

# Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

JOHN L. LEWIS

1880

1969



## INFLATION ROBBS WAGES JOBS NEXT



7,000 LEYLAND AUTO WORKERS VOTE UNANIMOUSLY TO STRIKE

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Recession and unemployment - this was the strategy mapped out by 300 leading bankers and monetary officials at last week's 16th annual meeting of the American Bankers Association in Copenhagen for the next stage in their war against the American and international working class.

The Copenhagen meeting and the views put forward there by such leading American economic lights as William McChesney Martin, David Kennedy, Paul McCracken, and Henry S. Reuss must above all be seen within the context of the fact that the international monetary system is now teetering on the very edge of collapse. In particular it must be understood that this meeting takes place when the devaluation of the French franc and the British pound in the immediate period is taken as a foregone conclusion.

If there is any question in relation to these currencies, it is merely a matter of whether Pompidou, the banker, who favored devaluation of the franc from the outset, will devalue uni-

( CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO )

## ENGLAND

### EYEWITNESS ANALYSIS

"a battle of the soundtrucks was underway posing two contrary lines for the struggle of the british workers in the coming period"

## ON THE SPOT REPORT FROM FRANCE

"every spare inch of wall space was covered in election posters--large photos of pompidou, pohor, duclos ...fresh red banners of the communist party calling for abstention in the second round were plastered across the pompidou and pohor posters"

# INFLATION STEALS WAGES—JOBS NEXT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

laterally upon pulling together this cabinet thereby bringing down the pound or whether the whole matter will be postponed until after the German elections in September. The latter will raise the prospect for a multi-lateral adjustment involving the devaluation of the pound and franc combined with a revaluation of the mark.

## STRATEGY

If the Americans have a strategy in all this it is to let these currencies fall as they may while protecting at least for the time being the parity of the dollar. The Americans as well as their international counterparts know full well that the next period in the history of the United States and Western Europe must inevitably be one of sharp contradictions within their respective economies, sharper inter-capitalist rivalry and class war.

This they know is equally to be the case whether they permit the present unprecedented inflationary wave to run its course right up to the final monetary cataclysm and wave of devaluations which would in any case itself engender a collapse of world trade and investment or whether they induce recession now in order to temporarily hold back the collapse.

The matter, however, has gone beyond the point of salvaging the European currencies. All that is really left for the capitalists is to seek to ease the transition into the next period of world recession by fighting to maintain at least the key international currency -- the U.S. dollar. If the dollar falls it will mean the most unbearable dislocations, an out and out crack up in the world economy.

While the dollar cannot withstand the impact of European devaluation for long, Nixon's strategy is clearly to hold out as long as possible. This is why the American ruling class, at least its banking section which Nixon represents, has gone over to sharp fiscal and monetary restraint. This has resulted in a U.S. bank rate of 8 1/2% and has driven Eurodollars to the astronomical high of 13% under pressure of some \$9 billion from this capital pool being driven home to credit hungry customers in the last three months.

## CREDIT CRUNCH

What Nixon seeks to achieve by strangling credit within the U.S. is an induced recession combined with unemployment. Recession in the U.S., because it means unemployment, is precisely what Nixon requires to push the working class back to a wage level that will make American goods competitive with a European economy which has undergone devaluation.

For all the rumblings in recent weeks about the imposition of wage and price controls in the U.S., Nixon is not fool enough to attack a fully employed American labor movement in the height of what is still in many ways a boom economy. This is combined with a rather unstable political situation in the major parties. There is no shorter road to the American May-June and the

throwing up of an American labor party and Nixon knows it. Not only Nixon is aware of this but the Congress is in no mind to let such legislation be passed now even if it is introduced.

On the contrary Nixon can only begin to push back the American workers by introducing measures which need no legislation, no congressional approval that lead to recession and unemployment, the beginning of the rotting away of a section of the American working class, its transformation into a scab force and a permanent army of unemployed that can be pitted against employed workers.

This, of course, is exactly what Nixon is doing. At the beginning of this year Nixon announced that unemployment in the U.S. was to rise 1% in 1969. Although this is not yet reflected in the official figures, the pressure in the direction of attrition of jobs in public employment and plant closures like those cutting back 10,000 jobs in McDonnell Douglas Aircraft and 20,000 jobs in other aerospace projects are already being felt.

## PAIN

It is now admitted the conjunctural and structural unemployment may now take a far greater toll than the 1% projection. The Copenhagen conference for its part made clear that the bankers are prepared to go much further than Nixon, which of course only indicates that Nixon is prepared to go much further than he has thus far stated.

Thus William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, filled with gloom over the prospects that present measures would prove ineffective in curbing inflation, stated before the conference: "There will be a good deal of pain and suffering before we resolve this thing (inflation)." He then went on to propose certain additional measures centering on the call for voluntary credit controls whereby banks would make credit unavailable at any price and even advocated an upward revision of the 10% surcharge. Martin further raised the possibility of wage and price controls, more as a threat than as a real alternative.

At the same time Martin hit the nub of the question when he said that fundamentally the "basic problem is political rather than economic dominance of monetary policy."

Behind this remark was of course the clear recognition that a section of the American bourgeoisie is directly threatened by these policies. This section has most recently come forward in opposition to the extension of the 10% surcharge within the Congress and will inevitably grow more strident as the recessionary trend within the economy takes grip. Recession is aimed not only at pushing back the working class through unemployment but at liquidating whole sections of small and backward capital. Recession means for these sections either bankruptcy as the big monopolies and conglomerates move in on their markets or their incorporation into these giants as big business and the banks centralize and concentrate their operations through mergers, which

are now at an all time peak, and automation. All these measures are to prepare big capital for the economic war with Europe that is about to shift into high gear.

At the same time it is by no means taken for granted that the American working class which has known nothing but relatively full employment since 1939 is prepared to take unemployment lightly. Thus the recession policy is going to require a fight which holds forth big political upheavals.

However much the U.S. initially succeeds in preserving itself at the expense of Europe, the destruction of the European economy which the drive to stabilize the U.S. economy is already precipitating, must lead to the collapse of the U.S. itself. Today even more than in the 1930's when the prostration of Europe and the removal of its markets led to a decade of depression the fate of the United States economy is completely intertwined with the fate of the European economy. American investment in Europe represents a capital aggregate third only to the total holdings of the United States and the USSR. The development of rivalry between Europe and America can only lead both down the path of a downward spiral towards decline and depression and ever more vicious phases of class struggle leading to the victory of socialism or fascism.

The question posed now before the workers of Europe and America is not only defense against each blow launched by the ruling class but especially the fight for power around a socialist program which provides the way out of the crisis.

Within the United States the sharpest struggle must be waged on the issues of the erosion of wages through inflation which even the Wall Street Journal now admits can be expected to continue a four year downward trend for another several years. Simultaneously the working class must be prepared in the immediate future for a sharp turn in the economic situation with unemployment emerging as the key weapon in the hand of the bourgeoisie.

## NATIONALIZATION

The demands for a full escalator clause and the thirty hour week take on new meaning in this battle against inflation and unemployment. But more is required. The absolutely criminal recklessness of the big bankers and financial wizards in the Federal Reserve whose financial manipulations will force millions out of work demand that we fight for the nationalization of the banking and credit establishments throughout the country. We must expose the complete anarchy and despotism of these institutions and demand their subjection to the rational control of the working class.

At the same time the imminent threat of wholesale plant closures and resultant unemployment likewise raises the necessity more forcefully than at any time in the whole postwar period that such firms be nationalized under workers control, the gates opened, the products used for the needs of the working people. This is the program which we propose as absolutely central in the fight for a labor party in the United States.

## a conference of stalinism in disarray

BY FRED MUELLER

From June 5 to 17 the long awaited Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow. This

conference of 75 parties was the first international gathering of the Stalinist parties since 1960.

The Kremlin bureaucracy

and its allies continue to clothe themselves in the traditions and terminology of the Russian Revolution, but they have about as much to do

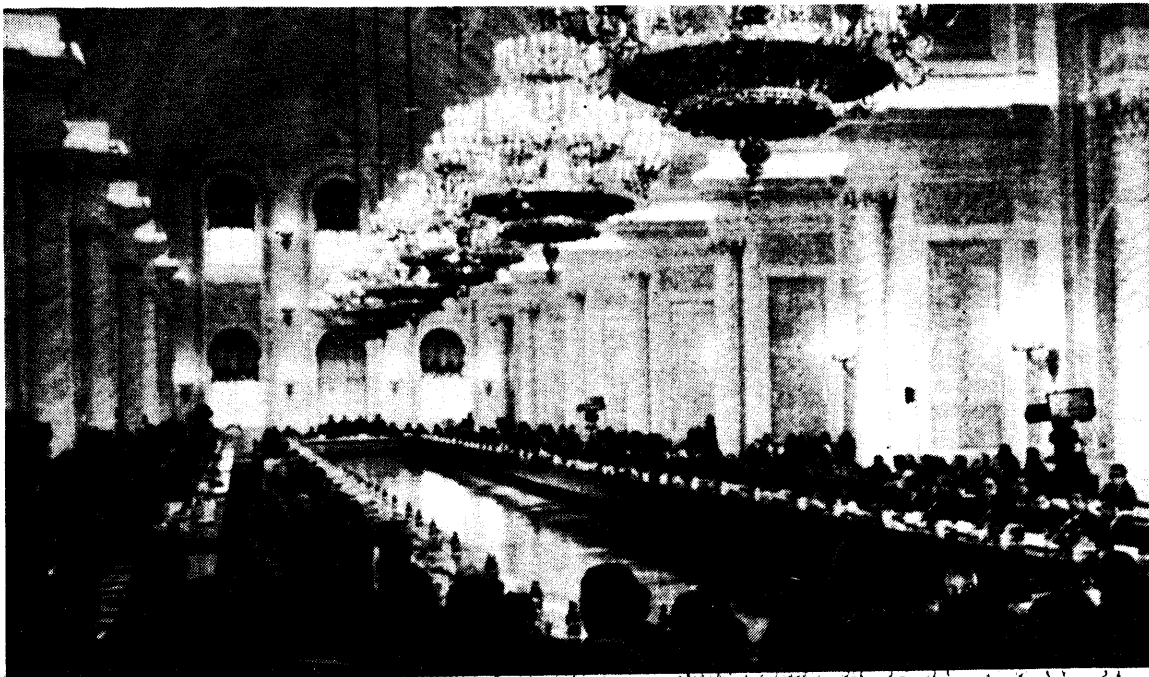
with revolutionary struggle as Harold Wilson, Willy Brandt or Golda Meir, leaders of Social-Democratic or coalition regimes in England, West Germany and Israel.

The 11th Congress of the Second International brought Wilson, Brandt, Meir and others of similar stripe together in London at approximately the same time as the pro-Moscow parties were meeting. Both the Second and the Third Internationals are dead, the Third having been formally dissolved in 1943. Both Social-Democracy and Stalinism remain extremely powerful bureaucracies, dominating the working class movement. Neither, however, can exist as a real international movement, precisely because they have long ago capitulated to nationalism and to world imperialism.

Absent from the proceedings in Moscow were, in ad-

dition to the Chinese and Albanian CPs, the CPs of North Korea, North and South Vietnam and Yugoslavia, and some other parties were present only as observers. It is significant that none of the leaderships, which, despite their Stalinist training have been forced to play a role in revolutionary upheavals attended the Moscow Conference.

The bureaucrats meeting in Moscow, for all the talk of leading the working class and the anti-imperialist struggle, did not include even a single party or group with any actual record of leading a struggle against imperialism anywhere. In particular the absence of the Vietnamese exposed the Moscow traitors, in spite of their lying claims of aiding and guiding the Vietnamese and other colonial struggles.



COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS MEETING IN MOSCOW, AMID ORNATE SPLENDOR

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 12)



# JOHN L LEWIS 1880-1969

BY DAN FRIED

On June 11, at the age of 89, John L. Lewis died. Lewis began his involvement in the American labor movement at the age of 15 as a miner, was President of the United Mine Workers of America from 1920 to 1960 and then was President Emeritus until his death. Lewis was an early protege and disciple of Samuel Gompers who was the first President of the AFL and the man most identified with the old, narrow craft unionism that predominated in America up to the founding of the CIO. But Lewis broke with the craft unionism of Gompers and his heirs in the AFL to become the founder and first President of the CIO which represented the industrial and mass production workers of the United States from the mines, to auto, to steel, to maritime.

## CONTRADICTION

Lewis represents all the contradictions of the history of the American labor movement. He reflected both the power and the struggles of rank and file workers and at the same time, the conservatism and narrowness of the bureaucracy that controls the trade unions and sits on top of the working class. Lewis was adored and worshipped by millions of miners and trade unionists. He was also despised and fought by many trade union militants. He was maligned and damned by capitalists and their political stooges and pictured as an unparalleled ogre by the pundits of the press, especially during the war and post-war period when he repeatedly stood up and defied government interference and court injunctions. Yet, when he announced his retirement as UMW President in 1959, the millionaire coal operators could, in all sincerity, express their profoundest regret and praise him for his 'outstanding ability' and as 'an extraordinarily fine person.'

This respectful admiration for Lewis on the part of the bosses--an admiration which developed especially in his later years when he cooperated with the mine owners' introduction of new labor saving technology--was a far cry from the hysterical raging at Lewis by the capitalists and their political hangers-on as a 'traitor', as a

uation of the strike even though Lewis had asked them to return to work.

Lewis was renowned as an eloquent and dramatic spokesman for the militance of the miners. But behind this was the simple eloquence of a veteran miner who spoke of Roosevelt's threats as follows: 'Going into a mine is no easy thing. Every time you go in, you never know if you're coming out. If they want to pass such a law on us men, let 'em pass it. We've worked in these mines and risked our lives and damned near at times had to eat grass and frozen apples to stay alive. But we're still living and we're still fighting.'

## CIO

The stubborn militancy of the rank and file, which is usually ignored by the writers of Lewis' obituaries in the capitalist press, was the real force upon which Lewis could defy the government and lead four soft coal strikes during the war and continue his policy of seeking to maintain labor's independence from government control after the war when he refused to sign the Taft Hartley non-Communist affidavit. In the same way, the mass upsurge of the industrial working class lay behind Lewis' decision to break with the AFL and set up the CIO in 1935. To read the capitalist press, one would think that Lewis, the individual, originated the sit-down strikes that built the Auto Workers Union, and created the CIO. But the CIO as a form that Lewis set up, evolved out of mass struggles in maritime, coal, trucking, rubber and auto, the likes of which this country had never seen. Through this whole period, Lewis had the shrewdness and the sensitivity to employ countless Communist and Socialist organizers and to latch on to the mass strikes that often were led by members of the various radical parties.

The organization of the most powerful and dynamic section of the CIO, the United Automobile Workers, took place independently of and in the face of Lewis' naive reliance on Roosevelt to help with the organization of the auto workers. While Lewis and the head of U.S. Steel engaged in secret negotiations, and the CIO poured massive manpower and money into the attempt to organ-

## evaluation of the man; his times, our times and today's tasks



workers could win at GM despite the policy of reliance on Roosevelt, this reliance proved disastrous in the 1937 'Little Steel Strike' when the armed forces of the Democratic 'friends of labor'--the henchmen of Roosevelt himself--jailed, shot and massacred hundreds of striking steel workers. The bloodshed culminated in the Memorial Day Massacre of Republic Steel workers in Chicago at the hands of 'New Deal' Chicago Mayor Kelly's cops. Roosevelt answered the pleas of Lewis' lieutenant, Phillip Murray, to save the Little Steel Strike with the famous quote from Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, 'A plague on both your houses'.

At this point Lewis felt forced to speak out against Roosevelt's strike breaking statement, denouncing Roosevelt with the words: 'Labor, like Israel, has many sorrows. Its women weep for their fallen and they lament for the future of the children of the race. It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace.' But, Lewis' grandiloquent, biblical rhetoric notwithstanding, the Little Steel Strike went down to bloody defeat, the CIO was held back, and the forces of fascism and conservative trade union leadership were strengthened as a result. Lewis opposed Roosevelt in words but in deeds he still continued to support him and the New Deal. Only in 1940 did he break with FDR, taking up the equally bankrupt policy of supporting the Republican candidate for President, Wendell Wilkie.

## PIONEER

There is no doubt that John L. Lewis stood out among trade union bureaucrats for his pioneer role in the founding of the CIO and for his resistance to government union busting. But when the employers praised him as 'a fine man' they have in mind the 'pioneering' role that Lewis played in cooperating with the coal bosses in the mechanization of the coal mines, allowing the elimination of hundreds of thousands of miners' jobs since the post-war period. He said that not only was the UMW in favor of new technology but bragged that 'we invented the idea'. This idea meant that in 1952 the soft coal bosses could produce more than double the amount of coal out of the same number of mines as in 1922. This also meant, however, not only a tremendous reduction of the number of miners, but a real erosion of the power of the United Mine Workers.

Lewis pioneered in cooperating with the bosses in the elimination of jobs--in exchange for high wages and excellent health and welfare benefits. This is the same approach that was shoved down the throats of the west coast longshoremens by Harry Bridges, is being instituted on the East Coast by the Gleason leadership of the ILA, has taken root among city employees in New York and poses a threat to workers' jobs from one end of industry to the other.

Automation, and the hazard of unsafe conditions are more than ever before the issues over which rank and file revolts are raging in the UMW today, under the 'leadership' of Lewis' hand picked successor, W.A. (Tony) Boyle. Boyle's dictatorial practices in putting down these revolts are inherited directly from his immensely more illustrious, but equally bureaucratic predecessor.

Even during the most heroic moments of Lewis' career when he lashed out with righteous indignation at the foes of the working man, Lewis never fought for a real break with those foes, a break which would have required a fight for the formation of a labor party. This same policy of political class collaboration, based on a narrow pragmatic syndicalist approach, was simply the fore-runner of his later open class collaboration with the coal bosses devoid of the earlier element of trade union militancy. The lesson for trade unionists today is that even great class victories by the working class cannot be sustained and will inevitably give way to defeat without a political struggle against pragmatism and narrow trade union syndicalism.



LITTLE STEEL STRIKE: HUNDREDS OF WORKERS WERE JAILED, BEATEN, AND MURDERED IN MEMORIAL DAY MASSACRE

Hitler' in 1943. This was during the national soft coal strike in the spring of 1943. Lewis' defiance of the government wage freeze and the labor bureaucrats no-strike pledge set him apart from the other bureaucrats such as William Green of the AFL, Phillip Murray and Walter Reuther of the CIO and especially from those bureaucrats such as Curran and Bridges who followed the Stalinist line of all out patriotism and support to the wage freeze and no-strike pledge.

## HYSTERIA

During the strike which was the largest single strike of any kind in the U.S. up to that time, a lynch spirit of super patriotism was whipped up with the press reporting statements such as this by an Air Force Colonel: 'I know I could do one service--this service would be the destruction with six fifty caliber machine guns on an American fighter plane of John L. Lewis...' But the miners stuck to their guns, united and determined in the face of this type of hysteria. They answered Roosevelt's threats to bring in troops with, 'You can't dig coal with bayonets'. They answered Roosevelt's threats to draft the strikers into the Army and make them work as military conscripts with a defiant contin-

ize the Steelworkers independently of rank and file leadership--the sit-down strikes by the auto workers who had been largely ignored by Lewis erupted. The organization of the United Auto Workers was the greatest shot in the arm for the CIO.

Lewis had given his all for the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936, and in return for this Gompersite policy of 'reward your friends and punish your enemies', actually believed that the workers should and would get something in return. This flowed from Lewis' lifelong profound acceptance of and belief in the capitalist economic system and its political apparatus. At his best, Lewis could defy the government and even go to jail but he bounced around in a futile but disastrous search for 'friends of labor' among the bourgeois politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Even during those periods when he couldn't see any friends, he still clung to this framework and opposed any movement for an independent labor party.

Despite Lewis' trust in Roosevelt during the Flint sit-downs, and despite Roosevelt's every effort to get the workers out of the plants, G.M. was forced to recognize the union. While the

# WHILE NIXON HOPES FOR WITHDRAWAL THE WAR STEPS UP



U.S. IMPERIALISTS DEMAND VIETCONG SURRENDER TO PUPPET THIEU

While thousands of Vietnamese and Americans die each day on the battlefield President Nixon is hoping and dreaming. Piqued by Clark Clifford's proposal to withdraw 100,000 combat troops this year and the rest by next year, Nixon stated: "I hope that we could beat Mr. Clifford's timetable..."

Everyone started interpreting Nixon's "hope" as a

pledge and the State Department had to intervene to make it absolutely clear that all it was was a "hope" and a very faint one at that. So Nixon's own attempt to demagogically cover himself only revealed once again the completely phony character of the small troop withdrawal he has so far made.

In the meantime Nixon's Brain Trust is hard at work

on a "plan" which proceeds from hope to outright day-dreaming. It seems the United States will favor a coalition government in South Vietnam with the elections so arranged that Thieu and Company will have the majority of the coalition, the Vietcong a small minority. As the dreamers in Washington generously estimate the NLF's control at some 8% of the population, the NLF will be given as a gift something which looks like "community control" over this 8% of the Vietnamese people.

#### WHY?

Several things are not explained. First, why it takes one million South Vietnamese troops and over one half million American troops to fight a force which controls only a measly 8% of the population? Secondly, why do the Washington dreamers insist on maintaining Thieu on the ground that without him the NLF would dominate the country? The

#### DEFEAT

There is only one road to a just peace in Vietnam and that is the decisive defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam. This requires not only the heroic efforts of the Vietnamese people but the struggle of the working class in all the capitalist countries not only to defend the NLF but to return the blows their own

capitalists are now leveling at them. The real revolutionary meaning of "Two, Three, More Vietnams" is "Two, Three, More May-Junes" this time led by a revolutionary leadership determined to take the power.

## A LETTER ON ARMY REVOLT

Dear Editor:

Something smells to high heaven in the trial of the 14 Presidio GIs accused of mutiny for sitting down and singing. And the smell doesn't only come from the prosecution.

Terence Hallinan, attorney for the GIs, had this to say in "defense" of his clients: "These are not mutineers-- these are hysterical children who last October 14 issued a cry for help." With a defense like this, who needs a prosecution?

Hallinan has based his entire case on psychiatric testimony. For example, Dr. Price Cobbs (co-author of Black Rage) had this to say about the behavior of the 14 GIs: "mass psychosis -- a mass breaking with reality... frightened, immature, sick kids..."

This is a political trial-- the 14 GIs carried out a political act. Hallinan and his psychiatrists are, in fact, betraying these GIs under the pretext of defending them. It is the U.S. Army which is immature and hysterical not the GIs.

The U.S. government is on the offensive against all radicals and revolutionaries. If put on trial, should we follow Hallinan's advice and plead insanity to save our skins?

Yours fraternally,

Earl Owens  
San Francisco, Calif.

## NIXON AND THE CHEMICAL DEATH PLANS



TEAR GAS OVER BERKELEY

Mr. Nixon last week obligingly agreed to "review" the government's chemical and biological warfare program. This project which would make the Nazi's laboratories look like high school chemistry labs has been kept in the deepest secrecy. The upcoming study has been the result of universal outcry set off after the "leak" of some of these murderous chemicals.

Just over a year ago 6,000 sheep were found dead in Utah in a valley near the Army's Dugway Proving Grounds. The cause of death-- a lethal gas known as VX. Had the shift of the wind that carried this gas (a drop of which will kill a man) to the valley had been to the east rather

than the north, it would have meant the death of any number of travellers on U.S. highway 40. More recently it was revealed that the Army intended to ship 800 freight cars filled with obsolete but poisonous gas across the country and dump it into the Atlantic Ocean. One could only speculate about the possible disastrous result to summer beachgoers.

This carelessness, however, is only a small part of the problem. The U.S. government now spends 350 million dollars a year to develop these deadly weapons to protect imperialism's rule. It has been revealed that the Army has developed and stockpiled enough chemicals to destroy the entire population on the face of the earth.

#### STOCKPILE

The stockpile includes items from nonlethal irritants such as tear gas to lethal irritants such as blistering gases, choking gases, and nerve gases that paralyze the nervous system. It was the latter which killed the sheep in . The army is also developing biological agents including Anthrax, a bacterial lung infection that can be fatal, pneumonic plague which is fatal and for which there is no effective vaccine, botulism toxin for which there is no cure and an ounce of which

could kill 60 million people.

The rationale of the rulers is that these weapons are a "lesser evil" -- that is they would destroy people but not property--thus "leaving a better chance for post-war rehabilitation".

The bourgeoisie we can see will go to all extents to preserve their "private property", their profit system. This program also shows the decay of the productive forces under capitalism-- that \$350 million a year is spent to destroy life, not to save it. A strategy for victory is what is required. If imperialism is not defeated, what will come will make Hitler's facism look like child's play.

## congress spits in face of court

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The "Warren Era", the era of liberalism, of the Supreme Court came to a climax last week with the Court ruling in favor of Adam Clayton Powell and with its decisions on curbing police powers in search and seizures. But this is indeed the end of an era.

The Powell decision which ruled that Congress could not exclude a "duly elected who meets the requirement of age and residency and American citizenship" was met in Congress with complete defiance. Mississippi Representative Colmer received a round of applause when he answered the Court with Andrew Jackson's statement to the Marshall Court, "Mr. Marshall made a decision, now let him enforce it."

#### OVERTURNED

Congress during that last period has seen a number of its actions overturned by the Court, but it has become increasingly clear to those who

It is not a matter of these deadly weapons just sitting in storage. U.S. imperialism has made use of tons of these chemicals against the workers and peasants in Vietnam. It was a month ago that helicopters sprayed the city of Berkeley with powdered tear gas.

It is clear that the rulers intend to use these horrible means of destruction to terrorize and subdue the world working class. This poses most sharply the immediacy and seriousness of the struggle to bring down this system. The working class throughout the world is today telling the capitalists that it will not pay for their decaying system.

rule that such excrescences of bourgeois democracy can no longer be allowed. The rulers are preparing new attacks on the working class and for this they require the full support of all arms of the state.

While the Powell decision overturned the ruling of Warren Burger, it is Burger who will now take over the reins of the court. Burger is Nixon's man--strictly a "law and order" man.

The precedent Congress used in ousting Powell has in the past been used to refuse to seat others including "Socialists." There have been veiled threats in the last few years coming from sections of the trade union movement to set up a party of labor in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans. The capitalist Congress is no doubt worried.

#### POWER

Powell has little choice in the matter if Congress refuses to implement the decision. But for representatives of the

working class it is another matter. The full power of the trade union movement can be brought to bear in the event of the exclusion of a workers' representative -- including closing down the entire country in a general strike. Then it will be a question of whether the working class will allow the entire capitalist government to hold their seats.



WARREN BURGER, CHIEF JUSTICE

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# BRITISH WORKERS FIGHT BACK

by tim wohlforth

LONDON--We are now entering into a new period in the international crisis of capitalism. Everything is now poised for a turn towards a new wave of currency devaluations, world recession, and large scale unemployment in all major capitalist countries. This will create sharply different conditions for the class struggle, new dangers of mass fascist movements, new possibilities for the building of mass revolutionary parties and the coming to power of the working class.

The intense crisis now expressed in European capitalism cannot be separated out from the crisis of American capitalism. The United States, by inheriting world hegemony from England at the time of the decline of capitalism as a world system has succeeded only in internalizing into the American economy all the weaknesses of the older European capitalist structures. It is forced, in order to resolve its own internal problems, not only to attack American workers but to shift as much of the burden of the crisis on Europe. But to the extent that Europe falls, America comes down all the harder. Europe today is a major area of both investment and markets for American capitalists and Europe's health is America's health, its sickness America's sickness.

For instance the recent raising of the American prime bank rate to 8.5% has forced up the Eurodollar rate to over 12% and increased the tendency for American firms to drain their Eurodollar reserves to get needed capital to automate American industry and prepare it for the trade war with Europe. The effect is to not only put European capitalism into an even more severe credit crunch than the U.S. but to create an absolute shortage in capital funds at any price. And there is talk of the interest rate going up further to 9 or 10%.

## england

The situation in England expresses the situation facing European capitalism most clearly. Since 1964 the Wilson Government has carried out a consistent policy at the direction of the world bankers and the United States in particular. This has been a policy of seeking to hold down the wages of the working class while at the same time raising the productivity of labor through introduction of speed-up techniques developed in American industry.

The capitalists were well aware that underlying all the monetary instability was more fundamental problems and that unless progress was made on these, monetary instability would increase to the point where it brought down the whole monetary system and with it world trade. England could not go down without bringing down the rest of the capitalists with it in time. The capitalists had to somehow force the working class to pay for their own crisis by restoring profitability through making labor cheaper and more productive for them.

First the Wilson government devalued the pound but they did this at a time when its reserves were already depleted. Thus they were unable to create any even temporary trade advantage out of devaluation and have faced a five year battle to maintain the pound which has only depleted their reserves further and made Britain all the more dependent on the United States and the bankers.

## price control

Then came the Prices and Income Bill which aimed at holding the line on wage increases. However, in order to get any kind of progress on productivity and facing a powerful union movement, this bill has been violated more than it has been enforced. While it has meant real hardship for many workers it has, by the admission of the government itself, fallen far short of the kind of attacks on the living standards of the workers the capitalists needed.

This was accompanied by an industry-by-industry drive to break the power of the shop stewards movement in England and establish the bosses control over working conditions so that an intense speed-up and rationalization could be introduced throughout British industry. It must be kept in mind that while the British trade union movement is more fractured on craft lines than American trade unions the real power of the British union movement lies with the shop ste-

## bankers prepare mass unemployment

wards. It is the stewards who have traditionally negotiated over both wage rates (piece work still predominates even in mass production industry) and working conditions.

### penal clauses

Again the Government and the bosses made some small progress here and there with the connivance of the trade union bureaucracy but it has been unable to make any major breakthrough to break the back of the British labor movement. Thus the burning necessity for the recently proposed "penal clauses" against unofficial strikes conducted by these shop stewards.

The class struggle in England found its highest expression in the recent conflict between the TUC (Trades Union Congress encompassing most of the British labor movement) and the Wilson government over these clauses. Left to itself the TUC bureaucracy would have been more than happy to have the government ban unofficial strikes. This way the state could be used to bolster the power of the trade union bureaucracy over the rebellious ranks and if the price to be paid for this was a sell-out of the interests of the workers the bureaucrats couldn't care less.

But the TUC leadership was not left to itself.

Of course the labor bureaucracy does not automatically reflect the interests of the working class but actually consciously seeks to betray those interests. But there are limits put upon this betrayal and if those limits are surpassed the ability of the labor bureaucracy to contain the workers is reduced to nil, its overthrow placed on the agenda.

So for two weeks the representatives of labor and capital met at 10 Downing Street, captive men, frightened men, incapable of coming to their usual amicable settlement. In the end Wilson had to settle for the TUC proposals: that the penal clauses be dropped and in its stead the TUC leadership would take over the responsibility of "disciplining" the labor movement. A sell-out to be sure but one circumscribed by the working class who has yet to say the last word on this question of discipline.

## croydon

The political situation in the British labor movement was clearly expressed at the Croydon Conference of the TUC which hammered out this sell-out. As I approached Fairfields Halls in Croydon, a suburb of London barely distinguishable from London itself, two lobbies were underway in front of the hall while the bureaucrats deliberated inside. A battle of the loudspeakers was underway as soundtrucks faced each other going full blast posing two contrary lines for the struggle of the British workers in the coming period.

Over 500 workers were gathered around each-



DESPITE STALINIST ATTACKS OVER HALF THE LOBBYERS JOINED THE ATUA MARCH THROUGH CROYDON

In those two weeks of negotiations with Wilson and Barbara Castle the real forces in conflict were not represented at the meeting but were breathing down the necks of the participants. On the one side the Government represented world finance capital. It was a government under orders; it was a captive of the banks and the United States. On the other side stood the powerful British working class whose energies, whose strength, whose very consciousness, had taken the form of trade unions since the early days of the dawn of capitalism in the world. All the militancy and determination of this class was expressed through the structure of this trade union movement.

But the British trade union movement created the Labor Party. While this party is totally reformist and today serves the interests of the bankers it is still partially dependent on the labor movement. A fundamental break between Wilson and the TUC would force a section of the Labor Party to follow the TUC and bring down the government.

of the sound trucks. One was run by the Communist Party under the name of the "liaison committee". Around it clustered not only the Stalinists but all the various revisionist splinter groups like the Pabloite International Marxist Group and the State Cap International Socialism group. Their theme was "unity" and it became clear that the unity they preached penetrated into Fairfields Halls to the labor bureaucracy itself and through the labor bureaucracy to Wilson.

Their line was essentially that there was something good and something bad in the TUC self-discipline proposals. We should support the good and oppose the bad. We should aid the good people inside the hall against the bad and anyway the main issue was to stop Wilson's penal clauses. If the penal clauses were implemented we should call a one day general strike.

The problem the Stalinists faced was that for over a decade they had worked within the AEF (the engineers union which covers most of the motor car and other basic industry) for the election of a "left winger" Hugh Scanlon

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 8)

# A VISIT TO FRANCE ONE YEAR

## revolutionary perspectives in the aftermath

by tim wohlforth

PARIS--I arrived here just one year after the May-June, 1968 revolutionary struggle. While the May-June struggle was betrayed by the Communist Party, all the workers long since back at work, the Sorbonne re-occupied by the police and "normality" restored, the workers were far from defeated. In France today everywhere are signs of the renewed political struggle of the working class--in some ways on a higher level than last May-June.

I was in Paris after the No vote in the referendum and between the first and second ballots in the presidential election. Every spare inch of wall space was covered in election posters--large photos of Pompidou, Poher, Duclos, smaller posters for Krivine and announcing mass meetings held by Lutte Ouvriere as well as the AJS and Alliance Ouvriere (Trotskyist groups which support the International Committee of the Fourth International). Fresh red banners issued by the Communist Party calling for an abstention in the second round were plastered across the Pompidou and Poher posters.

The police were everywhere but on their best behavior because for the moment there was an interim president and no one was absolutely certain who would soon govern the country. In traffic jams, and Paris is one big traffic jam, cars would start beeping out the beat of a revolutionary song from May-June and it would be taken up by other cars throughout the area.

Meetings of four to ten thousand called by the so-called "groupescales" are a common occurrence. Over 1,000 people come each month to lectures on Marxism given by the French Trotskyists. New editions of the works of Trotsky are issued as soon as publishers can find anything to publish. The latest is a 1,000 page complete edition of Trotsky's military writings. The complete texts of the first four congresses of the Communist International 1919-1923 has just been reissued by Maspero. The French Trotskyists publish a weekly paper, a monthly youth paper, a quarterly theoretical magazine, a teachers magazine, the printed proceedings



JACQUES DUCLOS (RIGHT) FEARS POWER MOST OF ALL

each month of their Marxist lectures, and a number of other publications.

One needed only to look at store windows in Paris to see an even more important material manifestation of the economic and political crisis of present day France. Prices have simply skyrocketed in the period since January, virtually wiping out the 30% wage gains workers won last June. There is nothing in the world like the prices in Paris. And the goods are being sold at these outrageous prices, but not to the working class--to the bourgeoisie which no longer believes in the franc and is seeking to turn as many francs as it can get hold of into hard tangible goods. In the meantime French workers are lucky to earn \$40 to \$50 a week for a 48 to 60 hour week. The rush hour in France starts at 6 P.M. when workers get out of work, and Saturday is a regular work day.

### fruits

Such are the fruits of a decade of Gaullism. Gaullism was and is a bonapartist regime. It came into existence because of the extreme crisis of French capitalism at a time when the international crisis of capitalism was just beginning. The two classes of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were at a high point of tension--neither could crush the other. DeGaulle rested one boot on finance capital and the other boot on the working class through the Communist Party. So balanced, he built a strong police state which seemed to tower for the moment over all. But without one class crushing the other nothing could be resolved--nothing solved. While DeGaulle carried out his balancing act world capitalism as a system went into deeper and deeper crisis, exposing all the more the backwardness and weakness of French capitalism.

All DeGaulle was able to accomplish in his ten years was to end the Algerian War. Important as this was for French capitalism, it also signified the general decay of French imperialism and the tendency for U.S. imperialism to move into and economically dominate former French territories, increasing the internal crisis in France. So in May-June 1968 mass student struggles were followed by a general strike of over ten million workers with factory occupations, which not only meant the end of Gaullism as an effective force but raised the possibility of ending capitalism as well.

### power

The great weakness of the May-June struggle was that the political issues, the issue of power, was successfully pushed aside. It is true the Communist Party bears the major responsibility for this. But all the so-called "groupescales" played their own role confining their activity to the Sorbonne area, refusing to fight seriously within the French working class to pose the question of power.

Those who posed it most clearly were the Renault workers who at a mass meeting in May not only rejected the CGT's first proposals for an economic settlement but also raised the chant for a "popular government". With DeGaulle out of the country consulting with fascist General Massu, a complete political vacuum created, the Renault workers realized that the central question was a political question--the replacement of DeGaulle with some kind of interim regime. True, the "popular government" slogan was vague enough to be transformed into some kind of popular front bourgeois government and reflected the past Stalinist training of these workers. But at the same time it posed squarely before the Communist Party the question of who should take the power.

As the May-June events made clear Bonapartism could survive in France only because of the existence of the French Communist Party as the mass party of the French workers. The relationship between this party and the working class is therefore at the very center of the question of socialism in France. The task of the Trotskyist movement must therefore be to expose this party over and over in concrete struggle and in this way drive a great wedge between the party's leadership and the industrial workers who follow the party, building in the



FRENCH STUDENTS MARCH IN PARIS DEMANDING "STUDENTS,

course of this struggle the Trotskyist movement into a mass party determined to take the power.

### panic

May-June, of course, solved nothing. Bankrupt capitalism under the threat of revolution was willing to grant wage increases it would ill afford only to seek to take them back again later. So in November the concessions of June combined with the deepening international crisis brought about a devaluation panic. As the French bourgeois ran to the airports with francs sewed into their underwear, Pompidou and DeGaulle clashed behind the scenes on devaluation. DeGaulle, unable to get away with a substantial unilateral devaluation which might have temporarily aided French exports, chose the road of holding the line on the franc.

By January, the French bourgeoisie was at it again. This time they voted their lack of confidence in Gaullism and the French economy by taking their francs and going on a fantastic buying spree turning the pieces of unstable paper into anything hard, of value, and not nailed down. Prices soared in France, imports rose out of proportion to exports and the working class began to push its own demands for a new series of wage increases to compensate for inflation.

Gaullism was once more on the brink. The Communist Party held the line again for DeGaulle by going along with a postponing of the wage increases to the Fall and cancelling its May Day demonstrations. But this was not enough. DeGaulle faced bankruptcy.

### referendum

DeGaulle did the only thing he could and he did it in the only way a Bonapartist can. He proposed "corporatism" the incorporation of the trade unions into the state in order to break the resistance of the working class and force back the workers to resolve the crisis. This he put in the form of a yes or no referendum hoping in this way to panic the forces of "order" and "stability" to vote yes.

But it did not happen that way. The working class seized the opportunity to carry forward May-June on a higher political level by voting out DeGaulle, raising immediately the question of political power in France pushed aside in May-June. This time they were joined by large sections of the middle class, ravaged by inflation, losing faith in their "leader's" ability to solve anything for them. And suddenly DeGaulle was out; the people danced in the streets; what they had failed to do in May and June was done by turning DeGaulle's own Bonapartist plebiscite against him.

### election campaign

The question then posed before the French workers was how to carry forward the no vote into the presidential election campaign. The workers parties were in a tizzy. The last thing



# AFTER THE MAY-JUNE EVENTS

## of may-june and the fall of de gaulle



STUDENTS, WORKERS UNITE" IN DEFENSE OF THE STUDENTS UNION

in the world they wanted now was to be thrust into power by the working class and the disenchanted middle class. This would expose for all to see their bankruptcy and open up the possibility for the construction of a revolutionary alternative on a mass scale.

So the Socialist Party put up Deferre knowing full well he was the least palatable candidate for the Communist Party and the workers who support the CP. The Communist Party put up the old hack Duclos knowing full well he was least palatable to the Socialist Party. The small left social democratic PSU followed suit with its Rocard token candidacy.

Into the act came the Pabloites of the Communist League, which had actually called for abstention in the referendum, with the Krivine candidacy aimed at the students and intelligentsia. Only the supporters of the International

for Duclos.

### duclos

The election results expressed this clearly. Duclos carried 21% of the votes and came within a few percentage points of the number two spot. The last thing in the world Duclos wanted was a run off between himself and Pompidou and the French working class almost succeeded in placing him in that position. The SP carried a miserable 5% of the vote which illustrates how this party has degenerated into a minor force in the French working class with only some regional support among older workers in the North and among middle class elements. Krivine and Rocard had insignificant votes coming almost entirely from students and the intelligentsia.

Clearly, in lieu of a single working class candidate, the need in France was for revolutionaries to critically support Duclos demanding that Deferre withdraw in his favor. This way a wedge could be driven between the CP rank and file and the CP leadership by posing to the CP a fighting anti-capitalist program and building all the time the revolutionary alternative seeking deep roots particularly among CGT workers in basic industry. Under such conditions the Krivine candidacy was a dangerous diversion which expressed politically the distance of the Pabloites from the working class. Krivine correctly saw his candidacy as a political expression of the May-June Sorbonne movement. But it expressed not the strengths but the weaknesses of this movement.

Following the first round the Communist Party actively campaigned for abstention for a refusal to support the two candidates of "grand capital." Clearly this "principled" stand was its way of supporting Pompidou for if it made a choice it would have been forced to back Poher. But the workers took the abstention seriously not as a way of supporting Pompidou but as a way of expressing their determination to carry forward their struggle for a socialist political alternative to capitalism. Thus the Communist Party was able to hold almost its entire

and bureaucracy - all the forces of "stability", is now coming apart while the boot that rests on the working class is shaking from the ferment underneath.

Thus the confusion and crisis of the French bourgeoisie finds expression in the difficulties and open conflicts emerging as Pompidou agonizingly assembles his cabinet. It is too early to assess exactly in what direction Pompidou will now strike out but there are two points to keep in mind. First, Pompidou is the bankers man. While DeGaulle rested on finance capital he was also able to conciliate other social forces and thus maintain a certain degree of independence from finance capital. When Pompidou moves it will be with finance capital and for finance capital. Second, the very exigencies of French finance capital in a capitalist world in crisis dominated by American capital will force him into closer alliance with the United States than DeGaulle. Whether he likes it or not Pompidou will be forced to make the French working class and French bourgeoisie pay in part for the crisis of American capitalism.

World capitalism is now once again at the brink. France, like England, expresses this clearly. Under conditions of a powerful working class and full employment, Pompidou can do more force corporatism and militarism on French workers than Wilson can force penal clauses on the British workers. The French working class has a very weak and divided union movement when compared to the United States or Britain. But it has a powerful political arm in the French Communist Party.

General Massu, the fascist general from Algeria, stands in command of two crack armored divisions in Germany. He could, of course, cross the border, and seek power. But he would be forced to destroy the French Communist Party. Any attempt at this would mean civil war - and civil war under conditions in which the workers would win.

### future

The next step in France can only be seen as part of the international crisis of capitalism. France today heads precipitously towards devaluation and unemployment. The only question facing Pompidou is whether to devalue now or await, as the Americans are obviously advising, until the Fall and the German elections. Devaluation will solve nothing. America will do its best to prevent any devaluation which will solve anything for European capitalists at the expense of America. It will only be an interlude to recession, unemployment, new devaluations.

Under such conditions of extreme instability and unemployment a powerful fascist movement can arise in France. In fact the basis for it is stronger in France, Germany and Italy, than it is in England. But just as decisive is the bitter experiences of the European workers with fascism in the 1930's and World War II. The memories are fresh as witness the great outpouring of the workers against the Algerian generals in 1959.

Such a precipitous turn in the European economy will open up great new possibilities for the Trotskyist movement to build an alternative mass revolutionary party in the course of a day to day struggle to expose in action the French Communist Party. This is an international task. It is linked at every moment with the struggle of the International Committee in England, in the United States, in Soviet countries and in Asia. It requires a constant struggle against the revisionists of Trotskyism, the Krivines, the Mandels, the Maitans, with their reactionary theories of neo-capitalism, of guerilla warfare, of student vanguardism. It requires a battle to make the Transitional Program live in all countries of the world.

FORWARD TO THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION!

FORWARD TO THE AMERICAN AND WORLD REVOLUTION!

BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!



UNEMPLOYMENT LINES LIKE THIS IN FRANCE WILL GROW IN THE NEXT PERIOD AS THE CRISIS DEEPENS

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Clearly as far as the Communist Party leadership was concerned it would like to have Moscow's man Pompidou win and the SP was openly rooting for conservative Christian Democrat Poher. But the mass of the Communist Party militants were searching for a weapon in the elections to express their opposition to Gaullism, their desire for socialism. The only weapon available with any real power was the Communist Party. So, overwhelmingly, they voted

vote on the first ballot for abstention forcing Pompidou to come to power with this open vote through non-voting defiance and no confidence from the working class.

### pompidou

The new Pompidou regime is not, could not, be, a simple repetition of the old Gaullist regime. It is not a question as to whether Pompidou has the personality or popularity of De Gaulle but that DeGaulle was forced out of power precisely because Gaullism no longer worked. Thus Pompidou represents Gaullism in crisis, in decay. The bloc of the middle class, the peasantry, the big and little capitalists, the army

# ANCE ONE YEAR AFTER THE MAY-

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# CRISIS DEEPENS IN BRITAIN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5)

as president. Scanlon had won and addressed their liaison committee only a week before the TUC conference. Scanlon, in the interests of unity of course, had endorsed the TUC's proposals and the Stalinists found themselves implicated in this.

The competing lobby had been called by the All Trades Unions Alliance, the labor arm of the Socialist Labor League and was supported by the youth of the SLL, the Young Socialists. This lobby denounced the TUC proposals and called for an immediate general strike to be continued until the penal clauses were withdrawn. This way the independent power of the working class could be mobilized to break the back of the anti-labor offensive whether it takes the form of government or TUC action and to open up the struggle for socialist policies in England.

Recognizing that the British working class faces a fundamental crisis, its political and industrial arms locked in bitter conflict, the bankers on the offensive, and new policies and leadership desperately needed, the SLL also called for the convening of an emergency Labor Party Conference to discuss socialist policies for the working class. The SLL is fighting for its program of nationalization of the banks and basic industries, of building the alternative leadership to take power in England together with a number of other demands.

## confrontation

The confrontation was clear cut. On the one hand stood the Communist Party and the revisionists. This party played the role of giving a left cover to the TUC bureaucracy. The TUC bureaucracy in turn is tied to the Labor Party and is seeking to bail out Wilson by taking upon itself the role of disciplining labor in the interests of capital. Behind Wilson stands the banks and American and British capital. So the direct line reached from the Communist Party in front of Fairfields Halls through the labor bureaucracy inside the Halls through Wilson at 10 Downing Street to the bankers in the City of London and Wall Street.

On the other side stood the Socialist Labor League, British section of the Fourth International, basing itself on the strength of the working class alone, seeing this strength as international in character, fighting on the basis of a program hammered out theoretically and practically in over a hundred years of struggle since the writing of the Communist Manifesto in 1848.

At one point the battle of the sound trucks almost reached the point of blows. Unable to defend themselves politically from the attacks of the SLL, egged on by the speakers, a section of Communist Party supporters rushed the SLL sound truck and sought to turn it over. SLL supporters rallied to the other side of the truck and for 15 minutes the truck teetered back and forth. At one point an SLL supporter glaring at a Stalinist across the truck summed the situation up: "It's not like 1936, is it?" No longer could the Stalinists silence the revolutionary opposition with hooligan tactics and slanders of the Moscow Trials period.

## leyland

Two other recent events give us further insights into the state of affairs in England today. First is the Leyland strike of some 8,500 workers who have never been involved in strike action in over 40 years. Now they are out solidly demanding wage parity with auto workers in the Midlands. Leyland is the hub of Lord Stokes' immense auto empire, the last remnant of British-owned capital in this critical field. It produces heavy trucks and equipment. The combine now included Triumph and other motor cars.

Faced with this strike the old Tory Stokes responded with all the arrogance of his class: "The situation is becoming so serious that we are putting at risk and into serious danger the continuity of future employment." What Stokes is saying is that either the workers return on his terms or the Lord will close down the combine and throw hundreds of thousands into unemployment.

But the British workers are not about to be treated like serfs of a feudal lord. The only real answer to Stokes is that if he tries to put the working class out to pasture then the working class will insist that he be put out to pasture. If Lord Stokes cannot run his combine and pay the Leyland workers the going rate for such work then it is about time this combine was nationalized. In this way we see how the question

of nationalization is being posed as an immediate issue in the current struggles of the British workers. Linked to this question must be the question of who is to implement such a policy. Thus the burning necessity to build the revolutionary alternative in England against not only the Wilsons and Feathers and Scanlons but their supporters in the camp of the Communist Party and revisionists.

## upper clyde

Then we come to the question of the Upper Clyde Shipyards in Scotland. Here a giant combine has been created in order to build what could be, if it is ever completed, the finest most modern shipyard in the world. We are not dealing here with some dying industry but a serious attempt to meet international competition on its own modern grounds. Now the whole project is becoming unstuck threatened by the incompetence of the capitalist managers and the general bankruptcy of capitalism.



GERRY HEALY ADDRESSES RECENT SLL CONGRESS

So bankrupt are the British capitalists that Lord Aberconway (these lords will not be lording England for long) of John Brown's shipyards, a part of the Upper Clyde complex, offered Wilson its share in the combine for the reasonable sum of one pound (\$2.40). What could express more clearly the bankruptcy of these capitalists and the urgent immediate necessity to fight for nationalization of the Upper Clyde as well as the rest of basic British industry?

Did the labor lefts and the Communist Party take up this slogan? No, only the Socialist Labour League raised this demand. In the meantime a group of international financiers have rushed to the aid of the Upper Clyde but with "strings" attached. The deal is that Upper Clyde will get the additional financing it needs if the trade unions agree to -- a wage cut. Now Dan McGarvey a "left" trade union leader like Scanlon supported by the Communist Party, who represents some 4,500 boilermakers in the shipyard, has accepted the deal and recommends a wage cut to save the Upper Clyde for Lord Aberconway and friends.

## choice

This is the choice now posed before the British working class. Either the workers fight for socialist policies and for a real workers government in England or they let the bureaucrats with the aid of the Communist Party negotiate their own defeat and British capitalism slides deeper and deeper into the mire of crisis, stagnation, unemployment. Thus the great urgency for the SLL's proposal for an Emergency Labor Party Conference and for a discussion within the labor movement of a program to take the class forward.

Now Britain heads towards an even greater crisis. The TUC leadership has issued its "solemn and binding" promise to discipline the working class for Wilson and the bankers. They even support this promise with a little action by taking on, the brave men, 10 charwomen. It seems these women have struck refusing to clean the women's toilets in the Lucas Birmingham plant. The women assembly line workers have refused to work with dirty toilets and some 2,800 workers are out of work.

However the TUC fares with these charwomen no one has any illusions that the TUC will be able to break the back of the shop stewards movement as a whole in England. Each attempt will only further discredit them and lead large sections of the British working class to look to the SLL and the All Trades Unions Alliance for leadership against the filthy combination of the TUC, Wilson and Wall Street. Even the Tories are pessimistic about their own ability to discipline the workers.

## unemployment

Clearly the next step for the capitalists in England as well as in France and in the United States is to carry through their war against the workers in a different more effective form. The working class, buoyed up by full employment, cannot be decisively pushed back. More effective than anti-strike legislation will be a good dose of unemployment. At the same time such unemployment will help the finance capitalists and large monopolists police their own camp by forcing to the wall smaller, less economical companies.

A policy of unemployment will change the political situation in a number of ways. For the first time the economic ground will be created for the splintering of the working class and the demoralization of the lower middle class thus setting the stage for a rise of facism with its reactionary program of the destruction of the working class organizations themselves.

But at the same time the European and American working class, which has known full employment for almost a lifetime now, will find its conservatism shattered under the impact of economic blows, and great possibilities will open to build a mass revolutionary movement fusing employed and unemployed into a mighty force to overthrow capitalism.

The capitalists are well aware of the great insecurities such a policy will have for them. But a continuation of the present policy will mean no serious economic gains for the capitalists in the struggle to solve their crisis while workers will learn politically from each blow directed at them by the capitalists or its agents in the working class movement. In any event no matter what they consciously choose the very mechanism of the capitalist economy is moving precipitously towards recession and depression as each moment is wasted away by the capitalists.

## daily newsletter

Never has there been more of a crying need for a revolutionary leadership with a developed program to pose socialist solutions to every turn of the capitalist crisis and take the working class through a struggle to break it from its traditional reformist politics and leadership. Thus the preparations of the Socialist Labour League for the Daily Newsletter has come just in time. The launching of the Daily this fall is but the first step. Building with the Daily the SLL will transform this paper into the expression of consciousness of millions of British workers all the time building a mass party of the working class.

The Daily Newsletter has been only possible because of the support this project has received from the working class itself. It can grow only as an expression of this class, internationally, digging itself deeper and deeper into the working class, fighting at every moment all conservatism, all alien ideology existing within the working class.

The Daily Newsletter is the most advanced expression of the 40 year struggle for Trotskyism and for the program of the October Revolution, for Marxism. That dogged fight of small groups against the repression of the Stalinists, exposing their every betrayal in the 1930s, was absolutely essential preparation for this Daily Newsletter. Now the crisis and the needs of the working class require that Trotskyism take the expression of a fighting daily newspaper which will build a movement of millions under the banner of the Fourth International in all countries of the world.

# charleston hosp. fight heats up

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

A new stage has opened in the Charleston hospital strike, now in its third month. If anyone had any illusions that this was a simple trade union struggle that could be solved by the usual negotiations, they have now been destroyed. The struggle is intensifying, the whole repressive apparatus of the state is being thrown up against the hospital workers. Nothing has turned these workers from their goal, recognition of a union, Local 1199B, the right to a workers organization to fight for decent wages and working conditions.

Last week there were rumours of a settlement. Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, threatened to withhold Federal funds from the Medical College if they did not reinstate the 12 workers originally fired with all back pay. Nixon, who made his stand on unions clear during the grapepickers strike, is only trying to seek some compromise for fear that the entire struggle will spread to the rest of the South. They hope to confine the struggle to Charleston and neutralize it.

But this cannot work! There isn't going to be any compromise. Union recognition is the central question and no matter how many wage increases the hospital bosses offer now, there will be no victory without recognition of the union.

However, the good intentions of Finch ( he is supposedly known for his "good stand" on civil rights) proved very fragile when it came down to a confrontation with the ruling class of South Carolina. Senator Strom Thur-



IN CHARLESTON NATIONAL GUARDSMEN POINT BAYONETS AT DEMONSTRATORS PROTESTING THE ARREST OF HOSEA WILLIAMS OF SCLC

mond and Representative L. Mendel Rivers stepped in and threatened Governor McNair that he would be held politically responsible" if the hospitals agreed to take the workers back. Naturally, Finch withdrew the threat.

Every single one of these politicians stands alongside the hospital bosses. This is one of the big lessons of the strike. Neither the Democratic nor Republican party has intervened on behalf of the workers. The workers cannot rely on the intervention of the Federal government as if it were some impartial body above the conflict. Where the material interests of the ruling class are involved they will either attempt to buy the union off, or if this fails, launch a bitter attack. This is what has happened.

On June 21, after a period of stalemate, the strike has become even sharper. The government has banned all

night time demonstrations, has reinstated a 9 to 5 curfew and the National Guard is once again patrolling the streets. When Abernathy tried to lead a march at night the police began to arrest the strikers. Bricks and bottles were thrown at the police from the crowd. Abernathy and Reverend Bevel are very concerned about this violence as if the workers are to be continually jailed and beaten without defending themselves.

#### DEFENSE

There is no future in this struggle or in any struggle for "non-violence". This does not mean that the workers should run through the streets taking pot shots at the National Guard, but it does mean that they should immediately form defense groups to protect the strikers from attack. Abernathy going to jail hardly impresses the government or changes the situation in the workers favor. He continues to use the old

methods--just keep marching until somehow miraculously we win.

Yes, we have complete faith in the Charleston workers and in their determination to win. But the strength of the bourgeoisie must be matched by the real strength and power of the working class in the trade unions. Millions of trade unionists throughout the country demonstrating their support of the Charleston workers can win this strike, can turn the tide.

When one section of the working class is under attack, when it is struggling to win basic gains won by millions of workers in the 1930s and 1940s then they must be backed up by the labor movement or else the defeats can be used for further attacks against the entire labor movement.

An important step has been taken by the International Longshoremen's Association. They have threatened to close

the port of Charleston to support the strike. This threat must be put into action!

Local 1199 must urge all unions that can to put similar pressure on the bosses.

Leon Davis, President of Local 1199 is continually saying that mobilizing the entire labor movement cannot be done, that such an idea is utopian. But this is precisely the only road to victory. The ranks of 1199 must call on their leadership to demand that the Central Labor Council of New York begin a campaign to be spread throughout the country by calling a mass rally at Madison Square Garden in support of the Charleston strike.

There is no time to lose! Organize the labor movement in solidarity with Charleston--Bring Charleston into every part of this country! Mass rallies, demonstrations and sympathy strikes until the strike is won!

## CLOSING HITS TC HOSPITAL WORKERS

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

MINNEAPOLIS -- Asbury Methodist hospital workers, members of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Local 113, were given a knife in the back by their union leaders at the June 18th general membership meeting.

Asbury Methodist announced its intention to close this fall over nine months ago. At that time, and several times since, 113's leaders told the ranks that it was guaranteed that all Asbury Methodist workers who wanted to could transfer to suburban Methodist Hospital, where all of Asbury's facilities were moving.

Business representative Neil Geske, as late as March, told the ranks that this transfer to Methodist could take place when Asbury closes, with Asbury workers retaining their full seniority, pension and sick leave rights. This he announced he had in writing. 113's leaders also pledged to fight for transfer rights to hospitals that were in the vicinity of Asbury, though not affiliated, such as Swedish and St. Barnabas.

It is this second option which Geske has now announced will not be allowed. Asbury workers can only retain their full rights by transferring to Methodist, some seven and one half miles away.

This transfer is not as easy as it may seem. Due to the poverty wages most 113 members receive, many of them live within walking distance from work, to save on transport costs. Large numbers of hospital workers do not own cars. And to go from Asbury to Methodist means taking two buses. This means spending close to \$150 a year for bus fare--and this is better than two weeks take home pay for most hospital workers.

On top of this, 113's leaders have also announced that they won't take any responsibility for those Asbury workers who quit before the hospital's closing, thus losing all seniority and other rights.

The hospital administration at Methodist and Asbury Methodist are going to use the total capitulation to them by 113's leadership for all it is worth. They are going to pressure as many union mem-

bers as possible into quitting before September, by trying to ride roughshod over present contract provisions, through speedup, increased workload, telling workers that there is only part-time work available for them at Methodist.

#### MERGERS

We must understand that this is not a unique situation. Hospital employers around the country are more and more moving to consolidate their operations and close the least efficient. This is the meaning of the wave of hospital mergers that have swept the Twin Cities area in the last five years with plans to continue in the future.

Upcoming mergers include: St. Joseph's, St. Luke's, St. John's and Miller in St. Paul; Northwestern, Kenny, Mt. Sinai, Deaconess and the yet unbuilt Minneapolis Children's; and a proposed merger of Fairview, St. Mary's and the University of Minnesota hospitals.

The intention of all these mergers is clear: cut down on the number of hospital workers and shift as much work as possible onto the

lower-paid, non-union sectors. This, coupled with increasing closures of smaller hospitals, time and motion studies and speedup, will enable the hospital owners to start showing profits on their enterprises, profits gained out of the hides of the workers.

The bosses and the government throughout the country are viciously slashing away at the already paltry health and other public services. What is needed is not a cut but a vast expansion of these services to meet the needs of the masses of people.

As the existing economic crisis of the bosses deepens, this same sort of action begins to take place in every branch of industry. This is why Swift will make a fortune from its entire operations and cut down on any possible losses by closing its South St. Paul plant, throwing over 2000 workers on the street. The bosses are attempting to get their workers to pay for their crisis.

#### PROGRAM

The present leadership of 113 has absolutely no program

to fight the employers with. The employers try to shove the equivalent of the Charitable Hospitals Act down the throats of Minnesota teachers and other public employees. 113's leaders say they will fight this--and that is as far as it goes!

It is clear that the leadership in refusing to fight these closings is accepting the loss of more and more jobs in the hospitals. The real protection and advance of wages and working conditions must lie in the building of a new leadership that will fight for the interests of the ranks and not capitulate to the needs of the bosses.

The Workers League says: NO CLOSINGS! The ranks of 113 must immediately demand that the leadership mobilize the entire union against these closings. This means posing the threat that if one hospital is closed, the union will strike all city hospitals. This must be combined with the demand for NO JOB CUTS and for full employment through the 30 hour week.





TWEEDLE DUM

BY KAREN FRANKEL

The victory of the two most right wing candidates in the recent New York City mayoralty primary, sounded the death knell of liberalism in this city.

The responsibility for the victories of Mario Procaccino and John Marchi, not dissimilar from the electoral results

# nyc elections reveal liberal bankruptcy

in Minneapolis and Los Angeles, rests clearly on the shoulders of the liberals. It is not simply a question of, as Nixon states, this rightward swing being "a sign of the times." Beneath this ostensibly conservative trend lies the collapse of reformism.

Neither Lindsay, Wagner, nor Badillo had anything concrete to say about improving the situation in the city. All candidates were bankrupt on the question of the budget cuts. None was able to propose a solution to the imminent heightening of racial tensions in the city aggravated by more unemployment and less money going to the marginal workers and the poor.

Badillo quite frankly stated

that "New York can never be a model city." The campaign then became turned around the issue of "law and order." The liberals had nothing to offer in terms of reformist solutions to the city's problems. The question of law and order was effectively used as a smokescreen by the conservatives and liberals alike to cover the real economic undercurrents causing the ripples of violent protest in various sections of the city.

Police protection and a strong arm was the conservative answer to the political void left by the liberals. The liberals thus were reduced to calling their opponents racists, but could still pose no real program which would unite black and white work-

ers.

There was no fighting program offered to push back the budget cuts, anti-labor laws, taxes, and to stop the general decay of the city. Reformism can no longer even claim to try to fight these things.

This is why Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37, and Harry Van Arsdale, head of the Central Labor Council, were miles behind their membership when they offered support to Lindsay and Wagner. The ranks have had it with these strikebreakers. Calling for support to such swine leads to complete apathy within the labor movement, which in turn enables the conservatives and backlash candidates to ride in.

## COUNTEROFFENSIVE

This is why a national counteroffensive of the workers and the poor is so necessary in this period. The Republicans and Democrats have proven themselves totally incapable of presenting anything further for the working people of this country. We need a party which will fight for that which the Bad-



TWEEDLE DUM

illos and the Wagners can't

ed public services for all.

The bosses are now planning to further mislead the working class by throwing up Lindsay and his new "Urban Party" as the representatives of some sort of liberal hope-battling single handedly against the arch-conservatives, Marchi and Procaccino. We all know what complete baloney that is. Lindsay and his primary "law and order" weapon, the Taylor Law, and his budget cuts have been no friend of labor or the poor. We say, we won't stand any more of this!

OUT WITH THE PHONEY LIBERALS!

OUT WITH THE REACTIONARIES!

BUILD A PARTY FOR AMERICAN LABOR!

## POSTAL WORKERS FIGHT MEASLY PAY, SPEED-UP

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

If anyone ever believed that Post Office employees were somehow beyond the pale of the class struggle, such naive beliefs were shattered when thousands of postal workers took to the streets of New York in mass demonstrations on June 20. More than 2,000 clerks and letter carriers chanting "strike, strike, strike", demonstrated at the main post office in Manhattan. In Brooklyn, a picket line protest demonstration outside the main post office was attacked by club swinging cops. The leader of the Brooklyn Postal Union got his first lesson on the real nature of the state remarking that he "had never seen police brutality before" and that it was "frightening."

The angry postal workers are demonstrating and threatening "sick calls" in protest against Nixon's 4.1% so-called wage boost which they called "insulting" at a time when prices are rising at the rate of close to 10% in the New York area. You can bet that they described the Nixon increase in less polite terms as well. The National Association of Letter Carriers is demanding a 16.5% pay increase. And to add insult to injury, regular letter carriers and clerks earn \$129 per week. Compare this to New York Sanitationmen, for instance, who earn \$178 per week. Many postal employees with less seniority

than the regulars earn even less. In addition there is a large turnover among new letter carriers who often complain that they don't even have adequate time for coffee and lunch breaks.

Post office workers are talking about "sick calls" and "Hong Kong Flu epidemics" over the July 4th weekend because they are denied the right to strike under Federal law. When asked about this, one postal worker said to this reporter, "What are we, slaves?"

## SLAVES

Postal employees are no less happy with Nixon's postal reorganization scheme whereby the Post Office will become a government owned but "independent" corporation basing its operations on the profit incentive. There is no doubt that this will mean that all the "modernization" of capitalist big business in the form of rationalization, speed-up, and automation will be brought to bear against the postal employees. The result will be a further deterioration of working conditions, loss of jobs and a steady worsening of service to the public, despite rising rates. Postal Union leaders charge that the plan threatens civil service status as well.

## RIGHTS

Worst of all, the Nixon scheme continues to make strikes illegal, and instead provides for the settlement of disputes through compulsory arbitration. Every postal employee realizes that this means that the "recognition of bargaining rights" is a complete fraud. The Presidents of the four local unions in the New York Metropolitan Postal Council have come out strongly against the Nixon reorganization scheme. The attacks on postal employees by the Federal government is part and parcel of the attack on public employees in cities and states across the country such as in New York where we have the strike breaking Tay-

lor Law. These laws and attacks on public employees are perpetrated by the Democrats no less than by the Republicans. In its own interests, all of organized labor must unite to fight against these laws and for the rights of the postal workers and all public employees.

## southern masonite workers form party to run workers' candidates

BY EARL OWENS

Workers in the Masonite plant in Laurel, Mississippi, recently have formed "The Committee for a Working People's Government." In 1967 the Masonite Company attempted to reorganize plant production - 200 state troopers were brought in to protect the scabs and police headquarters was moved inside the plant - after nine months of struggle the International Union took over the local and made a deal with the company. Masonite workers discovered in practice the need for political struggle.

They are predominantly white workers - some have racist backgrounds - but they are attempting to win support of black workers. The Workers Committee is running candidates for mayor and for two commissioners. A black woman and a black janitor were asked to run as candidates. Both declined. Many black people are suspicious of Herbert Ishee, a Masonite worker and candidate for mayor, because he was once a member of the Klu Klux Klan. White businessmen are also pressing their black employees not to have anything to do with the new party.

Mr. Ishee states: "When I am elected, I'm going to see that these corporations and rich individuals are assessed truly. I want people to know from the beginning that we are going to represent the working class of people. I think this election is important but the idea of work-



HAZEL BUSH, WORKING PEOPLES CANDIDATE IN LAUREL, MISS.

ing people running for office can spread."

But Mr. Ishee is right. The idea of working people running for office can spread. And white workers cannot win without black workers. Racial caucuses whether black, white or brown will only serve to divide workers. Trade union caucuses who are still fighting bread and butter issues in other parts of the

U.S. can learn something from the workers of Laurel.

## ASSESSED

Assessing the corporations more will, of course, only make them try to get more out of the workers. If Masonite can still hire and fire at will, controlling City Hall won't do any good. Masonite has to be nationalized under workers control.

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# LAW AND ORDER' COMES TO MINNEAPOLIS

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS-- The victory of Charles Stenvig in the June 10 mayoralty elections is a direct warning to Minneapolis trade unionists and students.

Running as an independent on the single issue of "law and order", Stenvig, a police detective, first eliminated Democrat endorsed Hegstrom in the March primary, and then went on to smother Republican Cohen, 74,750 to 46,740 in the June runoff.

Marchi and Procaccino in New York, Yorty in Los Angeles, and Stenvig in Minneapolis - a trend that follows the Wallace campaign by only 7 months - is presented in the capitalist press as a backlash by ignorant workers "fed up" with campus and racial "disorders".

It is, in fact, nothing of the sort. That workers in their thousands voted for Stenvig demonstrates that they are fed up, all right, but it is only the press along with the liberals who are maintaining that the reason is the students and the blacks. It is an all too convenient scapegoat.

**BEEF**

Presumably the war, inflation, super high interest rates, growing unemployment and increasing political attacks directed against the unions mean nothing to workers whose only beef is demonstrating students.

It is a nice way to avoid confronting the real problems. What really stands out most glaring in these elections is the complete bankruptcy of liberal reformism in the face of the ever deepening crisis in U.S. capitalism.

Well before the Wallace campaign the Bulletin warned workers and students of full scale attacks by the bosses as the only way they can seek to preserve their system. As we enter a period of revolutionary upheavals reformist attempts at holding back the impact of the crisis fall one after another.

Wallace revealed the depth of the discontent among trade unionists who are fed up with the bankruptcy of the present politicians who have threat-

ened everything that workers struggled to achieve since the war.

**DISGUST**

When Minneapolis workers vote for Stenvig it is not out of a new found affection for cops, but more a reflection of their disgust for the liberal Naftalin and his inability to make a single significant improvement in the worsening situation in Minneapolis, which is on the verge of economic disaster.

None of this is in any way an "apology" for the workers' backwardness in voting for the tin pot demogogy of Stenvig, who channels their discontent toward other victims of the capitalist crisis.

Workers will find out through hard experience fast enough just what "law and order" in the concrete is all

about as increasing anti-union laws get rammed down workers throats and Stenvig comes down firmly on the side of the bosses.

But the whole point is, and has been, to build an alternative leadership within the working class, especially the unions, that will lead workers as a class in struggle back against the crisis. The union leadership has shown itself incapable of fighting politically on behalf of its members in endorsing Republican Cohen, a slick politician they tried to palm off as a newly discovered friend of labor.

That workers by the thousands have broken from the Republicans and Democrats is a sign that a new political radicalization of the working class is emerging. That this initially reflects itself

politically around the right wing Stenvig is a grim warning. But it would be completely one-sided to picture from this, as will of course the radical "hell bent for leather" middle class adventurists, that the working class is moving to the right. Through strike after strike workers have shown that they do not intend to pay for the crisis.

The struggle of the Workers League to pose to the working class a Labor Party based on the unions with a socialist program to resolve the crisis through a workers government is vindicated more each day as workers grope toward a political expression of the fight that daily in their unions they are being forced to wage.

Only the struggle to unite the entire working class pol-



CHARLES STENVIG

itically can undercut the embryonic fascistic tendencies growing in strength by feeding on the workers discontent. Middle class radicalism, which poses utterly reformist and utopian demands only furthers divisions in the working class and between workers and students.

## The Honeymoon is over for S.F. Welfare Workers



PROBATION OFFICERS OF LOCAL 400 STRIKE IN SAN FRANCISCO

BY A WELFARE WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO -- Social workers and clerks have long felt they had a good racket-- instead of fighting for shorter hours, they took hour long coffee breaks and signed out to the 'field' and went home. Wages went up automatically every year and a 'good' social worker could get his clients refrigerators, washing machines, and up the grant if the client was paying too much rent. Social workers saved up for trips to Europe.

This dreamland is crumbling: A wage increase for

7 1/2% was cut to 5% by the Board of Supervisors and now the Chamber of Commerce is attempting through the courts to reduce the increase to zero.

However, city employees will not even receive this increase which is due on July 1st. The City Comptroller has stated that he will not allow the increases to go out until the Chamber of Commerce's civil suit is resolved.

A request for \$9,240,000 for General Assistance was reduced to \$3,700,000 by Ronald Borne, head of the Department of Social Services. Under the pressure of the workers and clients' rights groups combined with the fear of violent repercussions, the Social Services Commission whose members are appointees of the mayor reversed the cuts. Borne told the Commission that they could not reverse his decision because at the rate county funds for General Assistance were being spent there would be no funds left by November 1969 and the whole program would have to be closed down. But because the Commission did not follow orders, the Board of Supervisors now is planning on eliminating the Commission altogether as it no longer serves any purpose.

Further attacks on welfare standards have been instituted along with the cuts. Cli-

ents who are employable (even if 60 years old) but who admit to having done farm labor are cut off from General Assistance. Cut off are all unmarried youth between the ages of 18 and 21. The special high rent allowances made to families with children is also cut off.

An old, obscure rule has been revived which permits the firing of employees who might have thought they were permanent.

**CONVERSION**

In the midst of this comes 'conversion', a system in which much of the work now done by social workers will be done by clerks. In theory a step forward (clients' statements will be accepted without further checking), in practice reactionary because clerks will be paid less than social workers, penalties will increase for fraud, and special needs will be eliminated because the clerks will have too many cases to handle, all meaning the system will save money.

The Social Service Employees Union, a New Leftist conglomeration which calls the AFL-CIO fascist, denounces conversion and instead argues for the status quo! The SSEU claims that if social workers don't control the clients money, getting the most they can for their clients, there will be no reason for social workers. The proponents of conversion, on the other hand, argue that social workers will have more time to provide 'services' to clients once the money and clerical aspects are separated out.

This debate, of course, has nothing to do with reality. It is absurd to talk of 'services' to clients while telling them they have to live on \$166 a month which a husband, wife, and one child must live on. Advice, which is all 'services' is, can only consist of platitudes when the real issue is money. It is equally absurd to defend the status quo as the SSEU does because clients could get a good deal if they got a good social worker and social worker jobs were safe. (With the latest cut backs, it

won't even matter what kind of social worker the client gets--there won't be anything the social worker will be able to do.

**MONEY**

The real issue is that the government is trying to save money at the expense of both worker and client. How the government administratively makes these cuts, whether by conversion or increasing caseloads or cutting out special needs, is not important. What is important is that the government must be fought-- no cuts in jobs or in clients grants must be permitted.

Several weeks ago, youth probation officers, whose work is similar to social workers, went on strike. They demanded the hiring of additional probation officers to lighten the caseloads. Their picket line was respected by other workers and they won their demand. The strike was led by Local 400 AFL-CIO, the city employees union, which is also competing with the SSEU in the Dept. of Social Services. Confronted by two unions in one department, the younger employees have tended toward the SSEU with its radical rhetoric, and the older employees towards Local 400. The leadership of Local 400 has tended to rely on its connections with City Hall instead of developing rank and file struggle. The SSEU correctly criticizes the bureaucratic aspects of Local 400, but instead of attempting to change 400's leadership, it accuses 400 of being 'fascist'. This insane accusation has only served to divide the membership of both unions and confuse many new workers.

The key to this struggle must be the merger of the SSEU with Local 400. Only within the labor movement can the welfare workers make any gains and begin the fight to overthrow the attacks on their wages and working conditions. The fight must be opened up within the Central Labor Council to mobilize the entire labor movement against the cuts and against the anti-union legislation which the government is preparing.

### Protest Berkeley Police Repression

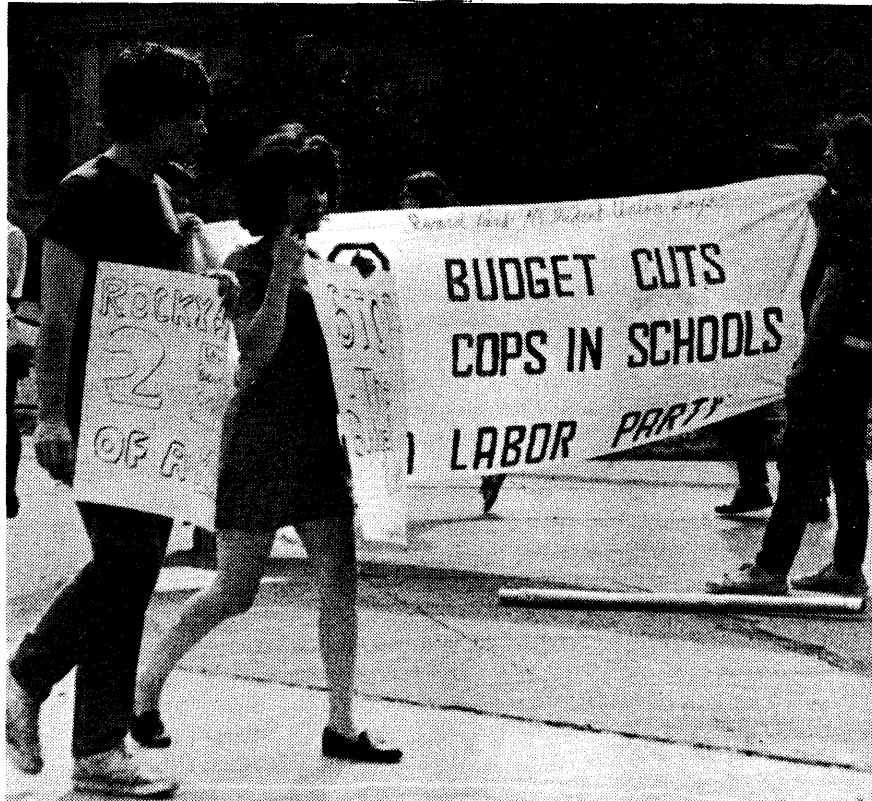
More than 300 signatures were obtained in the San Francisco Department of Social Services for a petition calling for trade union action against the police repression in Berkeley. The petition was initiated by supporters of the Workers League. Local 400, which has become infamous for its lack of activity, had a serious political discussion at a business meeting for the first time in its history according to one old time union member.

Instead of the usual unanimous vote, right wingers voted solidly against any resolution. To their chagrin, the resolution carried. It states in

part: "Whereas the membership of this union is disturbed concerning the recent developments in the City of Berkeley across the Bay; and whereas these recent developments involve police repression against students, citizens, public employee union members and others, the like of which has never been in this country; and whereas in defense of this ominous change in police tactics the Governor of the State of California used words and phrases exactly in line with those used by Adolph Hitler in 1932...Resolved that we condemn Governor Ronald Reagan for his leadership in this type of repressive activity..."



# STUDENTS FIGHT BACK AGAINST NYC CUTS



NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FIGHT BUDGET CUTS. (LEFT) PERFORMING ARTS STUDENTS (RIGHT) SEWARD PARK HS STUDENTS UNION

NEW YORK--School ended this year with a bang. In the final weeks hundreds of high school students joined in the battle against the budget cuts. A rally was held at the High School of Performing Arts; Music and Art students marched down to City Hall.

The Seward Park High School Students Union called a demonstration on June 13th

at City Hall involving students from other schools in the city. In their leaflet the Seward Park Students Union linked the attacks on the students to the attacks on the workers in this city and state through the budget cuts and the anti-union legislation. The banners at the demonstration demanded: Expand the Colleges--Free Higher Education For All! Stop the Budget Cuts!

Stop Police Repression! Build a Labor Party!

The cuts made this spring were cruel enough but now the government has come forth with additional blows. The Board of Higher Education has voted to raise fees in what was once a tuition free city university system. Of course this represents only a beginning. Each year will bring increases making it harder

and harder for working class youth in this city to get a college education.

Just to make sure that the students will not get any ideas about fighting against these policies, the Board has also developed an eight point code prohibiting actions on the campuses.

There can be no doubt that these moves represent an at-

tack on the working class. This has forced Harry Van Arsdale, head of the Central Labor Council, to respond with the demand that free higher education be provided for all youth who want it. But more than fine speeches are needed. What is required is that the fight be taken into the labor movement, that workers and students be mobilized in a real fight against these attacks.

## UFT takes money, three year contract

BY OUR LABOR CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK--As we go to press a contract agreement has been reached between the City and the United Federation of Teachers providing for increases in the range of \$1,000 per year as part of a three year contract. The current scale of \$6,760 to \$11,150 will be raised in three years to \$9,400 to \$13,950. In addition some \$10 million will be allocated for an expansion of MES and other improvements for schools in ghetto areas.

Clearly the last thing Mayor Lindsay wanted was a strike in an election year, particularly this year where he has to face both a Republican and a Democratic opposition, and he was willing to pay a good price to avoid this. Moreover, for the first time in history, he was able to obtain a three year contract from the union. Lindsay would have had to pay substantial wage increases in any event because of the continued flight of teachers from the decaying New York City school system.

At the same time the contract is a tribute to the power of the organized labor movement and the failure of the community control people, the Ford Foundation, the City and the revisionists to break the union during last year's Ocean Hill-Brownsville battle.

But at this writing some large questions remain unanswered. Most important is what, if any, guarantee is in the new contract to at least arrest the erosion of the schools? Only a short while ago the Board of Education was talking in terms of increasing the class size by one pupil

and funds for capital improvements are also being cut.

In three years the decaying school system can decay even further making teacher's working conditions even more

impossible and the pupils' education even more of a farce. And the City will have the union tied to a three year contract prohibited from strike action to fight back.

The hardline Stalinist leadership of the Czech government is stepping up its attack to break the resistance of the students and the working class in preparation for new economic attacks on the working class. This is the meaning of the recent dissolution of the Czech students union and the great pressure placed upon the powerful metal workers union which only narrowly averted a sympathy strike in support of the students.

Many of the delegates of the 900,000 member union were pushing for a hour long protest strike and the locomotive workers in the C.K.D. plant actually went out for 15 minutes only to be forced to make up the work at the end of the day.

What is really at issue is that the new Moscow leadership which dumped Dubcek seeks to combine Dubcek's economic policies with Moscow's police state control. This means that a series of economic measures are now beginning to be implemented which will mean increased speed-up in the shops, unemployment and inflation as Czechoslovakia gears its economy to make it more competitive with Europe at the very time that Europe's economy is in crisis and economic competition at its highest point since the war. This way the world capitalist crisis becomes partially in-

ternalized in Czechoslovakia, delivering through the bureaucracy direct blows on the working conditions and living standards of the Czech working class.

Under such conditions any form of independence of students or workers is extremely

dangerous. Despite all government efforts, however, the back of the resistance of the Czech workers has not yet been broken nor is it likely to be. Thus Czechoslovakia is heading towards new explosions with the working class emerging as the real

wage price--could well be the biggest blow to the teachers and the working class youth of New York City the leadership of the UFT and the government has ever delivered.

## CZECH WORKERS HIT ATTACKS ON STUDENTS

### Moscow Conference Of Stalinism In Disarray

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Although they were unable to achieve an official condemnation of the Chinese, the Soviet leadership used the Moscow conference primarily in order to step up the campaign against Peking. One after another the loyal followers of the Kremlin got up to denounce Maoism, to label it as "neo-Trotskyism", and even "more dangerous than the old Trotskyism."

Indian Stalinist leader Dange recalled with satisfaction the role played by Moscow in the notorious Tashkent agreement of 1965. At that time Kosygin eagerly carried out the dirty work for U.S. imperialism, bringing the Pakistani and Indian rulers together to settle their differences, strengthening both reactionary regimes as well as imperialism, which stood to lose much from the threat of revolutionary upheaval in that area of the world. And yet Dange and other Moscow

puppets spoke brazenly of the threat posed by the collaboration between imperialism and the Chinese! This is the big lie technique with a vengeance!

British CP secretary John Gollan spoke about the attainment of a parliamentary majority coming out for socialism as the final goal of the CP. This is the "leader" who disassociates himself from the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. It is clear that for Gollan and the British party it is not a matter of defending the Czech working class but of taking up a right wing position, of demonstrating their responsibility to their own bourgeoisie, even if this necessitates a polite dispute with the Kremlin.

In their hysterical campaign against the Chinese Revolution; in their constant intrigues and vicious pressures brought to bear upon the Vietnamese fighters; in their attacks upon the Arab comman-

do militants and their efforts to make sure that even Nasser does not get out of line; their complete capitulation to the ruling national bourgeoisie in Asia and Latin America; and their struggle to keep the students and workers divided in France and throughout Europe in every possible way the Stalinist parties assembled in Moscow in June are the main counterrevolutionary accomplices of imperialism within the working class.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is in mortal crisis and the Moscow conference shows this. All the centrifugal tendencies amongst these parties will not automatically destroy them, however. On the contrary, it is necessary to expose these traitors over and over again. We must take advantage of the crisis of the bureaucracy to forge links to workers inside the Communist Party, and to build the Fourth International