boston and Fort Greene. Of these special mention must be made of the Bay Area, which had such difficulty with the previous drive and Baltimore which sent in 106 subs in one week.

We wish to thank all our readers and supporters for this magnificent effort which has put us a long way towards our goal of raising our circulation to 20,000 as part of the pre-arrangement for a daily paper.



Harlem comes to Florida
story & photos by Bruce McKay





Top left, workers' houses in Harlem. Bottom left, sugar cane field. Center, this worker was laid off from the Clewiston Mill three years ago. He has not been able to get work since. Right, this outhouse serves 27 families. Below, right, field worker from Harlem works in the pepper fields. He earns \$13 a day—the going rate for field work in the Glades. Below left is Frank L. Dixon (75), a retired mill worker. He worked at the U.S. Sugar mill before the mills were organized by the IAM.

CLEWISTON, Fla.—The Chamber of Commerce calls this “The Sweetest City on Earth” and U.S. Sugar Corporation, which last year realized \$7 million profit off the sweat of its workers, fondly refers to its home base as Sugarland.

For the farmworkers who live here, Clewiston and the Glades area have nothing to offer but a bitter harvest of low wages and miserable working and living conditions.

Under the shadow of U.S. Sugar's Clewiston Mill sits Harlem, where over 100 families and retirees live in the most abject poverty in rows of wooden houses condemned by health authorities.

U.S. Sugar built these houses years ago as a camp for Black mill workers. Today, Harlem stands as a grim reminder of the past and a warning of what workers face in the future.

Last year, the tenants fought back a company drive to raise rents from \$12 to \$15.50 per week by forming the Harlem Tenants' Association. But although the workers won this battle, the Association must still collect \$12 a week rent for these condemned shacks.

Frank L. Dixon, a 75-year-old worker who slaved in the mill for 13 years, told the *Bulletin*: “They were going to raise the rent and just let us stay like this. They always refused to make any improvements, but they wanted more rent. We told them to just put us out on the street then.”

Dixon said he started working for the company at 87 cents an hour. When he retired in 1961, he was earning \$1.10 an

hour. Today, with no pension or even gratitude from his former bosses, he lives on welfare and Social Security.

“I've been in this house now 20 years. I don't know how many thousands of dollars I've paid into it,” he said.

He said there is one bathroom for each row of houses. We counted 27 houses to one.

“Some days when we go to the restroom out there we have to wade water, sometimes a few inches. Sometimes you have to go to a cane patch.”

Many of the workers in Harlem do not work for U.S. Sugar. It is no longer a company camp, although the company owns it.

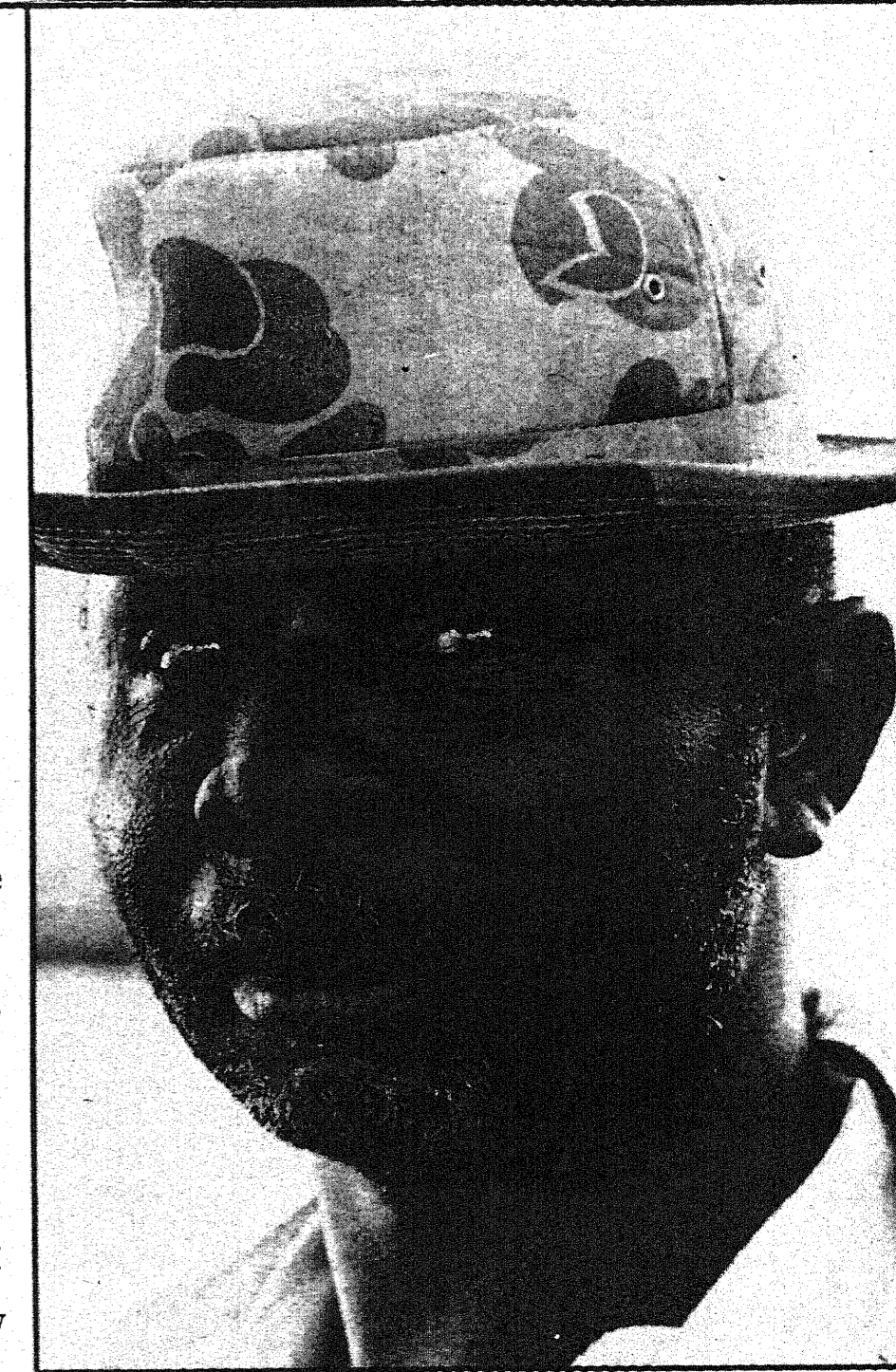
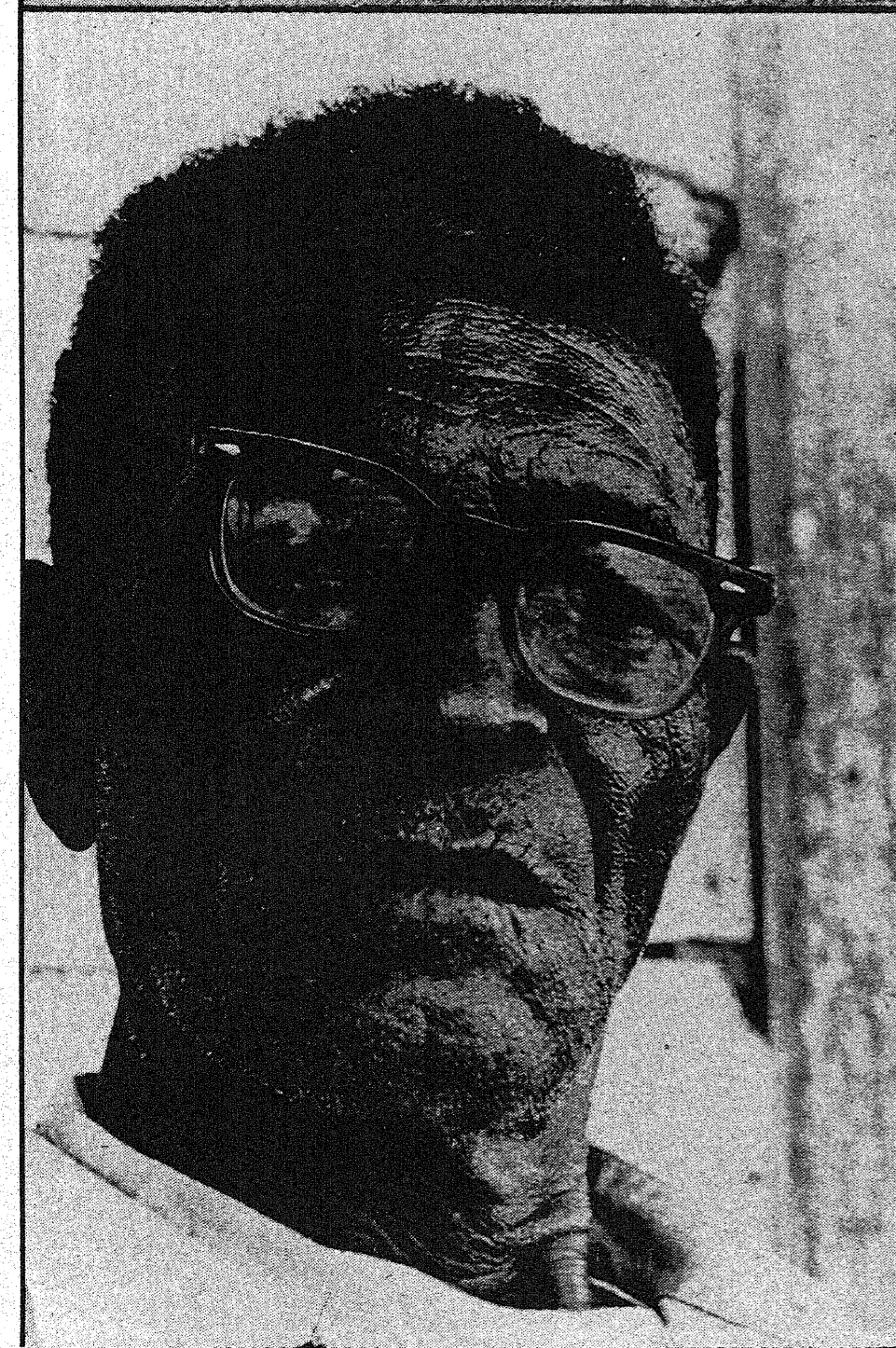
There is no work at this time of year. When there is work, the going rate in the fields is \$13 a day. Some have to be transported about 50 miles every day to the fields. The cane cutters get \$1.85 per hour from U.S. Sugar. Rates are set by the government.

Heavy equipment operators make \$2.35 per hour and are called “tractor drivers.” They are the highest paid workers.

The Tenants' Association, under the leadership of Jesse Robinson, has borrowed money to construct a 126-unit housing project behind Harlem to replace these houses. But the company still owns the land.

Robinson is the chairman of a government sponsored coalition of farmworkers' groups, community leaders, government officials and the growers. It is called the Rural Improvement Council and is under OEO. At their last meeting they voted to invite U.S. Sugar Vice President Fred Sikes to serve on the board of directors.

Now that the Tenants' Association is building a new project, the company is trying to create an image as a great benefactor of farmworkers, taking credit for the efforts of the tenants. This occurred after the bitter struggle waged by the workers against the rent increase.





Lucy St. John Books

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1934-1935). Edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott. Pathfinder Press, 1971. \$3.45, paperback. 364 pages.

Today the greatest impediment to the victorious struggles of the working class for power internationally is the stranglehold of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships in the organizations of the working class. The reformist policies of these leaderships stand in the sharpest contradiction to the needs of the masses whose struggles for wages and jobs now requires revolutionary solutions.

The first responsibility of revolutionary leadership in this crisis must be the theoretical preparation of a cadre through the conscious struggle for leadership against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class.

It is precisely this central understanding of Marxism of the conflict between theory and practice which comes under fire from the centrists today who try to balance between reform and revolution. Centrism's adaptation to spontaneity directly aids the capitalist class and the Stalinist and reformist leaders, facilitating their work of preventing any development of revolutionary consciousness.

This volume of Trotsky's writings documents the bitter struggle of the Trotskyists against centrism. In the 1930's centrist movements arose out of the crisis of reformism and Stalinism. Leaders of organizations like the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist Workers Party of Germany together with forces which had earlier fought with Trotsky like Andre Nin in Spain, and Marcel Pivert in France sought to avoid the fundamental task of constructing a leadership in the working class against Stalinism and the Social Democracy. These centrists posed the gravest dangers to the working class as it entered into revolutionary battles in France and Spain and as the fascists stood in the wings.

FRANCE

In February, 1934, the French Fascists attempted a coup. Although they were unsuccessful the government turned sharply to the right. Trotsky saw France in this period as the key to the international situation.

"The general situation in France puts the entire conscious labor movement before a task of short perspective: either the proletariat will in the course of six months, a year or perhaps the coming two years, destroy fascism and take a tremendous step forward all the way to the struggle for power, or it will itself be destroyed and all of Europe will become the arena for fascist tyranny and war. The pressure of this terrible alternative has forced both of the labor parties to strike out on the road of the united front."

What forced the Social Democracy and the Communist Party into the united front was the upsurge of the masses. Trotsky proposed to the French Trotskyists that they enter into the Socialist Party (SFIO). Sections of this party, particularly the youth, were turning towards Trotskyism. Trotsky conceived the entry as a temporary measure which was necessary in order to turn the party into the struggles of the masses, to fight the right wing and win over members to the Fourth International.

This was critical in a period in which the masses sought a united struggle against reaction but in which the leaderships of the Communist Party and the Social Democracy sought to use the united front as a bloc against the struggle of the



Left, Trotsky disembarks with wife Natalya in Norway. Right, Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov, in France.

masses for power.

UNITED FRONT

The centrists used the slogan of the united front not to tear the masses away from their leaderships and construct the independent revolutionary party but as a way of avoiding the struggle against them. Their talk of "organic" unity was combined with bitter opposition to the struggle for a new International. The Trotskyists fought against the united front being used as an abstract slogan to blur the differences with the two bureaucracies and make it a substitute for the construction of the revolutionary party.

"The task of the Bolshevik-Leninists does not now consist in the repetition of abstract formulas on the united front (workers' alliances, etc.) but in the formulation of definite slogans, concrete activity and the perspective of the struggle on the basis of the policy of a mass united front."

Against all those centrists who called for an "organic" unity of the two bureaucracies and the working class Trotsky wrote:

"The aim of this text is to correct the slogan of organic unity, which is not our slogan. The formula of organic unity—without a program, without concretization—is hollow. As physical nature abhors a vacuum, the formula fills itself with an increasing ambiguous and even reactionary content....Our thesis is that unity of the working class can be realized only on a revolutionary basis."

Today in a period in which the question of power is directly raised centrist organizations like the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) utilize the abstract slogan of the "united working class front", turning it into a strategy. This is done precisely at a point in the class struggle when the fight must be made against the illusions that the militancy of the working class is sufficient to defend its gains. The necessity for the revolutionary party to struggle against the existing consciousness of the working class is denied. For the OCI the united front becomes an umbrella under which it seeks to co-exist with the Stalinists, the reformists and the centrists. The OCI's attack on Marxist theory and the continuity of Trotskyism is its road into an alliance with the very centrists like the POUM in Spain whose forefathers Trotsky fought in the 1930's. Having broken from

the Fourth International the OCI calls for a "regroupment" of these centrists.

PARADES

At the International Youth Conference at Essen last year the OCI split with the International Committee, voting with the centrists against a principled resolution which stated that a revolutionary youth movement could not be constructed outside of the training of the youth in Marxist theory. At its recent so-called international "Pre-Conference" meeting, the OCI and its centrist partners found themselves in disagreement on all the fundamental questions facing the working class.

As Trotsky said of the centrist international gatherings in the 1930's, every attempt is made to gloss over differences and present a picture that all was well. These conferences always evaded the principled and most important questions facing the working class.

"The Bolsheviks have no reason for uniting with the centrists. Hollow international parades are no use to us. Revolutionists do not flirt with centrists at conferences but carry on tireless day-to-day work against them in their own countries, and they participate in their own revolutionary conferences, where they do not blow soap bubbles but discuss and decide the questions of the class struggle."

One thing the centrists in the 1930's did agree upon was the opposition to the formation of the Fourth International.

Organizations like the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, which had in 1933 signed the "Declaration of Four" calling for a new international, joined with the Independent Labour Party and other centrists in 1934 and 1935 in fighting against its formation. Claiming to agree in "general," these centrists said that this was not the time to form a new international, in a period of defeat for the working class, but that some time in the future the new International would come out of the "historical process."

"...the centrists from the SAP—think abstractly, abstracting themselves from historical reality: somehow, sometime the work will be done, the working class movement will be 'renovated.' It seems to them that they have an unlimited credit as to time. But when the question is posed of fascism or of war, it is more difficult to hoodwink oneself and others, for the pers-

pective is not distant and amorphous but very close and distinct. Fascism at its own tempo, independently of centrist calculations. It is necessary to resist by revolutionary methods, right now, immediately. It is necessary to not to adapt oneself to the subjective condition of the neighbors on the right who invoke the argument about the masses but to explain openly to the masses the objective dangers. Whoever actually fulfills this labor prepares the Fourth International; he does not have and he cannot have any reasons for hiding his banner."

THEORY

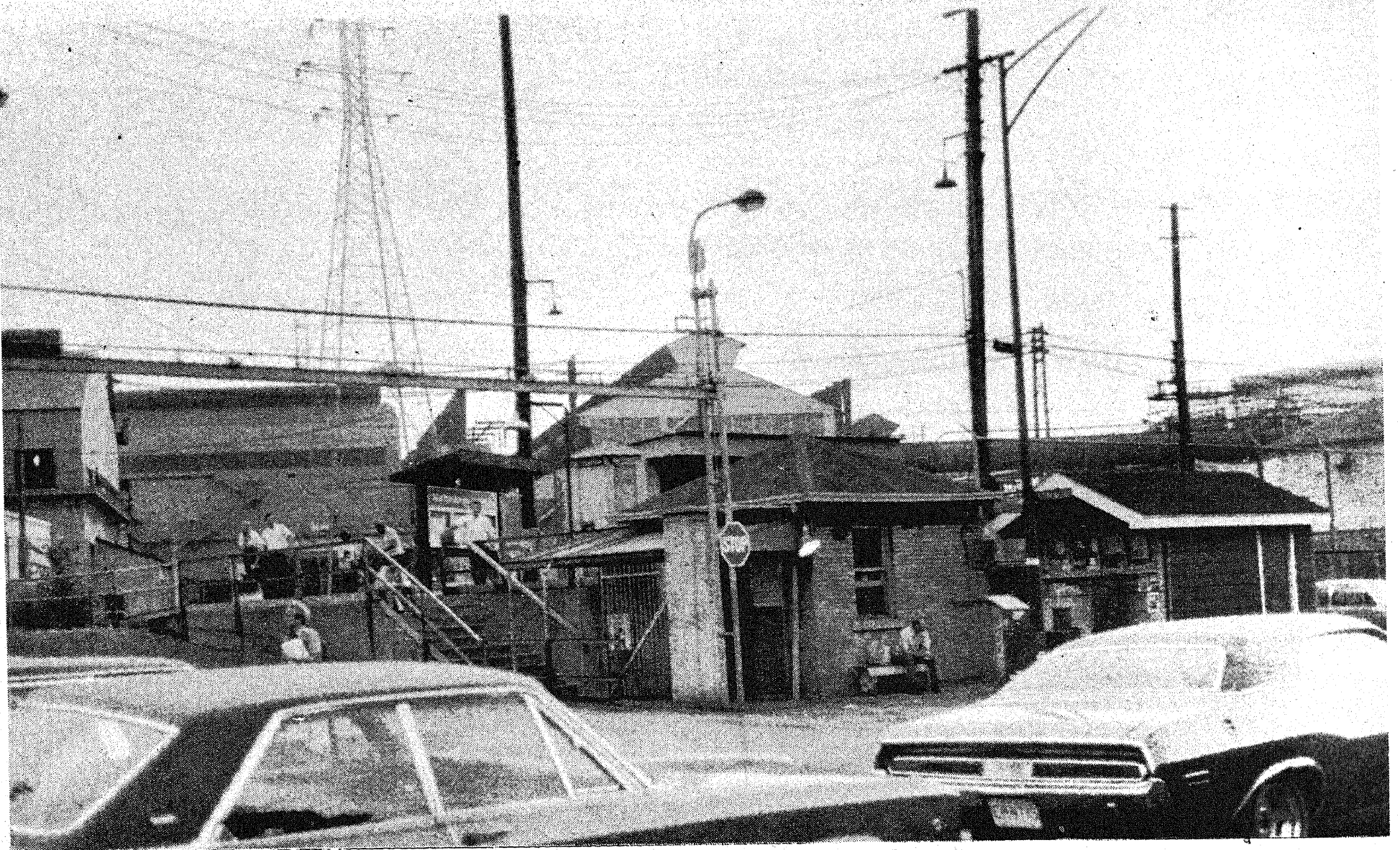
Behind the centrists' talk about "historical process" was their rejection of the conscious role of the revolutionary party in the working class. It does away with the conflict between Marxist theory and the spontaneous consciousness of the working class.

It is this rejection of the conflict between theory and practice which lies behind the OCI's position that all you need today is a program, that the working class will be forced eventually to take up through an "organic" development.

The OCI is joined by the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. in its attack on the International Committee's insistence on the fight for Marxist philosophy. The SWP denies the crisis of leadership, counterposing a natural development through the "New Radicalization." In this way they avoid the central struggle against Stalinism. Their adaptation to middle class movements and their refusal to wage an independent struggle for the political independence of the working class through the fight for a labor party strengthens the Stalinists.

The working class today faces a capitalist class which is turning more and more to repressive measures and destruction of the unions. As it becomes more and more necessary to resist by revolutionary methods, centrism with its theories that revolutionary parties can be developed naturally out of the radicalization of the working class or through regrouping "leftward moving" forces becomes extremely dangerous.

This is why the lessons from the struggles of the Trotskyist movement against centrism are so critical today for preparing the revolutionary party to fight for the leadership of the working class.



Speed-up methods at US Steel Southworks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—Eight thousand men are presently employed at United States Steel Southworks here. Since 1970, members of United Steel Workers of America Local 65 have been plagued with the "Quality Workmanship, Delivery on Time" (QW-DOT) program. It was developed in the heat of the economic problems of the 1970s that threatened the existence of Southworks.

From one end of production to the other, the bosses at the mill have done everything possible to step up the productivity in the plant. There are two ways of doing this. One is by taking men off a job and forcing two men to do the job of three. The other is through layoffs.

The Basic Oxygen Process (BOP) is a recent addition to the mill. The BOP is part of the technological improvements that have changed basic steel throughout the world. It replaced the open hearth and meant less time and less men on each ton of steel.

The management of Southworks was not satisfied just with the increased efficiency of the new process. They slid in speed-ups which were not easy to point out because of the unfamiliar process. In spite of this, the BOP shop was met by resistance from workers who recognized the significance of this massive labor-saving process.

GRIEVANCES

The problem of grievances and the threat of wildcats forced a

program on the BOP shop which is the epitome of what the employers have in mind for all workers.

Bob Alberts, the man the company put at the head of the shop, is the kind of middle class liberal who loves his job and does Boy's Club work. On his days off he mulls over new plans to attack the workers in the 400 man shop.

In December, 1970, Southworks claimed it was losing \$120,000 a year on defective pouring rates of certain workers in the shop who pour the molten steel. Now they say they are losing practically nothing. Alberts says that the efficiency was gained because of his plan.

His first idea was to create teams of four men who were pitted against one another. The winners got their pictures taken with the foreman and treated to a dinner of Polish sausage.

Then Alberts, who says he enjoys nothing more than a good steak dinner, instituted individual all-star awards. For the effort forced on the steel workers, Alberts gave tie clasps, baseball caps, money clips, T-shirts and other junk. By April of 1972 the defective pour rate, he

said, had reached .5 percent.

Alberts' motto and that of the capitalist class is summed up in his sentence, "The amazing thing about the whole QW-DOT program is that it hasn't taken \$20 bills or savings bonds. What it is really is that each day we just try to have a little fun together."

SPEED-UP

The workers in the plant and particularly in the BOP shop have another story to tell. Over and over, the bosses and the union leadership hammer into the steelworker that he must keep up with foreign steel in order to keep the plant open. But this is a deep contradiction to the worker who sees that the constant speed-up puts his job in line for removal.

The entire economic situation is responsible for falling rate of absenteeism and the lower turnover rate, not any better plant policies as the company claims. Workers just cannot leave the rotten conditions at Southworks for a better job because others do not exist.

Right now many workers are worried that their jobs will have been eliminated with new

machinery that the company could move in over the two week shutdown.

Teams of engineers have been rolling around the plant, timing and checking in the period since the 1971 contract. Jobs have been eliminated with or without machines to take their place. In the 96 inch tube mill, the finishing end of the process, the teams of engineers and time study men are still at work. They have already succeeded in reducing the job of four men, who used to handle the scrap metal, to that of one. "And that's the kind of machinery that they can put in in two weeks time. It's entirely possible," said one worker in the mill.

STEWARDS

The stewards file grievances against these attacks, yet the grievances are piled up. One worker who filed a grievance over a year ago spoke bitterly of the plant policy of violating seniority rights so that anyone being elected a griever can be put in the top spot in the shop so the company can keep an eye on and hold a hammer over his head.

Workers at USS Gary works speak bitterly of the company policy of "putting the hat on" a man. But there are other methods used by the capitalists to limit the ability of the workers to oppose new attacks.

A steelworker in the new 16 inch tube mill raised the point that every new griever elected to the shop is limited by past practice. This is the company's method for deciding disputes and the criteria is the past practice in the mill. Any worker that is elected over an old griever has to contend with all the attacks that the old griever allowed to go through.

But a bigger problem is posed in the situation in the new mill. He explained that the company broke old policy and built this new pipe mill separate from the old long mill that house various operations.

Now the management has changed the seniority system so that men transferring to the new mill lose seniority rights that they would have kept had they been transferred inside the old, larger operation. This "experiment" is to be carried out in other places. This policy cannot be grieved because it is not covered by past practice.

CONVENTION

The company is not subject to the past practice rule. They can bring in new technological processes with plant policies to aid in carrying them out and the union grievance procedure is helpless.

Two of the central questions before the upcoming steel convention are layoffs and productivity.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MADISON, Wis.—Close to 100 persons attended the Midwest Weekend of Education and Recreation held here Sept. 16-17 by the Workers League and Young Socialists. This is the first of three such regional camps to be held this fall and the first one ever held at an actual camp site in the Midwest.

The camp concerned itself with an understanding of and preparation for the class struggles ahead in the United States. It approached an understanding of the crisis which is preparing these struggles in two ways. First was a discussion of the essential features of capitalism and the second concerned the historical development of the United States which has shaped both the thinking of the working class and the way in which the capitalist crisis manifests itself in this country.

Dennis O'Casey spoke on "A Methodological Approach to Marx's Capital." O'Casey explained how American capitalism, far from being any "exception," actually has developed in the purest way because of the lack of a feudal past and therefore now most closely approximates the capitalism Marx discusses in *Capital*. Only through a study of Marx's *Capital* from the viewpoint of the Marxist method can any understanding be achieved of political developments today and what is in store for the American working class, he asserted.

O'Casey explained how the commodity has two contradictory aspects to it, its "use value," that is what it can be used for, and its "value," or what it is worth. Value, he noted, is expressed not in itself but in terms of another commodity. For example, a pencil is worth the same as a box of paper clips. In time all different commodities express their values in the single use value of a single commodity, money, in most cases gold.

DISTORTED

Today, O'Casey stressed, the relationship between this universal equivalent, gold, and all commodities has been distorted beyond simple repair through the paper money system to a point where the entire international capitalist system is threatened with collapse. Money no longer expresses the real value of commodities but it is only through this expression that the capitalist system is able to work, employing workers and producing wealth. This, he insisted, is what lies behind the growth of unemployment today, the attacks upon the working class and the tremendous economic convulsions which lie immediately ahead.

Tim Wohlforth gave two talks on American history, one on the American Revolution and the other on the American Civil War.

America was settled for purposes of profit, he stressed. A strong capitalist commercial class developed in the North while a planter class based on slavery flourished in the South. The American Revolution was brought about because of a collision of these classes with the bourgeois class which ruled England over conflicting economic interests brought about precisely by the growth of capitalism in America.

For this reason the theoretical preparation of the American Revolution was of an extremely superficial character. It was largely a matter of evoking the memory of the Puritan Revolution which occurred 100 years earlier in England, and borrowing from various pro-Whig writers in England.

Thus the American bourgeoisie was never forced even into the level of ideological struggle that the bourgeoisie of Europe brought forth in the struggle against feudalism. From the beginning ideas were imported along with manufactured goods and put to use to fit the immediate needs of the fresh bourgeois class. This was the historical origins of pragmatism.

AGRARIAN

Wohlforth noted that class struggles played a predominant role in early America virtually from the landing of the Pilgrims. The character of this struggle was dominated by the agrarian character of the society whose wealth was produced primarily through export of agricultural commodities to Europe and the com-

mercial operations related to this.

Thus the great battles were between the small farming class on the one side and the dominant commercial capitalists and planters on the other. The United States Constitution was consciously constructed as a weapon to maintain bourgeois rule particularly over the rebellious petty bourgeois farmer. It was also written on the basis of the recognition of slavery from which both the North and the South profited immensely.

REVOLUTIONARY

The period which led up to the American Civil War is of great importance for us today because we, too, are in a period of preparation of great revolutionary developments. Very few, even on the very eve of the Civil War, were willing to recognize that the "irrepressible conflict" between a system of slave labor and a system of free labor was now coming to an head. The abolitionists were a small minority right up to the Civil War itself. But the underlying conflict between the unrelenting drive towards expansion of the cotton-based slave society and the tre-

mendous growth of American capitalism in the East and Midwest could not be compromised as it had been for 200 years of American history.

Today we live in a period similar to 1854 when almost from out of nowhere the Republican Party was born in Ripon, Wisconsin. Within two years of its birth, it had replaced the Whig Party as the second party of the country and within six years, it had elected Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. We are seeing the Democratic Party decay and break up as did the old Whig Party and the conditions created for a new political party in America. This time the party must be on a different class base and led consciously.

Wohlforth described Lincoln's conduct of the Civil War and the critique made of this by Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels insisted that the war could only be won if it was conducted as a revolutionary war for the emancipation of the slaves. In the end, Lincoln was forced to go over to revolutionary policies bringing some 400,000 Blacks decisively into the Union Army, defeating the Confederacy and freeing the slaves.

Wohlforth described how the Congress, only after a bitter struggle against Lincoln's conservative policies carried forward by Andrew Johnson, confiscated without compensation four billion dollars worth of slaves and wiped out hundreds of millions more of wealth in the South by re-

fusing to honor the debts and currency of the Confederacy. It then imposed a revolutionary military rule on the South and enforced universal suffrage. This in turn led to the country's first propertyless legislatures which were overwhelmingly Black in places like South Carolina.

These bodies, he stressed, have been much attacked because of corruption and manipulation by unscrupulous Northerners. What is overlooked is both the progressive and democratic character of the legislation passed in the period, free schools and the like, and the role of the Southern former slave-holders in the corrupting process.

LIMITATION

The great limitation of the Reconstruction legislatures, Wohlforth stated, was rather the unavoidable limitation of the agrarian character of the South. The outlook of the former slave was the same as the poor white farmer—he wanted only land to set himself up also as a farmer. It was therefore very much within the limits of agrarian radicalism which, by accepting the capitalist system itself, could never overcome the consequences of the system in the crushing of the small capitalist farmer.

The strength of Lincoln lay in that once he committed himself to a policy he carried it through all the way. However, he reflected the character of his class in seeking to avoid, wherever possible, any such commitment, any revolutionary policy. He was able to carry through the Civil War and end slavery only because his class was already in power and had great economic wealth in the North. If we proceed today with the method of Lincoln, with his hostility to theoretical thought, we cannot possibly meet the responsibility of revolutionary leadership posed before us now, for the working class is a propertyless class.

Wohlforth stressed the great price we still must pay because of all the compromises which emerged from out of the Civil War, as much a product of the class which led the war as the abolition of slavery. While the planter class was ruined, it was never completely defeated through expropriating its estates. More important, the Northern bourgeoisie towards the end of the nineteenth century, faced with the growth of the industrial working class, collaborated with the remnants of the old Southern planter class and other elements of the Southern bourgeoisie to perpetuate a race system. The result was to hold down the wages of both Black and white workers in the South and North.

Today, reaction and fascist movements always rest on the historical myths and baggage stemming from the compromises following the Civil War. Fascism ideologically in the United States always emerges from out of the South.

RADICALISM

At the same time agrarian radicalism, its material base long since wiped out in this most industrialized of nations, persists in various forms of middle class radicalism which seek to subordinate the working class to the middle class through a struggle of the "people" against the "establishment." So today we have agrarian radicalism being tapped by the liberal McGovern and the Southern reactionary Wallace, and being succumbed to in the form of "new radicalization" and nationalism by both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party.

In the course of the discussion Wohlforth insisted that particularly in the Middle West there needed to be a study of this history and a sharp fight against the resurgence of these middle class radical tendencies.

An enthusiastic audience contributed \$458.20 to the Bulletin Fund Drive. The tremendous interest in theory was shown by the sale of \$105 in literature. Greetings were sent to Juan Farinas and \$28 contributed to the Defense Committee. Greetings were also sent to the First National Conference of German Trotskyist Youth to be held shortly in Essen.

With excellent weather many went swimming and boating on Lake Mendota. A special vote of thanks was extended to the cook who not only provided excellent meals but contributed his pay to the Bulletin Fund Drive.



Midwest Educational Weekend Irrepressible Conflict- 1861 & 1972



Behind The Monetary Crisis

Bankers Plan To Provoke Worldwide Unemployment

BY DAVID NORTH

The total failure of the Nixon Administration to make any headway in dealing with the economic crisis within the United States and internationally was tacitly acknowledged Friday by Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

Speaking before a subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, Burns warned that a dangerous "credit crunch" could develop unless Congress took immediate steps to impose a \$250 billion ceiling on government spending.

The record leap in the money supply—now increasing at a rate of more than eight percent a year—has been allowed by Nixon in order to create a certain buoyancy in the American economy and a pick up in the Gross National Product.

But Burns made it clear that the price for this limited upturn has been the deepening threat of a runaway inflation. The budget deficit already stands at \$35 billion for the current fiscal year, up \$12 billion from last year.

ATTACKS

By demanding that Congress take action to halt government spending, Burns is proposing that sharp attacks be made on the American working class through the deliberate increase in unemployment.

Sections of industry now enormously dependent upon government outlays, especially aerospace, would be hit with devastating force by a cutback in federal spending.

Although denying that he proposed such a step immediately, Burns also pointed out that a rise in the federal interest rate could become necessary to control inflation.

CONTROLS

It is now taken for granted that Nixon will take action to tighten controls on wages. Referring to

the continuing inflation, the New York Times wrote on September 11:

"The dangers posed by these threats suggest not only the need for tighter fiscal and monetary policy but also the need for stricter enforcement of the controls program and the need to retain the stabilization mechanism beyond its scheduled expiration date next April 30."

The statements by Burns make it clear that the period after the November elections will be marked by an all-out attack on the working class. Although the Pay Board has held down wages and in spite of the fact that productivity gains are running at the very high rate of 4.4 percent the economic crisis is so deep that preparations are now being made for a complete wage freeze and a tremendous rise in unemployment.

The policy outlined by Burns for the domestic situation is in keeping with the demands made by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—dominated by the same U.S. bankers for whom Burns speaks—for dealing with inflation in Europe and Japan.

Attacking "inappropriate national policies," the IMF called upon Europe and Japan to assume a get tough policy on wages of the working class in their countries.

The United States is pressing for Britain to adopt a wage freeze.

All the policies outlined by Burns and the IMF for the capitalist class internationally are under the shadow of irreconcilable divisions between the different countries.

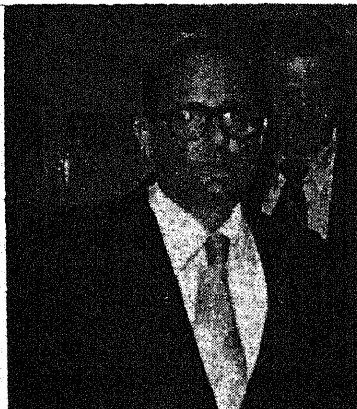
The failure of the upcoming conference of the IMF is already guaranteed by the United States'

refusal to discuss the resumption of gold convertibility—suspended on August 15, 1971—for which the Europeans have been pressing.

The intransigence of the United States on this issue was demonstrated by Nixon's veto of Pierre-Paul Schweitzer's re-election as managing director of the IMF. During the past year, Schweitzer had publicly fought former Treasury Secretary John Connolly over the U.S. gold policy.

At the same time, the prospects for the October conference of the Common Market are bleak. Especially since the de facto devaluation of the British pound last spring, the Common Market has been increasingly split into hostile camps over the question of establishing a re-alignment of currencies and the role of gold.

Even as Europe is faced with the threat of trade war from the United States, it is hopelessly divided on how this danger should be met. The European governments are only agreed on the need to challenge the working class.



Watergate defendant B. Barker. See story below.

Editor's Notebook

Poor Richard
Worth \$765,000



Nixon as Vice President in 1954.

Few will probably remember Nixon's infamous "Checkers" speech when he ran with Eisenhower in the 1952 election but it is worth recalling today. This was a real tear jerker with Pat claiming that all she had was a "cloth coat" and Nixon claiming he was just a poor farm boy. Ending his speech Nixon said that the only gift that he ever accepted was his dog "Checkers" which he was not going to give up.

Of course, 20 years have changed a lot of things. Checkers is dead and the Nixon's have padded their pockets considerably—to the tune of almost a million dollars. Last week the White House announced Nixon's net worth at \$765,000, a \$168,218 jump since he has resided in the White House, not to mention the jump since the days of the "cloth coat."

This is not just the question

of the corruption of an individual but of the capitalist class itself, which seeks desperately today to protect its profits at the expense of the working class. Nixon was groomed for the presidency by a particularly pugnacious section of this class that accumulated its fortunes in the boom through land speculation.

Having feathered his nest and after a new face lifting and a new wardrobe for Pat from only the "best boutiques," Nixon is getting ready to step up his war on the working class.

Love Story

As you may recall, Yevgeni Yevtushenko had something of a whirlwind tour through the United States earlier this year. Almost everyone who is anyone on the social register invited Brezhnev's favorite poet to dine in their mansions and pent houses and Yevtushenko even clinked champagne glasses with Henry Kissinger.

But it now turns out that Yevtushenko's American holiday was even more exciting than his public appearances indicated. It seems that he fell for a girl named Hannah with "Lolita hands" whom he has immortalized in an epic poem published in the current issue of *Seventeen*. But don't rush to the newsstand. We'll quote three lines that best reveal Yevtushenko's gift for poetic imagery:

Desire smoldered through
our eyelashes/and on your

breast arose/two cranberries
from St. Louis.

The very least that this apologist for Stalinism should know is that cranberries just don't come from St. Louis.

Hard Times

Big executives in the U.S. are really having a rough time of it; they just can't seem to get enough. This one is a real shame. John McRittenhouse, chairman of the board of the Allied Pickle Corporation, said the other day that he "could barely make ends meet" on his annual salary—\$210,000.

"The confiscatory tax situation in my income bracket," he moaned, "leaves me virtually insolvent. In order to maintain my family in reasonable comfort, I am forced to dip into capital."

Watergate Arrests Expose Nixon Ties To Right

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The latest developments in the break-in and bugging of the Democratic National Headquarters illustrate the dangerous move to the right on the part of the capitalist class.

The Justice Department has now announced the completion of its probe into the Watergate break-in in which five men were arrested last June 17.

These five, led by ex-CIA agents James McCord and Bernard Barker, have now been indicted on conspiracy charges. Former White House aides G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt have also been charged.

At the same time, a spokesman for the Justice Department explained: "We have absolutely no evidence to indicate that others should be charged."

Since the finger of suspicion in this affair is now pointing more and more to such men as Maurice Stans and John Mitchell, this attitude on the part of the Justice Department is not surprising. Stans is the chief fundraiser for the Nixon re-election campaign, a former Secretary of Commerce and a long time close

associate of the President.

PARTNER

Mitchell is another partner of Nixon's who resigned as Attorney General early this year in order to head the Committee to Re-elect the President, a post he resigned from rather abruptly after the Watergate arrests.

McCord is the former head of security for the Committee to Re-elect the President. That was his position on the very night he was found in the Democratic Headquarters with sophisticated eavesdropping equipment. The obvious question is what Mr. McCord's motives were and under whose instructions such a highly placed official of the Republican high command were engaged in these pursuits.

McCord's assistant, Steve King, was named last week by Martha Mitchell as the security

agent who slapped and pushed her and ripped her phone out of the wall as she was complaining to a newspaper correspondent about the "dirty things that go on" just a few days after the break-in itself.

This same Mr. King has now been promoted to the post of chief of security for the Committee to Re-elect the President, succeeding his old boss McCord.

DELAYED

Both the trial of the seven accused as well as a suit brought by the Democrats against the Nixon campaign are almost certain to be delayed until after the elections.

One of the leaders of the break-in, however, Bernard Barker, gave an interview to the *New York Times*. Although Barker demonstrates nothing but complete loyalty to the unnamed men who assigned him to his espionage task, he is also at pains to show the world that he is no ordinary criminal. In the course of this, he reveals a bit more about

the forces involved in this whole affair.

McGOVERN

Barker makes no attempt to deny his role. Explaining that the election of McGovern would "be the beginning of a trend that would lead to socialism and Communism," Barker insists that he will never talk about the details of the break-in and explains why: "This is the way these things are. You know it before you get there. You work, you help because you're supposed to help, because you're needed. And when you're not needed, then you forget about it."

PARAMILITARY

Boasting about his paramilitary associations, Barker explains that he and his associates were not engaged in their activities for money, but for "something else," a righteous cause.

"I've never looked at myself as a burglar," complained Barker. "It is very repulsive to me when I read the 'alleged burglar'—this

gripes me. I think more as a cop and not as a burglar."

INVOLVED

It is clear that Barker was involved at the top levels of the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in 1961 and that during the year he was living in Cuba after Castro came to power he was engaged in various military and sabotage activities against the new government.

The turn on the part of the capitalists to pro-fascist and paramilitary elements such as these is taking place now, not in the distant future. As the crisis deepens nothing will stop the ruling class from turning more and more directly to these and larger groups of dedicated anti-communists to break up meetings, threaten and attack left-wing and union militants, and carry out acts of terror and sabotage.

This is just what the law and order men must do to protect capitalist law and order as they viciously attack any expression of working class opposition.

WILLIE BROWN is a member of and a delegate from the Social Service Employees Union Local 371. He works at the Kingsbridge Social Service Center in New York.



I think as a whole *The Case For a Labor Party* is very good. It is precise and to the point. Everything in the book reflects what is happening in my job, to the youth and to the working force as a whole.

The Republican Convention is a good example of what is happening. They had wealthy people there like Frank Sinatra who was indicted for working with the Mafia. This shows that the Mafia is involved in big business. Sinatra has a lot of money and he was there.

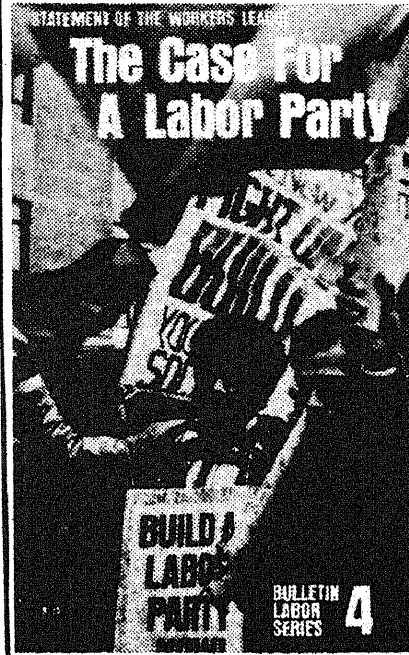
I particularly like the part of the statement of the Workers League about the economy and big business

and I agree with your evaluation of the economic crisis we're in. You have to be blind not to see the crisis. For example, in my job in the welfare center, we have been without a pay increase since December 24, 1970, the day I started. I still haven't received an increase and the Pay Board cut our increases for the second and third year. But taxes are going up and up in the meantime so in actual fact my salary has decreased because of the high taxes.

On the question of the labor party and the Democrats, I don't think the Democrats are any alternative to Nixon and the present system. In fact they're part of it. McGovern and Nixon's programs are the programs of big business. I would love to see a change in the system as a whole. That's why I think a labor party is important, because it's a change.

I agree with the part in the book about

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.

In regard to the union leaders, I think Meany should fight for a labor party. He seems satisfied with the two party system. He's not taking a stand. He's under the table like the rest of them. All the labor leaders are tied in together. I read in the Bulletin about the Black organizer being murdered in Philadelphia. It was a big frame-up but the labor leaders didn't publicize it.

I agree with the Workers League's call for a conference on a labor party in Chicago. You have to mobilize and build a movement for a labor party to win people over to your program. The program is a good program. I can't see why people would continue to support a system that has kept them down, but I also see that the system has brainwashed people. But now in this period of crisis a lot of people are disturbed. If a labor party can't grab people now a good opportunity is being missed. The period we're in now is like the 1930's. That's how I look at this period.

nationalization. I agree that the working class should participate to the fullest extent by controlling industry themselves. Under capitalism the working class does not make decisions. We are controlled by the capitalists.

But I am concerned about the fate of Black people, particularly poor and working class Black people. I understand that we don't have much of a chance under capitalism, but I have doubts as to whether Black people or rather how Black people could fit into socialism. Nevertheless I know that capitalism is responsible for racism and for oppression of Black people. It's got to be capitalism.

I think that any system we set up has to serve all of the people—like it says in the statement. I think capitalism can still make certain reforms but they won't serve the mass, only the leaders—particularly the trade union leaders. I think the union leaders should fight for a labor party and I think the SSEU should take the lead in this fight.

trade unionists and we don't have any. We have George Meany and people like that who call themselves trade union people, but they aren't, they're administration people.

The rank and file workers are at an impasse right now. We have our hands tied because the people who are in positions to be a voice for us will not get out and say and do the things which must be done in order to let the Administration know that the people are tired of what is going on. I think it is going to boil down to fighting in the streets the way things are going.

I think that a labor party offers the best alternative going so far that I know anything about. Except for a few points in the Manifesto, I think that all the things hit the nail right on the head.

I do not think that nationalization can be done. It is not a viable alternative. You would have to shake this country up completely for something like that to happen. If it could be done, half the battle would be solved.

Even the people who are suffering the most under this Administration, or the democratic administration, or whatever administration happens to be out there, I do not think the traditions allow them to think about something like nationalization. You would have to radicalize workers' thinking completely. Otherwise, it would not take hold.

If you could do nationalization, it would work but I don't think anybody's going to listen to that. Most of the rank and file people in my position would not go for it unless they know the situation is totally beyond repair and there was nothing they could do. It would take something akin to a national disaster to make them think about nationalizing anything.

To my mind's eye, the only way you're going to get some changes is to really shake people up and that calls for revolution; that's what it comes down to, plain and simple. I can't see any other way. You cannot reason with them because they're not going to listen to you.

The problems is, we as the ordinary working people don't know who THEY are, and they know who WE are, through union membership. They have access to all the files, so they can spot check and pick out all the people they think are dissidents. What we are going to have to do as rank and file members is first identify the enemy. We know it's the administration, that's the obvious one, but it's the insidious ones, the ones in the shadows that pose the threat, like the union bureaucrats.

In the ballot box we can always take the lesser of the two evils, but that's only heightening or lessening the situation, it's not CHANGING anything. So first we have to locate the people who we REALLY have to deal with, then get together a strategy.

To sum up all of my feelings about the labor party, about the labor movement and change so far as the rank and file working class is concerned, the only thing that is going to get us out of the situation we are in today is revolution, plain and simple. Not revolution like getting women into more positions, I mean revolution of the gun. That's what it boils down to.

This Manifesto is sounding the death knell to a lot of people in very comfortable positions, and they are not going to stand still for it. They think they even have the U.S. Marines behind them. But we've got the masses. You've got to fight. That's it.

JOHNNY STEVENS is a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

Layoffs are getting more common in the garment industry. The union leaders are starting to work closer and closer with the establishment. We see it now with our union representatives. Unless we have documented facts to prove our grievances, they won't do anything about them.

The only raises we get now are mandatory raises. We don't get raises according to whether or not we work better or harder. We find ourselves competing with foreign labor and they get paid a lot less in the other countries. People are getting laid off right and left, shops are closing. It's getting out of hand.

Any change that the rank and file of my union—ILGWU—make would have to be a total change—no bits and pieces. It could not be a patchwork job. It would have to be a complete

overturn of what is going on now. I think that is what scares the union leaders.

Personally, I was not directly threatened, but they have warned me about discussing the Manifesto with other workers in my shop.

One of the union representatives came up to me and asked me what was going on, and I explained to him that we needed some kind of alternative. Our life style is going down the drain and it is getting harder and harder to live.

The labor leaders are advocates of the status quo; they like everything as it is right now. If any changes have to come, they want them to come gradually with no big shakeup in their positions. All the people with positions of power in the union are making nice salaries. They just do not accept any threat to that.

When I first joined the union about 10 years ago, we used to have a pretty full house at union meetings, about 400 workers. Things used to get done. Not too many things, but in the things we really pushed for, we got results. As the years went by, in the early 1960s, attendance at the meetings dropped off. It's not that they're not interested, but they feel powerless. There's nothing being done.

The Manifesto is the best thing going that I know about to alleviate the problem. We need people in government who are

STEEL CONVENTION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

"But I want to tell you very frankly that I resent this association with General Motors, United States Steel, and General Electric very much. If we have power, I contend the record will prove it is power to improve the conditions of life for people. That is what our power is used for. It is not power to satisfy the greed of some people, and to associate us with General Motors and with the great corporations as to our motives I resent very much."

Perhaps the most significant part of Meany's speech was that it was extended to an attack not only on McGovern, but the Democratic Party and on the Democratic-controlled Congress and the Johnson Administration, which Meany had supported.

Meany went on to attack not only Nixon and his economic advisor, Arthur Burns, but the Democrats and their economic advisors:

"And then we have Mr. Galbraith, John Kenneth Galbraith, another economic jittersbugger. His solution is controls on big labor and big business. In other words, to control the basic industries, to control the wages like auto, steel, construction, aerospace, things of that type. And a little compulsion in there, but not compulsion for everybody, only in the basic industries."

"Now incidentally about this fellow Galbraith—he said a few months ago and get this, that the American trade union movement is the most reactionary force in America. We are the most reactionary force in America."

"Now the odd thing about this fellow Galbraith, on the day, the morning after the convention chose its candidate, he was in a state of ecstasy over the outcome."

"And on the Today Show he was asked by an economist-philosopher lib Bill Buckley: 'Well, now you got your candidate, how are you going to get him elected?' And Galbraith said: 'Well, we need labor. Not just the rank and file of labor, we need the leaders too because they have the political know how, they have

the organization. They know how to get out the vote.' Well, if I have ever heard a sample of colossal gall, this was this fellow who was denouncing us one day, and the next day telling us that he needed us."

It was strikingly clear that while both Meany and Abel were not just blasting McGovern but the entire Democratic Party, the supporters of McGovern argued openly for loyalty to the Democratic Party.

Above all it was and is the refusal of Meany and Abel to cut through this neutrality by breaking completely with the Democrats and beginning the organization of the labor party that has strengthened the pro-McGovern forces. This was expressed most clearly by Delegate Guagliardo of Local 3913. Guagliardo stated:

"I rise Mr. Chairman, and I appeal to each and every one of you delegates to remember the Democratic Party and only the Democratic Party. It was the Democratic Party who made this union. They helped you, they never turned you down. Let's stand behind the party that helped feed us and let's not throw them down the drain."

On the other side, a number of anti-endorsement delegates reiterated the position of Meany in attacking the Democrats and supporting the need for a declaration of independence by the labor movement. Delegate Floyd Chambers, Local 1299 stated:

"I think the greatest stand that labor can take today is non-endorsement because when you have two candidates in the race, and neither one of them have been friendly to labor, then it's time that we unite ourselves to present a united front on behalf of all organized labor and tell to every candidate that runs, whether he be Democrat or whether he be Republican: 'If you do not support labor, labor's views, then to hell with you. We will not give you our support.'"

Another delegate, a member of the resolutions committee, spoke along the same lines and complained of the "lack of choice in the elections." The lack of choice reflected in the refusal of Meany

and Abel to fight for a labor party was the reason for the weakness and near impotence of the delegates in the face of the aggressive demand of the McGovern people not to break with the Democrats.

In addition, it is the refusal of the leadership to establish a labor party that encourages conservative and reactionary tendencies.

This in turn feeds the Communist Party which placed the fight to endorse McGovern above all issues at the convention. Undoubtedly, the CP will continue to picture the opposition to McGovern as "right-wing."

In reality, it was the arguments against the Democrats on issues of the wage freeze and attacks on labor and other economic issues rather than the issue of Vietnam which was the basis of the hostility to McGovern expressed at the convention.

I.W. Abel attempted to cut through this paralysis by renewing the attack on the Democrats in his closing remarks in the debate.

"I have heard mention of the Little Steel Strike and people tell us what transpired then. Well I was there."

"I recall when the jailhouses were filled up; when they took over the basements of our public schools to lock up those who were

attempting to build this union. And I would remind you that in my part of the country, Canton, Ohio, the Sheriff of that city was a Democrat. And I would remind you that the Governor of the great state of Ohio was a Democrat. And I would remind you that the Mayor of the great city of Chicago where the massacre took place was a Democrat."

"And I would remind you this afternoon because of the treatment afforded the leaders building this union of ours on that day that we formed Labor's Non-Partisan League as a political arm of this great industrial union we were building. And I emphasize again the name that we took for that political organization: Labor's Non-Partisan League, again indicating our independence."

"And with that structure for political action we retired to private life the Sheriff and retired to private life Governor Martin L. Davy of the state of Ohio."

However, while the question of the labor party was not raised in the form of a motion at the convention, this question could not be avoided, and was raised on the floor of the convention. Ironically, it was left to a reluctant McGovern supporter, who supported McGovern only because there was no alternative presented, to make the only state-

ment thus far on the convention floor on the need for a labor party.

Delegate John T. Hannigan, Local 3052 stated: "The Democratic Party has for the most part supported labor's view. In view of these facts we really have no choice but to support Democratic Party candidates in the upcoming election—and that means all of them. However, I agree with Mr. Meany and you in your assessment of the total political picture. Too many candidates have taken our campaign funds and then voted against us."

"The answer of course is the labor party with candidates from our own ranks. Organized labor has 80 million members (families included), comprising a third of the population in the United States of America, and more than enough for a third political party—a labor party. But until we achieve our own party we must face reality and support the candidate of the Democratic Party."

It is significant that when Meany speaks of the mail that he has gotten on the issue of the presidential candidates, he refers to it as almost all negative mail, with most of the letters opposing either Nixon or opposing McGovern. The working class must now go beyond this negativism to organize a labor party in order to defend itself against the new attacks that are now taking place.

GMAD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

on the issue. At the regular monthly meeting last Thursday a number of proposals were put before the union body. One was to stay in the plant and institute a slowdown, the second was to call out the St. Louis plant on strike and attempt to settle their dispute locally, and the third was to call on Woodcock and the International to institute a nationwide shutdown of all 18 GMAD plants.

The men adopted the third proposal and decided to immediately send a delegation to Detroit to demand a nationwide shutdown of GMAD.

The step taken by the St. Louis local is the only way to force an end to the speed-up under GMAD. The fight for this perspective must be continued no matter what the reply of the Woodcock leadership.

The St. Louis local has made it clear that the conditions at Norwood are the conditions facing all GMAD plants. The question of a nationwide strike is very much on the agenda and must be fought for by the ranks in every GMAD plant.

BRITAIN . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

policies on the working class while they make their own independent plans to split and divide the working class with unemployment and racism and establish dictatorship.

These developments have proven, firstly, that the trade union bureaucracy, faced with a challenge to the existence of the unions by capitalism, will hand the unions over to the state.

They have been aided in this betrayal by the Communist Party who was represented in the "left" TUC delegations and agreed with the compromise resolution. It was the CP-led shop stewards committee on the Upper Clyde shipyards in Scotland which signed a deal with the employers to destroy thousands

LAVELLE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

within the rules.

DEFENSE

The Senators on the committee immediately rushed to his defense. In particular, Stuart Symington, Missouri Democrat, called the rules "so complicated that they are bound to lead to inefficient attacks and loss of life." He added that: "It's difficult to define authority." Symington called Abrams "a fine officer" and reaffirmed his intention to vote for his nomination.

The investigation now has to be swiftly packed away because Lavelle's testimony not only implicates the chief of the Army but clearly points to Nixon himself.

When Stennis told Abrams that "it seems like some of your staff members would have found out about some of this," Abrams replied:

"It is the same thing with Mylai—I mean there were so many people who knew about that."

Here is all the arrogance and contempt of the Army chiefs who can talk about mass murders of the Vietnamese people as a common occurrence, knowing they will never be prosecuted by their friends in the White House.

of jobs.

It was these same forces who in Germany in the 1930's preached about a peaceful reform of the system while Hitler made his preparations for a takeover. This is the role of not only the British but the American labor leaders who have accepted the Pay Board dictates to the point where Nixon can now talk about a wage freeze at two or three percent.

Today the trade unions cannot be defended as instruments of struggle on the sole basis of strikes and militancy. Either the union bureaucracy will allow them to be turned into docile servants of the state or they will be led by a revolutionary leadership which fights to establish a workers government.

field."

Sergeant Franks testified that more than 200 pilots and officers of the Seventh Air Force falsified their reports and that most senior commanders knew about it.

General Abrams appeared before the committee to completely deny Lavelle's accusation and claimed that as far as he knew, the raids were conducted

SSEU . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

workers into small locations, splitting up staff, and forcing them to work swing shifts. It will also follow other harassing procedures in order to force them off the payrolls.

The union leadership had been cooperating with the City up until the delegates meeting in its attempts to establish the Community Social Services program. This cooperation has now been temporarily frozen but the leadership will try to get out from under the delegates' mandate.

A membership meeting has been planned for Tuesday, September 26. The Committee For New Leadership intends to take up a fight at this meeting to force the leadership to stand by the resolutions passed at the Delegates Assembly.

Further, with the understanding that Lindsay is McGovern's man in New York and that McGovern is responsible for all his attacks on civil service, the CNL will raise a motion for a call for a labor party as an answer to the November elections.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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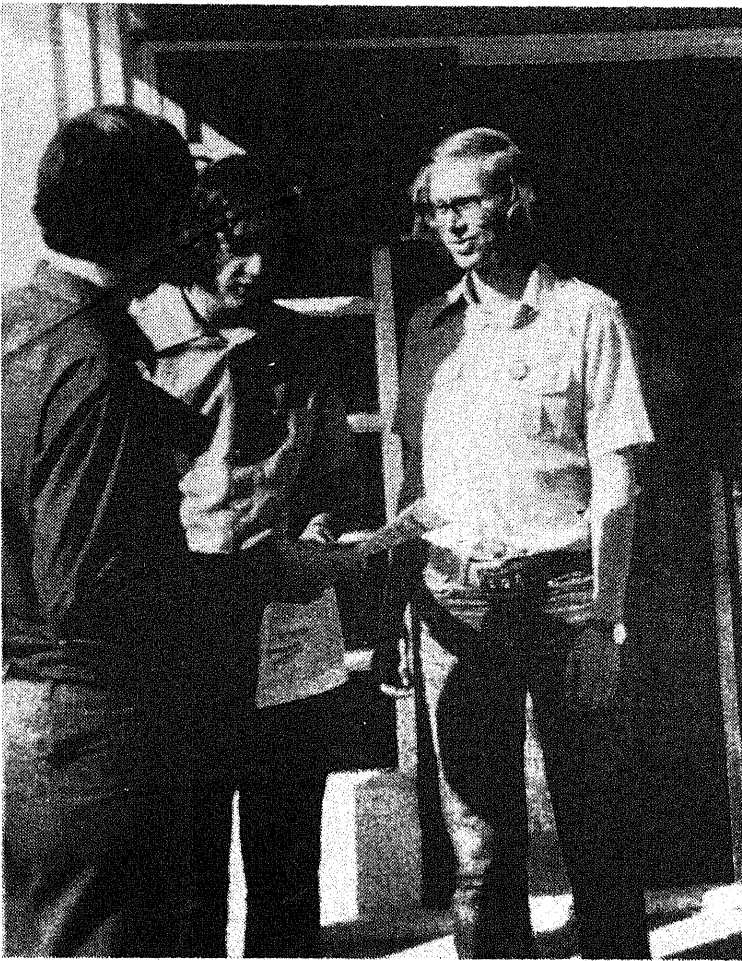
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West Coast News



Bulletin spoke to Canadian NDP (labor party) youth in Vancouver. One youth wears a button saying "Now for something completely different—socialism—NDP."

Threat On The Right: Schmitz Of California

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—Orange County, California is the sunny home of President Richard Nixon and of Congressman John G. Schmitz.

Who is John G. Schmitz? Aside from being the Congressman from Nixon's home district, he is the presidential candidate of George Wallace's American Independent Party. He is a leading member of the John Birch Society, a vociferous supporter of right to work laws.

Schmitz and his cohorts in the Birch Society, long behind the scenes in right-wing politics in this country, are coming out in the open. Following the shooting of Wallace, they took complete and open control of his political movement. Besides Schmitz, both the chairman and its vice presidential candidate are members of the society.

As a United States Congressman, Schmitz voted almost 100 percent against labor. In two years, the Committee on Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO gave him a zero and a nine percent rating. No other U.S. Congressman has been rated so poorly by the AFL-CIO.

His attitude toward the labor movement is summed up in his position on the bill which was used to smash the railroad workers strike in 1970. Schmitz voted against the bill, because "the terms of settlement of the labor dispute were highly favorable to the unions, and said nothing about the removal of obsolete work rules."

In other words, two years ago Schmitz was advocating that the speed-up and unemployment policies now carried out by Nixon.

According to Schmitz and the Birch Society, nearly every poli-

tician, newspaper, and television station in the country are dupes of "an international communist conspiracy to enslave the world."

Schmitz and the American Independent Party are whipping up the kind of anti-communist hysteria and nationalism that the big companies need if they are to divide the working class and smash the unions.

He boasts of his admiration for Joseph McCarthy and states that:

"I'm from Wisconsin—that's the state that gave you Joseph McCarthy, John Schmitz, and Father Groppi."

Schmitz vociferously advocates laws that would take away all political rights and constantly votes against the unions. As a member of the House Internal Security Committee, Schmitz has advocated laws which would allow the government to arbitrarily jail anyone it felt was "giving aid and comfort to any adversary which the United States is engaged in hostilities with."

To date, the General Accounting Office has not published Schmitz's campaign contributions. But when it does it is sure to include a number of millionaires like candy manufacturer Robert Welch who heads the John Birch Society.

Far from being the candidate of the little man, Schmitz is the candidate of the most desperate sections of big business and a dangerous enemy of the working class.

Tunnel Disaster Evidence Proves Lockheed Killed 17

BY MARTY MORAN

LOS ANGELES—Lockheed Shipbuilding and Construction Company, a subsidiary of the giant Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, went on trial last week for safety violations and gross negligence in connection with the Sylmar tunnel disaster, which took the lives of 17 workers. Three Lockheed employees are also on trial.

The Sylmar tunnel was part of a Metropolitan Water District (MWD) project in Los Angeles' San Fernando Valley. Lockheed was two years ahead of schedule on the tunnel under a "completion contract" with large incentives for speedy fulfillment.

The excavation area, 250 feet beneath the surface, was suspected of containing dangerous deposits of methane and other gases. As early as December 1970, Lockheed was ordered by the state Division of Industrial Safety to institute gas testing procedures.

Gas odor was first noticed by workers about 9 p.m. on June 22, 1971. A check for methane gas revealed nothing and Supervisor Eugene Van Guilder ordered the men back to work.

No tests were made for other gases besides methane and workers began to complain of headaches, nausea, and burning eyes and throats. At 1:55 a.m. on June 23 a flash fire broke out in the tunnel and was extinguished. Four were hurt but none seriously.

INSPECTED

State inspector Wallace Zaverro inspected the tunnel site that day. He ordered more gas testing, tunnel ventilation, and provision of oxygen equipment for workers complaining about breathing the deadly gas. He told tunnel manager Loren Savage to stop work if gas meters read higher than two percent. Work was resumed.

Savage had some old air blowers placed in the tunnel for added ventilation. These were very hazardous because they were prone to give off sparks. At 7 p.m. a gas meter reading of 100 percent was taken which showed saturation of the air—ignition possible with a single spark.

Savage refused to close the tunnel. Work had by then reached within 2100 feet of the end of the five and a half mile tunnel, and the company was racing for the largest possible bonus.

Six hours later, a tremendous explosion ripped the tunnel, and smoke and flames trapped 17 of the 19 men inside. One man injured in the first blast died in the second.

The investigation of the disaster has been a complete whitewash. The meters used to take the gas readings disappeared early on. Safety engineer Otha Ree was tried and acquitted for removal of a meter.

Lockheed was convicted of concealing evidence from state inspectors. The billion dollar company was fined \$500 and had to produce the meters.

Since then, the prosecution has proceeded gingerly, since negligence by both the state safety division and the MWD is at issue, as well as by Lockheed.

The testimony so far has centered on whose responsibility it was to test for gas. George Denton, state safety engineer for the

project until April 1971, stated that as of late March 1971, no Lockheed personnel were testing for gas despite state orders.

Lockheed wanted MWD inspectors to do the testing but finally agreed to have some of its own men trained in operating the meters. However, Denton revealed that one supervisor told him the men who were using the gas meters "didn't know what they were doing."

Lockheed employees were confused about testing for different kinds of gases, and about whether to test for gas content of

the dirt excavated or gas content of the tunnel air.

The judge in the case inspected the tunnel site under heavy safety precautions and ruled that the jury would visit the disaster scene. But at the urging of Lockheed attorneys, he ruled that the jury would not have the same safety devices as he and newsmen had, since these had not been required for the workers!

All the evidence shows the complete collaboration of government agencies with Lockheed's drive for profits.

IAM...

(Continued From Page 20)

Hartke means the immediate loss of thousands of jobs and the destruction of whole locals.

This is what was behind the Canadians' fight on the floor for the election of vice presidents by region rather than by union-wide referendum, which is the present procedure.

The Canadians also fought to strike out the clause in the IAM constitution which permits only citizens to hold union offices, as many of the members in Canada are recent immigrants. Both of these resolutions were opposed by the bureaucracy and defeated.

Only the employers benefit from this competition for a diminishing number of jobs. That is why the keynote of the addresses by McGovern, Kennedy, and Shriver was "America first."

The heart of their program, trade war and massive attacks on the wages and jobs of American workers to carry it out was put forward by McGovern, who said:

"The task of moving this world forward with the most up-to-date scientific systems should be an American job done by American workers far more than it is at the present time."

DEMAGOGY

Only at this point in his speech did McGovern receive anything more than a lukewarm response from the delegates. It was precisely the absence of an alternative leadership to the Smith bureaucracy fighting for a break from these Democratic fakers that left the delegates open to these demagogic appeals.

But the fundamental issues facing the working class exploded on the floor of the convention on the seventh day over the question of cutting the strike fund. With a clear majority voting against the bureaucracy's proposal to cut the strike benefits to \$25, Smith ruled that the proposal had won.

At that point a roar went up from the delegates that virtually froze Smith at the podium. In a panic, Smith reversed himself and ruled that the proposal had been defeated.

A division of the house was taken and the result was 818 against the proposal and 486 for. This vote, a clear repudiation of the leadership, expressed the determination of the ranks to fight.

The dangerous impasse of mere trade union militancy combined with continued reliance on the Democrats and Republicans was expressed most sharply by delegates from aerospace in Southern California who spoke to a Bulletin reporter.

R. W. Bryant, former Business Representative of Local 755 in District 50 (Rohr) said:

"You know the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) program just opened up yesterday; we build the parts for that. And we're building LCM's—trying everything we can to stabilize employment down there because our membership got clobbered with the phase out in aerospace."

"Two and a half ago we had 4300 members in the unit. At the last report we have some 2900 union members. We are building back up some right now, in my opinion because it's an election year."

The crisis in aerospace and throughout the IAM can only be met by the construction of an independent labor party pledged to full employment through the thirty hour week and the nationalization of basic industry.

BLACK EXPO...

(Continued From Page 20)

cultural items becomes an attempt at providing an identity for Black working people distinct from and in opposition to the working class. This sort of isolation has long been advocated by the Black Muslims and the Panthers, who were active at the Black Expo.

NATURE

But the real class nature of all this packaged culture was evident in the exposition hall, where row upon row of booths were set up not only by local merchants, but also by many major corporations, such as Standard Oil, Bank of America, and United Airlines. Each one had the same basic message: that there is plenty of room within the system for Blacks as individuals. Even the Army, Navy, and Marines had booths to explain the "opportunities" for Blacks in the military.

That Black nationalists should be promoting such a capitalist extravaganza follows from the history of this tendency, which has always refused to fight against the exploiting class as a class.

West Coast News

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Army Frames Billy Smith On Fragging Charge

BY A GI

FORT ORD—The trial of Private Billy Dean Smith is exposing every day the determination of the army to reach a conviction in a frame-up case without a scrap of evidence.

Smith faces life imprisonment from an army court martial. He is accused of fragging two lieutenants and wounding a third, attempted murder of two other officers and resisting arrest.

He has been held without bail for 18 months, 15 in solitary at the Fort Ord Stockade.

"If they can keep you in jail that long without any bail and no direct evidence like with Angela Davis, then this is like a dictatorship," one GI told us.

Smith is to be judged by a jury of seven officers—all Vietnam veterans. The judge is an army colonel and the prosecutors are all captains.

A strict gag rule has been clamped on the proceedings to prevent an effective public defense, banning any exposure of material not yet entered into evidence. The courtroom is surrounded by undercover agents and military police who have searched soldiers hanging around the courthouse.

"With all this security they must be really afraid of the support Billy has on this post. I hope he gets off myself. There were no witnesses that saw him and no evidence except a grenade ring and pin which many GI's carry," a soldier remarked.

Indeed proceedings so far indicate that the only "evidence" is the pin and ring found in Billy's pocket during a search by Central Intelligence Division (CID)

agents Boetel and Hazard. The trial has revealed that during the search Smith claimed that the pin had been planted by CID. Hazard had not reported this because he thought it "irrelevant" and unimportant.

Smith was singled out for accusation for no other reason but that his superior, Captain Rigby, who had given Smith three Article 15's and was attempting to get him a "less than honorable" discharge was convinced the grenade was meant for him and insisted that Billy was responsible.

Trial testimony indicated that Rigby was so loud and insistent in his accusation of Smith that he had to be silenced during the arrest proceedings.

Judge Frazier has acted throughout the trial to speed the proceedings indicating his impatience to get the trial over with as soon as possible. He has badgered the defense for wasting time with repetitious questioning and for violating the gag rule.

The real case against Billy Smith is that he was militant and unafraid to speak out against racism and the war in Vietnam. He is on trial as a scapegoat for all the military failures in Vietnam and as a warning to all militants.

This trial is exceptionally significant in that it takes place under the sort of trial conditions that are being prepared for all political trials with a handpicked jury and only a two-thirds vote needed for conviction.



Vancouver dockers of ILWU Local 500 talked with Bulletin. One said: "We're not like our forefathers. We're better educated. We'll fight back. We won't let them throw us on the street...on the garbage heap."

No Fight On Layoffs From IAM Leadership

BY BARRY GREY

LOS ANGELES—The 1972 Grand Lodge Convention of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) was dominated by the deepening worldwide recession and impending trade and monetary war.

The complete bankruptcy of the IAM leadership was revealed in its support for labor hater McGovern and its inability to put forward a policy to fight against the massive layoffs and plant closures that have plunged the IAM into a financial and membership crisis.

The fight for a labor party was brought into the convention in a resolution from Lodge 113 in Chicago which called for a labor conference to form a labor party. Under pressure from the bureaucracy, the delegates from Lodge

113 backed down and refused to speak for their own resolution.

However, tremendous interest in the labor party was reflected in the sale of 100 pamphlets of *The Case For A Labor Party* by Workers League supporters to the delegates.

DISCONTENT

The discontent of the rank and file was expressed by sections of the delegates from aerospace and by the Canadian delegates, who represented 50,000 members.

It is no accident that the resolution for no support to McGovern was put forward by A. J. Buffone in behalf of five aerospace locals from District 50 in San Diego. Aerospace in Southern California has been hit with massive layoffs and speed-up.

The depth of the crisis facing the IAM was outlined by Smith in his opening address. Membership has dropped by 140,000 since the last convention in 1968 and the International is five million dollars in debt.

RETREAT

What Smith proposed to meet this crisis was an outright retreat, an increase in dues simultaneous with a cutback in the strike fund from \$40 to \$25.

This open prostration before the employers was part and parcel of Smith's chauvinistic campaign for the union to line up with American industry as it prepares for all-out trade war with Europe and Japan. Thus, the convention endorsed the Burke-Hartke bill which calls for new tariff walls to drive Europe and

Japan into bankruptcy.

Throughout the convention, there was a bitter struggle between the American and Canadian delegates. For the Canadians the passage of Burke-

(Continued On Page 19)

Corporations Peddle Wares At Black Expo

BY FRED CRAWFORD

SAN FRANCISCO—San Francisco's first Black Expo '72, otherwise known as "Black Quake," exceeded all expectations. Over 100,000 people from the Bay Area attended the weekend cultural festival.

Musical contributions ranged from the old time music of Ray Charles and B.B. King, to various new soul groups. There were numbers of African dance troupes, drummers, films, poetry, and drama performances produced by Black artists.

All of this entertainment plus the art exhibits and craft sales were organized around the Black nationalism mystique built up in recent years. Expo '72 promoter Ray Taliaferro said its purpose was "to present the total spectrum of what Black people's lives are and should be."

In line with this conception, all the emphasis on new Afro hairstyles, soul food and African (Continued On Page 19)

The Case for a Labor Party

Public Meeting

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