

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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103

TEN CENTS

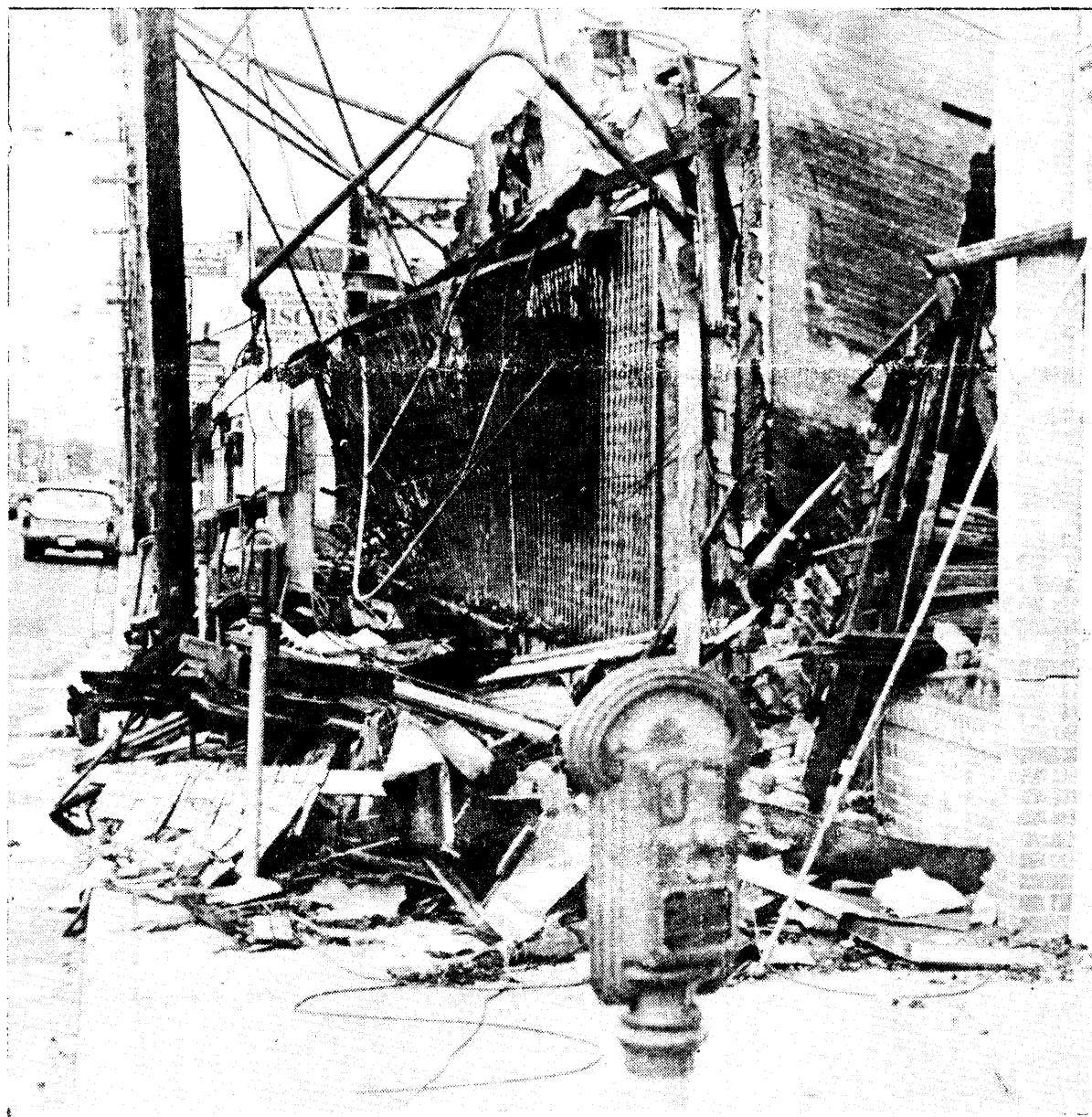
**International
Committee Proposes
Discussions With
United Secretariat**

Conquer 3/4 of Country

JUL 27 1970

INSTITUTION

CAMBODIAN WORKERS DRIVE INVADERS BACK



The view along Springwood Ave. Asbury Park (above); Bulletin Reporter Pat Connelly (far right in photo on right) interviews Asbury Park youth on causes of rebellion.

EXCLUSIVE

*Bulletin Reporter
Probes Behind
The Asbury Park
Rebellion*

*Revolutionary
Youth Movement
Must Be Built!*

**SSEU-Waverley Ranks
Fight Lindsay's Attacks
DC 37--Gotbaum Sells
Out Summer Hours**



on the spot report from asbury park

Youth Fight Against Unemployment

BY PAT CONNOLLY

ASBURY PARK, N.J., July 10—As I arrived in this small resort city along the Jersey shore which was torn by riots last weekend, State Troopers in riot gear were parked along the railroad tracks that divide the West Side ghetto from the resort area of beaches and large homes, stopping and searching cars going into the ghetto.

Behind the riots, in which over 165 persons were injured, 92 by shotgun pellets, lies a story that exists in almost every city of America. In discussion after discussion with both black and white youth, that story was unemployment.

Of the dozens of black youth I spoke with, only two had jobs. One worked in a restaurant for the third summer in a row. Another youth had a job for the summer, 26 hours a week at \$1.50 an hour. For the rest, the summer is one long bleak stretch of no money, no job, and no future.

On the cover of the Bulletin of last week was a story about the riots in Northern Ireland, with a photograph of youths in Derry being attacked by British troops. Many of the youths I spoke with, when they first saw the cover of the paper, asked if it were Asbury Park.

SHOTS

During the riot a seven block area of Springwood Avenue in the heart of the ghetto was burned and gutted, and hundreds of angry black residents surged across the railroad tracks that divide the town and toward the business area. Windows were broken along the way and the marchers were met by police and New Jersey State Troopers armed with shotguns. The wounded include a 14 year old boy and a 75 year old man.

A spokesman for the State Troopers said that "shots were fired in the air" to disperse the crowd. When asked how so many people were injured by shots fired over their heads, he answered that, in this kind of situation "we have to give them (the Troopers) a certain freedom of thought."

Reports that police broke windows and pointed shotguns at anyone near windows in the West Side ghetto were corroborated by youths I spoke with. One said that the police themselves had done some of the damage and looting during the riot.

Troopers were also reported to have slashed tires on a car parked in a gas station in the black area, smashed soda bottles in the street, and threw one arrested youth, with his arms tied behind his back, into the trunk of a police car.

One 19 year old member of the "community patrol," Anthony Hines, who was escorting two other residents home after the curfew was on, was beaten and arrested by police, and claims that a shotgun was aimed at his head and he was told to run. This kind of thing has been reported in the Newark and Detroit riots, and after the victim ran police murder them, re-

porting that they had tried to escape arrest.

Community leaders in the ghetto area have concentrated their efforts on restraining the youth and keeping the streets "cool". A 28-man black patrol force was sent out to keep people off the streets during curfew time. The same black leaders protested today when the mayor, Joseph Mattice, lifted the 11pm curfew that has been in effect, stating that there should be a 6 pm curfew. They are clearly trying to prevent the youth from acting on any of their grievances.

DEMANDS

Twenty one demands were raised during discussions between city officials and community leaders after the height of the rebellion. For the most part these centered on demands for more industry and year round employment, housing and immediate hiring of 100 black youths.

Almost all of the young people interviewed by this reporter were unemployed. Virtually all of them, when asked what was behind the riots, answered that there are no jobs for them, there are not adequate recreational facilities, and that the housing is bad.

Unemployment in Asbury Park is 15%. In the small towns around Asbury where there were also uprisings last week—there were also uprisings last weekend—Red Bank, Freehold, Long Branch—unemployment ranges from 10% to 20% of the population as a whole, rising much higher among teenagers, and higher still among black teenagers.

There are some seasonal jobs available—at \$1.16 an hour, but these are taken by college students for the summer, or by newly arrived blacks from the South who are working for lower wages than the local residents can live on.

The local anti-poverty agencies are getting less than half of the federal money they received last year, and one of them, the Monmouth Community Action Program, reported getting 700 applicants for 40 jobs.

Although Asbury Park is a small (22,000) seaside resort town, where employment is seasonal and there is little basic industry, the problems are the same as those across the country. In city after city the same situation is waiting to explode.

UNEMPLOYMENT

At a time when unemployment is on the rise nationally in every major industry, the youth are hit with an even higher rate of joblessness. Unemployment among black teenagers nationally is around 30-



Above: Asbury Park youth tell Bulletin reporter Pat Connolly about their desire for decent jobs. Below: Some of the youth that the State Troopers were called in against.



35%. For these youths, it is like the Depression.

The same kind of situation has now broken out in Highland Park, Michigan and New Bedford, Massachusetts, where rioting erupted in the last few days. High youth unemployment in these areas can be traced, as the newspapers have traced it, to the decline of the fishing industry or the slump in auto production, but it is part of a crisis which is gripping the capitalist system internationally. The deepening crisis of the system is expressed in skyrocketing inflation and unemployment, and everywhere the brunt of the burden hits the youth and young workers, black and white.

The Asbury Park riots, as well as the ones in New Bedford and in Michigan, are clearly related to the rising unemployment among teenagers. Hundreds of thousands of youth without jobs confront a future that is bleaker than ever before. Many of them are Vietnam veterans who have come back to no job and no future. Many thousands more are just passing time until they become cannon fodder for Vietnam in the next couple of years. All of them become targets for the police who harrass youth for hanging out on ghetto streetcorners.

With this explosive situation on their hands, it is no mystery why the bosses and their newspapers and schools cultivate racial divisions between black and white. The deepening crisis in the capitalist system hits both black and white workers. Unemployment, inflation, lousy housing, no recreational facilities hit both black and white youth. But so long as they are divided and separated by racism, the bosses and their system are off the hook and can go on making profit by driving down the living standards and wages of all workers.

One white youth this reporter spoke with expressed this division: "They (the

blacks) want 100 jobs right now. Well there are at least 100 white kids who need jobs too. Why should the blacks get the jobs?"

UNITE

But more than anything else the bosses would like to see whites and blacks pitted against each other, instead of against a common enemy. More than anything else they are afraid of blacks and whites uniting around demands for jobs for all at decent pay.

We can see from cities that now have black mayors that it is not a question of color but a question of class. Mayor Stokes of Cleveland, a black mayor, called out the National Guard against striking Teamsters, and the same Guard was used against students at Kent State College. He would use the same Guard against black youth rebelling in the ghettos. Mayor Gibson of Newark will do the same, because he, just like Asbury Park Chief of Police Thomas Smith, is more interested in serving the interests of the businessmen and the bosses than those of the working people.

In the coming months there are going to be more and more rebellions and riots in cities across the country. In every case there has to be a struggle to unite black and white youth to fight against the common enemy, to raise demands that unite them against a system that oppresses all working people and uses racism to divide and conquer.

NOTICE

This is the last issue of the Bulletin that will be published before our two week vacation break. The next issue will be dated August 10th.



Asbury Park policeman firing pistol runs after youth at height of the rebellion.

Discussion to United Secretariat

The preparation for the fourth International Congress convened by the International Committee of the Fourth International is now going ahead in the sections affiliated to the Committee.

As part of this preparation the Committee requested G. Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, to contact representatives of the Unified Secretariat for informal talks around the possibility of joint discussion centered on outstanding political differences and directed towards the holding of a joint international conference.

Two meetings were held at which G. Healy stressed the politically favorable situation in Western Europe for the building of the Fourth International.

The comrades from the Unified Secretariat agreed with this, but thought that talks at this stage may be premature because of the deep-going political differences which existed between the respective organizations.

They also felt that some attacks went beyond "the framework of political polemic." They cited especially the Moscoso affair in Bolivia.

The IC representative suggested that a joint commission could be set up to investigate such problems, thereby allowing the joint political discussion to proceed in an objective atmosphere.

He made it clear that if this was agreed to, joint work would be possible, leading up to the conference.

Joint work without discussion may well lead to further difficulties.

The representatives of the Unified Secretariat then said they had no mandate to discuss such matters, but would report the talks back to their organizations.

All Trotskyists and sympathizers will, we are sure, support the positive proposals of the International Committee. We urge the members and supporters of the Unified Secretariat to reply in a similar way.

EDITORIAL

Rebellions Pose Need For Youth Movement

The rebellions which have swept the East Coast this week, from Asbury Park, N.J. to New Bedford, Mass. signal the growing unrest and militancy among working class youth who are feeling the full brunt of capitalism's decay. These rebellions pose sharply the necessity to construct a working class youth movement which fights for a program to defeat capitalism.

UNEMPLOYMENT

For young people throughout the U.S., black and white, the problem is the same this summer—unemployment. There are no jobs this summer and there will be none in the future. The future holds nothing but more poverty, war, and unemployment.

The brutality and violence unleashed in Asbury is but a foretaste of the ways in which the government is prepared to deal with the working class as a whole as it fights against the attacks on its living standards. The brutal attack on the black youth fighting back in the ghettos is an attack on the entire working class and must be answered by the labor movement.

It is clear that the strategy of the employers and the Nixon Administration is to use the growing pool of unemployed as a bludgeon against the power of the working class in the trade unions, to pit young workers against older workers, race against race. The government is consciously trying to fan the flames of racism among the youth and in the unions.

In New Bedford this past week this failed as the black, Puerto Rican, and Portuguese youth united together to show their hatred of capitalism. The determination and fighting strength of the youth must be forged into a movement which unites students, young workers and unemployed youth of all races. A working class youth movement based on the fight for socialism must be built. This is the only way to take forward the fight against the capitalist system which alone is responsible for the war, unemployment, the decaying schools and housing.

LABOR MOVEMENT

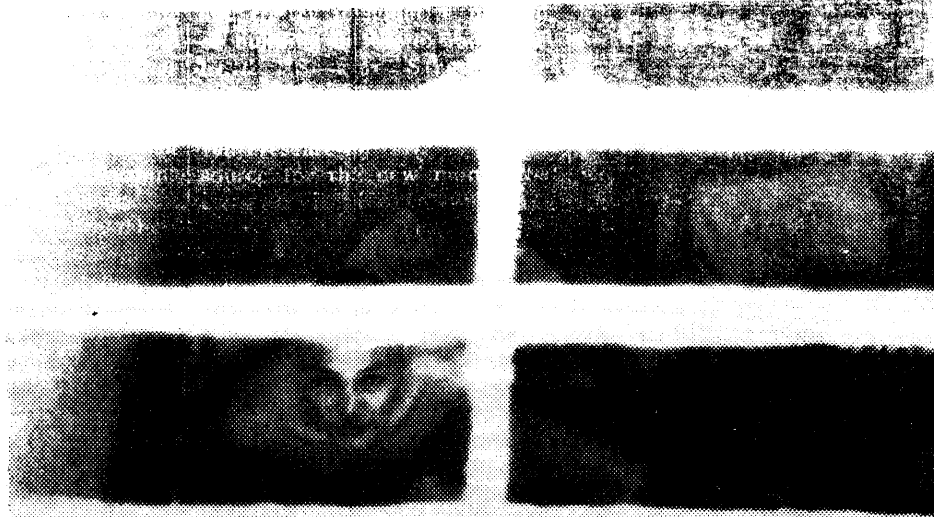
The central task of this movement must be to take the fight into the labor movement demanding that the unions take up the defense of the young workers and unemployed with a program and strategy which can defeat the real enemy, the capitalist class.

The labor movement must raise as central in its struggles today the demands for full employment, for jobs for all through the fight for the thirty hour week at forty hours pay and for training for young workers at union wages. But the fight against unemployment, inflation, and the war can only go forward if it is waged politically. This is the lesson of the struggles in Asbury as well as in the unions and on the campuses.

The new generation of young working class militants must fight for the labor movement to form its own political party, a labor party. It is a labor party which can unite the struggles of the unions, the youth, and the unemployed.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Prisoner peers out of "Tiger Cage" in infamous South Vietnamese island prison.

Workers, Peasants Drive U.S. Out of Cambodia

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The "credibility gap" concerning U.S. imperialism's plans for its war in Indochina widened last week as Secretary of State Rogers stepped off his plane returning from a two week tour of Asia. Rogers has concluded that "the Communists have no immediate interest" in a negotiated settlement in Vietnam because of the defeat they recently suffered in Cambodia.

This is the way that the *New York Times* describes Rogers' remarks:

"Mr. Rogers is believed to have accepted the theory that the Communists are unlikely to negotiate from a position of relative weakness following the attacks by the allies in Cambodia because this would undermine their basic political position."

Thus, Rogers contends the U.S. must "brace itself for a protracted war" in Indochina. The *Times* reports that "American officials" who travelled with Rogers "find such a Communist attitude logical under the circumstances."

But the real logic for Rogers' report comes from the fact that U.S. imperialism was delivered a serious military setback in Cambodia by the liberation forces and failed to reverse the setback it has suffered in Vietnam.

DECISIVE

It is in fact U.S. imperialism that has suffered a decisive defeat in Cambodia. The liberation forces which before the U.S. offensive controlled less than a quarter of Cambodia now control over three quarters of it with the full support of the workers and peasants.

Rogers' statement is a fraud to cover up for U.S. imperialism's failures in Cambodia and its intentions to crush the revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants through an offensive throughout Indochina.

The whole reason for the Cambodian invasion in the first place was to achieve on the Cambodian battlefield what it could not achieve in Vietnam—a military victory. Nixon was quite aware then as he is now without a military victory he could not go to the bargaining table. In no way are the political and military aspects of this war separate, despite his contention that "There is no military solution to this conflict."

While Nixon is describing the "Cambodian Ordeal" in glowing terms of success and Rogers is contending that the communists were retreating because of defeat, the reality of the situation is something quite different.

Since the invasion of Cambodia, the situation for imperialism has deteriorated. *U.S. News and World Report* states that "the country is drifting out of control. Neither Cambodians nor Communists were firmly in command as July began—but Communist forces were nibbling away at Phnompenh's defenses. The Government in Phnompenh, imperfect at best, is breaking down." The North Vietnamese move freely around the entire northern half of the country with full support of the Cambodian workers and peasants. The Lon Nol government has had to abandon three provinces in the northeast altogether.

DETERMINATION

The U.S. aggression in Cambodia, the "unfortunate habit" (as the capitalist press terms it) which the South Vietnamese army had of looting the villages and raping the women, has only swelled the forces

of resistance among the Cambodian peoples to U.S. imperialism and its agents in Saigon and the Lon Nol regime. Thousands of Cambodian workers and peasants have joined the guerrilla forces and have increased their determination to drive imperialism out.

This is the real situation behind Rogers' remarks. Nixon was forced back to the borders because of the strength of the liberation forces and the deepening class conflict in the U.S. Rogers' statement is in fact a warning that U.S. imperialism has every intention of defeating the workers and peasants through more of its brutal warfare. It is the determination of the masses that stands as the major impediment to any deal in Paris. The training of Cambodian, South Vietnamese, and Thai forces is but a stopgap measure now so that the U.S. can prepare a new offensive. This is why Nixon has made it absolutely clear he would not hesitate to act if a major operation is required in Cambodia or Vietnam.

CLASS

It is in this context that the class colors of the liberals is exposed. The liberals' antiwar activities have boiled down to the Cooper-Church Amendment. This is put as a cover for their agreement with Nixon that imperialism's hold must be maintained in Southeast Asia. The amendment itself was not passed until the U.S. forces were on their way out of Cambodia. Not only is it openly recognized that this bill will not be passed in the Senate but it reaffirms Nixon's powers to act to protect U.S. troops (or interests) when necessary, and "wherever deployed." When you get down to the heart of it these liberals stand as much with Nixon against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia as they do with him on attacking the American working class with wage freezes.

The most criminal betrayal throughout the whole Cambodian affair has been executed by the Soviet bureaucracy. Its continued support to the corrupt Lon Nol regime only confirms that the Soviet Union is determined to maintain imperialism in Indochina. Lon Nol's cohorts in Saigon meanwhile have over 500 men and women prisoners shackled in "tiger cages" who are treated as animals, are paralyzed and suffering from TB. This is the real fruit of imperialism's rule.

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The lesson of the Cambodian war is that the potential exists for the complete defeat of U.S. imperialism and the victory of the workers and peasants. This means that the struggles of the workers and peasants of Indochina must be for total victory. This means that the American working class must take up this struggle for victory of the workers and peasants by fighting to defeat Nixon and the entire capitalist class at home.

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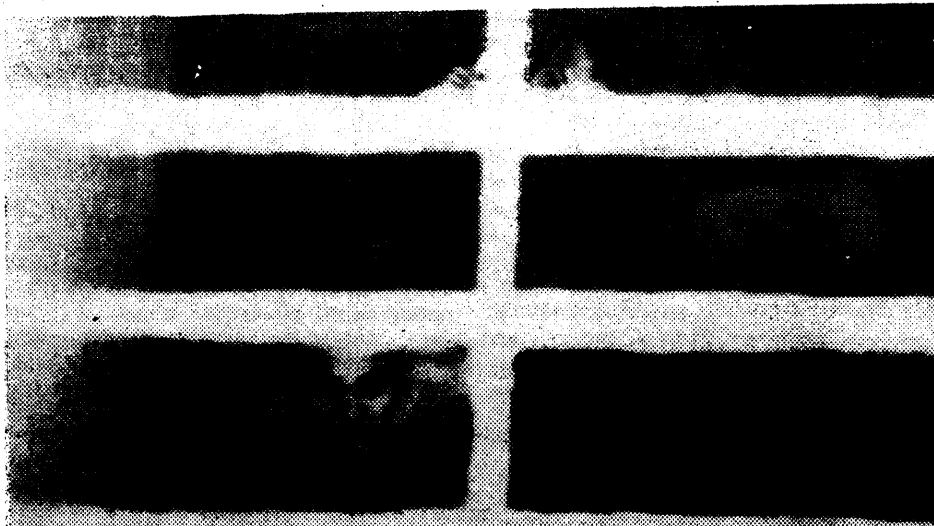
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What Is The Militant Trying To Say?

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The recent Cleveland and Chicago conferences are of the greatest importance because it was at these conferences that the basic program and strategy for the American working class was fought out. For this reason the *Bulletin* has devoted much space to reports and analyses of these conferences and the Workers League has been holding a series of meetings in different parts of the country, drawing the lessons of these conferences.

It is therefore of considerable importance that the coverage in the *Militant* of these conferences has been not only sparse but generally devoid of political content.

One would think that at least the Cleveland Conference, which the SWP played such an important role in building and which is headlined in the July 3 *Militant*, would receive serious treatment. But this is not the case. The main article on the conference by David Thorstad gives such a non-political and distorted account of the Conference that it seriously raises the question as to whether Thorstad was even there.

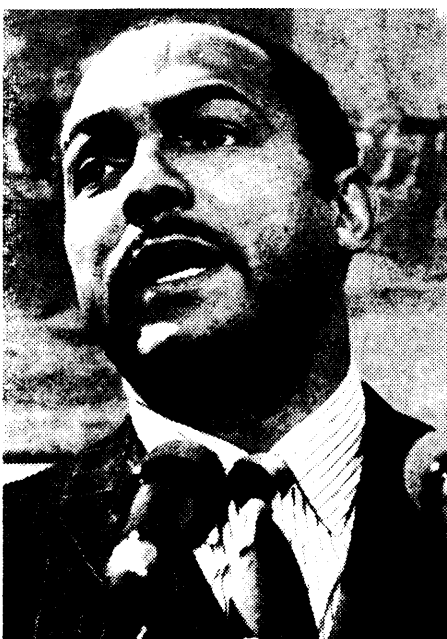
CONTENT

Particularly reprehensible is Thorstad's account of the PL-SDS intervention. The article notes that PL-SDS were "factionalists" seeking "to disrupt and destroy the conference." "An ultraleft hodgepodge resolution offering nothing in the way of an anti-war program of action was presented by PL-SDS forces but failed to win any support apart from its previously committed partisans," he comments.

What, may we ask, was the political content of this resolution and of the PL-SDS intervention as a whole? Why cannot Thorstad politically explain what was wrong with this resolution and intervention of PL-SDS? Why does he only express his own conclusions on their intervention without a single word of description of their political line?

We can only conclude from this that Thorstad and the *Militant* are no more capable of defending in the *Militant* than the SWP-YSA forces were at the conference, their political line from even the attacks of PL-SDS. PL-SDS proposed that the main demonstration in Cleveland be held not just against the right wing Republican Agnew but against the "liberal" black Mayor Stokes, the one who called in the troops against the Teamsters, the same troops which shot down the students at Kent.

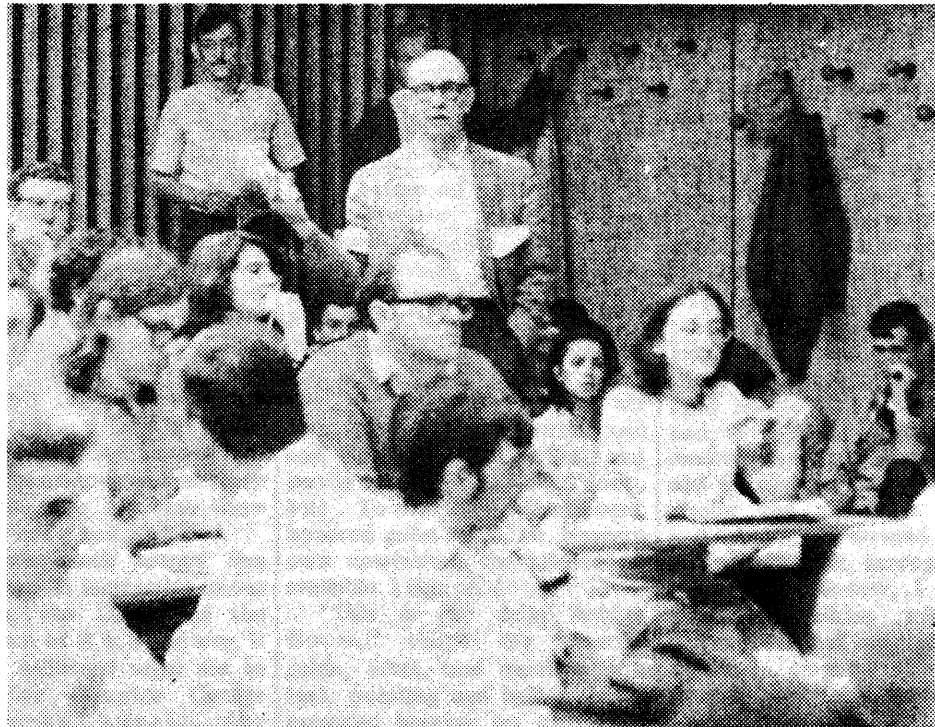
The YSA-SWP spokesman answered PL in the most blatantly opportunist fashion. Harry Ring, who edits the paper Thorstad writes in, stated that 90% of Cleveland's blacks supported Stokes. He therefore concluded that if we demonstrate against Stokes we would cut ourselves off from these blacks.



SWP opposes protests against Stokes.

This means that the SWP-YSA is declaring publicly that they are opposed to the antiwar movement ever demonstrating against any liberal Democrats who receive large votes from blacks. This means that the purpose of the antiwar movement is to mobilize mass pressure against only a section of the capitalist class. But to mobilize only against one section means the support of the other section of the capitalist class. It can mean nothing else. So much for the SWP-YSA's claims to a "non-partisan" and "non-political" antiwar movement.

Why are these remarks of Harry Ring not printed in the *Militant*? Why is no



Frank Lovell addresses labor workshop at Cleveland Conference. Why does the *Militant* suppress what really happened at Cleveland and where does it really stand on the struggle for the labor party and against Stalinism at the Chicago conference?

mention made of PL-SDS's criticism of this point and no argument made against its criticisms? We can only conclude that what Ring says on the floor of the conference in Cleveland, Ring has the good sense not to print in the pages of the *Militant*.

MISSING

Also missing from the Thorstad article, needless to say, was any mention of the Workers League intervention at the Conference. All that is said at this time is: "Several other proposals for differing programs of action were put forward, but none won significant support." This time we are not only not informed as to the content of the proposals, we are not even told which groups made the proposals. The Workers League, far from having insignificant support at the conference, brought 80 persons to the conference, having about half the strength the *Militant* lists for PL-SDS.

We have to turn to the July 17 *Militant* to find in the "In Passing..." column a reprint from the *Bulletin* which reveals what it is the Workers League presented at the conference. Stating that Pat Connolly's "political analysis leaves much to be desired" Malachi Constant quotes her in part:

"On the surface the conference was dominated by the Young Socialist Alliance against Progressive Labor-SDS, but the demands fought for by the Workers League—the question of the labor party—expressed the real division of the conference between Stalinism and Trotskyism."

It should be noted that the Connolly article quoted not only makes this assertion but proves it through a serious analysis of the conference events and the major proposals supported by the YSA and by PL-SDS. It makes quite clear the independent character of the Workers League's intervention, which sharply opposed all PL-SDS disruptive moves as well as fought it out against the YSA's opportunist liberalism.

STALINISM

While Constant states that Connolly's account "leaves much to be desired," Constant makes no attempt to explain what exactly is wrong with Connolly's assessment. Is the question of Stalinism—not once mentioned in Thorstad's original account of the conference—irrelevant in an analysis of the Cleveland conference? Was not PL-SDS's disruptive antics a reflection of Stalinism's

Moscow Trials thuggery towards the Trotskyist movement? Was this not also at the heart of the attack by PL-SDS on the SMC Steering Committee in Boston a few weeks earlier?

Could it be that the *Militant* cannot openly confront the Stalinist character of PL's intervention at the conference without revealing its own capitulation to Stalinism through its refusal to confront the CP-supported Mayor of Cleveland and its support for a popular front in the peace movement? If the question of the independent political struggle of the working class is central to the struggle against the war—and this is the meaning of the

our intervention in Chicago. Since Lovell does not once use the word "Stalinism" in his own account of the conference, and this is completely consistent with *Militant* reportage even of the PL-SDS hooligan attack in Boston, we can only conclude that Lovell is really opposed to openly mentioning Stalinism in a gathering dominated by Stalinist politics. If this interpretation is correct then he is opposed to mentioning Stalinism because it "finished any further discussion of the labor party question."

But then we must conclude that Lovell is for a discussion of the labor party question. If this is the case then why was it that the SWP and Lovell abstained in the conference as a whole and left the struggle on the labor party to the Workers League supporters? If, however, Lovell is for mentioning the "unmentionable" Stalinism, then his article and the conduct of his party in Chicago is all the more reprehensible.

Either interpretation only points up the confusion of the Socialist Workers Party and its political prostration when confronting the new offensive of the Stalinists—of both the CP and PLP varieties—against Trotskyism and in defense of popular front policies. What emerges—if only "in passing" and with Aesopian language—in the later issues of the *Militant* is what Thorstad suppressed in his account of the Cleveland Conference in the earlier issue of the *Militant*. This is that the Workers League and only the Workers League has fought consistently within the antiwar movement and within the trade unions against all forms of popular frontism, to expose every variety of Stalinism, and in defense of the independent political development of the American working class through the struggle for the labor party.

QUESTIONS

We have a right therefore to ask the SWP point blank some questions and to demand a serious answer:

• DOES OR DOES NOT STALINISM EXIST IN THE WORLD TODAY? If it does, are or are not the CP and PLP-SDS Stalinist formations? Is or is not the history of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism relevant to the political divisions in the American working class today?

• IS THE SWP FOR OR AGAINST THE LABOR PARTY SLOGAN? If it is for this, why does the SWP abstain from a struggle for it in the peace movement, in the trade unions, and even at the Chicago Conference?

• WHERE DOES THE SWP STAND ON STOKES AND GIBSON? Is it the position of the SWP that the antiwar movement cannot demonstrate against any politician who receives the votes of a large section of the black population? What is the meaning of the London article in the July 3 *Militant*? Is the SWP for the defeat of Gibson as a capitalist politician who receives the support of the Chamber of Commerce?



Does the SWP favor defeat of Gibson?

CHICAGO

This brings us to the Chicago Conference and the article by Frank Lovell in the July 10 *Militant*. This article is the most curious of all. The article implies, but does not state, what is clear to all who know the first thing about socialist politics in America, that the "Rank and File Action Conference" was called and dominated by the Communist Party and those forces close to it. It also hints at what is equally obvious, that politically the conference was dominated by the outlook of the popular front and Stalinism, which in America means a bloc with the liberal section of the Democratic Party and support to the "progressive" section of the labor bureaucracy.

Lovell also reveals that the opposition at the conference centered around a fight for the labor party. He notes that at the political action workshop: "A motion to call for the building of a labor party now drew a tie vote, with chairman Evan-off voting against." He does not, however, report that this motion was put forward by a group of trade unionists associated with the Workers League. He does however at a later point state:

"A momentary flurry of excitement occurred near the end of the two-day gathering when a delegate from a caucus of social workers in New York who also identified himself as a member of Workers League attempted to explain the need for a labor party and began with the assertion that 'the main issue here is whether to continue the Stalinist policy of popular frontism...'

"He got no further.

"There was a pained outcry from a large section of the conference. The startled chairman declared the hapless offender 'out of order.' And the microphone where he was speaking suddenly went dead. The unfortunate use of that unmentionable term Stalinism in a polite gathering where all pretend to be political innocents finished any further discussion of the labor party question."

LOVELL

Now there are several questions which immediately rise from this account of

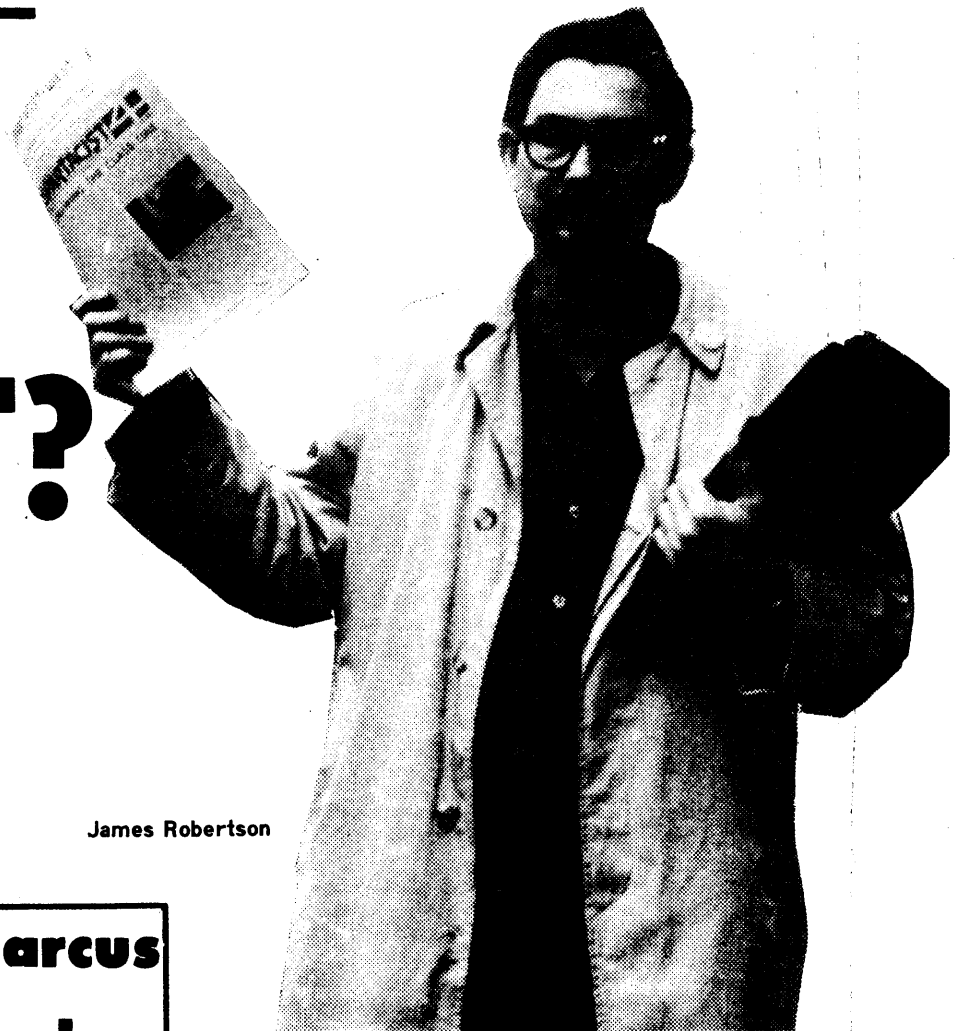
a series by **TIM WOHLFORTH**

WHAT IS SPARTACIST?

"If we subtract everything accidental, personal and episodic, if we reduce the present groupings in struggle to their fundamental political types, then indubitably the struggle of comrade Abern against comrade Cannon has been the most consistent. In this struggle Abern represents a propagandistic group, petty-bourgeois in its social composition, united by old personal ties and having almost the character of a family."

—Leon Trotsky - In Defense of Marxism p. 61

James Robertson



PART FIVE—The Graduates: L. Marcus K. Ellens, H. Turner, E. Crawford

LET US NOW take a look at three more graduates of the Spartacist school, graduates who are presently still active in radical politics. While these three, L. Marcus, Kay Ellens, and Harry Turner, hold quite diverse political views on the surface it will become clear that on fundamentals they still stand not only with each other but with Spartacist and the SWP.

We begin with Lynn Marcus who presently heads the Labor Committee, a group which is proud of the fact it bares no relationship whatsoever with Trotskyism. Marcus spent only a short while in ACFI and even a shorter time in Spartacist. But the time he spent in these organizations was the time of the April 1966 Conference and his relationship to this conference is revealing both as to his own political character and that of Spartacist.

ACFI began collaboration with Marcus in the summer of 1965 at a time when he was still a member of the SWP. Marcus sat out the whole period of struggle between 1961 and 1964. In that period he kept the closest personal relations with Murry Weiss, the leader of the right wing liquidationist wing of the party. However by 1965 he had come out in opposition to the SWP leadership particularly around the question of the international crisis and economic perspectives.

In this period Marcus maintained agreement with ACFI and the International Committee on international perspectives, Pabloism, and the construction of the Fourth International—at least in words. The relationship was not, however, without difficulty. In particular at the Montreal conference which paved the way for the unity negotiations with Spartacist, Marcus was urged to remain as long as possible in the SWP and carry on serious work seeking to continue the struggle for political clarification the SWP had sought to break off with; the split from the IC and the expulsion of our tendency. Marcus resisted this and in the end simply pulled out of the SWP without a serious struggle. He also refused to keep the struggle inside the SWP on a principled level

sinking into personal analyses and attacks on sections of the leadership.

EXPLOSION

However, the first major explosion with Marcus came on the eve of the April, 1966 Conference when ACFI was forced to reject Robertson's draft document as a basis for an American resolution to submit to the conference. Marcus was commissioned to work up an alternative draft for ACFI. This draft, as we have already noted, was not found acceptable by the Coordinating Committee of ACFI either. If we return to the criticisms made of that draft at the time we can see in embryo some of the political views which were to later take shape in the Labor Committee:

"The struggle for ideological and organizational hegemony is the necessary preparation for the penetration of the mass movement and the winning over of the young workers and minority youth. But this struggle must be understood in class terms, in Marxist terms. Here we get at another weakness of the Marcus document.

"Over and over again Marcus uses non-scientific, non-class terminology. This

terminology is not only confusing and imprecise, but as is so often the case, reflects a real disorientation. Marcus treats the socialist movement as something apart from the working class. He calls it 'left', 'radicals', 'radical youth', 'extreme left', etc. This movement is seen as something separate from the working class and as essentially synonymous with the students and intelligentsia.

"The problem is that Marcus tends to go over into a non-Marxist sociological approach, much as he did last fall in his articles on the S.W.P. Then, rather than dealing with the central political questions before the S.W.P. he subjected the S.W.P. to a sociological clique analysis which would supposedly reveal its future course. So today he poses the question of our orientation in a similar way. It all boils down to how to connect up the 'radicals' (read sociologically petty bourgeois) with the workers. Our movement is seen as part of the 'radical' camp and its task is firstly to achieve hegemony over these 'radicals' and then with the radicals marching under our banner either 'ally' ourselves with the workers or ask the workers to follow us

'radicals' (it is unclear which of these two alternatives he envisions).

"This is posing the question completely incorrectly. First of all we must dispense with the classless word 'radical' and replace it with 'socialist movement'. Secondly, the socialist movement must be seen as the conscious expression of the working class, the organization of the class in its most conscious form. This movement may express the consciousness of the proletariat correctly, and it may do so incorrectly. It may be a conscious vanguard ahead of the broad layers of the proletariat or it may be a conscious rearguard seeking to hold back the development of the proletariat. But once the socialist movement is not seen as part of the class, then the very Marxist concept of political parties collapses."(1)

Thus we see embryonically the completely elitist petty bourgeois concepts which were to form the basis for the Labor Committee.(2) Marcus stood at the time in a very inbetween political position. He agreed with the International Committee on the nature of the international crisis but he stood with the Spartacist on an exclusive orientation towards "radicals" and thus the building of a propaganda group and not a party. But as yet he stood formally for the Fourth International. We would shortly see which way this political divergence would be resolved.

FACTIONALISM

It was Robertson's break at the International Conference which sent Marcus into a flurry of factional activity breaking in the process, without a moment's hesitation, any ties with the Fourth International. He organized a small faction within ACFI which worked in collaboration with Robertson seeking to break as many in ACFI as possible from the International Committee to fuse with Spartacist.

Marcus made no bones about it. He was breaking from the IC because of Healy's supposed organizational practices and not because of any political differences. He stated:

"At the London Conference and in its sequel, it became clear that the continued political hegemony of the SLL had become a decisive obstacle to the founding of a new international and an American Trotskyist movement at this juncture. These issues, immediately thrown up to us in an organizational form, compelled us—as was the case with James P. Cannon in the late Twenties—to explore and face the political reasons for these organizational developments."(3)

Cannon in the late 1920s was fighting Stalinism and to his credit only took on the struggle which led to his expulsion from the Communist Party when he came



Lynn Marcus addresses student audience on his reformist schemes in the period after he had split from both the International Committee and Spartacist and formed SDS group.

across and came into political agreement with Trotsky's thorough political and theoretical analysis of Stalinism. Stalin's political differences with Bolshevism are absolutely crystal clear particularly on the question of socialism in one country. Marcus could discover no political expression of his accusation that the SLL had organizationally broken with Trotskyism and Leninism.

PERSONAL

As a result Marcus simply completely succumbed to the lowest level of personal slander conducting a political struggle on a level never witnessed before in a movement sadly accustomed to many excesses in such struggles. It was the incarnation of the petty bourgeois intellectual flaying his hands at the party totally incapable of making a single objective political statement. It was subjective idealism gone mad.

Here is a typical excerpt from his major factional document "What Makes Tim Wohlforth Run?":

"In other words, comrade Wohlforth proceeds, although from the stand-point of petit-bourgeois Shachtmanism, to the same political outlook as the SWP Dobbs clique—with which comrade Wohlforth for a long time made the most unprincipled kind of bloc. In general, as we shall demonstrate, he made an upward turn from a nadir of political corruption in February, 1964 at the time of his visit to Britain. Following his assignment to self-development as a Marxist at that time, he enjoyed a rich political development, although not yet freed from many of the rotten tendencies acquired and developed in his past political history. This tendency toward Marxism reversed its direction after the blow-up of the PL fraction, in August 1965. Now, having broken with his most viable connections of the recent period, since the March 20th affair, he has very rapidly consummated his political degeneration, back to the rotten, disoriented state characteristic of his period of unprincipled gestures toward the Dobbs clique."(4)

IDEALISM

Gerry Healy wrote in answer to one of Marcus' letters of the time:

"In all our experiences of polemics and discussions with political opponents here and internationally, we have never read a letter or document which included such vicious subjective characterizations of ones opponents. You wrote this letter under the pretense that it is necessary to raise the 'political' level of the Socialist Labour League, as well as the International Committee. We believe that you mean what you say and that this is your political method which reveal in turn the political level from which you proceed.

"Like Robertson and his 'personal friends' you start from yourself and not from the requirements of the Fourth International and building the revolutionary party in the U.S.A.

"You feel that somewhere along the political road you have been let down by an individual and/or individuals, that you were 'dumped'. Therefore you hit out subjectively and blindly without a serious thought in your head about what you say or do. This is the method of a subjective idealist who despairs of understanding what is happening around him and simply loses his head.

"There is no room for any kind of political compromise between the Marxist method and subjective idealism. The latter represents the theory of the middle class, and as in all the metropolitan capitalist countries this comprises the most unstable section of the population. The political ideology of capitalism is based on idealism, and because of their subservient relations to the most powerful capitalist class in the world, the



Sherwood ended up with pragmatist Turner.



The 1966 Spartacist League Conference marked the beginning of the splitting process.

American petty bourgeois are the hardest to assimilate into the revolutionary party. When we say this, we do not in any way criticise individual middle class comrades. We see them in their environment and class relationships, not as individuals, but within the class society they live in.

"The American petty bourgeois reflect the powerful pressure of American imperialism. They are arrogant and impatient towards the working class, in the United States, and internationally. They start off with the impression that the world is 'theirs' and all they have to do is demand it. They begin with themselves and in doing so reflect the most reactionary Wall Street imperialist pressure. You and Robertson reflect this pressure. Robertson has built nothing more than a clique. Spartacist is not a revolutionary organization based upon the programme, policy and democratic centralist rules of the International Committee of the Fourth International, but a group of friends around Robertson.

"The trouble with all subjective idealists such as yourself is that you see revolutionary struggles invariably from the standpoint of conspiracies, the clashes between 'personalities' etc. Marxists, on the other hand begin with the international class struggle between capital and labour. They analyse the development of this struggle and deduce from this the general direction in which it is evolving. From this international conception they proceed to analyse the struggle inside the countries in which they are working. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 as the World Party of Socialist Revolution with its own statutes and discipline. The political continuation of its work is today embodied in the decisions of the International Conference and the International Committee." (5)

It was this subjective hostility to the international movement which brought Marcus and Robertson together in that period in a common factional struggle against the IC. This was but a reflection, an expression, of the non-Marxist and petty bourgeois elitist theories he had expressed earlier and would develop more openly on his own later. But it also was a denial of his whole principled agreement with the International Committee, the agreement which brought him into ACFI to begin with. Marcus agreed with the IC on economic perspectives, on the international character and depth of the crisis. But he subordinated this scientific and objective materialist agreement to subjective idealist considerations. He did not begin from the international class struggle between capital and labor.

SPLIT

On May 9, Marcus split from ACFI in a letter which began:

"While Wohlforth walked along the path of Leninism we walked with him. For that we have no regrets."

And ended:

"We carry out the historic task of fusion with the Spartacist League."(6)

Robertson was happy with his new political bedfellows and announced in Spartacist:

"Now, since Wohlforth first called fusion off in an outburst at the March 20 joint membership meeting, over a quarter of ACFI's nearly 40 members has dropped from the organization or joined with L. Marcus and Carol Lawrence in carrying out fusion with Spartacist."(7)

The lead article in that issue, "Battle For Asia" was written by L. Marcus, while his co-factionalist Carol Lawrence was made Managing Editor of the paper.(8)

SPLIT II

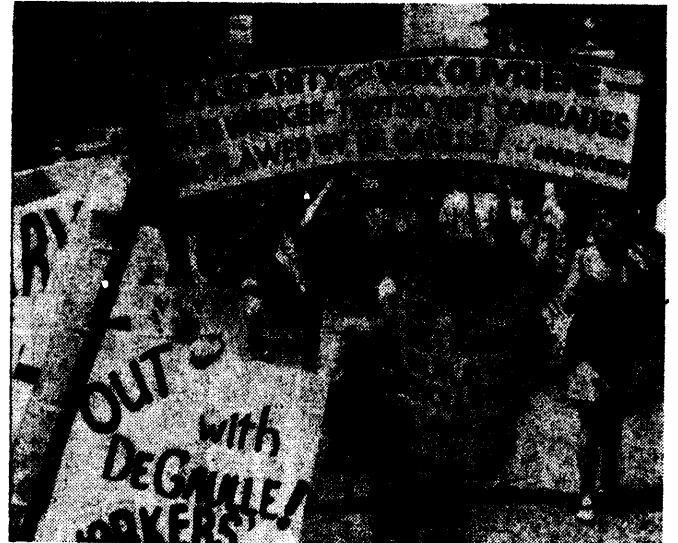
Marcus and Robertson were to devote only a little over a month to "the historic task of fusion." By July they were embroiled in a new faction fight as Marcus had discovered that while he shared in common with Robertson his hatred of the International Committee, he had nothing else in common politically. Robertson,

rejected out of hand, Marcus' assessment of the international crisis and even denied that questions of the economy were of importance to the development of the party and its perspective. As Marcus wrote at the time about his "principled" fellow fighters against the IC:

"Members of the Resident Editorial Board have stated positions which cater to anti-theoretical, anti-Marxist sentiments pressing against our ranks from petty bourgeois ideology....It has been stated, in support of those attacks, that Marxist economics is by no means essential to the seizure or holding of state power by the workers' movement. That rationale in itself constitutes a cardinal principle of anti-Marxism....How can an organization call itself Marxist, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, reject as unimportant that theory to which Marx and Engels devoted their life's effort? How can an organization term itself Leninist, and deny the cardinal principle of Leninism, that 'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement?'"(9)

The answer, Marcus, lies in refusing as you also do to start from the international class struggle and the construction of the Fourth International. How did,

Spartacist called VO group 'genuine Bolsheviks' (above is banner in demonstration during May-June events).



we might ask Marcus, a man who prides himself in being a Marxist theoretician end up in such an anti-Marxist cesspool? Again the answer is straightforward: by denying all scientific and materialist thought through subjective idealism.

5TH

One week after writing the above Marcus was out of Spartacist and writing to the Bulletin:

"The tragic fact is that the 4th International has been destroyed by various currents of revisionism within it, Healy's included; the task now is to begin those urgent steps toward building a 5th!"(10)

So much for the Fourth International! Marcus spent some 20 years in the SWP, nine months around or in ACFI, seven weeks in Spartacist. It has all disappointed him. He gave the construction of the Fifth International exactly one sentence in one letter. From then on in he happily threw himself into the construction of a student intellectual circle which transforms the Transitional Program into liberal reformist tax proposals, denies Leninism on the question of the party, and refuses at any time to assess historically the question of the Fourth International.(11)

Critical to this series of articles is to understand that Robertson was the vehicle for Marcus' departure from the Trotskyist movement. Robertson, who knew he had little political agreement with Marcus, used Marcus as a weapon against ACFI and the International Committee. Marcus, in turn, used Robertson as a way out of the Trotskyist movement. Such unprincipled relations, like Robertson's bloc with the SWP for Tate, are the politics of Spartacist.

The case of Kay Ellens, who led a faction of some of Robertson's closest associates out of Spartacist in August of 1968, sheds additional light particularly on the question of Spartacist's international relations. The Ellens faction supported the political outlook of the French Voix Ouvriere (VO) group.

Ellens was part of the Spartacist delegation at the 1966 Conference for the very simple reason that she was on her way to Europe to spend a year for personal reasons. In 1966 she contributed her own letter to the "Healy Reconstructs" collection. It was, in its way, the rottenest of the lot. Not only did she state that, "We are in agreement with the basic principles of the IC," but also, "In hindsight, it was probably a mistake for Jim not to have attended that session, or to have done or said anything which could be misinterpreted, for that matter."(12)

So Ellens agreed with the IC on "basic principles" and even agreed that Robertson's actions at the conference were "a mistake" at least "in hindsight." Nevertheless she concludes that the SLL holds "an almost Stalinist version of democratic-centralism" and its leadership is "sectarian." So much for basic principles!

Ellens concludes her letter:

"Well, on to a study of the French IC and the Voix Ouvriere groups. I find myself quite curious about them and the rest of the continent."(13)

FRATERNAL

Ellens spent more than a year and a half as a supporter of the VO group in France. During this period Spartacist maintained the same kind of "fraternal relations" it had had with the Posadas group. In its November-December 1966 issue Spartacist wrote:

"Yet Wohlforth assails us for not 'closing ranks with the IC' by denying that a crime was committed! There is compounded irony here—the Spartacist League is politically closer to the IC than, for example, to Voix Ouvriere, with whom we have strong differences over

their state capitalist position on the Sino-Soviet states, their tendency towards syndicalism, and their erroneous assessment of the Fourth International. But we, like VO, recognize that true solidarity with the International Committee forces requires that we help it purge its ranks of criminals, not deny their deeds. The honest engagement of this task itself facilitates the rebuilding of a Leninist Fourth International."(14)

This is Robertson in true form. He is politically closer to the IC than he is to the VO group. But he agrees with the VO group that the best way to express this political solidarity with the IC is to collaborate with the VO group to purge the IC of its "criminal" leadership! Need be a clearer statement of Robertson's refusal to begin from principled politics and political agreement?

In 1967 and 1968 Spartacist published regularly ads for VO's publications. Then in the September-October 1968 issue Spartacist gives front page treatment to its assessment of the May-June events. A picture shows Spartacist marching with the banner "Solidarity with Voix Ouvriere—Our Worker-Trotskyist Comrades Outlawed by De Gaulle!". The article states:

"The Voix Ouvriere comrades are the only organization claiming to be Trotskyist which has carried out a working-class line."(15)

It then makes some criticisms of VO's efforts to bring about a unity with the Pabloites and concludes:

"We hope that VO, the French Bolsheviks, have not been disoriented as were the Russians in 1905."(16)

Needless to say those with whom Spartacist was in principled agreement by their own statement, the French section

of the IC, are written off completely and do not merit the designation "the French Bolsheviks." And why? They are accused of "over-reacting against 'student vanguardism,' a real problem..." and the Pabloite slanders of deserting the student barricades are repeated.(17) And, crimes of crimes:

"The OCI did not even have a propaganda stall at the Sorbonne (although every other left organization did.)"(18)

SPLIT

In the meantime Kay Ellens arrives home from France and submits a lengthy report which describes the "organizational methods" of Voix Ouvriere.(19) As an American trained in the SWP and the Spartacist organization it was precisely this aspect of VO which most appealed to her. At the same time she formed a bloc with Harry Turner around a general proposal to turn Spartacist towards the working class. Political questions were subordinated to this question or more precisely a turn toward the working class was seen independent of the theoretical struggle of the Fourth International.

Ellens organized her own personal group and Robertson found himself being fought with the very same methods he himself had used for so many years. By the time Robertson got wind of what was going on the faction was already solidified. On August 22, 1968 Ellens pulled her group out of Spartacist breaking not only from Robertson but from her co-factionalist Turner who was left behind in the process. This group has since taken up a semi-underground existence devoting itself to study and syndicalist type work expressing VO's completely liquidationist outlook.

The fraternal relations between Spartacist and VO suddenly became anything but fraternal and the pattern of the Posadas episode was repeated. Spartacist's latest resolution comments as follows on this tendency:

"The tendency which is now Lutte Ouvriere, having lost all organizational continuity with its past, and as a result of long-standing theoretical weaknesses, was disoriented by the failure of the left, in the face of such tremendous opportunity, to decisively shatter the CP's hegemony over the workers. They increasingly abandoned their previous theoretical outlook and urged unification, political differences notwithstanding, with the Pabloists in order to form 'not a Bolshevik party, but a revolutionary party.'"(20)

And so the "French Bolsheviks" end up seeking to unify with the Pabloites to form "not a Bolshevik party."

TURNER

Ellens' co-factionalist Harry Turner also played an important role in the 1966 IC Conference. Turner, together with Robert Sherwood, wrote a letter answering Healy and defending the Spartacist split. This letter, also included in the Healy Reconstructs collection, has been referred to earlier for its mention of Mage as neither anti-Trotsky nor a renegade.

The letter accused the IC of "bureaucratic centralism" and of a "profoundly anti-Leninist organizational approach." It has the following to say about Robertson:

"As for Cde. Robertson and relations within Spartacist, Robertson owes his position of leadership in our organization to his knowledge of Marxism, his devotion to the revolutionary movement, and to the quality of his leadership. Robertson, more than any other leader of our organization, is responsible for the fact that Spartacist has attempted to function as a model Bolshevik organization."(21)

In 1968 Turner formed a common oppositional grouping with Ellens over the question of a turn towards the working class. He had no agreement with Ellens on the VO group nor did he deal with the principled questions involved in the international split. After his break from Robertson he came in contact with the Workers League and began a discussion on a number of questions. In this period he wrote a letter to Gerry Healy which stated the following:

"Cde. Wohlforth was quite correct in pointing to the omission of international implications of our struggle against Robertson, in his evaluation of our bulletin, Spartacist League Split, a copy of which was sent to you. Our break with Robertson and the question of our political future requires a more exhaustive examination of the past. A re-assessment of the history and origins of the Spartacist League requires us to take a close look at two turning points, the original split from the International Committee of the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party, in 1962, and the exclusion of Robertson at the London Conference of the IC in 1966.

"Your judgement that the Robertson group is a petty-bourgeois personality cult, unable and unwilling to build a Leninist party in the United States, proved to be completely valid, and, as a finalized conclusion, preceded our own indepen-



Crawford lined up with centrist Cliff (shown above) of the British IS group.

dently arrived at determination by at least two and a half years.

"The internal struggle in the SL, in thoroughly educating us concerning petty-bourgeois radicals of the Robertson genre, has also served to shed much light on the 1962 and 1966 events.

"Robertson was not, of course, the intrepid warrior against international bureaucratic centralism, but merely an egocentric petty-bourgeois refusing to subordinate his ego to the tactical requirements of an international struggle against Pabloist revisionism. His differences were hardly of a character which would have required a revolutionary socialist, which means, of course, an internationalist, to break with an organization. No August 4th was posed. Your intervention was, in fact, necessary in order to prevent Robertson, with his intransigence, from misleading the RT into taking the easy way out. His leftist posture was, in reality, a method for avoiding the necessary internal struggle to try to win the SWP cadre.

"By splitting with the IC, he did, in fact, as you have stated, strengthen the SWP revisionists, who were able to outmaneuver a disunited left opposition, and close off the minds of many of those in the SWP, who might have been reached by us. In addition, many waverers, who might have been held by a united left opposition, became confused and demoralized, and gave up the struggle entirely.

"As to the events in 1966, knowing Robertson as we do now, we can also no longer accept his excuse that he was too tired to attend the afternoon session which followed his presentation of divergent positions to the IC Conference. That we accepted it then, indicates the enormous tenacity with which we tended to cling to our illusions.

"As to the present, when we examine the practice of the WL, we find a performance in keeping with its professed desire to build a Leninist party in the US."(22)

Harry Turner thus came very close to a thorough reevaluation of the whole experience and history of Spartacist. But, and it was a big but, he was to pull back from the political logic of this. If Robertson was what the IC said he was, if his splits in 1962 and 1966 were unjustified, if the Workers League's "performance" was in keeping with "its professed desire to build a Leninist party" then we would think Turner would join the Workers League. Turner, of course, had political differences with the IC and the League over Cuba, China and the Arab-Israel conflict. But he did not feel these differences were such as to bar membership in the league.

NEGRO

Finally came the Negro question which he had developed within Spartacist into a special position. On this he wrote:

"As to the Negro question, the WL's program, flowing from the basic perspective of the world capitalist crisis, for a struggle in the trade-unions to unite workers on a transitional program, which includes the fight against racial discrimination, is one which we can support. However we feel that the program does not sufficiently orientate toward the increasingly militant black workers; that the WL does not sufficiently recognize their revolutionary potential in the struggle, and for the building of a Leninist party; that the same black workers, who are today being increasingly mis-directed by Black Nationalists toward reactionary and sterile positions, can be won to a united working class struggle, provided that it prominently poses the question of their special oppression; that the con-

scious factor, the Leninist party, has a vital role to play in this respect."(23)

We worked with Turner despite these differences, invited him to attend our membership meetings and held a series of discussions on all these questions. It was our position that Turner's approach to the Negro question was actually an expression of an American pragmatic outlook which saw the Negro in isolation from the international development of the working class.(24) But we made it abundantly clear to Turner that if he agreed with the League on fundamental international perspectives and would accept its discipline he was welcome to join and would be given ample opportunity to put forward his special position on the Negro question within the League and within the International Committee.

Turner rejected this refusing to subordinate this one question to the task of constructing the revolutionary party and the Fourth International. Since that time he has maintained himself as a miniature Spartacist publishing a monthly memeoid Newsletter devoted primarily to attacks on the Workers League. He has more recently been joined in this work by Robert Sherwood, who split off from Spartacist a year earlier than Turner and spent a year or so as part of the Workers League only to return to his original Spartacist methods.

CRAWFORD

In 1969 Spartacist summarized what was left of its international work:

"In the past few years, the SL has developed and maintained a fraternal working relationship with Socialist Current, a small Trotskyist group in England. In addition, we maintain contact with a small group of co-thinkers organized around the New Zealand Spartacist, and with scattered individuals and independent Trotskyist groups internationally."(25)

Exactly what this particular group is we still do not know since no one in England ever heard of it. Ads for the Socialist Current appeared in Spartacist since 1966. Mention is made of them, particularly of one Edward Crawford, in the minutes of Spartacist in this period. Then we come across the following mention of the group and Crawford in January 30, 1968 Political Bureau Minutes:

"Meanwhile, Edward Crawford has abruptly left Socialist Current to join the state capitalists (International Socialism, Cliffites). The question of jeopardy to our relations with S.C. is raised, as Crawford was the closest of the S.C. comrades to our positions."(26)

IS

We would think that Crawford's evolution into the state cap group would raise more than a question about relations with this Socialist Current group. One would think Spartacist would find it necessary to probe why the "closest" member of this group with which they have "fraternal relations" ended up joining a rotten centrist group like IS. At least we would think this would be the end of Spartacist's relations with Crawford. But no, in the July 1, 1968 minutes we find the following:

"Crawford: Very informative letter received, reporting on his trip to France during the French crisis...Crawford is now a very active member of the Cliffites. He has sent us material of the Cliffites and the Irish Workers Group. We have been sending him some of our PB minutes."(27)

So relations with this very active member of IS continued and not only gossip but minutes and other internal material were freely exchanged. Then in February of 1969 a letter from Crawford to Harry Turner is printed in the minutes, obviously in answer to an appeal by Turner after his break with Robertson to this well known Spartacist international collaborator:

"Why in God's name join Wohlforth? Out of the frying pan into the fire if you ask me. True they produce a fortnightly paper—as full of sectarian rubbish as the Spartacist—but that is about the limit of their superiority...I am in greater sympathy with White when he deals with the faults of the Trotskyites....You will be glad to hear that on 31 Jan Rouge and Lutte Ouvriere filled the Mutualite with 4,500 supporters who were not Healy's floating lumpens—here today and gone tomorrow—but serious people....These people are serious unlike OCI and FER."(28)

Such is the character of Robertson's man in London. He considers Spartacist sectarian, solidarizes with the sceptic White who is breaking from Marxism altogether, and holds up the Pabloite and VO groups in France as "serious" against



The French supporters of the IC were attacked for going to workers (Renault plant shown above) instead of manning a literature table at the Sorbonne University.

the IC sections. In the meantime he energetically devotes himself to the building of the state cap anti-Trotskyist swamp in England!

As we have seen in the period from 1966 to 1970 Spartacist has lost whole stratas of its leadership and membership. Its international efforts have led it into collaboration with all sorts of political riff-raff with which it only agrees on hostility to the IC and which in time break with Spartacist leaving it more isolated than before. Everywhere the unprincipled character of Spartacist comes forward and its constituent elements break away leaving only a small personal group around Robertson.

All this takes place precisely at a time when the international crisis of capitalism is deepening class struggles are breaking out on a scale unheard of since the 1930s and the sections of the International Committee are going through a serious period of qualitative development and considerable growth.

ASSESSMENT

How does Robertson explain this development? What assessment does he make of it? In a presentation to his Political Bureau in November of 1968 he comments:

"For the first two years of our existence things went better than expected and our efforts seemed to pay off, sometimes even easily. We tripled our size. In the past two years, things have not gone well—often our correct efforts and hard work did not bring results. This is self-perpetuating through demoralization and a tendency for comrades to do their work in a prefatory manner because they don't feel anything will work any more. The country is moving right (although this is by no means rock bottom) and under such conditions we begin to get every imaginable deviation, from Ellenism to Scientology. As Roger A. put it when he resigned 'The old answers may be right, but they don't satisfy us any more.' The tendency is to look for 'new' answers which may be wrong but seem 'new' even if refuted before 1848. An organization which depends on consciousness cannot provide the Wohlforth-type fake sense of security of an authoritarian assurance that the people on top have all the answers and the crisis of capitalism is just around the corner. But with conscious comrades we can get years' more serious devotion than fake lefts who burn out and disillusion good people.

"The rapid growth we experienced originally had inherent drawbacks which have now matured: the expectation of continual success and resulting sense of dismay when we run into problems, high membership turnover, unassimilated (and sometimes unassimilable) people. We have a quickly formed cadre with less than superlative human material—and this includes leadership. During the first year of our downturn, our size was about constant and our turnover was generally a net gain in quality, but we weren't growing. This past



Above is Trotskyist led AJS rally at Le Bourget Airport in Paris in 1970,

year we have actually shrunk in size and had a deep split—numerically not very large, but deep, including about six CC members."(29)

RIGHT

What Robertson cannot point out is that the turning point between the first two years of Spartacist's growth and the next two years of its decline was the April 1966 IC Conference. It was Spartacist's break with the IC which led to its internal disintegration. Unable to confront this Robertson seeks to blame objective conditions in America for the decline of Spartacist. He sees the United States as "moving right" and thus expresses his complete inability to understand the developing crisis in American capitalism.

Wallace was not an expression of a rightward move in the United States but rather a deepening polarization of class conflict coming to the fore. Thus the Wallace election campaign has been followed by the Postal and GE strikes, the wildcat Teamster strikes, the massive anti-war outpourings, the student strike wave, the growing unrest in the army, etc.

Furthermore America is seen in isolation of the international world capitalist system. Robertson made these remarks only months after the May-June days in France. Robertson did not see May-June

as an expression of an international crisis the center of which was in the United States. Robertson did not ask why it was that this tremendous vindication of a Trotskyist perspective of working class revolutionary struggle did not lead to the growth and development of Spartacist instead of its splitting and shrinking.

SCEPTIC

The remarks make clear that Robertson agrees on fundamentals with the demoralized splitters from his movement like Roger A. When he attacks us for "an authoritarian assurance that the people on top have all the answers and the crisis of capitalism is just around the corner," he admits his own scepticism. He is stating that the leadership of Spartacist has no answers, that it has no scientific Marxist understanding of anything, so that they do not know from one moment to the next what to do. Not only does Robertson deny that the "crisis of capitalism is around the corner" but by this statement he denies that it is here now. His talk of "conscious comrades we can get years' more serious devotion out of" is an expression of this whole orientation of building a little propaganda clique which will exist as a "sub propaganda group" for years and years while capitalism booms on and on and America moves more and more to the right.

It is not just the Roger As who are demoralized and sceptics of Marxism but Robertson himself who in breaking from the International Committee expressed his complete break with scientific Marxism and its revolutionary perspective.

FOOTNOTES

1. Some Comments on Perspectives for the Fused Movement Submitted by Tim Wohlforth March 3, 1966.
2. For a fuller account of Marcus' present political position see: Many Theories of L. Marcus by Tim Wohlforth available free from Labor Publications.
3. Letter of L. Marcus and C. Lawrence to ACFI, May 9, 1966, page 6.
4. What Makes Tim Wohlforth Run? by L. Marcus, April 17, 1966, page 2.
5. Letter of G. Healy to L. Marcus, May 3, 1966, pp. 2-4.
6. Marcus May 9 letter, op. cit.
7. Spartacist Number 6, June-July 1966, page 3.
8. *ibid.* pp. 1-2.
9. The Question of Marxist Economics by L. Marcus, July 14, 1966.
10. Letter of L. Marcus to Bulletin, July 24, 1966.
11. Many Theories of L. Marcus, op. cit.
12. Healy Reconstructs the Fourth International, pp. 16-17.
13. *Ibid.* page 17.
14. Spartacist, No. 8, November-December, 1966, page 3.
15. Spartacist, No. 12, September-October, 1968, page 5.
16. *Ibid.* page 5.
17. *Ibid.* page 4. Also see: French Revolution Betrayed by Tom Kemp.
18. *Ibid.* page 4.
19. Report of Kay Ellens April 8, 1968 and appended to Political Bureau minutes of May 6, 1968.
20. "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League" Spartacist League Internal Bulletin, July, 1969, pp. 13-14.
21. Healy Reconstructs, op. cit., page 23.
22. Letter of Harry Turner to Gerry Healy January 10, 1970.
23. *Ibid.*
24. See: The New Nationalism and the Negro Question by Tim Wohlforth.
25. Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League, op. cit., page 15.
26. Political Bureau Minutes 30 January 1969, 2. International Movement; a) British situation (Robertson reporting).
27. Political Bureau Minutes 1 July 1968
28. General Information and Correspondence: f. Crawford.
29. Letter of Edward Crawford to Harry Turner 10 February 1968 appended to Political Bureau Minutes, 24 February 1969.
30. Political Bureau Minutes 4 November 1968, 4. National Conference Perspectives, a. Perspectives, presentation by Robertson.

**CONTINUED
NEXT ISSUE**

Problems of the Fourth

International by G. Healy \$.40

IN APRIL, 1966, the International Committee of the Fourth International called its Third Congress. At this gathering, representatives of Trotskyist organisations in several countries argued out the problems of building the international revolutionary movement.

The task of this movement is to resolve the crisis of leadership which has held back the working class from overthrowing capitalism on a world scale.

Cynics have often sneered at the many splits and disputes which feature in the history of the Marxist movement. This only reveals their adaptation to the bureaucratic apparatus which shackles the workers' movement, channelling its consciousness within the confines of capitalist society.

Fighting with the weapons of gossip they slander those who strive to break the working class from the bureaucratic stranglehold. They play their part in the attempt to debase the ideas of the revolutionary movement.

Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, each in his time, showed that, in order to liberate itself from capital, to establish its political independence, the working class had to become conscious of its historic role.

This involved a scientific understanding of the class struggle and, in order to achieve this, a centralised organisation, fighting to lead the workers in all their national and international struggles, had to be constructed.

The process of building such a movement is complex and contradictory. It raises problems whose solution embodies a distillation of the experience of the working class in active struggle.

The fight for theory within the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, whose importance is stressed continually in this pamphlet, is thus not an abstract, academic exercise, but is cradled within the living reality of the class struggle itself.



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Italian Government Falls On Eve Of General Strike

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Italy's four party coalition government led by Premier Mariano Rumor (the 31st government since World War II) was brought down on July 6 after only three months in power under the blows of the Italian working class.

Rumor's resignation came on the eve of what was scheduled to be a national one day general strike called jointly by Italy's three major labor confederations for reforms in housing, education, mass transit, health, old age care, and taxes. Rumor's special plea to the unions to call off the strike had been turned down flat just a few days before.

Under the gun of this threat, Rumor hastily summoned his cabinet and in a twenty minute meeting cited the following reasons for his resignation: the deteriorating economy, the combativity of the unions and the decision of the Socialist Party (one of the four parties in the governmental coalition) to collaborate with the Communist Party in newly elected regional governments in Umbria and Tuscany.

The SP's collaboration with the CP is



Mariano Rumor

itself, of course, only a reflection of the sharpening class struggle.

The collapse of Rumor's government once again reveals the impossibility for the Italian bourgeoisie of covering over the deep class divisions in Italy with the formula of the center-left coalition. With the intensification of the class struggle in Italy more and more approaching the point of civil war, the center-left coalition based upon a degree of compromise between the Italian bourgeoisie and the working class must be ruthlessly torn apart.

This is precisely what happened to the Rumor cabinet. If Rumor now calls for a "clarification" of Italy's political forces (i.e. for a sharp shift to the right), there are many within the Italian ruling class who are getting ready for outright fascist dictatorship.

Theodorakis Condemns Greek CP Betrayals

BY MARTY JONAS

Mikis Theodorakis, the exiled Greek composer ("Z," Zorba the Greek, Never on Sunday) is a longtime Greek Communist Party member and youth leader who was recently released from the Greek colonels' dungeons.

Theodorakis publicly attacked the crimes of Stalinism, past and present, before an audience of 300 in London on June 30.

When asked what he thought about Soviet trade with Greece and the strike breaking activities of Poland in relation to the miners' strike in fascist Spain and the cement workers' strike in Ireland, he condemned these actions. Theodorakis then attacked the "red paper," the written instructions from Stalin to the heads of the Greek CP in 1944, telling them to call off the struggle for power and capitulate to Stalin's deal with Churchill to hand Greece back to the imperialists.

Commenting on the fate of left-wing critics of the Soviet bureaucracy, he said: "A certain radio station no longer plays my music—they have buried me in silence."

HISTORY

At the same meeting, G. Votsis, a founder of the Greek Patriotic Front (a CP-liberal coalition) and president of the journalists' union before the 1967 coup, took the floor to demand a true history of Stalin's deals with imperialism over the corpse of the Greek revolution. Votsis is currently editor of a Greek exile journal in London and a top member of the Greek CP. His comments,

The Italian employers have no lack of audacity when it comes to attacks on the working class despite the state of paralysis of the Italian government. In Turin on the eve of the would be national general strike Fiat actually fired 20,000 workers as a reprisal after their fellow workers at the Lingoto and Rivalta plants went on an unofficial strike for shorter hours and increased bonuses.

The Italian employers, caught between a working class which has been on the offensive since the fall and an economic crisis which threatens to bring down the lira at any point; must now turn more and more to those political forces prepared to carry out a full scale assault on the working class.

In the face of this situation the retreat of the Communist Party particularly last week is nothing less than a monstrous betrayal.

Last week rather than hailing the fall of Rumor like the fall of DeGaulle as a victory for the working class and coming forward itself as the alternative to Rumor the Italian CP panicked.

Together with the Catholic and Social Democratic labor confederations it immediately called off the strike in response to Rumor's resignation. Furthermore it warned the Italian workers under no conditions to leave their jobs as this might encourage the bourgeoisie to take advantage of what it termed a "grave political provocation" to effect a right wing coup.

What was the CP really afraid of? Clearly what it feared was the fact that under conditions where there was an absence of any government, the national general strike would have posed more sharply than at any time since the war the question of the working class seizing political power.

BETRAYAL

The calling off of the general strike thus stands as a criminal betrayal. It is precisely along the road of just such policies of wearing down the combativity of the working class that the Italian CP is preparing the ground for the rise of the new Mussolini.

It is now clearer than ever before that only through the sharpest break with the rotten Italian CP can the Italian working class take forward the magnificent offensive of the past 11 months, and prepare itself for the fight for political power.

as well as Theodorakis', are bound to create a storm in Greek exile circles around the world.

The intense interest in these questions could be seen in the audience of Greek workers—CP members, many of them—who one after another demanded to know why the CP in Greece, through the "Patriotic Front," still gave its support to the bourgeois Centre Party and why the CP has grovelled before the Greek monarchy.

Theodorakis and other Greek exiles have raised questions which rock the very historical foundation of Stalinism. At the heart of all this is "socialism in one country," the rationale for the betrayal of the revolutions not only in Greece, but in Spain, China, and many other countries. The perspective of sacrificing everything to the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy finds its expression most recently in the trade agreement between Bulgaria and the Greek junta. The Greek Foreign Minister Pipinellis said of this agreement: "This cooperation lays the foundation for peaceful coexistence between two neighbor countries..." (emphasis added)

COEXISTENCE

This is "peaceful coexistence" with the same government which imprisoned Theo-



Books were splashed with paint during fascist raid on the Chicago office of the SWP.

Fascist Gangs Organize Raids On SWP And YWLL Headquarters

BY THE EDITORS

The series of raids by well organized fascist gangs on radical headquarters continues unabated throughout the country. The latest is the burglarization of the New York State and National offices of the Young Workers Liberation League on July 10. The office was painted with swastikas and money was taken though no equipment touched.

In Chicago on June 26 the Socialist Workers Party headquarters was subject to a new attack—undoubtedly organized by the fascist Legion of Justice which has openly admitted to previous attacks and has not been touched by the police. The SWP reports:

"Mail, files, typewriters, a tape recorder and other office equipment were stolen, along with cash, checkbooks, financial records and other irreplaceable materials. There was a systematic effort to confiscate this information by rifling all the file cabinets, desks and storage units."

The SWP further notes:

"The reaction of the police and State's Attorney Hanrahan's office to these criminal acts has ranged from inaction to

outright collusion."

FASCIST

A month earlier the Los Angeles headquarters of the SWP was subject to an armed raid by a group of Cuban exiles and over the past year or so a number of radical organizations have been subject to bombings and other forms of fascist attacks.

The Chicago situation is particularly important because of the open complicity of the police. This was the same police force which committed the murder of two Panthers in cold blood, and was responsible for the brutal attacks at the time of the 1968 Democratic Convention.

It is important to note that all of this is openly encouraged by Mayor Daley with his flag waving patriotic demagoguery. Daley was the man who pioneered the kind of rightist demagoguery now taken over by a section of the Nixon Administration headed by Agnew.

These fascist attacks show the real meaning of the "Honor America" flag waving campaign and must serve as the sharpest warning to the American working class. The very same techniques now used on radicals and militant sections of the blacks will be used on the whole working class in the coming period unless a serious counter campaign is conducted now. We must learn the lesson of the use of troops against striking teamsters and postal workers—troops which were first used against the black community and students.

These troops will be supplemented in the coming period by fascist gangs which specialize in physical attacks on the radicals and on militants and who will operate with complete complicity from the police.

SUICIDAL

It is suicidal for socialists to restrict their campaigns against such attacks to petitioning the very police forces which are in open complicity with the fascists. This is precisely what the SWP is doing in Chicago. What must be done is the organization of a campaign to expose these attacks before broad layers of the labor movement, to urge strong action by the trade unions, and to work out arrangements for the mutual defense of all working class organizations from such attacks.

The Workers League stands ready to assist in such defense efforts and will on its own take up a campaign to bring these attacks and their meaning to the attention of the working class particularly in the trade unions.



Theodorakis spills the beans on Stalinism.

dorakis until he is now half dead from tuberculosis and still has uncounted numbers of communists and trade union militants behind bars. Theodorakis and others can thank Soviet and Greek CP policy for opening the door for the colonels.

Following in the footsteps of Stalin, the Soviet and Eastern European bureaucracies help out the Greek murders and scab on Spanish and Irish strikers.

Theodorakis is now in the United States on behalf of those still struggling in Greece. Will the Daily World clamp a lid of silence on his further remarks about Stalinist betrayals?

SSEU Parke At Waverly Lead Fight Against City

BY SSEU-371 MEMBER
NEW YORK—In response to the City's threat to discipline the six top administrators of Waverly welfare center for their part in a recent work action, the entire social service staff of this center has declared an immediate work stoppage. In addition if the City persists in holding the disciplinary hearing scheduled for 9:30 am, July 15, the entire staff of the center will accompany the threatened Senior Case and Case Supervisors to that hearing in a demonstration against reprisals.

The weight of the 1968 "reorganization" contract between the Dept. of Social Services and SSEU-371 is now coming down on the workers with a vengeance. In the wake of a job freeze, climbing caseloads and the rumored failure of the reorganization plan, speedup and growing harassment are the rule in most centers, while former "problem areas" have openly exploded into militant work actions by the rank and file.

Waverly Center on June 29 erupted for the second time in the last three months against the City's open attacks on working conditions. The problem of pending cases, that is, new applications for Public Assistance, had been growing over the past year, reaching the point where individual caseworkers were receiving up to five new cases per week. The workers responded at first by demonstrating, circulating a petition and demanding a meeting with the City's Labor-Management Committee. When all these proved futile the workers demanded action from the union leadership.

The SSEU-371's new president, Stanley Hill, elected on the promise of a fight for job security and fresh from his successful efforts to cram a time study down the workers' throats, suggested that these

same workers "embarrass" Lindsay, by demonstrating at one of his press conferences. Waverly's delegates responded by packing the union's Executive Committee meeting with angry rank and file workers who demanded immediate action. Faced with the militancy of staff Hill agreed to place Waverly's problem before the upcoming membership meeting which overwhelmingly approved a motion presented by Waverly's caseworker delegate, a member of the Committee for New Leadership.

The motion stated that no worker should accept more than three pending cases in a two week period (a figure which the City's "expert" insisted was all any worker ever received!), that other centers should support this action by not accepting these cases and, most importantly, that an emergency membership meeting must be held to determine citywide action in the event of reprisals.

With the membership's green light Waverly's staff commenced its action on June 29 and remained solid through July 1 when the local delegates were told by the union leadership that the City had made a "substantial" offer. While Waverly's central demand remained a definite limit on new cases, the Hill leadership was determined to settle for the transfer of 15 workers from other centers. Hill however was thrown into a panic when the City offered only 10 workers and vague promises of future realignment of territory. Far from demanding the only real solution to the problem of overwork and speedup—full rehiring and an end to the job freeze—Hill pleaded with the City to make the sellout easier for him by providing five extra workers. When this was refused Hill became determined to avoid a citywide conflict at all costs and enlisted the aid of Waverly's supervisor delegate to force this settlement on staff.

Once again a meeting was called at the center in which no less than five bureaucrats were present to push the betrayal. The 48-44 vote was lost with the center's top administrators providing half the narrow margin in favor of the sellout. Only the caseworkers' delegate and staff acti-

Craig Joins Union Democrats



Earl Craig joins the Democratic Party.

BY BOB JOHNSON
MINNEAPOLIS—When Earl Craig announced recently that he would run within the Democratic primary against Humphrey for Senate, he showed the true nature of his so-called independent, radical campaign.

Hundreds of youth had been campaigning for him under the belief that his campaign represented some new, independent break from the two party system.

Clearly the role of the Craig campaign, like that of McCarthy in 1968,

visits argued against the betrayal stating that, far from alleviating the overwork problem, the City's offer did not meet the central demand of the workers for a limit of three new cases in a two week period. Furthermore this "settlement" was based on the transfer of existing staff and the possible transfer of territory to existing understaffed centers.

The leadership's tactic accomplished the dual purpose of splitting a united staff in the midst of a successful action, and providing the basis for the isolation of Waverly from the other work locations, when in fact Waverly's fight had been, from the beginning, a struggle against the growing citywide workload crisis.

Clearly, the farthest thing from the minds of these bureaucrats is the fight that must be waged citywide for definite workload limits in the 1971 contract, and an end to the City's reorganization scheme once and for all. Only the Committee for New Leadership in the SSEU-371 is waging this fight.

...the ... party ...
 ...the ... party ...
 ...the ... party ...

...is being built by the ...
 ...the ... party ...
 ...the ... party ...

This point was shown clearly in the July 11 meeting of the New Democratic Coalition in Minneapolis. This group of over 300 liberals and radicals, including a scattering of workers and union leaders, as well as supporters of the Communist Party, voted to endorse Craig for Senate and State Sen. Rudolph Perpich, who is the official Democratic Party candidate for lieutenant governor.

The convention declared for calling itself a "political movement" with the perspective of some new Third Party direction.

But Craig himself, in a recent interview, showed how independent the whole affair was when in reference to supporting Humphrey in the fall, he said that he would like to find "some redeeming qualities" in Humphrey before November.

Craig, like Stokes of Cleveland and Gibson of Newark, have utilized their campaigns to serve the capitalist parties and to keep the working class and youth in the grips of capitalist politics.

Sheet Metal Workers Shafted By Leaders

BY INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—Members of Sheet Metal Workers Locals 34 (Minneapolis) and 76 (St. Paul) ended a nine week strike on July 9 against a number of area contractors and craft shops.

The settlement gives a \$3.04 increase over two years; the union demands had originally been for \$2.50 in one year. The previous wage rate for journeymen was \$5.76 an hour plus 44¢ in fringe benefits.

The leadership of Locals 34 and 76 were able to pull this off by pushing through motions at regular (and poorly attended) meetings last winter to give full power to the business representatives. It was these business representatives who called the strike and ended it.

At the same time as Nixon and such top construction trades leaders as Hutcheson and Haggerty collaborate to come up with a plan banning building trades strikes, the local Sheet Metal leaders caved in to the employers.

And when Halvorson, national president of the Associated General Contractors came to Minneapolis a few short months ago to propose laying off a million workers in construction trades within one year's time, these local leaders were silent. Instead they prefer to make slanderous attacks on anti-war workers and students.

Sheet Metal workers must now take up the fight for a new type of leadership, one which will not collapse before the attacks of the employers.

CHICAGO IAM LOCAL WINS WAGE VICTORY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
CHICAGO—The tool and die makers of Chicago, organized into Local 113 of the IAM, have won a 30% wage increase. This is the biggest victory in the union's history and will bring toolmaker's wages to over \$6.00 an hour in three years.

The local consists of nearly 100 tool shops spread throughout the most important industries in Chicago. While the shops have always had separate contracts, a big factor in the victory was the new strategy of bringing together as many contract dates as possible in order to put greater forces to bear against the employers.

This victory will certainly be ominous news to the employers since the toolmakers have traditionally set the wage trend in many important industries in the Chicago area. The victory of the Chicago toolmakers, Teamsters and construction workers is the signal for an unprecedented wage offensive of the industrial workers in the Chicago area.

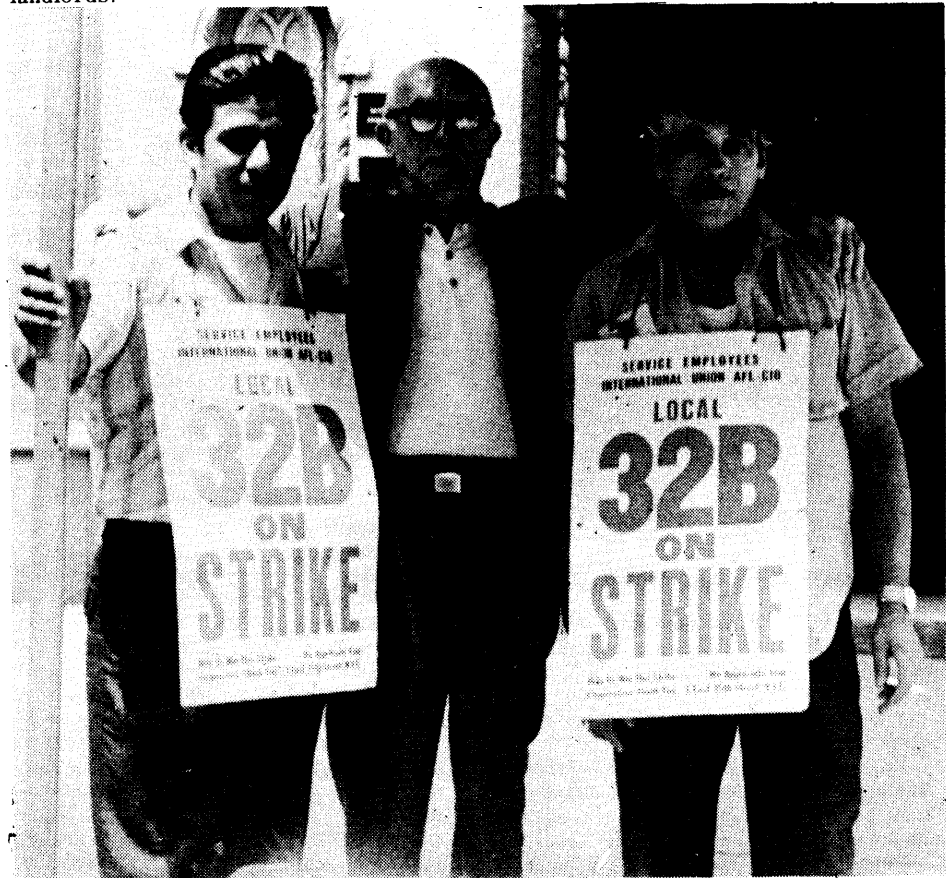
Lindsay Moves To Break NY Building Strike

BY CARLOS BAEZ

NEW YORK—After almost four months of negotiations with the landlords, the members of building service workers Local 32B went out on strike. The strike now in its second week spread from Manhattan to Brooklyn and Queens.

The greater danger is now being raised in this strike by the collaboration of the union leadership and Lindsay. Under the plan for the City to take over struck buildings and hire striking workers paying them out of the rent monies, Lindsay is attempting to get the union back to work before a settlement is reached with the landlords.

The leadership of 32B has assured the City of the union's "readiness" to return if the city promises to pay them at wage scales negotiated with the Realty Advisory Board. Behind Housing Commissioner's talk about the "hard core greedy and irresponsible landlords" and the threats to reduce rents is Lindsay's attempt to break this strike.



Militant 32-B strikers now face threat from Lindsay's operating the apartments.

This strike has gained the support of the members of 32E the building service workers union in the Bronx, whose contract is not due to expire until next September. Picket lines are being honored by telephone, Con Ed workers, teamsters, and sanitationmen.

The militancy of the rank and file is contrasted to the lackadaisical attitude of the union bureaucracy. This is best expressed by Thomas Shortman, President of 32B, who every time he is interviewed, assures everyone that the landlords will slowly come around to signing the contract.

Back in April when the contract ran out an interim agreement was reached that would give workers \$130 a week. This agreement was to last one month but it was extended for about three months. On June 17 a three year contract settlement was reached by the union and the Realty Owners Advisory Board, that would give the workers a \$40 increase, \$18 the first year, \$12 the second year, and \$10 the third year. A section of the landlords refused to sign until the city satisfied their demand for higher rent hikes in rent controlled apartments. The union leadership agreed to strike only those landlords who refuse to sign the agreement in spite of the fact that the landlords are a highly organized group.

This sellout by the union bureaucracy has angered many of the workers who are not striking. These workers feel they should also be out on the picket line, until all the landlords sign the contract.

WARNING

The events of the last four months and in particular the behavior of the union bureaucracy should be a warning to the members of 32B. The rank and file of 32B must not allow the landlords' holdout for one minute more. All buildings must be struck.

The only way to fight the arrogance of the landlords is through a full mobilization of the union for a citywide strike against the full membership of the Realty Advisory Board. This means rejecting any deal which would require the return to work while the city finished its negotiations with the landlords.

SSEU Ranks At Waverly Lead Fight Against City

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER
NEW YORK—In response to the City's threat to discipline the six top administrators of Waverly welfare center for their part in a recent work action, the entire social service staff of this center has declared an immediate work stoppage. In addition if the City persists in holding the disciplinary hearing scheduled for 9:30 am, July 15, the entire staff of the center will accompany the threatened Senior Case and Case Supervisors to that hearing in a demonstration against reprisals.

The weight of the 1968 "reorganization" contract between the Dept. of Social Services and SSEU-371 is now coming down on the workers with a vengeance. In the wake of a job freeze, climbing caseloads and the rumored failure of the reorganization plan, speedup and growing harassment are the rule in most centers, while former "problem areas" have openly exploded into militant work actions by the rank and file.

Waverly Center on June 29 erupted for the second time in the last three months against the City's open attacks on working conditions. The problem of pending cases, that is, new applications for Public Assistance, had been growing over the past year, reaching the point where individual case-workers were receiving up to five new cases per week. The workers responded at first by demonstrating, circulating a petition and demanding a meeting with the City's Labor-Management Committee. When all these proved futile the workers demanded action from the union leadership.

The SSEU-371's new president, Stanley Hill, elected on the promise of a fight for job security and fresh from his successful efforts to cram a time study down the workers' throats, suggested that these

same workers "embarrass" Lindsay by demonstrating at one of his press conferences. Waverly's delegates responded by packing the union's Executive Committee meeting with angry rank and file workers who demanded immediate action. Faced with the militancy of staff Hill agreed to place Waverly's problem before the upcoming membership meeting which overwhelmingly approved a motion presented by Waverly's caseworker delegate, a member of the Committee for New Leadership.

The motion stated that no worker should accept more than three pending cases in a two week period (a figure which the City's "expert" insisted was all any worker ever received!), that other centers should support this action by not accepting these cases and, most importantly, that an emergency membership meeting must be held to determine citywide action in the event of reprisals.

With the membership's green light Waverly's staff commenced its action on June 29 and remained solid through July 1 when the local delegates were told by the union leadership that the City had made a "substantial" offer. While Waverly's central demand remained a definite limit on new cases, the Hill leadership was determined to settle for the transfer of 15 workers from other centers. Hill however was thrown into a panic when the City offered only 10 workers and vague promises of future realignment of territory. Far from demanding the only real solution to the problem of overwork and speedup—full rehiring and an end to the job freeze—Hill pleaded with the City to make the sellout easier for him by providing five extra workers. When this was refused Hill became determined to avoid a citywide conflict at all costs and enlisted the aid of Waverly's supervisor delegate to force this settlement on staff.

Once again a meeting was called at the center in which no less than five bureaucrats were present to push the betrayal. The 48-44 vote was lost with the center's top administrators providing half the narrow margin in favor of the sellout. Only the caseworkers' delegate and staff acti-

Craig Joins Minn. Democrats



Earl Craig joins the Democratic Party.

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—When Earl Craig announced recently that he would run within the Democratic primary against Humphrey for Senate, he showed the true nature of his so-called independent, radical campaign.

Hundreds of youth had been campaigning for him under the belief that his campaign represented some new, independent break from the two party system.

Clearly the role of the Craig campaign, like that of McCarthy in 1968,

viewists argued against the betrayal stating that, far from alleviating the overwork problem, the City's offer did not meet the central demand of the workers for a limit of three new cases in a two week period. Furthermore this "settlement" was based on the transfer of existing staff and the possible transfer of territory to existing understaffed centers.

The leadership's tactic accomplished the dual purpose of splitting a united staff in the midst of a successful action, and providing the basis for the isolation of Waverly from the other work locations, when in fact Waverly's fight had been, from the beginning, a struggle against the growing citywide workload crisis.

Clearly, the farthest thing from the minds of these bureaucrats is the fight that must be waged citywide for definite workload limits in the 1971 contract, and an end to the City's reorganization scheme once and for all. Only the Committee for New Leadership in the SSEU-371 is waging this fight.

is to save the two party system, to stave off any political developments which might pose the independent struggle of the working class through the building of a labor party.

What is being built by the Craig campaign is the basis for a new popular front. Ex-governor Elmer Benson, who was a national leader of Henry Wallace's "Progressive Party" campaign in 1948, is by no accident an active supporter of Craig's campaign. The Communist Party makes no secret of its enthusiastic support for Craig. The kind of popular front being built by all this will get its leadership and initiative directly from sections of the ruling class and its political agents.

This point was shown clearly in the July 11 meeting of the New Democratic Coalition in Minneapolis. This group of over 300 liberals and radicals, including a scattering of workers and union leaders, as well as supporters of the Communist Party, voted to endorse Craig for Senate and State Sen. Rudolph Perpich, who is the official Democratic Party candidate for lieutenant governor.

The convention declared for calling itself a "political movement" with the perspective of some new Third Party direction.

But Craig himself, in a recent interview, showed how independent the whole affair was when in reference to supporting Humphrey in the fall, he said that he would like to find "some redeeming qualities" in Humphrey before November.

Craig, like Stokes of Cleveland and Gibson of Newark, have utilized their campaigns to serve the capitalist parties and to keep the working class and youth in the grips of capitalist politics.

Sheet Metal Workers Shafted By Leaders

BY INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—Members of Sheet Metal Workers Locals 34 (Minneapolis) and 76 (St. Paul) ended a nine week strike on July 9 against a number of area contractors and craft shops.

The settlement gives a \$3.04 increase over two years; the union demands had originally been for \$2.50 in one year. The previous wage rate for journeymen was \$5.76 an hour plus 44¢ in fringe benefits.

The leadership of Locals 34 and 76 were able to pull this off by pushing through motions at regular (and poorly attended) meetings last winter to give full power to the business representatives. It was these business representatives who called the strike and ended it.

At the same time as Nixon and such top construction trades leaders as Hutcheson and Haggerty collaborate to come up with a plan banning building trades strikes, the local Sheet Metal leaders caved in to the employers.

And when Halvorson, national president of the Associated General Contractors came to Minneapolis a few short months ago to propose laying off a million workers in construction trades within one year's time, these local leaders were silent. Instead they prefer to make slanderous attacks on anti-war workers and students.

Sheet Metal workers must now take up the fight for a new type of leadership, one which will not collapse before the attacks of the employers.

CHICAGO IAM LOCAL WINS WAGE VICTORY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—The tool and die makers of Chicago, organized into Local 113 of the IAM, have won a 30% wage increase. This is the biggest victory in the union's history and will bring toolmaker's wages to over \$6.00 an hour in three years.

The local consists of nearly 100 tool shops spread throughout the most important industries in Chicago. While the shops have always had separate contracts, a big factor in the victory was the new strategy of bringing together as many contract dates as possible in order to put greater forces to bear against the employers.

This victory will certainly be ominous news to the employers since the toolmakers have traditionally set the wage trend in many important industries in the Chicago area. The victory of the Chicago toolmakers, Teamsters and construction workers is the signal for an unprecedented wage offensive of the industrial workers in the Chicago area.

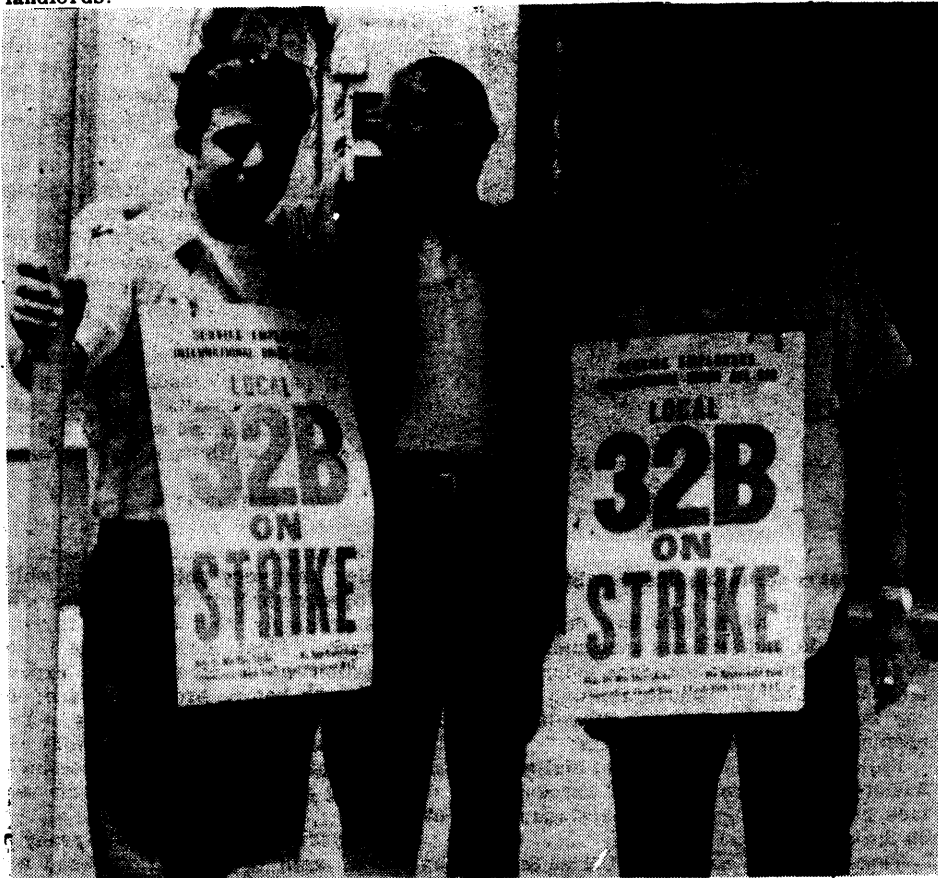
Lindsay Moves To Break NY Building Strike

BY CARLOS BAEZ

NEW YORK—After almost four months of negotiations with the landlords, the members of building service workers Local 32B went out on strike. The strike now in its second week spread from Manhattan to Brooklyn and Queens.

The greater danger is now being raised in this strike by the collaboration of the union leadership and Lindsay. Under the plan for the City to take over struck buildings and hire striking workers paying them out of the rent monies, Lindsay is attempting to get the union back to work before a settlement is reached with the landlords.

The leadership of 32B has assured the City of the union's "readiness" to return if the city promises to pay them at wage scales negotiated with the Realty Advisory Board. Behind Housing Commissioner's talk about the "hard core greedy and irresponsible landlords" and the threats to reduce rents is Lindsay's attempt to break this strike.



Militant 32-B strikers now face threat from Lindsay's operating the apartments.

This strike has gained the support of the members of 32E the building service workers union in the Bronx, whose contract is not due to expire until next September. Picket lines are being honored by telephone, Con Ed workers, teamsters, and sanitationmen.

The militancy of the rank and file is contrasted to the lackadaisical attitude of the union bureaucracy. This is best expressed by Thomas Shortman, President of 32B, who every time he is interviewed, assures everyone that the landlords will slowly come around to signing the contract.

Back in April when the contract ran out an interim agreement was reached that would give workers \$130 a week. This agreement was to last one month but it was extended for about three months. On June 17 a three year contract settlement was reached by the union and the Realty Owners Advisory Board, that would give the workers a \$40 increase, \$18 the first year, \$12 the second year, and \$10 the third year. A section of the landlords refused to sign until the city satisfied their demand for higher rent hikes in rent controlled apartments. The union leadership agreed to strike only those landlords who refuse to sign the agreement in spite of the fact that the landlords are a highly organized group.

This sellout by the union bureaucracy has angered many of the workers who are not striking. These workers feel they should also be out on the picket line, until all the landlords sign the contract.

WARNING

The events of the last four months and in particular the behavior of the union bureaucracy should be a warning to the members of 32B. The rank and file of 32B must not allow the landlords' holdout for one minute more. All buildings must be struck.

The only way to fight the arrogance of the landlords is through a full mobilization of the union for a citywide strike against the full membership of the Realty Advisory Board. This means rejecting any deal which would require the return to work while the city finished its negotiations with the landlords.

Gotbaum Sells Out DC37 Ranks On Summer Hours, Pensions

BY A DC 37 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Recently, headlines in the Public Employees Press of District Council 37, AFSCME, screamed "City-Wide Victory for 120,000." A closer examination of the contract would reveal, however, a city-wide sellout for 120,000 workers.

Rather than seeing the contract negotiations as a real opportunity to push forward the gains of his ranks, Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of DC 37, went into the negotiations with the simple hope that he could just hold on to whatever gains were made in the last citywide contract. Knowing that the workers would be under heavy attack from the City in this period, he refused to go on the offensive, and thus allowed the City to chip away at previous gains made by the ranks.

The most glaring retreat was on the question of the summer hours. Gotbaum was prostrate before the City's attempts to take away the four o'clock summer days. He considered it a victory that he was able to maintain at all any of the summer time. What he agreed to, however, was not even a maintenance of the status quo.

He bargained away these hours for all workers who are on staff for less than one year, starting in the summer of 1971. This move was not only an invitation to the City to chip away the summer hours, but will be a tremendously divisive factor. New workers will have to remain in the centers after four, while most others will be leaving early. Also summer hours will only be in effect through Labor Day, rather than mid-September. This means a loss of about a week each year in summer hours. Gotbaum has left the union wide open for an attempt by Lindsay to lengthen the work week in 1972. What really should be on the agenda is an all out fight for a shorter work week to combat unemployment.

A further examination of the contract will show that the pension plan that Gotbaum hails as a real victory pales in comparison with transit, fire, police and

Victor Gotbaum makes a point during contract negotiations. Now the ranks must make a few points over what is missing from contract and the bitter price they must pay for it.



Workers Shutdown Armstrong To Defeat Productivity Deal

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WEST HAVEN, CONN.—On Tuesday June 30 over 1,000 United Rubber Workers struck the Armstrong Rubber Co. here. Members of the URW Local 93 at this tire producing plant termed the strike "absolutely necessary" and "a long time coming."

The demands being put forward by the union include an 82¢ an hour raise to be spread over the three year life of the contract as well as increases in pension and welfare benefits. But the main thrust of the strike is aimed at the company's attempt to make the workers pay for the crisis that is facing the economy and endangering the employers' profits.

This is reflected in Armstrong's demand that off standard workers (those taken off piecework) must be paid only 90% of the basic wage. This would mean that a large percentage of the workers, many of whom have been working at off standard jobs for years, would actually face a wage cut from their present pay rate. It means a wage cut even taking into account the new raise called for in the contract.

PAY

At the same time the company is trying to make the workers pay for the machine breakdowns. Armstrong wants to cut the

downtime rate the workers get while their machines are not working from 85% to 70% of their basic wage.

Faced with these direct attacks on them by the company, the workers are definitely prepared to fight. The two recent wildcat strikes at the plant (over working conditions and speedup) shows that the rank and file are militant and ready to fight for victory.

But the success of this militant strike is already being put in jeopardy by the URW leadership. These leaders are now in Kansas City holding secret negotiations with the company. The fact that the rank and file are being kept in the dark about the progress being made is a bad omen. Do their leaders have something to hide?

The rank and file must demand that their leaders keep them up to date on the latest progress at the negotiating table. At the same time they should let the negotiators know that they will accept no less than a full victory over Armstrong. But it will take more than simply pressure on the leaders to make the strike successful. The ranks must create a picket line strong enough to keep out the scabs. Recent developments in the strike show this to be of prime importance. Foremen and R & B personnel are providing the bulk of a scab force that is beginning to turn out enough work to threaten the whole existence of the strike.

The ranks must demand that the union call for the support of the entire city labor movement in this strike.

Labor Party Raised At Steelworkers Summer School

BY ED BERGONZI

The United Steelworkers of America-Pennsylvania District are currently holding their annual Summer Institute for rank and file representatives at Penn State University.

At the opening plenum, Julius Uehlein, a union lobbyist and highranking union official clearly demonstrated that the leadership will be incapable not only of fighting for better living and working conditions but of defending the steelworkers against the current and upcoming attacks of the Nixon Administration. In discussing a long list of reform bills, most of which have been shelved by the crisis ridden Pennsylvania State Legislature, Mr. Uehlein blamed these defeats on the Republican Party, while implying that the Democratic Party was a friend of labor.

A Workers League representative spoke on the identity of the Democratic and Republican Parties in their support of Nixon's anti-labor policies, and posed the independent political action of labor and the building of a labor party as the only way forward. Mr. Uehlein answered this by saying that, although he sympath-

ized with the idea, he was afraid that if the workers abandoned the liberals in the Democratic Party the reactionaries would take over. What Mr. Uehlein is clearly expressing is the policy of the popular front, the alliance, or rather, the tying of the working class to the liberal section of the capitalist class in order to fight the right wing.

COMPLICITY

What this means is that labor should unite with the likes of Mayor Stokes, who recommended that troops be brought in to break the Teamsters strike in Ohio or with Mike Mansfield who has joined the long list of Democrats calling for wage controls. What this also indicates is the total complicity of the trade union bureaucracy with the popular front policies of the Stalinist Communist Party, policies which led to the defeats of the European working class and the rise of fascism during the thirties.

However, many of the rank and file present at this Summer Institute had no illusions about the Democratic Party being a friend of labor, or about the ability of the trade union bureaucracy to effectively defend the wages and conditions of steelworkers. That the ranks are looking not only for new leadership but for an alternative method of fighting was

sanitation. The 20 year and out pension at half pay should have been a non-negotiable demand. Gotbaum settles for 20 year half pay at age 55. Now the police are opening up the pension fight again and the District Council will thus fall way behind the others in the next round of negotiations.

The most important aspect of this contract, however, is what it does not say. There are absolutely no job guarantees in the contract and no attempt was made to deal with the impending layoff problem. While Lindsay is busy studying measures that LaGuardia took against city workers in the 1930s, while 3,000 members of AFSCME in Philadelphia have been laid off without so much as a peep of protest from the union, Gotbaum conspicuously avoids any attempt to get job protection clauses in the contract.

GREEN LIGHT

Furthermore, in relation to job specifications, there is one statement in the union paper which reads as follows:

"The city agrees to notify the duly certified union in advance of any change in job specifications in any title certified to such union."

This agreement openly gives a green light to the City to run roughshod over job specifications. This is precisely what the City wants in order to speed up workers and harrass them into quitting. Furthermore, Civil Service makes it quite clear that if the content of a job is eliminated (or given to another title), the job can be eliminated. Thus, the changing of job specifications, with only the guarantee that the City will let the union in on its general plans beforehand, completely opens the road to massive layoffs in Civil Service.

It is very clear that Gotbaum preferred to accept this rotten deal rather than make any attempt to mobilize the ranks of the District Council. He knows that given the least amount of encouragement, the ranks of the DC could have been mobilized.

This is precisely what Gotbaum is afraid of. A mobilization of the ranks could easily get out of Gotbaum's control and embarrass his working relationship with Lindsay. That is why he will not allow a democratic vote of the membership on

demonstrated by the excellent attendance of steelworkers at a meeting called by the Workers League.

At this meeting the reformist and class collaboration of the union bureaucrats and the independent political action of labor around the construction of a labor party putting forward working class demands were discussed. Those workers in attendance showed a real interest in the perspective of the Workers League. Notably, on the following day, some workers who had attended this meeting brought up the labor party question in their classes.

TIME

Their interest in the labor party stands in direct opposition to the position of Uehlein. Uehlein stated at the opening plenum that labor should have fought for the labor party in the thirties, but asserted that now is not the right time. Perhaps the right time will come after the trade unions have been destroyed and when the working class is defeated.

No, Mr. Uehlein, the time is now! The time is now to break decisively from the labor fakers in the Democratic and Republican Parties and build an independent party, a labor party, based on the power of the trade unions.

this settlement. Rather he presents it to the rank and file as a fait accompli.

The SSEU Committee for a New Leadership is the only organized force in the District Council which is fighting this sellout. It is leafletting SSEU-371 and 1549 members and is trying to reach workers from other sections of DC 37 with the demand that Gotbaum call a council-wide membership meeting to discuss the pact, and that there be a vote in every local. The current pact must be rejected and a new fight, backed by the threat of a DC 37 wide strike must be negotiated.

The central demands that the Committee is raising are:

- Twenty year and out half pay pension.
- Thirty hour week, no capitulation on summer hours.
- Iron clad guarantees against attrition and layoffs.
- DC 37-wide wage escalator clause.

This is the only kind of program which can really take the ranks forward against the vicious attacks of Lindsay, Nixon and the bosses. This program can be won if the combined power of all the locals of DC 37 is used.

BOBBY SEALE BRIGADES COVER FOR POP FRONT

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS.—Scores of students here have been organized into "Bobby Seale Brigades." The purpose of these brigades is to mobilize as many people as possible to demonstrate against the trial of three Black Panthers in Milwaukee beginning late September.

The real force behind the Bobby Seale Brigades is the Mother Jones Revolutionary League. The MJRL, like many similar "collectives" arising in the student milieu around the country, is a Stalinist organization, with at least a section of its leadership in political solidarity with the ultra-Stalinist Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

No student should for a minute be fooled by the new left-sounding name of the MJRL, its association with "youth culture," or the hippy antics of the Brigades. These aspects are adaptations of Stalinism to the middle class milieu, and in no way change the content of its program or mitigate its danger. The hippy garb which Stalinism dons on the campus is designed to prevent serious theoretical discussion of its political premises.

The program on which the MJRL has launched the Brigades, a maximal mobilization on the single issue of the defense of the Panthers' civil liberties, is the Stalinist program of the popular front. It flows from the Panthers' program for a "United Front Against Fascism," based explicitly on Dimitrov, Stalinist theoretician of the popular front in the 1930s. Dimitrov's program, like the Panthers', called for unity across class lines against repression.

Advocates of the "United Front Against Fascism" try to obscure the issues with emotional raving about the necessity of defending the Panthers. But the popular front defends no one but the bourgeoisie. The fate of the popular front in Europe proves this. The defense of the Panthers requires the independent mobilization of the working class, above all the fight for a labor party. Stalinism's real interest is in preventing such an independent mobilization, not in defending the Panthers.

The MJRL is using the defense of the Panthers as a cover for the popular front. The MJRL is Stalinism, the politics of the Communist Party, opportunistically taking on the local hippy coloring so that it can, within the middle class, more effectively fight against Trotskyism and the working class.

Mt. Sinai Workers Show Way To Stop Sellout



1199 rank and file are voting to reject Davis' sell-out contract in significant numbers.

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, July 15—At Mount Sinai, one of the largest hospitals here, 32% of the Hospital Division of 1199 voted against the recently negotiated contract. The vote was 328 for and 155 against. The ranks of 1199 showed their opposition to this rotten settlement despite the series of threats and intimidations against militants.

The ranks of the other hospitals must take up the lead given by members who voted no at Mt. Sinai and must completely reject this settlement.

This vote is an important step forward in the fight against the contract and the 1199 leadership. For the first time in the history of the union there is tremendous hostility and opposition to the leadership and the rotten deal they are trying to

sell to the members. The bureaucracy sees the Mount Sinai vote as a clear warning.

This is why a group of delegates and union officials held a kangaroo court immediately following the vote and declared that the delegate who had led the opposition was no longer a delegate. He was simply told that he was no longer "fit to be a delegate" and was accused of having given a leaflet opposing the contract to a union Vice-President, Sidney Von Luther!

The ruthlessness of this leadership and their fear of the rank and file is out in the open. They were especially enraged because the delegate insisted on an immediate count of the ballots in his presence and they are desperately trying to keep the opposition vote quiet.

The bureaucracy cannot defend this sell-out and must use every rotten maneuver they know to get a yes vote. The ratification vote was scheduled weeks after the settlement and then is stretched out over a period of 4 weeks. Every hospital votes separately, Guild and Hospital Division separately, and within each Division there are 2 to 4 different times to vote! All this is for one purpose only—to first use the delay to let the opposition "cool off" and secondly to prevent members from knowing what is happening at other hospitals.

At Kingsbrook Jewish Hospital less than half of the workers in the Hospital Division came to the ratification meeting where 150 voted for, 25 against and 20 abstentions. A big factor in the small turnout was the feeling that everything was already settled at the top and the

workers had no real say in the matter. Despite the fact that the union leadership claims that no vote will be taken where there is not a majority of the chapter present, they ignore this decision whenever it suits them.

The lesson of the Mount Sinai vote is that even over a month after the tentative settlement and a campaign of slander and arm twisting, the ranks are ready to go back and fight.

When a member of the Rank and File Committee came into the hospital to distribute leaflets, the delegates, encouraged by the union staff called the security guards and one of the union officials claimed that he would "beat up" the worker if she refused to leave. Following this the other supporters of the Rank and File Committee at Mount Sinai were told by one of the delegates that they would be fired for handing out leaflets.

The open witchhunt against rank and file militants reveals the true character of the 1199 bureaucracy. For all its militant facade and its supposed opposition to Meany this leadership stands with the Currans and Boyles in the labor movement for repression against rank and file opposition. Their fear of the rank and file drives them more openly than ever into the arms of the bosses.

There is time to defeat this contract. Workers must mobilize at every hospital for a rejection. The strong opposition at Mount Sinai will encourage other workers to vote no. The threats of violence and the bureaucratic maneuvers are the leaderships admission that they are afraid that this contract will be defeated!

Northwest Uses Scabs Against Striking Clerks

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—Some 3500 members of the Brotherhood of Railway, Steamship and Airline Clerks (BRAC) took nationwide strike action against Northwest Airlines on July 7. This is their first strike since 1953.

The majority of those on strike are in St. Paul Lodge 3007, which organizes clerical and office workers, and in Minneapolis-St. Paul Lodge 3015, which takes in operational personnel in the Twin Cities, Rochester, Fargo, Grand Forks and Winnipeg.

With the rising cost of living and wage limitations imposed by previous contracts, BRAC members at Northwest have found their wages slipping further and further behind those of most other airlines, including the non-union lines.

NOTHING

Northwest's proposal is a 33% increase over three years. Under this proposal, NWA workers would be getting similar pay three years from now that non-union United gets now. "Thirty-three percent of nothing is nothing," added one striker.

Against this, the BRAC is demanding a 45% increase (17% retroactive to October, 1969, 5% retroactive to March 1970, and four more 5% increases every six months thereafter), a cost of living clause, longevity pay, company paid uniforms, and improved sick pay, vacations and holidays.

SCABS

Northwest management has shown that it is out for blood. They are flying in

supervisory personnel from all over the world to keep as many planes as possible in the air. NWA President Donald Nyrop is personally going out on the picket lines to try to get strikers back to work and quit the union.

On July 7—the strike deadline—NWA came out with a vicious letter attacking the union and offering full support for any worker who scabs or quits the union. (Workers hired before 1960 are not required to join the union—what few scabs there are have come from those in this group who have not joined the union.)

Northwest now employs, as compared to other airlines, one of the smallest number of workers in relation to passengers carried. One striker told of one night having to work a 747 jet all by himself, as compared with eight such men used by Trans World Airlines.

To further intensify this speedup, Northwest is working to merge with Northeast airlines, which recently initiated its own layoffs. Some 400 workers in almost all job categories were laid off at Northwest just before the strike.

Northwest's BRAC strikers are in a position to win their full demands. Official support has come from the TWU (stewardesses and cabin attendants), Machinists (mechanics and flight kitchens), building trades and local central labor bodies, and unofficial support from sections of the pilots.

DANGER

The danger in this strike is that what can be won on the picket lines can be lost in the mediation boards and in Congress. BRAC members must place absolutely no trust in any of Nixon's federal mediators, who wrote the rotten GE and Westinghouse settlements.

Even now, as more planes pile up at NWA's main base Nixon and Congress are moving ahead with their plans to outlaw strikes in all transport services—air, rail, trucking, longshore and maritime—and replace strike rights with compulsory arbitration.

In 1966 the airline mechanics showed the way to fight these sort of attacks. They shoved Johnson's 3.2% wage guidelines down his throat and four west coast IAM lodges demanded that their leaders break with the liberal Democrats and build a labor party. This is precisely the strategy needed to break the union-busting plans of Northwest.



Northwest pickets (shown here in Minneapolis airport) face open strikebreaking.

1199E FIGHTS FOR RECOGNITION IN BALTIMORE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—On July 9, approximately thirty workers were arrested for a sit-in at the entrance to Seton Psychiatric Institute in Baltimore City. The sit-in occurred several days after the workers went out on strike against Seton Institute to gain recognition for Local 1199-E as their bargaining agent.

After sitting in for several hours the workers discovered that the Sisters of Saint Vincent DePaul who run Seton Institute intended to use the police to clear the entrances. When ordered to disperse by the cops, the workers unanimously refused and were thereupon manhandled into a waiting police bus which took them to Northwestern District Jail. Approximately forty workers and union officials (some of whom were under a six month suspended sentence for a similar action at another institution) remained to man the picket lines.

CAPITULATED

Later that night, Fred Punch, the President of Local 1199-E, announced that the sit-ins would continue until Local 1199-E gained recognition. He also called for a rally of hospital and nursing home

employees to support the Seton workers. The rally was to have been held on Saturday, July 11. However it was called off on the day before when the Sisters of Saint Vincent DePaul finally capitulated and agreed to hold a recognition election.

The anti-union activity on the part of Catholic-run medical facilities is nothing new in Baltimore. Mercy Hospital, Jenkins Memorial Hospital, Saint Joseph Hospital and Seton Institute have all engaged in virulent anti-union attacks.

However, these anti-union attacks proved to be an embarrassment to the well known "liberal" His Eminence, Lawrence Cardinal Sheehan of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Citing Pope Leo XII's anti-socialist encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Cardinal Sheehan made the statement that it was "inconsistent with Church doctrine" to deny the right of workers to organize to improve their conditions. But it evidently was not "inconsistent" enough to prevent the Cardinal from refusing the request of the workers to intervene for them. Cardinal Sheehan stated that he did not have "jurisdiction" over these institutions—Catholic institutions under his charge as head of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

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