

## Wage Offensive Opens New Strike Wave

# DOCKERS SHUT DOWN WEST COAST PORTS

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## What we think

### Working Class Breaks Through At NPAC Conference

The National Peace Action Coalition conference was marked from beginning to end by the movement of the American working class. While workers were present at the conference in relatively small numbers the relationship between the movement of the working class and the struggle against the war predominated in all proceedings. Because of this all the weaknesses of American Radicalism in this period were exposed.

The disruptive activities of Progressive Labor-SDS, supported by Spartacist, at the Friday evening keynote session set the stage for the conference. The events were touched off by the

presence of Vance Hartke, Democratic Party Senator. This was the first time a prominent bourgeois politician had addressed such a gathering and as such represented the right wing movement of NPAC under the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party.

At the same time the conference laid the basis for united activities with the Communist Party supported People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. It is clear that taken together with Hartke's presence this marked a further development of the utilization of the peace movement as a vehicle to maintain the working class' ties politically to the

capitalist class precisely at a time when deep divisions between the Democratic Party and the labor movement were being produced by the sharp capitalist crisis. Whether the SWP in the end disassociates itself from bourgeois political coalitionism it will have contributed once again to the construction of such a coalition through the form of the peace movement.

But the action of Progressive Labor, SDS and Spartacist actually represented a diversion from the fight against this coalitionism and in many ways an action complementary to it. This became particularly clear when the disruption was resumed a-

gainst Victor Reuther of the UAW. Clearly the position of the disruptors was that Reuther and Hartke were the same and that Reuther as well had no business being at this conference. But Reuther is a leader of one of the largest working class organizations, trade unions, in the United States. He not only has a right to be at such a peace conference his presence at such a conference is a very positive development.

It is true that Victor Reuther is a labor bureaucrat and as such is aligned with the bourgeoisie politically and in other ways. He represents a privileged strata within the labor movement. He is a sellout and is responsible

for the last UAW contract. He is hostile to the rank and file. But he is at the same time part of the leadership of a trade union. His presence at the conference is a reflection of the movement of the working class against the war.

It is easy to shout him down; it is another thing to replace him and Woodcock and the rest of them as a leadership of the UAW. That task requires a long struggle during which the Reuthers and Woodcocks are exposed time and time again in the course of actions. That task requires the construction of a Marxist leadership inside the unions not

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# PL-SDS Attack Defeated At NPAC Meeting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—On the surface the National Peace Action Coalition's conference held at Hunter College in New York, July 2nd to July 4th voted to continue its policy of mass protest demonstrations against the war.

However, things were not the same. A coalition of forces including the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance and "left" trade union leaders clearly emerged at the convention to prepare the groundwork for a new third party based on the liberal section of the capitalists.

This was clearly revealed by the presence of Vance Hartke, Democratic Senator from Indiana who was the keynote speaker at the opening Friday night session.

The presence of six union vice-presidents at the convention was extremely important. Abe Feinglass, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Murray Findley, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Harold Gibbons, Teamsters; Dick Neibur, United Electrical Workers; Earl Stout, AFSCME; and Rexford Weng of the Massachusetts State Labor Council endorsed the convention. Ed Block of the U.E. and John T. Williams of the Teamsters played a role throughout the convention and David Livingston of District 65 and Victor Reuther of the UAW were present Friday night.

This large union participation, even if from the bureaucrats, reflects the entrance of millions

of workers into the anti-war movement. In their own unions these leaders are under tremendous pressure from the ranks to take action against layoffs and unemployment.

The Workers League fought at this convention for NPAC to call for the construction of a Labor Party in preparation for the 1972 elections. Such a resolution would have been a major step in this direction.

The American Communist Party, through the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, has moved back into an alliance with NPAC precisely to prevent this. While maintaining all their determination to destroy the Socialist Workers Party and any Trotskyist movement, the Stalinists seek to join NPAC in order to channel the workers and youth coming out against the war back into the Democratic Party.

## DISRUPTION

The drawing of the class lines was reflected from the beginning of the convention in the intervention of the Progressive Labor Party and SDS.

As soon as the Friday night session began they marched into the hall chanting "No Ruling Class Speakers" and tried to stage a

guerilla theater on the platform. Before any speakers had begun they demanded that the assembly vote on whether Hartke should be allowed to speak. They continued to chant "Ruling Class Out" and "Workers Yes, Bosses No, NPAC Fakers got to Go". Even after over 1000 participants voted to continue with the scheduled convention PL and SDS refused to sit down. Finally a veteran on the speakers list offered to give them part of his time.

The SDS speaker said speakers like Hartke and union bureaucrats "will sell us out" and "what we need is a student-workers alliance. They've got the money and we don't need them." Their alternative was to build student struggles around ROTC and strike support for workers.

The Spartacist League which is working in SDS presented almost an identical motion.

When Hartke rose to speak PL and SDS began shouting again using a bullhorn.

It was during the speech of Victor Reuther who PL also tried to shout down that the SWP, the trade unionists present and others in NPAC made a decision to oust the leaders of the disruption. Fistfights broke out all over the auditorium as PLers were hauled out. Those who participated in the disruption were physically prevented from returning to the convention the rest of the weekend.



Supporters of the Workers League motion during vote.

The Workers League supported this action in defending the conference. PL's left talk is nothing but a cover for Stalinist hooliganism which has always been directed against the SWP and the Workers League. Their motivation is their hatred of Trotskyism.

The Workers League took an unconditional and principled stand on this question while Labor Committee and PCPJ sought in one way or another to give back-handed support to PL and SDS and cover the Stalinist origin of this attack.

Saturday PL and SDS picketed the front of the convention hall and passed out leaflets denouncing "the racist goon tactics" of the NPAC leadership. Saturday morning James Lafferty presented a proposal from the Steering Committee, voted for by a majority of the conference to bar only those who were known to have disrupted but not all members of PL and SDS.

Then some twenty different resolutions were read to the conference. In addition to the NPAC and Workers League resolutions, the Labor Committee, International Socialists, SDS and May Day group presented their proposals.

A spokesman presented the

Workers League motion which read:

"As the New York Times revelations have made clear the Vietnam War has been perpetrated by the small minority which rules this country in the interests of big business and in complete disregard of the will of the working people. Each protest against the war has been followed by a stepping up of the war.

"Only the action of the working class can end this war. This action must be political and it must be seen as preparation for the 1972 elections.

"Therefore it is resolved that NPAC call for a Congress of labor, minority peoples and youth to construct a labor party for the 1972 elections dedicated to immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and defense of the American working class.

"At the same time NPAC fully supports the strike actions of the American working people urging that these actions be extended into a general strike against the war and against all attacks on American workers.

"Within this framework NPAC

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## JURENAS SPEAKS ON GI FIGHT

NEW YORK—The following is an interview with Edward Jurenas, a GI who was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance before his induction. He is presently under attack by the military and threatened with a court martial because of his efforts to organize GIs.

**BULLETIN:** Court martial charges against you are now pending in Washington, what is the history of this attack?

JURENAS: It all began in May after a number of GIs and myself at Fort Greely began publishing an antiwar GI paper, "The Arctic Arsenal." On May 20th the company commanders ordered our lockers searched. Materials which they considered to be political were seized as well as copies of 'The Arsenal'.

Two weeks later I was called in and charges were read against me including disrespect for officers and failure to get prior authorization for distribution. The disrespect for officers was charges because of an article in 'The Arsenal' on General Hollingsworth, the Commanding General in Alaska. We had cited him for the Lifer of the Month Award. I was also charged with promoting disaffection and disloyalty among the GIs.

**BULLETIN:** What has been the reaction of the GIs on the base?

JURENAS: We have received fantastic support. We meet twice a week to discuss the paper and the fight against the war. Many GIs attend these meetings. The paper is still publishing and a new issue, the third, will be out shortly. We have also received

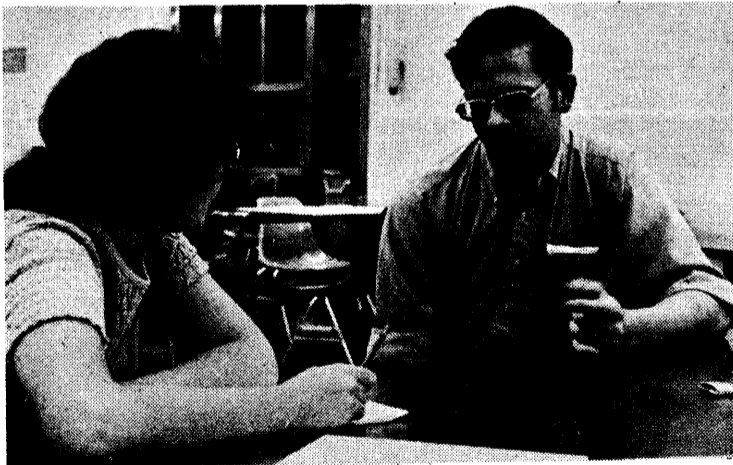
support from GIs in other bases.

**BULLETIN:** When you first got your orders you were to be sent to Vietnam, why is it you are now based in Alaska?

JURENAS: It is clear they were

of other GI papers. It is a political defense. We are also taking the case into the civilian courts to challenge the constitutionality of the attack on our rights.

**BULLETIN:** It is the action of labor which will end the war. For



Lucy St. John interviews GI Ed Jurenas at NPAC Conference.

watching me all along and knew my position against the war and my intention to organize in the army. When I got to the West Coast they changed my orders. They assigned me to the MPs but this didn't work. Even the MPs are not the enemy and there is dissent among them. I was finally sent to Alaska which is completely isolated. Last Wednesday, they informed me that I was being transferred to Presidio, California. The GI movement is not particularly strong there.

**BULLETIN:** What kind of campaign are you planning in your defense?

JURENAS: The center of the campaign is in the military itself among the GIs, getting the support

example if the longshoremen who are presently on strike on the West Coast were to stop the shipment of arms to Vietnam this would give a big impetus to a general strike movement against the war in the unions and the fight of the GIs.

JURENAS: I agree. Since I am not a civilian I cannot really do what has to be done in getting support of the unions. Sometimes a big difficulty in organizing GIs is not just the brass but the isolation, the demoralization and its expression in drugs. Most GIs come from the working class. I have learned something about the power of the working class from being in the army and I can see how the unions can change the situation.

## Soviet Agent And CIA Plot Deal With Israel

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

It is no accident that within weeks of the visit to Israel by Soviet intelligence agent Victor Louis, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency head Richard Helms is reported to have conferred with Zionist leaders Meir, Dayan and Eban.

Louis is a foreign correspondent for the Moscow Evening News whose activities, both official and otherwise, have carried him to the far corners of the globe.

He is the man who was said to have been involved at one point in the leaking of Khrushchev's memoirs to the West. He is also alleged to have been the key figure in the smuggling of works of numerous opposition writers outside of the USSR. Unauthorized editions of Solzhenitsyn and others have been used to discredit these writers.

Louis' specialty is sordid maneuvers of this nature. It is no accident that he now confers with Golda Meir's political adviser, Simha Dinitz. Although official Israeli sources have denied knowledge of the meetings, the press has reported that Louis spent a week in Israel in June.

This along with signs of renewed diplomatic relations be-

tween Israel and Moscow point towards a deal to legitimize the Zionist conquests at least in part, and to deny the right of self-determination to the Palestinian masses.

## CHINA

The Chinese Stalinists are now trying to compete with Moscow in their dealings with the imperialists and reactionaries of all kinds. Following the ping-pong diplomacy and the well-publicized statements of Chou En-lai on U.S.-China relations, following Peking support for Yahya Khan and Mrs. Bandaranaike, comes the news of a new telephone link between China and Israel on July 1.

The imperialists are by no means being left out of all this activity. CIA head Helms met, according to the Israeli Foreign Ministry itself, with Premier Meir, Defense Minister Dayan and Foreign Minister Eban.

The international working class is the object of constant attack and conspiracy on the part of the imperialists and Stalinists. The flurry of secret diplomacy in the aftermath of the Pentagon Papers uproar underscores the danger of a deal at the expense of the Palestinian people as well as the entire Arab and Jewish working class and peasantry in the Middle East.

# Copper Workers Walk Out Nationwide

BY BOB MICHAELSON

On Friday, July 1st, the USWA and 25 other unions struck the copper industry. Thirty thousand workers are out and copper production has been cut by 60 to 80 percent.

The major companies hit by the strike are Kennecott Copper Corporation, Anaconda, Phelps Dodge Corporation, and ASARCO. There has been considerable maneuvering around the wage issue and the industry's teletypes are passing the word that the unions have already acquiesced on this vital question.

The companies are still trying their best to get around the full cost of living escalator clause being demanded by the unions.

## STRIKE

In 1967-68, the copper strike lasted nearly nine months and was only halted by the intervention of the Federal Government. This year, the National Labor Relations Board has already intervened by refusing to allow the unions to strike the whole industry or even whole companies nationwide.

Because of this, the industry is still working at about 25 percent capacity and along with a record high stockpile of nearly 670,000 tons, it is estimated that the industry could last a least four months before there are major repercussions.

## DANGER

The danger in the situation now lies in the fact that the settlement being proposed by the companies would actually amount to less than the previous aluminum-can agreements.

The companies at this point are prepared for a long strike and will undoubtedly rely once again on government aid in

rolling back the offensive of the unions.

Nixon is making it crystal clear that he and Congress are prepared if necessary to use court injunctions, legislation and National Guardsmen to help the employers.

One picket at the US Metals plant in Carteret, New Jersey spelled out the feelings of the rank and file when he told the **Bulletin**:

"We need at least a dollar an hour the first year. If we only get what the company is offering, then we will end up with nothing after you take out the increase in union dues and taxes. And we need a full cost-of-living in order to beat the inflation."

## \$2.00

The retreat of the Abel bureaucracy on the question of wages and cost of living clause must be reversed. This can only be done if the rank and file organize nationwide to demand a \$2.00 an hour wage increase and a full cost-of-living clause. In order to implement this, there must be an immediate shut down of the whole copper industry and a unity of their strike with that of basic steel around the above demands.

If Nixon threatens to break the strike the USWA must call for a general strike of the whole trade union movement to end such political attacks on the basic right to strike. A victory for the copper workers can give a tremendous impetus to the upcoming struggle in basic steel.



Striking copper workers picket at American Smelting and Refining Company in Perth Amboy, N.J. as copper strike of 30,000 workers and 25 unions goes into second week.

# Nixon Calls On Abel To Hold Back Wage Fight

BY DAN FRIED

The Nixon Administration has now moved openly against the United Steelworkers of America copper strikers and the rank and file workers in basic steel whose contract expires at the end of the month. This is the meaning of the President's White House conference with USWA President I.W. Abel and top corporate representatives of the steel industry.

Nixon's speech, applauded by both union and management representatives alike, was a warning, according to Budget Director Schultz, "in no uncertain terms" that the Administration will not tolerate an "inflation fueling settlement." Nixon demanded "a constructive settlement," appealing to "economic patriotism" and "the national interest" in order to "improve the competitive position" of the U.S. steel industry.

What all this means in plain English is that Nixon is demanding that the steelworkers must accept the decline in their purchasing power and worsening conditions of the past few years in order to bolster the profits of the employers.

The aim of this "discussion" is to step up the pressure on the Abel leadership for a sellout on wages along the lines of the can-aluminum "pattern," little more than \$0.75 an hour over three years, along with greater "productivity" based on massive layoffs.

This conference is just one more step in the deliberate lie being perpetrated jointly by the government, industry and union leaders that this "pattern" re-

presents a big victory for the workers. The **Daily World**, newspaper of the Stalinist Communist Party lends support to this hoax by making it appear that the bosses and Nixon are now in reality opposed to the aluminum pattern for the steelworkers.

They will then be able to tell the rank and file steelworkers to restrain their anger over the aluminum pattern, hold back their demands for much higher wages and "realistically" accept the can-aluminum pact as a "victory." This is the role of Stalinism in the service of Abel.

## MOMENTUM

As a mounting wave of strikes gather momentum, they hope to put a damper on the wage offensive through a "peaceful" settlement in steel. The outcome of the steel talks can be decisive for the strikes now taking place.

The ruling class is terrified of a strike in steel that will encourage the ranks to smash the aluminum pattern based on last spring's auto pact and in doing so feed the class struggle and general strike movement in all these other industries.

In addition to this refusal to prepare for any strike at all,

Abel is further allowing massive layoffs in basic steel in order to try to demoralize the ranks and push through a sellout.

The Abel leadership has refused to call for shutting down the entire industry or to prepare for a boycott of the handling of foreign steel by Teamsters and longshoremen in the event of a strike.

In the face of the mounting layoffs, the demands for increased productivity and Nixon's continued recessionary moves, Abel has completely dropped his demand for the four day week at five days pay as a means to fight unemployment.

Abel has promoted all the propaganda put forward by the bosses about the threat of "foreign imports," rather than expose Nixon's threat to grant government contracts to foreign producers if wage increases, "force" prices rises. Nixon and the bosses have deliberately magnified the role of imported steel out of all proportion in order to try and bamboozle the rank and file into accepting a sellout on wages.

Against the plans of Nixon, Abel and the employers stands the growing rebellion of the rank and file steelworkers in opposition to sellout and the conditions they have had to put up with for years.

A rank and file caucus, the "Committee for a Decent Contract" has been formed at the Vernon, California Bethlehem works to take forward this fight nationally on a program that can

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## U.S. STEEL THREATENS CLOSURE

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER DULUTH, MINN.—The explosiveness of even seemingly minor issues combined with a fight on wages and the possibility of a plant closing could shut the entire US Steel Duluth works on August 1st.

Large sections of the plant, especially in the transportation and open hearth units, are bitter about the arbitrary changes in the seniority system some four years ago.

To head off the developing militancy on the wage and seniority issues, US Steel management is threatening to close the plant if a 10% productivity increase is not put into effect.

This threat of a plant closing has gone on for some time.

An attempt to give US Steel up to \$50 million in tax credits to modernize its Duluth facilities

through the installation of pollution control equipment was recently narrowly defeated in the State Senate.

Now comes an equally bankrupt proposal from a Democratic state representative that the federal government take over the Duluth works with massive compensation to US Steel and modernize it.

## MOVEMENT

The potential for a fight on wages, job security and seniority is there. Last fall, by working-to-rule on new safety rules, the production at the Duluth works virtually ground to a halt.

A rank and file movement must be built at Duluth as part of a national movement that will fight against the betrayals of Abel, for big wage increases and for the nationalization of basic steel, without any compensation and under workers control.

# STEEL

## PROGRAM FOR VICTORY 1971

Auspices: Workers League

Fri., July 16, 12 noon  
MADISON, WISC.  
University of Wisconsin  
Memorial Union  
speaker: Mark Pilder, USWA Local 2175

Sat., July 17, 7:30 p.m.  
GARY, IND.  
Grace Reformed Church  
5160 Georgia Ave.  
speaker: Mark Pilder, USWA Local 2175

Sat., July 17, 1 p.m.  
DETROIT, MICH.  
Local 26, AFSCME Hall  
103 W. Alexandrine  
speaker: Mark Pilder, USWA Local 2175

Sat., July 17, 8 p.m.  
BALTIMORE, MD.  
Dundale YMCA  
Langanfelder Hall, 2nd floor  
100 Dunman Way  
speaker: Steve Cherkoss, USWA Local 1845

Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m.  
ST. PAUL, MINN.  
Neighborhood House  
179 E. Robie  
speaker: Mark Pilder, USWA Local 2175

Sun., July 18, 7:30 p.m.  
BETHLEHEM, PA.  
Hotel Bethlehem  
Moravian Room  
437 Main St.  
speaker: Steve Cherkoss, USWA Local 1845

Sun., July 18, 7:30 p.m.  
PITTSBURGH, PA.  
Lutheran University Center  
4515 Forbes Ave.  
speaker: Ed Bergonzi, Bulletin reporter

Mon., July 19, 8:00 p.m.  
DULUTH, MINN.  
McDonald Hall  
436 No. 57th Ave. W.  
speaker: Mark Pilder, USWA Local 2175

Wed., July 21, 7:30 p.m.  
NEW YORK, N.Y.  
135 W. 14th St., 6th floor  
speaker: Steve Cherkoss, USWA Local 1845

# Postmen Vote Strike

BY A UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL  
CLERKS MEMBER LOCAL 3276

NEW YORK—On Wednesday, June 30, union negotiators representing 600,000 postal workers rejected a \$750 million pay raise offered by the new semi-private U.S. Postal Service.

The leadership restated the union's demand for a \$1,000 "across the board" wage hike for all workers retroactive to January 20, 1971, plus another \$1,000 hike for 1972. In addition a full cost of living escalator is demanded. Under the Postal Reform Act, passed by Congress during last year's walkout, the workers face binding arbitration on July 20.

On July 1st the ranks of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union rejected binding arbitration which prohibits us from striking. They voted 12,525 to 768 for authorizing the leadership to call a strike.

The all-day balloting was pre-

ceded by a packed rally on Wednesday. The spirits at the meeting ran high for an immediate strike. Workers told the *Bulletin* that their main concern was raising their pay and saving their jobs under the threat of reorganization.

The same day Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, the New York City local, also voted overwhelmingly for strike authorization. The official tally, however, was impounded by a federal court for violating the Hatch Act which prohibits strikes and political activity by federal employees.

Nixon and all the Democratic and Republican politicians are



Detroit sanitationmen at ratification meeting where leaders rammed through sellout.

prepared to use all the tools of the state to defeat the strike—the National Guard, court injunctions, fines and jailings. The ranks must answer these attacks by demanding that the union leadership and the rest of the labor movement call a general strike in the event of government intervention.

In addition we must prepare for the 1972 elections by putting our union in the forefront of the movement for a convocation of labor, youth and minorities to build a Labor Party.

## Leadership Sells Out Detroit Sanitationmen

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, July 6—Striking sanitation men met yesterday to consider a new contract. The sanitation men of Local 26 were the only local of AFSCME Council 77 to strike.

The big fight at the meeting came on the question of wages.

The wage offer amounts to about 76¢ for a three year contract. The cost of living clause has a ceiling of 14¢ a year.

After the wage part of the contract was read, the hall was filled with calls of "Back to the picket lines!"

Immediately, Local President Hudson prohibited the selling of all political literature in the hall and ordered those passing out literature to be kicked out.

Then he got up and made his speech to sell the contract. First of all, he accused the workers of not supporting the strike as they should, trying to get the burden off the leadership. Then he said, "There's a time for the membership to tell the president. Now there's going to be a time for the president to tell the membership. You really don't know what you're getting into. As I told some members yesterday and tonight, you don't know the danger of this thing. You don't know what you're getting into."

He then explained that this was the best that could be gotten and urged the members to accept the package. It was finally accepted by the Local.

Tonight the rest of Council 77 voted on the contract. At the meeting only about 5 to 10% of the membership showed up.

When the floor was open for discussion, a real struggle broke out. One worker got up and said, "You don't expect us to feed our children on a 20¢ raise." Another said, "We're only getting 2% for the second year."

Another one said, "If we went on strike with Local 26 we would have gotten 40¢." The pact was barely passed by about a 45 to 50% margin.

From the start of the strike, the fight was a political one as it involved a direct struggle against the Gribbs Administration. In order to win, it was necessary to bring all of city labor out on a general strike.

## SSEU Ranks Must Fight FAP Slashes

BY AN SSEU 371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The City recently announced its plans for rapid reorganization in preparation for federalization of the City's welfare system under Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP).

Negotiations between the Social Service Employees Union-Local 371 and the City have thus been speeded up, as a negotiated settlement is needed before the City can proceed with "instant reorganization."

The one major obstacle the City has been trying to overcome is how to whittle down the number of people on staff in order to make the reorganization profitable.

Under Nixon's FAP, only 60,000 of the present 200,000 jobs in the welfare system will be maintained nationwide. The clerks will be first to feel the brunt of FAP, as the income maintenance section of the job will be totally federalized, and the federal government can hire employees at cheaper rates, with far fewer fringe benefits.

In this context, the SSEU-371 leadership's acceptance of the City's demand for the transfer

over of 3,000 caseworkers into income maintenance titles (with Victor Gotbaum's blessings) is treacherous.

Upon acceptance of the conception of lateral transfers, the union put forward nine demands which would have to be met before any agreement could be reached. The City, smelling hasty retreat on the part of the union, refused all but one and one half of the demands.

Not only will lateral transfers mean the complete loss of these job slots but will pit one section of workers against another, with caseworkers taking promotional opportunities from clerical staff.

The Committee for a New Leadership members along with other militant workers on the negotiating committee opposed this proposal, but were voted down. The matter was then taken up in the SSEU-371 delegates assembly where one delegate proposed that the membership be allowed to decide, before this policy be followed in negotiations. A CNL delegate further proposed that the delegates assembly take a position in opposition to lateral transfers, as well as prepare now for a real

fight back against the City by fighting for a joint strike pact with the clerical Local 1549, as well as approaching the other uniformed services whose contracts are not yet settled, for a joint offensive. The motion was defeated 63-39.

## Baltimore ILA Strikes

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

BALTIMORE—As the longshoremen move toward their national conference and the expiration of their present contract, conditions on the waterfront here are reaching the boiling point. This was shown in a one day work stoppage last week by the two ILA Locals 829 and 858 against the Steamship Trade Association.

The dispute arose when the companies hired non-union personnel after the cargo handlers refused to unload their 105 containers which were not covered by the local agreements. The union leaders forced the men back to work when a federal injunction was issued.

As containerization expands in the Baltimore harbor, crews are being cut from 21 men to 12. The 9 laid off are forced to wait around the hiring hall for odd jobs. Members of Local 858 and 1429 are concerned about the negotiations for the new contract and in particular the guaranteed income clause.

There is widespread support on the Baltimore docks for the proposal of extending to all ports New York's guaranteed 2080 hours as compared to Baltimore's present 1800 hours.

The ranks of the ILA must fight for the ILA convention to stand firm on the union's announced demands for wages of \$7.50 an hour in a two year contract and the \$500 per month pension after 20 years.

The delegates must be mandated to demand that the LASH and Seabee and other cargo-barge carriers be boycotted, that the wage guarantee be extended in full to all men in all ports, and that no gang sizes be cut.

If the shipping bosses say they cannot afford the wages and benefits needed by the dockers as a representative from Grace Lines said in New York last month at a Brooklyn ILA meeting, the ranks must demand that the companies be nationalized without compensation and run under workers control.

## Opposition Grows Against Curran

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—At the June port meeting of the National Maritime Union (NMU) here, over 250 members voted against President Curran's attempts to prevent New Business from coming onto the agenda.

This would have allowed motions by the opposition to be presented. 277 members, many of them apparently brought in from the outports by the Curran machine, voted not to allow New Business.

This strong show of opposition to the Curran leadership along with the lead given all maritime labor by the West Coast longshoremen's strike, lays the basis for a struggle to mobilize the

union into a strike to preserve manning scales, force the passenger liners out of layup, stop the LASH ships and save NMU pensions.

Curran proposed no strike or any other rank and file action to defend the jobs of the union.

Curran and his clique are completely to blame for the loss of jobs in maritime. Even the May-June *Pilot* admits that the last contract has cost the NMU 19,000 jobs. Now the blows against the union are being redoubled. Another 12,000 jobs are due to be axed in the next several years.

The programs put forward by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus and the latest Call accept the layoffs and the automation instead of striking to end them. This can only turn the unemployed and

Group IIs against the homesteaders who themselves are now being attacked by Curran.

Homesteaders hang onto their jobs because they know it is almost impossible to get a job through the hall. The solution is not to take away the homesteaders' jobs but to increase the number of jobs.

Only a strike by the whole union can force the passenger liners out of layup, defend full manning scales on every ship, stop the LASH ships, and win two full crews on every ship, each to get a year's pay for sailing six months. This fight must be linked to the demand that any company which claims it cannot pay, be nationalized without compensation and run under workers control.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas  
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# Farinas Appeal Campaign

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee has begun a massive campaign directed towards the U.S. Court of Appeals as it deliberates on the Farinas case.

Juan Farinas was tried and convicted last December 10-11 on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act. Last January 29 Farinas was sentenced to two years in jail. His only "crime" had been to distribute a leaflet in opposition to the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968.

In a last minute move before adjourning for the summer the United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, took oral arguments on the Juan Farinas case on Wednesday, June 30.

The three judge panel will probably announce its decision towards the end of the summer, but an earlier announcement is possible. That is why the Defense Committee is urgently taking up the campaign to send letters and statements to the Court demanding the reversal of Farinas' conviction.

This stage of the campaign got off to a big start at the July 2-4 convention of the National Peace Action Coalition. The Labor Workshop unanimously voted to support Farinas'

appeal. Although the convention adjourned without acting as a whole on this motion, over 400 signatures on the petition to the appeals judges were gathered there.

These included the names of many trade unionists, who also took petitions with them to take back to their unions. Unions represented included the Building Service International, the United Electrical Workers, the Railroad Workers (Maintenance of Way Employees), the Communications Workers, State

County and Municipal Workers, American Federation of Teachers, the Newspaper Guild, the Teamsters, District 50 (Independent), and the Meatcutters.

This must be only the beginning of a campaign to gather many thousands of signatures, particularly in the labor movement, in the next few weeks. This petition and telegram campaign is urgent because a decision may come earlier than expected.

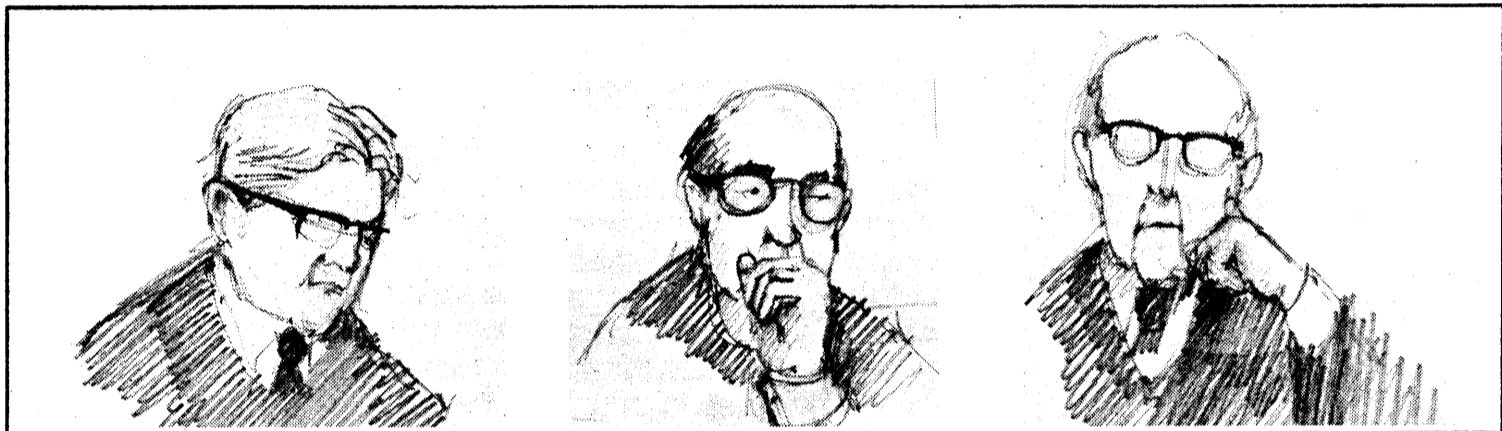
The petitions which are being circulated all over the country say the following:  
Walter R. Mansfield, Leonard P. Moore

United States Court of Appeals  
United States Court House  
Foley Square, New York City

We, the undersigned, urge you to overturn the conviction of Juan P. Farinas who faces a sentence of two years in jail for distributing a leaflet in opposition to the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968. The prosecution of Farinas is a violation of civil rights carried out for the purpose of defending a war which is against the interests of working people here and in Vietnam. The recent disclosures of the New York

Times prove that this war has been carried out by the undemocratic decision of a small minority which has lied to the American people about the character of the war. The attack on Juan P. Farinas is an attack on all workers, minority peoples and youth and it must be reversed by your court."

We urge all our readers to sign and circulate these petitions. Send letters or telegrams immediately to Judges Feinberg, Mansfield and Moore, with copies to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. Write to the Defense Committee at 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.



## Farinas Trial Exposed Political Nature Of Case

The following are excerpts from the transcript of the trial of Juan Farinas on December 10-11, 1970 and from his sentencing on January 29th. In his first statement Farinas brings out the class character of the attack as the Government's attorney Truebner questions him on the witness stand.

In the course of the government's questioning of Farinas, Truebner attempted to provoke Farinas to discredit him in the eyes of the jury. He was directly aided in this by the judge as this passage shows.

"Q. Directing your attention specifically to the last paragraph, you say the war in Vietnam is to benefit the Rockefeller money and other military money?"

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Of course, you say in the leaflet you refuse to fight in that war?"

A. Well, that is—there is—not only that war, that is not the intent to mean just that war. It means the whole—there is a war going on right now in this very courtroom, if you like, and a war out in the street. There was a war going on yesterday during the railroad strike. What I mean by saying that is that in this war I take sides, that I take the side of the railroad workers and took the side of the postal workers when they went on strike and the side of the automobile workers. I am on their side, that is what that means.

Q. You take those sides which you choose to side with?"

A. I beg your pardon?

Q. You side with those people that suit you?"

A. Well, certainly."

Q. You are a pretty excitable guy, aren't you, Mr. Farinas?"

A. That is beside the point, Mr. Truebner.

Mr. Katz. Objection.

The Court. Are you excitable?"

The Witness. I would say that most people are, under these conditions, excitable, yes.

The Court. The only question that you were asked, Mr. Farinas, was whether you are excitable. You may answer that question.

The Witness. I would say I am as excitable as any human being is who has flesh and blood in his body.

Q. You were pretty excited on the 13th of August 1968, weren't you?"

A. No; I was not pretty excited on the 13th of August 1968."

Sanford Katz, the defense attorney, in his summation to the jury raises the political nature of the case and the constitutional question of the right of free speech.

"...It really goes into the question of whether we take our Constitution, namely, the right to free speech and the right, in this instance, to hold views which are, to say the least, unpopular.

Now, Mr. Farinas is a Socialist, a Communist, a revolutionary. His views are very much in issue in this case. I suggest to you ladies and gentlemen, because I suggest that he would not be in this court as a defendant but for his views as expressed in this leaflet.

The conduct engaged in by Juan Farinas at the induction center, if done anywhere else, would not have risen to the dignity of a crime, but, because Juan Farinas expressed his opposition to the war in Vietnam, because he was urging GI's to organize inside the Army, not only to continue to oppose the war in Vietnam while they were GI's, but organize for their own conditions,

one can well imagine how career Army people reacted to that."

Perhaps the most blatant political and racist appeal during the trial was Truebner's statement in his summation.

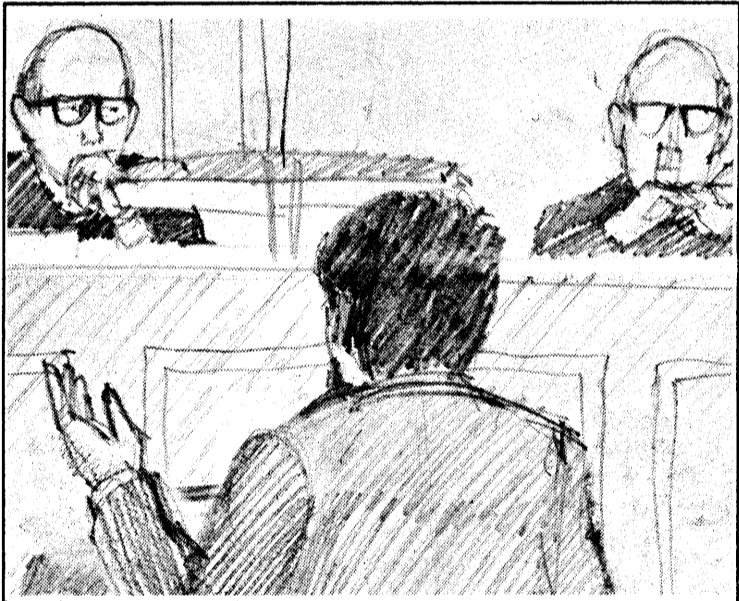
"Members of the jury, I submit to you that everything that he did at that induction station, the contents of this leaflet are relevant only insofar as they manifest an intention not to submit to induction under any circumstances. Read that leaflet and judge for yourselves whether you think one who subscribes to this document here is about to go to induction.

Juan Farinas was no more ready to submit to induction that morning in August than was Cassius Clay three and a half years ago in Houston, Texas."

At the sentencing of Farinas on January 29th Truebner again attacked Farinas in a similar way. Truebner contended that because Farinas was a "Cuban national" who was given "privileges" he should be a faithful slave to U.S. capitalism.

"Briefly, your Honor, we have here a Cuban national who has been in this country for approximately ten years and as I understand has an application for citizenship pending. During this period, society has nurtured him, has provided a basis for the support of himself and his family and as I recall the testimony at trial also he was attending one of our educational institutions.

I think it is fair to say that society has conferred these benefits upon him, all the privileges and immunities that it gives to its own citizens, in the expectation that he would be a good citizen, that he would perform those obligations incumbent upon him, and yet when the time came he spurned those obligations. He literally bit



Above, Mansfield, Feinberg and Moore, judges who heard appeal in Juan Farinas case. Below, ACLU attorney, Sager, before court.

the hand that fed him."

Judge Pollack at the sentencing followed Truebner's reasoning, claiming that the only condition for probation would be his desire for "rehabilitation," i.e. his agreement to give up his political positions.

"He made a statement this morning in which he agrees with himself in a most creative way. He seizes on the cover of politics for his conduct and mention has been made that he is entitled under these circumstances to probation, which is a means designed to assist in rehabilitation of one who seeks a new course, not one who announces defiance and who indicates in every aspect of his fiber a desire to frustrate rehabilitation along lines of good citizenship.

He sought refuge in this country and in 1964 became a permanent resident, and he has enjoyed the democracy and the protection it has granted him....

However, his behavior in the instant offense, which is greatly enhanced by the times in which he conducted himself as he did and with the motivations which he pursued, no matter how they are now glossed over for purposes of the sentence, indicates that he

will only obey those laws which he selectively announces he is in agreement with.

Since he has not indicated any desire or intention to abdicate his stand, a period of confinement seems to be the only alternative."

At the sentencing Truebner demanded that Farinas be remanded without bail because he was "Spanish speaking"

"If your Honor please, the government would ask that the defendant commence service of sentence forthwith and that he be remanded without bail pending appeal.

We feel we have a Spanish speaking individual who could easily disappear to any part of this country. You recall on the eve of trial his counsel made application for extension of bail limits to Chicago and San Francisco for the alleged purpose of politicking. That would indicate to the government that he has friends in different parts of the country and is a likely possibility for flight.

In addition, his speech a moment ago to this Court at the time of sentence has indicated that he could well be a danger to the community in combating what he considers illegal and immoral course by the government."

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## West Coast Dockers Must Stop War Goods

The west coast longshoremen have shut down the docks in the first longshore strike since 1948. This is a strike for the entire labor movement as it marks the opening of a new strike wave in the United States as the American working class steps up its wage offensive and fight against unemployment.

The longshoremen are joined by the copper workers. The postal workers have voted unanimously to strike and the Steelworkers deadline is only a few weeks away.

This strike movement occurs at a time when the whole strategy of imperialism for the Vietnam war is exploding. The Pentagon papers have exposed that this war has been conducted by a small minority who rule in the interests of the big business. At each point both the Democratic and Republican rulers have lied and have perpetrated this war against the interests of the working class. Protest has not stopped them for a moment.

Now the struggle against the war is inextricably tied to the struggle of American workers for wages and jobs against the employers and the government who are seeking to drive back conditions to the 1930s. Only the action of the working class can now end this war.

The ILWU can and must take the lead in this struggle by stopping the arms that are still being shipped to Vietnam. The only barrier in this fight is the very Bridges leadership which has been outspoken against the war. Bridges now refuses to do the one thing that can end this war—stop the shipment of military goods in the very course of this present strike.

Behind Bridges stands the American Communist Party which has been his greatest supporter now and in the past. During World War II they fought together to maintain the no-strike pledge at Roosevelt's orders.

Will the CP now take up the fight and demand that war goods be stopped? We say the ranks of the ILWU must demand that Bridges make good on his opposition to the war. The longshoremen must now fight to stop every gun, every piece of ammunition that is going to Vietnam to perpetrate the mass murder of the workers and peasants.

This action will not only be a tremendous blow against this war but can open the way for a general strike of the entire labor movement against this war.

The ILWU must take up this battle and must call on the rest of the labor movement to join it.

## Spectre Of '30s Raised

This week at the convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, President Frank Fitzsimmons described the situation facing the American labor movement.

"It seems to me we are in dire danger of experiencing another crash such as occurred in 1929, or a bad recession." Fitzsimmons placed the blame for the worsening conditions on the government.

This statement raises sharply the question of the period the labor movement is entering in which the employers and the government must drive back the working class to the poverty of depression in order to preserve their system. The government now moves more openly for the employers to hit and break the trade unions. This is the meaning of Nixon's intervention in the steel talks.

In the 1930s the working class created the powerful trade union movement but it was held back from breaking out of the stranglehold of the capitalist parties by the trade union bureaucracy and the American Communist Party. Now the very defense of the unions requires the independent political movement of the working class and the construction of a labor party.

Fitzsimmons' statement reflects in part the growing strain between the unions and the ties with the capitalist parties which the labor bureaucracy has played the central role in maintaining. The labor leaders refuse to raise the only alternative to the plans of the Nixons as well as the Muskies and McGovern for wage cuts, unemployment and anti-union laws.

The ranks of the labor movement must take up the fight in the unions to prepare for 1972, to build a labor party which is the only alternative to a repeat of the 1930s and to fascism.



"It seems to me we are in dire danger of experiencing another crash such as occurred in 1929"

Frank Fitzsimmons, head of Teamsters Union

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

"alliances" from the outside nor hysterical attacks. This means the fight must be made for the Victor Reuthers to come to such conferences but it must not be left there. The fight must be made at such conferences and in the shops for the union movement to organize real forces against the war, to take industrial action against the war, and to break with the two pro-war and anti-labor parties.

The action of PL-SDS-Spartacist represents a petty bourgeois revolutionism which is completely hysterical in character and totally hostile to the working class. This petty bourgeois hostility to the working class was one of two prongs which largely dominated the conference—the other being the support to bourgeois reformism by the SWP-CP.

This is petty bourgeois revolutionism of a specific and dangerous variety. For PL this adventure was part of their hooligan actions against "Trots" in the tradition of the Moscow Trials and Stalin which they have never repudiated. It follows hooligan threats on Bulletin salesmen as well as many others. Friday night and through the conference these attacks reached the point of violent efforts to disrupt in the tradition of the old-time Stalinists. It is significant that PL made no attempt to disrupt the PCPJ conference last week which stood on the identical reformist bourgeois line as NPAC and which has in fact reached a common agreement with NPAC with the assistance of a section of the labor bureaucracy.

The Workers League supported and gave its assistance to the physical removal of the PL-SDS-Spartacist cabal when they continued their disruption against Reuther. It is significant that neither the SWP nor the CP oriented trade unionists felt politically strong enough to move against the disruption of Hartke's speech. It was the disruption of the speech of a representative of the labor movement which made it both possible and necessary to remove the disruptors.

This petty bourgeois hostility to the labor movement continued to be expressed during the conference particularly by supporters of the Labor Committee and of International Socialists—two groups which maneuvered with each other in an unprincipled manner throughout the conference. The Labor Committee even opposed having speakers identify their trade union affilia-

tion in the Labor Workshop for in their opinion questions of perspectives for American labor are not the concern of the working class itself but of the intellectuals who are to lead these workers whether they like it or not. Another from this amalgam stated that he had been a member of three unions and was not proud of it.

Most of the trade union spokesmen in the conference were those who had affiliations now or at one time with the Communist Party or who are full time officials. These trade unionists sought to take advantage of the petty bourgeois character of their critics pushing the line of hostility to "ideology" and that the "unions will decide their own policies." This was clearly an expression of the desire of the labor bureaucracy to be left alone by its own rank and file.

The Socialist Workers Party allowed these CP-oriented trade unionists and labor bureaucrats to represent "labor" and themselves played no role independent of them. Clearly their position now is to accept the "condition" that these labor bureaucrats be brought into the anti-war movement and be guaranteed that the rank and file would be left alone. But it is the movement of these ranks which forces the leadership into the peace movement. The leadership in turn seeks to keep labor's participation in the anti-war movement at the token level and especially at a level which will not bring it or the anti-war movement into collision with the capitalist class. The labor leaders wish to participate only in such a way as will allow the war to continue and the attacks at home on the labor movement continue.

It is significant that the NPAC conference voted almost unanimously for a motion which named "Nixon and the class he represents" as responsible for the war. This resolution, put forward on the spur of the movement by Harry Ring of the SWP who sought later unsuccessfully to remove the mention of class, is itself a reflection of the class movement in the United States. At the same time the conference was blessed with relatively little mention of such petty bourgeois excrescences as gay liberation and feminism. Could it be that the SWP realizes that while the petty bourgeois antics of SDS may drive away workers, the parading of homosexuals on the stage is not the most effective way to attract steel and auto workers?

The Workers League fought in

a principled and disciplined manner for a perspective of turning the anti-war movement towards the working class and carrying forward a political struggle for a labor party. All the various petty bourgeois groups refused to confront this question. In the end Don Gurewitz of the SWP and NPAC, with the support of the NPAC leadership, ruled our motion out of the final voting even though it clearly had the support of an excess of 120 people at the conference.

But the question of the labor party and a leadership for the struggle against the war and against other attacks on American workers will not be decided by maneuver nor at the NPAC conference. It will be decided in the struggle inside the trade unions. The absence from the conference of strong rank and file trade union forces represents a grave danger which can only be overcome through a theoretical struggle to penetrate into the labor movement.

It must also be noted that the Communist Party's role on the NPAC conference reflected not only certain strengths in the labor movement but more importantly deep weaknesses. The bulk of the PCPJ forces there, independently of the CP, became involved in a petty bourgeois protest against the necessary force used to stop the disruption Friday night. The CP has created in many ways an organization within which it must feel quite uncomfortable. But it has been forced to do this in its attempt to develop particularly youth forces independent of and against Trotskyism.

Right now the SWP can deal decisive blows against the CP if it carries through on the line of a struggle against "Nixon and the class he represents" fighting out this position openly against Stalinism's popular frontism. Or it can proceed along previously worked out lines of rescuing the CP from its own petty bourgeois and ultra-left creation aiding it to pull together serious forces in the labor movement and from within the Democratic Party for either a "liberal" slate for the 1972 Democratic Convention fight, or a bourgeois "radical" alternative if this fails.

The SWP can make such a break if its leadership chooses to do so. The Workers League will of course give it every assistance despite continuing differences on many fundamental positions if it will even begin to take such a course.



# STEEL LESSONS OF THE PAST PROGRAM FOR TODAY

## 2. THE GREAT POST-WAR STRIKE WAVE BY DAN FRIED & STEVE CHERKOSS

THE SMASHING OF the Little Steel Strike in May and June of 1937 marked the opening of a period of decline of the great struggles that had built the CIO, the high point of which had been the Flint sitdowns against GM, in January, 1937. The ebb in the struggle coincided with the Roosevelt "recession" which in fact, came on with a crash even more precipitous than in 1929. In 1938, US unemployment hit an all time record of 11,030,000. Only the spending of vast amounts on war preparations following the outbreak of World War II in Europe in 1939 was to begin to pull the US economy out of the depths of the depression.

Roosevelt was determined to housebreak the US labor movement as he took the United States ever closer to war on behalf of the bankers and industrialists.

The 1941 conviction under the Smith Act of 18 Trotskyists, many of whom had been leaders of the Teamsters in Minneapolis, was the crowning effort by Roosevelt to purge the labor movement of militants in cooperation with the bureaucracy and the Stalinists (American Communist Party). Roosevelt's maneuvering with Murray and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers beginning in 1939 to form a bloc against John L. Lewis was part of the effort to subordinate all independent elements in the labor movement to the war needs of US imperialism.

Roosevelt spelled out his no-strike, wage-freeze program with this statement in May, 1940:

"Labor will not attempt to take advantage of its collective power to foment strikes and interfere with the national defense program to squeeze higher wages from employers in the so-called war industries," and told Hillman, "Sidney, I expect you to keep labor in step." (24)

Roosevelt's open declaration of war against labor, but even more his factionalizing against Lewis, finally pushed the CIO president beyond his "neutrality" and into an open break with FDR. In April, 1940, Lewis came close to advocating a labor party, in a speech before an enthusiastic UAW Convention:

"Some day in this country the people are going

to lose confidence in the existing political parties to a degree that they will form their own party." (25)

Lewis was absolutely correct—and that day is rapidly approaching today as workers are being forced to fight back politically to defend every gain they have made over the past 35 years.

But for Lewis this warning to the capitalist class was an empty threat. Millions of workers waited expectantly for an impending break with the two parties, for the announcement by Lewis of his own candidacy or a plan for setting up a labor party. Instead, refusing to rise above the opportunism of capitalist "two-party" politics, Lewis endorsed Republican candidate, Wendell Wilkie.

### THE BETHLEHEM STRIKE

Lewis's switch to Wilkie disarmed the working class in the face of Roosevelt's attacks and guaranteed the entry of the US into the war on the capitalist program of millions for "defense," nothing for the workers. But the working class in the mass production industries refused to take the attacks on the unions and the rising cost of living lying down. The rank and file began to feel a renewed sense of confidence as the war boom developed and employment picked up in 1939. In 1941, the bubble burst as masses of workers defied Roosevelt's efforts to protect the war industries. Hard fought strikes hit Vultee, Ford, Bethlehem and the entire coal industry. More workers went on strike in 1941 than in any previous year in the US except 1919!

The strike against Bethlehem had been brewing since August, 1940, when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee held a conference launching an organizing campaign for Bethlehem. The company, the largest of the Little Steel group, had over and over again refused to pay the legal minimum wage on government contracts of \$5.00 per day with the protection of Roosevelt. Roosevelt's lackey Hillman exerted pressure on SWOC chief Phillip Murray to hold off on a strike until after the November elections so as not to embarrass FDR.

With war profits rising and juicy government contracts being handed out even more following FDR's re-election, the unrest of the workers in the unorganized plants could no longer be restrained by the bureaucracy. The "Battle of Bethlehem" began at the Lackawanna plant in Buffalo when the workers

walked off the job on February 26, 1941, following the firing of over 1,000 workers. In a fierce battle, the strikers repulsed an attempt by police and scabs to break the picket lines and the company agreed to reinstatement of the men and the holding of talks with the union.

Meanwhile at Bethlehem's largest plant, the "parent" plant in Bethlehem, Pa., the leadership was pushed into calling a strike when the company decided to go ahead with a company-union election. The strike was solid and enthusiastic, with only a few hundred scabs working 16 hours a day left in the plant.

The company decided to break the strike with police terror in an effort to smash the picket lines. Mounted State Police together with the infamous coal and iron police (the Pennsylvania "Cossacks") launched their attack at a time when the workers were holding a meeting some distance away and the picket line was thinned down and augmented with women and children. The enraged workers immediately wanted to mop the floor with the uniformed thugs when they heard that the picket line had been broken. But SWOC leaders held the men back and were able to force a discontinuation of the picket line for an entire day. Only the inability of the company to mobilize enough scabs prevented the strike from being lost then and there.

According to Preis:

"John Riffe, SWOC representative, had told the strikers that certain unnamed government officials asked him to withdraw the pickets and had assured him the government would make the company come to terms. On the very day of the assault, however, the government had awarded another \$75,000,000 war order to Bethlehem and subsequently didn't lift a finger to enforce the NLRB order to disband the company union." (26)

The methods of the leadership had not changed since the Little Steel disaster of 1937 but this time the workers refused to be restrained and pressed the attack. Riffe attempted to limit the lines to "tokens" of less than a dozen but gradually the men built up the line to mass strength while across the street a sympathizers' picket line of up to 1,000 was formed.

Bethlehem agreed to meet with the union, for the first time in its history.

At a mass meeting the workers agreed to accept the terms of the settlement although many apparently were not too happy about it. The basis of the settle-



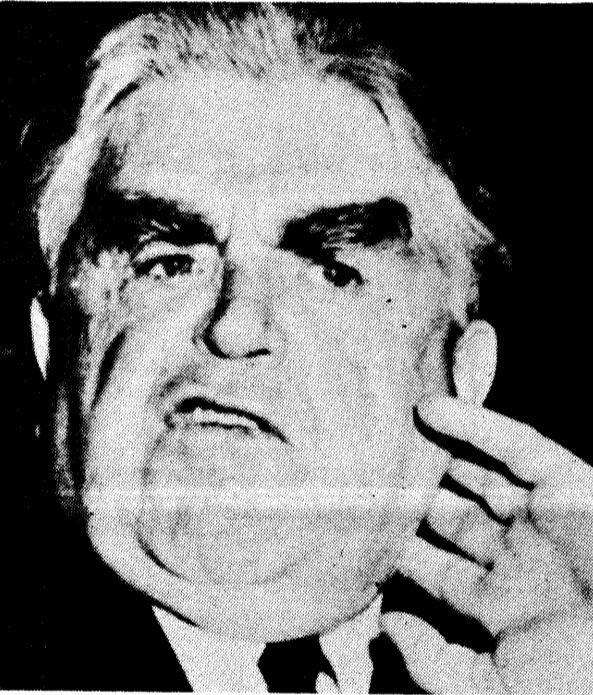
ment was the recognition of the SWOC as the sole bargaining agent for its members, and the setting up of union grievance machinery.

The Bethlehem settlement was actually the first victory based on a strike over a major steel producer in the US. The rest of the Little Steel group, Republic, Youngstown Sheet & Tube and Inland soon fell into line and agreed to a union card count which certified the SWOC as bargaining agent.

The Bethlehem settlement was on April 5, 1941. That same year, the last holdout in the auto industry, Ford, signed up with the UAW. After a short but bitterly fought strike the great Ford empire under the rule of Henry Ford who swore he would never recognize a union signed up. Over 400,000 soft-coal miners went on strike winning wage increases of 16 to 22%; both Big Steel and Little Steel granted wage increases of 10¢ an hour by the end of April; in May, after an "unauthorized" strike, 40,000 General Motors workers won a 10¢ per hour increase that the company had held back from them. All in all over 1,500,000 CIO workers won wage increases in 1941.

#### THE LITTLE STEEL FORMULA

But Roosevelt, with the help of the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists, was not going to let this upsurge of the unions go forward and was determined to throw it back. The outbreak of the war with Japan in the Pacific became the occasion for a conference of top officials of labor and industry in Washington in mid-December, 1941. The CIO representatives were Lewis, Murray and Emspak of the UE who was close to the Stalinists. The bureaucrats agreed to shackle the working class to the best of their ability to the formula of: 1) the no-strike pledge; 2) peaceful settle-



John L. Lewis

ment of all labor disputes through negotiation, mediation and arbitration; and 3) the setting up of the War Labor Board (WLB) to provide compulsory arbitration of all unresolved disputes. This three part formula was the basis of the so-called program of "equality of sacrifice." For the workers, however, there was to be equality and plenty of sacrifice.

Behind the three point program was the attempt by the ruling class to put the lid on the workers, to freeze wages, in a period of rising prices which were skyrocketing even more following Pearl Harbor. The pressure from the rank and file was mounting on the bureaucrats in spite of the "agreement." Even Murray was forced to raise the demand for wage increases, claiming that by March, 1942, the cost of living including taxes had risen by 20% above January, 1941, the net effect of which was a 10% general wage cut. A UAW conference in February, 1942, adopted demands for a \$1.00 per day wage increase and the union shop.

The SWOC, which did not yet have the "luxury" of conventions that was commonplace in the UAW had already put forward the same wage demands in Little Steel. But rather than mobilizing a fight for this wage increase, a fight that would require a political struggle against the anti-labor policies of the government, Murray threw the whole demand into the arbitration hopper of the War Labor Board. The UAW followed suit.

In the meantime, Roosevelt was building up his offensive against the unions. This was made clear when FDR backed General Motors in its refusal to continue to pay double time for Sunday work as had been agreed in the GM-UAW contract.

In late April, Roosevelt spelled out his seven point wage stabilization program. A few weeks later he showed what he meant by "stabilization." He issued an ultimatum against the payment to shipyard workers of money due them under a cost of living escalator clause agreed to in a contract by all the AFL and CIO unions, the employers and at the insistence of the government itself in 1941. Roosevelt bluntly stated that although the increase was called for in the con-

tracts and the workers were legally entitled to it, they should not get it because it "is irreconcilable with the national policy to control the cost of living." But the huge war profits of the biggest corporations were in no way irreconcilable—in fact the role of the government was to augment these profits with guaranteed cost-plus contracts and the like while standing with its foot on labor's neck.

This was driven home by the ruling of the War Labor Board in July on the Little Steel wage demand of \$1.00 per day increase (12.5¢ per hour) which came to be known as the Little Steel Formula. The essence of the formula was to allow wage increases to keep pace with price increases in order to maintain the "peace-time" living standards of January 1, 1941, which was the date used as a yardstick. For the steelworkers this meant they were "awarded" 44¢ per day out of the dollar they had demanded even though a special panel of the WLB itself had reported that the steel employers could easily afford the \$1.00 increase without raising prices. But the aim of the government was not to allow the workers to hold the line, to maintain the pace, but, in fact, to push them back to a period before the gains of the CIO were fully consolidated. The "peace-time" levels of January 1, 1941, were still the depression levels prior to the great struggles of 1941.

The wartime attack on labor as expressed in the Little Steel Formula, wage freeze and "no-strike pledge" was designed not only to keep the workers from getting "a larger share of the national income" (as Professor George Taylor who wrote the WLB "Little Steel Case" opinion had written) but was a counterattack against the industrial unions themselves which had issued out of the CIO. The aim was to emasculate them—to draw them into the network of the state apparatus and to try to subordinate the rank and file to the labor bureaucracy.

The Little Steel Formula became the basis for the wage freeze throughout industry. According to WLB Chairman Davis, the application of the formula would disqualify 75% of wage earners from any further increase. Under James Byrnes, "economic czar" who was appointed head of the Office of Economic Stabilization, the WLB was officially instructed to disapprove any negotiated increases that exceeded the provisions of the formula. The Ford workers were then immediately denied their wage demand of \$1.00 per day and in fact were not allowed even one penny increase.

Understandably, the CIO stagnated under this attack and the treachery of its leaders, who like CIO-SWOC President Murray, quickly put aside their threats of resistance after a "talking to" by Roosevelt. In November, 1942, the CIO had hardly grown in size above the level of 1937 and was now smaller than the AFL. Between three and four thousand union agreements were suspended in limbo piled up in the office of the War Labor Board. Although in 1942 there were more strikes than in any year except 1937 and 1941 (going back to 1919), the number of man days lost as a result was the lowest since 1930, a testimony to the role of the labor bureaucracy as the cops in the labor movement for Roosevelt and the bosses.

Far from submitting to the wage freeze, the rank and file fought back from the very beginning of the war, with the tempo of the class struggle accelerating throughout and reaching a great crescendo in the post-war strike wave and outburst against any attempt to impose a "permanent" no-strike pledge.

#### FOUNDING OF USWA

While the steelworkers were certainly at the center of the class struggle as much as any other industry during the war, it was not until May 19, 1942, that a constitutional convention formally establishing the United Steelworkers of America was held. Just as Murray, for six long years since the setting up of the SWOC has refrained from such a step in order to be able to run the union bureaucratically as he pleased, so now he was motivated by bureaucratic power moves in setting up the USWA.

The immediate background to the calling of the constitutional convention setting up the USWA, was the split between Lewis and Murray. This schism went back to 1940 when Lewis denounced the Roosevelt candidacy, supported Wilkie and then resigned as CIO president when Roosevelt was re-elected. Murray, as new CIO chief, drifted further away from Lewis, determined to assert his independence (what he always referred to as his "manhood") by eventually coming into an alliance with Sidney Hillman and the Stalinists solidly behind FDR's anti-labor program.

For their part the Stalinists, of whom we shall say more later, did everything they could to attack Lewis and bring Murray out in the open against Lewis. In New York, the Stalinist controlled CIO Council expelled nine locals of a construction workers organizing committee headed by the brother of John L. Lewis, while Stalinist TWU leader Mike Quill invaded the UMW District 50 office, smashing furniture and posed for press photographs with a smashed picture of John L. Lewis who he claimed was "part and parcel of an isolationist plot." (27)

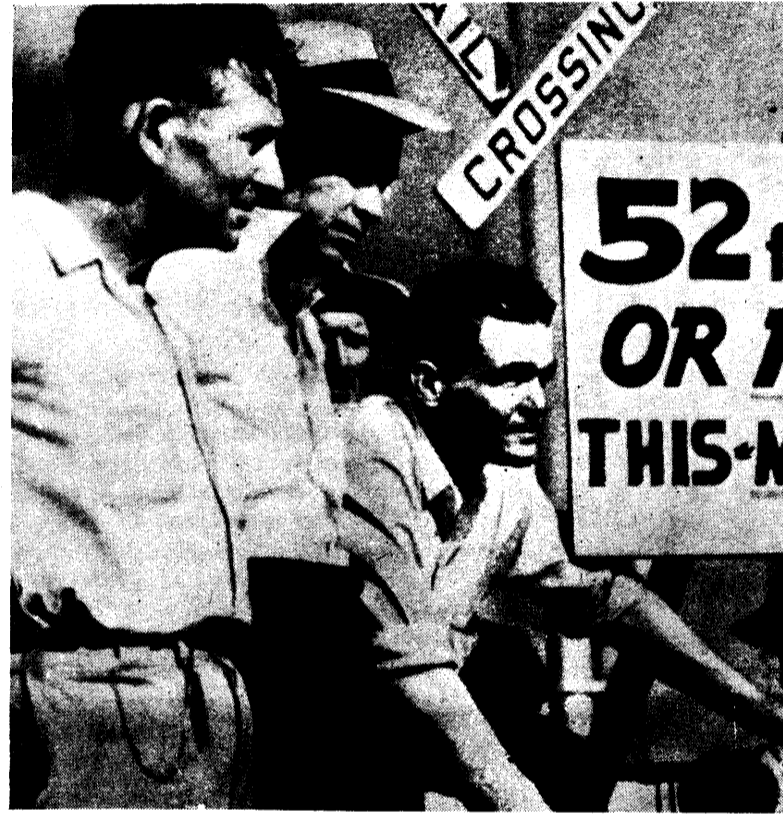
The split was soon consummated with Murray being expelled on May 25, 1942, from his position as UMW Vice President shortly after he had "accepted" the post of President in the new USWA at a salary of

\$20,000—\$2,000 more than he had been getting from the UMW. On June 4, Murray publicly denounced Lewis, charging he was "hell bent on creating national confusion and disunity," and in October the UMW voted overwhelmingly for immediate split from the CIO.

The constitutional convention formally establishing the USWA on May 19, 1942, was not only Murray's way of consolidating his bureaucracy and position as head of the CIO against Lewis, but also reflected the growing dissatisfaction among the ranks of the steelworkers with the lack of any democracy and internal discussion whatsoever in the SWOC.

Murray worked out the USWA constitution with care over a long period of time in order to insure the utmost power for the bureaucracy and the least opportunity possible for the rank and file to control the union. Murray acquired virtual dictatorial powers as President, including the "authority to appoint, direct, suspend, or remove such organizers, representatives, agents and employees as he may deem necessary." (28) This included the 39 Presidentially appointed District Directors who together with only four elected International officers comprised the Executive Board.

Even more important, the USWA President was given a veto power over the calling of any strike and



CIO pickets prepare to shut down Texas oil refinery. The main demand, as in strike below, right, was

there is no procedure for the membership to ratify contracts. As we shall see, the undemocratic structure of the USWA and these provisions which make it more difficult for the ranks to stop sellout contracts, require action by the rank and file beyond the constitutional framework in order to stop a sellout in 1971.

Even with his new constitution, Murray was afraid that any discussion at all at the founding convention would open the flood gates of rank and file revolt not only against the bureaucratic structure, but against the entire policy of wage-freezing and "no-strike" pledges to which Murray was committed. Accordingly, Murray stated his policy at the convention which makes a complete mockery of union democracy:

"I do not want this convention to waste a single solitary moment of its time discussing, by resolution or otherwise, internal differences of any description." (29)

In comparison, the UAW (United Automobile Workers) had been the scene of an almost continual discussion, debate, factional strife—a union that exemplified the setting up of caucuses which heightened the political level and understanding of the ranks in the UAW beyond that of any other union. The UAW was famous for the stormy debates which took place at yearly conventions. It was not until after the election of Reuther as UAW President and his bringing in of the cold war witchhunt into the UAW and CIO in 1948 that a vast bureaucratic apparatus was built in the UAW to stifle the rank and file.

But in 1942 and 1943 the differences were significant. Murray's attitude toward caucuses was made clear in his statement to the founding USWA convention:

"I shall fight any attempt that is made to have little backroom caucuses while this convention is going on. So if any of the boys are thinking right now of midnight sessions in strange places...just begin to forget about it right now." (30)

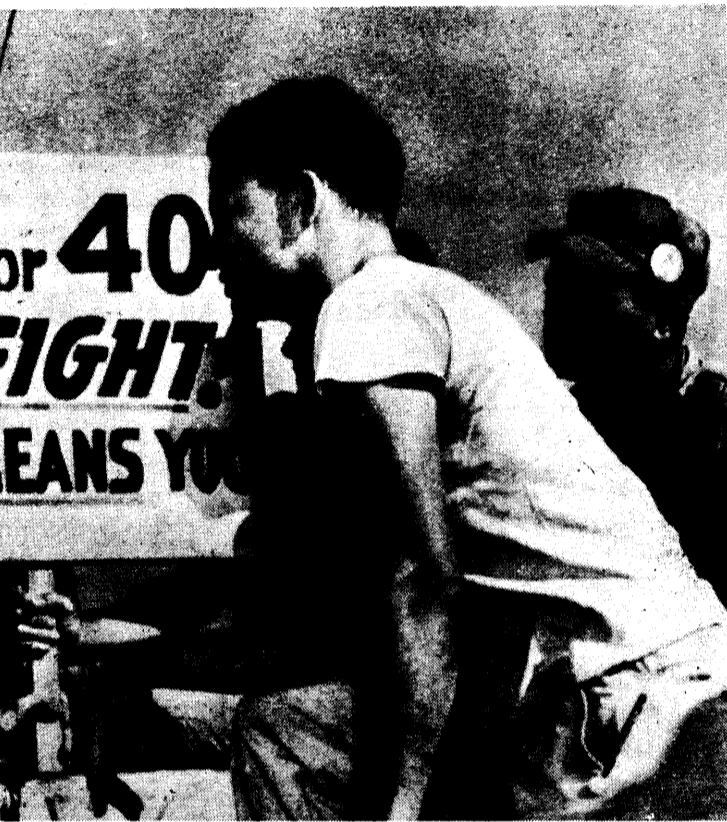
While Murray argued that the debate over differences would weaken the union, the experience of the UAW showed that far from weakening the union, it flourished and became the first million-member union in the United States.

Try as they might, Murray and the other labor bureaucrats were unable to stop the class struggle

which erupted in a rising fever of strikes in defiance of the Administration, Congress and the labor bureaucracy in the latter part of 1943 and throughout 1944. It was the national soft coal strike of 1943 that opened the floodgates. In the spring of that year, 530,000 miners stood up to an attack by all the institutions of bourgeois society including the press, the labor bureaucrats, the Stalinists and most "radicals" except the Trotskyists, the like of which this country had never seen.

The strike itself, the largest single strike in US history up to that time, was also unprecedented. The miners swore they would never return if Lewis was jailed or victimized in any way. They stood up to Roosevelt's threats to send troops, saying once again, "you can't dig coal with bayonets." They stood up to Roosevelt's threat to draft them and make them work as military conscripts. They broke through the wage freeze and cracked the Little Steel Formula, winning a total increase of \$1.50 a day.

The CIO bureaucrats were forced now to demand increases of from 10 to 17 cents an hour in the major industries. In order to prevent a railroad strike FDR seized the railroads. In the midst of this seizure, on Christmas Eve 1943, the steelworkers across the country began to walk off the job in a "wildcat," "unauthorized" strike following the expiration of their old contract. The next day, 200,000 steelworkers



for 52 hours pay for 40 hours work, a 30% wage increase, after war period of no-strike pledges.

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But this was only the beginning of the struggle to crack the wage-freeze throughout the industry. In steel there were more "unauthorized" strikes and strikes in 1944 than in any previous year. The Murray bureaucracy acted in the same manner toward these walkouts as the leadership of the UAW, Rubber Workers and other CIO unions—to squelch them and in some cases suspend the local officers and put the local into receivership.

But the revolt against the no-strike pledge not only took the form of strikes themselves, but was thrust into union conventions including the Rubber Workers, UAW and the USWA.

#### THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

In these struggles which dominated the 1943 and 1944 UAW conventions and erupted at the May 1943 Steelworkers convention, the bureaucrats adopted identical methods in their attempt to suppress the discussion despite the differences we have mentioned between the Auto Workers and Steelworkers unions.

While the struggle in the USWA did not take a caucus form and was not as protracted, well organized and politically conscious as the struggle in the UAW, the steelworkers certainly gave Murray a hard time, to say the least. At the 1943 convention, although no more than 40 delegates were able to get the floor during the 5 days, the issue of the no-strike pledge which had been buried and hushed up for 2 days, suddenly burst through onto the floor when the President of Reading, Pa., Local 2715 threw a bombshell into the convention by openly attacking the no-strike pledge. Despite every bureaucratic trick of subterfuge, every device of slick "oratory" and demagogic appeal for an immediate vote in favor of the no-strike pledge resolution, Murray was forced by the clamor of the delegates to allow the discussion to continue. This indeed was a first in the history of the CIO steel union. Under the circumstances, the estimated one-quarter of the delegates that voted against the resolution was very big—reflecting the tremendous revolt against the wage freeze that was

developing among the rank and file steelworkers.

But these "circumstances" also reflected all the weaknesses of the opposition which not only was of a temporary character and unorganized in caucuses, but still shared the program of the bureaucracy of support to Roosevelt, and his war program. Even though they revolted against its application, they had no political alternative.

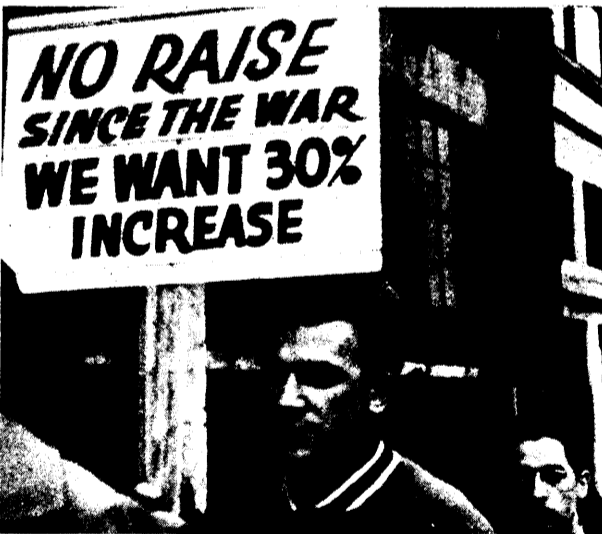
These weaknesses continued to allow the bureaucracy to more easily dominate the Steelworkers than in the UAW. One thing the UAW militants had learned and had been able to carry out in practice—the necessity for forming caucuses and fighting it out on the basis of a caucus program. Of course the decisive element in any caucus is the program and the leadership. In the UAW, the various factions of the bureaucracy, the Stalinists and other elements who supported the attack on the workers were enmeshed in caucus activity which they saw as an adjunct to their reformist politics and unprincipled maneuvering.

At the stormy 1944 UAW convention, almost 40% of the delegates openly opposed the no-strike pledge, although most of the nine man resolutions committee endorsed it as did the entire bureaucracy and the Stalinists. An important element in the opposition was the "rank and file caucus," which stood for scrapping the no-strike pledge, withdrawing the labor members from the WLB and for "independent political action" by labor. This caucus included various left wing tendencies—among them the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party auto fraction. The caucus reflected the "unauthorized" strike movement in auto, such as in the August, 1944, Ford Highland Park plant where militants on the picket line wore jackets emblazoned on the back with "Scrap the No Strike Pledge—Local 400." The caucus also reflected the first signs of a broad and widespread movement in the UAW and other CIO unions for the formation of a labor party in the immediate postwar period, as we shall see.

#### "ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTY"

The treacherous role which the Stalinists—the Communist Party USA—had played in the defeat of the Little Steel Strike in 1937 was raised to an unprecedented campaign of betrayal on every level of the trade union movement during the war. Always fashioning their politics after the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy under Stalin, the Stalinists outdid everyone in their efforts to shackle the working class—all in the name of Roosevelt's capitalist war program and alliance with Stalin against the working class.

The policies of the Communist Party, as today, had absolutely nothing to do with communism, Marxism or defense of the working class. Even the alleged aim of these policies—the defense of the Soviet Union—was a fraud as could be seen in the near disaster



that resulted from the methods that Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy used to defend the first workers state during World War II.

The Stalinists, who during the 1939-1941 period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, had been uncritically boosting John L. Lewis because he had come into opposition to Roosevelt, were leading the chorus of those denouncing Lewis as a "traitor" during the 1943 miners strike. In 1942, Stalinist leader of the West Coast longshoremen's union, Harry Bridges, stated in a speech even before the Washington conference of FDR with union leaders:

"The majority of the officers, of the grievance committees, of the unions as a whole must go to winning the war. How? Production. I'd rather say speed-up, and I mean speed-up. To put it bluntly, I mean your unions today must become instruments of the speed-up of the working people of America." (31)

The Stalinists carried out their policies in practice, cooperating with the FBI and other repressive government agencies against union militants, turning militants in to the employers, expelling all dissidents and recalcitrant locals in unions where they had the control such as the U.E., and sending in agitators to mobilize scabs such as in the miners strike.

In response to Roosevelt's plan for labor conscription, the Stalinists alone of all tendencies in the labor movement were openly enthusiastic. Even the labor bureaucrats could not openly support this "Forced

labor" plan of Roosevelt's.

Early in 1944 C.P. Secretary Earl Browder summarized the Party resolution which justified labor conscription, the "incentive-pay" plan, the wage freeze and no-strike pledge, as follows:

"If J.P. Morgan supports this coalition (the Teheran Agreement and Anglo-Soviet-American coalition) and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand and join with him to realize it. Class divisions or political groupings have no significance now except as they reflect one side or another of the issue." (32)

Both Browder and C.P. Chairman William Z. Foster made it clear that they were prepared to extend this policy indefinitely into the post-war period. Browder stated before the National Committee of the Communist Party that:

"We frankly declare that we are ready to cooperate in making capitalism work effectively in the postwar period...We Communists are opposed to permitting an explosion of class conflict in our country when the war ends...we are now extending the perspective of national unity for many years into the future." (33)

But the class struggle did not operate according to the wishes and counter-revolutionary aims of Browder, Foster and Stalin, but according to the laws of Marx. The "explosion of class conflict" that Browder wanted to prevent took place not only in the United States, but in Europe and the rest of the world at the end of the war. Only the betrayal of the Stalinist leaders prevented the working class from taking power and opening a new stage of the socialist revolution in France, Italy, Greece and other countries. This was putting their policy of "making capitalism work" into practice.

#### THE GREAT STRIKE WAVE

In the U.S., after one year, in December, 1944 the WLB rejected the Steelworkers demand for a 17c wage increase. Six months later, on March 3, 1945, the "impartial" Board rejected the 19 month old General Motors workers wage demand. Just six more months after that, the greatest strike wave and wage offensive of American unions representing more than five million workers racked the country following "V-J Day," the surrender of Japan. The CIO Oil Workers began it under the slogan "52-40 or Fight"—the 40 hour week at 52 hours pay, or a 30% wage increase. Within a few months, hundreds of thousands of industrial workers walked the picket line shutting down production of coal, lumber, maritime (East Coast longshoremen) glass, machine tools and textiles. But this was just the prelude to giant struggles that hit at the core of U.S. industry, most notably in the great General Motors strike at the end of 1945 and the nationwide steel strike in January 1946.

The demand for a 30% across the board wage increase threatened to become the battle cry of workers throughout the mass production industries. At the same time there was a powerful appeal to the rank and file, now faced with widescale unemployment, to couple the wage demand with the call for the shorter work week. The 30% wage demand was seen by the militants simply as a means of holding their own with war time standards on the basis of a normal 5 day week. On this basis a UAW regional conference in June 1945 in Detroit had gone on record for the 30 hour week at no reduction in take home pay.

After repeated delay by the UAW leaders, the Executive Board set plans for strike votes to win the 30% throughout the auto industry. On Sept. 14, a GM workers conference voted for strike action "within two months" for the 30% increase, coupling this with the call for a massive "Congress of Labor" of all unions to convene in Washington, D.C. as soon as possible in defense of the workers.

As the UAW leadership postponed the strike, continuing to go along with all the "procedures" of the wartime Smith-Connally Act, Truman was moving sharply against the strike wave. Truman ordered the seizure of the oil refineries which were shut by the militant action of the workers for their 30% increase. The seizure order provided for the negotiation of the difference between the 30% union demand and the companies' 15% offer.

Truman had already made it clear that as far as he was concerned, labor was to stay in the strait-jacket of the Little Steel Formula as during the war. He underlined this on October 30 when he stated, "We must understand that we cannot hope with a reduced work week, to maintain now the same take-home pay for labor generally that it had during the war. There will have to be a drop." (34)

The strategy of seizures and other means such as government "fact-finding" panels was to be employed in order to get workers to end their strikes, or to isolate one strike from another as much as possible, and then use the pressure of the government panel's "recommendations" to weaken the union's wage struggle.

Truman proposed the threat of "compulsory fact finding" legislation as a forerunner of the Taft-Hartley Act with its 60 day "cooling off period" procedure. The response of the labor bureaucracy was loud bluster against Truman's policies—especially in the case of Philip Murray—but a continuation of labor support to Truman.

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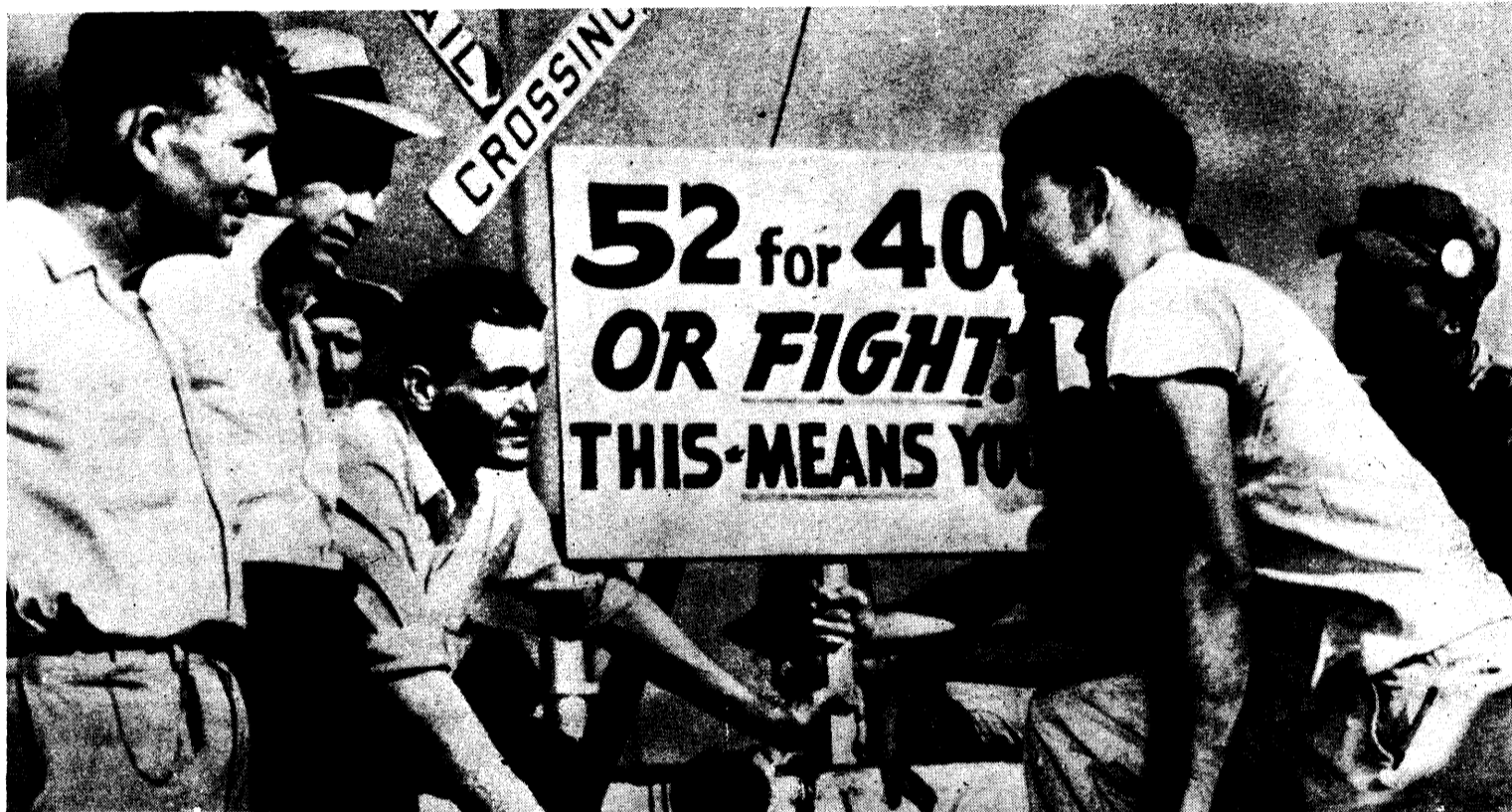
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In response to Roosevelt's plan for a "speed-up" of production, the Stalinists alone of all the labor movement were openly enthusiastic in their support. The labor bureaucrats could not openly sup-

auto workers which was finally called on Nov. 21, 1945, there were now more than 600,000 workers on strike with an additional two million on strike notice. G.M. was completely unable to break the strike as it had attempted in the thirties with scabs and picket line terrorism. As in the other industries, the biggest danger the workers faced was the role of the government and the failure of the leadership, including Reuther, to build a movement for a general strike in defense of the G.M. workers.

The Steelworkers union under Murray, and the Stalinist led UE delayed their strike action until mid-January, 1946, fearing at all costs the kind of confrontation with Truman that would be required if all the most vital sections of industry—steel, auto, electrical and others which had been delayed—were out at the same time. This was despite the fact that the Steelworker ranks had voted by a tremendous majority for a strike on November 28.

After the UAW was formally offered the same package that the UE had accepted, Reuther raged:

"I won't be made a damn fool of forever. The President's offer of 19.5 cents was a compromise of our demand and I will be God damned if I will compromise a compromise. We are not going to take less than this and this is all horseshit about going back to work." (35)

But after repeated efforts by Reuther to get Truman to support the UAW demand, the 113 day strike was ended on the basis of the 18.5¢ increase.

The strikes of the electrical workers, steelworkers, and packinghouse workers which arrived as the long awaited "reinforcements" for the GM strike after January 15 did not result in the kind of breakthrough against GM and the employers in general even though the tremendous potential for such a breakthrough was there. Rather than fight for coordinated movement for a general strike and the convening of a Congress of Labor as a prelude to formation of a labor party, the labor bureaucrats' policies meant the dissipation of the power of the workers, and allowed capitalism to enter a whole new stage of international stabilization dominated by US imperialism.

The steel strike which began on January 21, 1946, while the GM workers were still holding out, revealed the tremendous power of the industrial unions that had been built in the 30s during the formation of the CIO and were now being consolidated in the strike wave. The steel strike which shut down the entire industry when the 800,000 members of the USWA walked off the job was the largest single strike in US labor history up to that time. Art Preis summed up the awesome power of the steel strike, a power that revealed the potential of the working class as a whole to take power given a revolutionary Marxist leadership:

"With one blow of their mighty fist, the steelworkers brought American monopoly capitalism's most basic industry to a halt." (36)

But Phillip Murray and the other bureaucrats who controlled the USWA did everything possible to limit the power of the workers, first postponing the strike for a week, then settling after a 26 day strike with



Police beat up UE picketer in post war strike.

US Steel for the 18 1/2¢ an hour increase, regardless of the impact this would have on the GM strike. In a sense, the steel strike had more potential than the GM strike and could have played a vanguard role in the strike wave, because it was an industry-wide strike and could cripple the entire US productive process.

The statistics on the number of strikes, number of strikers, and number of man hours lost in 1946 set an all-time US record. In certain respects the strike wave rivalled the 1926 British General Strike. But as long as it remained on the economic,

trade union level, US capitalism was able to utilize the government apparatus and reliance on the labor bureaucracy to come to terms with the strike wave without having to resort to the preparations of civil war or the open smashing of the unions. The wage concessions that the corporations were forced to grant as a result of the tremendous power of the unions could be offset in that period by the raising of prices and the expansion of US capitalism into the rebuilding of Europe through the Marshall Plan and related programs.

The ending of this strike wave by no means posed the end of the class struggle in the US. But it did coincide with the beginnings of an extended post war boom which today is coming apart at the seams, once more posing for the capitalists open warfare to smash the unions in order for capitalism to survive.

#### FIGHT FOR LABOR PARTY

The political struggles and the movement for a labor party that flowed out of the strike wave in 1946 are today, in 1971, opening up once again in the labor movement. But today, these struggles come at a period of renewed crisis for international capitalism rather than at the beginning of a boom. More than ever



Lewis and Philip Murray at 1940 CIO Convention.

before the outcome of these struggles requires us to look at the rich experience of the movement for independent political action which arose along with the post-war strike wave but which was fought at every point by the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists.

Sentiment for the formation of an independent labor party had been strong during the period of preparation of Roosevelt's fourth term in 1944 in important sections of the labor movement, particularly in the UAW and in the State of Michigan, in response to FDR's strikebreaking program.

After V-J Day the movement for a labor party gained strength in response to the sudden unemployment in which two million workers were dumped from their jobs within a four week period. Sharply influenced by the election of the Labour Party in Britain, 7,000 CIO workers marched in Chicago under the banners: "Negro and White Unite For Jobs," and "It Happened In England, It Can Happen Here!" In Detroit, 20,000 workers marched two miles, protesting mass layoffs under the banner, "Elect Labor's Candidates," on September 4, 1945.

Pressure for independent political action was reflected in the campaign of Richard T. Frankenstein, UAW First Vice President, for Mayor of Detroit against Democratic Mayor Jeffries. Only the refusal of Frankenstein and the UAW leadership to go all out for Frankenstein as a labor candidate and the drawing of independent and AFL unions into the campaign, prevented his election in a close vote. Rather than see his candidacy as a fundamental break with the Democrats and as part of a real labor party movement, Frankenstein hedged on his running strictly as a representative of labor.

Following the GM settlement when the strike wave receded but was not yet over, the movement for a "Congress of Labor" earlier posed by the Socialist Workers Party and supported by many militants, was endorsed by the UAW in response to the barrage of anti-union legislation that Truman and the US Congress were preparing. The most immediate cause of the massive movement developing for the national conference of labor and for the formation of a labor party, was Truman's demand for a "draft strikers" bill in the course of his efforts to break the railroad and the coal miners strike in the spring of 1946.

Even bureaucrats like Murray and Reuther now had difficulty in continuing to pretend that Truman was a "friend of labor." The UAW resolution for a "national united labor conference" to combat Truman was followed by mass rallies of labor in major cities throughout the US supporting the resolution. Within 38 hours of Truman's message to Congress outlining his anti-labor proposals, signs were posted throughout Chevrolet plants in Flint, Michigan reading "BUILD A LABOR PARTY." The Michigan State CIO convention, held in Detroit was forced to adopt a pro-labor party resolution on June 10, 1946.

But the UAW leadership supported a qualifying clause allowing them to support Democrats and Republicans during the current year. Despite the statement by

Emil Mazey that he wanted a firmer labor party statement at that time, neither he nor any of the other UAW leaders was to take up the struggle for a labor party in practice.

#### ROLE OF SWP

The Trotskyist movement alone of all the tendencies in the labor movement did seriously take up the campaign for a labor party, raising the slogan agitationaly in the *Militant* in that period: "Build a Labor Party Now." But the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party in the fight for a labor party suffered along with the failure of the SWP to seriously challenge the Stalinists and the labor bureaucracy as an alternative leadership in that period. Certainly, the SWP had vastly deepened its strength in the union movement during the post-war upsurge, not only recruiting over 1,000 new members in the year preceding the November, 1946, SWP Convention, but building sizeable fractions in auto, steel, rubber, railroads and maritime.

The SWP failed to see this development as the basis for taking on and politically smashing the Stalinists. The SWP leadership did not see the struggle for leadership against the Stalinists proceeding through a conscious fight to develop an understanding of Stalinism in the labor movement. SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs saw a more or less automatic demise of Stalinism as the SWP moved ever forward. At the same time, the SWP was tending to react to the radicalization and the movement for a labor party that was severely compromising the Stalinists with their line of support to FDR and Truman and the "permanent no-strike pledge" by adapting to opportunist elements including bureaucrats like Reuther and Curran. These latter were using the genuine revulsion of the ranks against the Stalinist betrayals to prepare their purge of the Stalinists and all radicals in line with Truman and the cold war.

The SWP was tailing after "progressive" elements in the new militant caucuses. In the 1946 UAW convention, the SWP was in support of the Reuther caucus and was only mildly critical of Reuther. This was strikingly revealed in Art Preis' 1946 report of the Convention in which he saw Reuther's policies as representing "militancy and a program aimed at resolving the deeper-going issues of the American scene. Above all Preis saw no movement among the ranks as an alternative to Reuther and the Thomas-Adedes group which the Stalinists supported." (37)

This pragmatic method of adapting to the "given circumstances" rather than struggling for independent leadership and the building of a Marxist cadre was also sharply expressed in the methods of a 1947 SWP campaign for local offices in the Calumet, Illinois Steelworkers local against a Stalinist backed slate. According to one of the active organizers of the campaign:

"Objective was to win the posts; therefore we were extremely careful not to advance points which would frighten and drive away any considerable section of the workers..." The writer continues with his description of the opportunism of the campaign, apparently oblivious of its anti-Marxist character: "Thus each individual worker was given the impression that the point discussed...was the MAIN POINT in the program and in most instances, that individual was well satisfied with the program." (38)

The opportunism and "narrow trade unionist" (as opposed to Bolshevik) conceptions of the SWP resulted in the wholesale loss of the roots and cadres they had earlier established in industry under the impact of the witchhunt and purge in the unions beginning in 1947. The SWP which had failed to develop a serious revolutionary leadership that could pose a political threat to capitalism in the post war period suffered a continual loss of its working class base during the cold war while becoming more and more dominated by the Pabloite opportunism that today makes the SWP the open exponent of reformism that it is.

As we shall see, a political understanding of the role and development of Trotskyism, Pabloism and Stalinism both in the Steelworkers union and the entire labor movement, is essential for the building of a Marxist leadership in the struggle against the Abels and Woodcocks and in the new battle for a labor party opening up today.

#### FOOTNOTES

24. Preis, op. cit., p. 80
25. Ibid., p. 80
26. Ibid., p. 109
27. Ibid., p. 171
28. Bernstein, op. cit., p. 732
29. Ibid.
30. Preis, p. 92
31. Ibid., p. 185
32. Ibid., p. 207
33. Ibid., p. 221
34. Ibid., p. 263
35. Cormier, Frank and Eaton, William. Reuther, Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 228
36. Preis, op. cit., p. 276
37. Fried, Dan, "The SWP and the CIO," *Bulletin*, May 19, 1968
38. Ibid.

# BOOKS TOM GORDON

# Stalinism In Britain

**STALINISM IN BRITAIN, A Trotskyist Analysis.** By Robert Black. New Park Publications. London. 1970. 440 Pages. \$3.25.

Stalinism in Britain is the answer of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International, to the slanderous pamphlet *Ultra-leftism in Britain*, written by Betty Reid of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Unable to take on the SLL politically and driven into crisis by its rapid growth and especially by its publishing the world's first Trotskyist daily paper, the British CP made a feeble attempt to revive the old slanders of the Moscow Trials era.

In answering Mrs. Reid, Black has made a thorough and exhaustive study of the international policy of the Kremlin throughout the whole history of the Comintern and after its dissolution by Stalin in World War II, up to the present day. Stalinism in Britain is a material blow against not only the Communist Party of Great Britain but against Stalinism internationally. Black lets the Stalinists "condemn themselves out of their own mouths," using a wealth of information never before analyzed, published by the Stalinists themselves and their hangers-on. Black does what the Stalinists are incapable of doing—he makes an historical analysis of their origins and development, showing how every twist and turn of Stalinist foreign policy has led the Communist Parties further away from Marx and Lenin and posed ever more sharply since the betrayals in Germany in 1933 the building of the Fourth International.

The strategy of the Stalinists—defense of the Soviet Union through blocs with the bourgeoisie internationally and the abandonment of revolution in all countries—had to flow from the idealism, the contempt for theory held by the Stalinist leaders and above all by Stalin himself. Idealism is a class force reflecting the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. Adaptation to the bourgeoisie on the philosophical plane must lead to accommodating them all the way down the line. This precisely is the history of Stalinism.

### EMPIRICISM

As Robert Black states: "Stalin's clashes with Lenin over Georgia and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection were no more accidental than his support for the Provisional Government in the early days of the March Revolution of 1917. Each 'mistake' had profound philosophical roots in Stalin's narrow empiricism, in his rule of thumb, eclectic method."

In 1908, battles were raging in the exile groups between Lenin and the Otzovists ("God-seekers") who wanted to liquidate all legal work of the Russian party, who were neutral on the question of materialism, and who considered god to be "ideas which awaken and organize social feelings." It was this period in which Lenin wrote *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. But Stalin's reaction was quite different. In a letter to Mikha Tsakhakaya in July 1908, he stated:

"About the 'storm in a tea cup' we have of course heard: the blocs of Lenin-

Plekhanov on the one hand and of Trotsky-Martov-Bogdanov on the other. The attitude of the workers to the first bloc, as far as I know, is favorable. But in general the workers are beginning to look disdainfully at the emigration; 'Let them crawl on the wall as much as their hearts desire; but as for us, whoever values the interests of the movement—work, the rest will take care of itself. That I think is the best.'"

### CONTINUITY

Stalinism destroys the theoretical continuity of the Marxist movement and for this reason had to end up liquidating the Bolsheviks themselves in the Moscow Trials. This is why the sharpest struggle must go on against revisionism, and against bourgeois ideology within the revolutionary party itself.

The bourgeois ideology of the Stalinists, their basing themselves on the years of accommodation between the bureaucracy and the imperialists, throws them into deepest crisis now that the working class is once again moving forward. Progressive Labor is forced into attacks on Lenin in an attempt to justify their own adaptation to students and other petty-bourgeois trends. The Communist Party's *Daily World* totters on the edge of bankruptcy and is forced occasionally to reduce the size of the paper. In this period Trotskyism comes forward armed by struggle against Stalinism. *Stalinism in Britain* is an invaluable weapon in this struggle.



Betty Reid

## Andy Warhol

**ANDY WARHOL, Whitney Museum, New York City**

To walk into the Warhol showing at the Whitney is to be surrounded by a total glorification of all the ills, all the grotesqueness of capitalist society.

The exhibit is being held on one floor, with one large room and some small rooms off it.

The big room is the basic unit of the showing. Warhol has completely papered the walls of this enormous room with the repeated image of a cow, gaudily miscolored. Hanging on this absurd wall-paper are Warhol's collected works.

These can be broken down into the following: literal reproductions of everyday products; stark reproductions of movie stars and the artist's friends, often repeated in several different color combinations; and giant reproductions of criminal mug shots and auto accidents, complete with huge half-tone dots. Most, if not all, are silk screened.

Now there is nothing wrong with using art to literally reproduce or to reproduce starkly with variations. This in fact was Warhol's strength and was perhaps his great contribution to art in the last

decade. There is a great power in portraying the commonplace, in copying the everyday object, and getting at its essence.

This is the power of the Marilyn Monroe series in the exhibit, where through high contrast silk screen technique, Warhol was able to get at the essential light and shadow of a very familiar face and show how that essence endured through all different ways of coloring it. Such an approach, very vital in the 60s, gave a lot technically to the big boom in poster art.

### TRAP

However there is a trap in this artistic method, and Warhol fell into it. To just depict and not to criticize leads to outright glorification, to finding beauty in every aspect of capitalist society. Warhol never went beyond the visual power of stacks of Brillo boxes or rows of Campbell soup cans. He just accepts these. He sees the ghastliness of capitalist society, its commodities, its personalities, as beauty, because he can

only accept it. Claes Oldenberg, another artist of the same "pop art" school, was able to go beyond this, and launch a full scale attack on the cliches of capitalist society, via his grotesque sculptures of giant off-color hamburgers and other everyday objects.

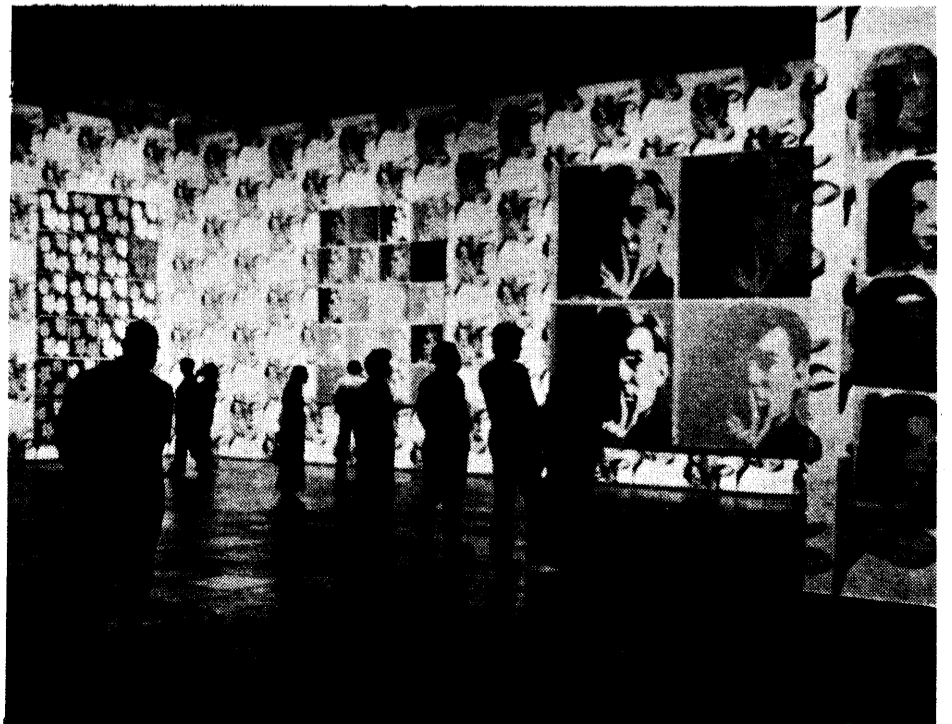
### NO DEVELOPMENT

Warhol has never gone beyond his slavish acceptance of capitalism. Seeing his show at the Whitney, there is no telling which are his earlier works and which are later. There is no development.

This darling of the bourgeoisie has discovered that he himself is a marketable commodity. With his artificially silvered hair and his ghoulish girlfriends at his side, he joins the ranks of artists such as Truman Capote and Norman Mailer who have become court jesters and apologists for capitalism.

The show at the Whitney was not designed as any sort of retrospective of an artist, but as a spectacular view of a spectacular personality. It is a visit to Andy's Big Funny Room.

Warhol's Brillo Boxes, on display at the Whitney. At right, room is complete with bovine wall paper.



# NPAC . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

fully supports the struggle of American soldiers against the war seeing this struggle as a central part of the class struggle against the war."

## PCPJ

Abe Feinglass of the Meatcutters Union spoke next to urge support for the proposal of the common action with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Feinglass called for "unity of all peace forces." He said:

"Some of us thought that this is the time to come together. Today there is a new dimension in the struggle for peace. Increasing numbers of trade union members are beginning to recognize there are no jobs, no end to inflation, no end to poverty unless we can stop the war and big spending. I, too, am against capitalism but you're not going to stop capitalism at this convention! You must organize the working people. You can win workers today. We can have stoppages, resolutions, all kinds of things if we are united."

Feinglass then introduced Brad



Dennis Cribben

Little from the PCPJ who elaborated on this theme:

"There is one thing that can destroy us, dissidence within our ranks. It can destroy our unity and then Nixon can destroy us....

"...We must also have a strategy and a tactics which is all encompassing and covers a broad platform. A strategy that supports electoral politics at its best...."

He continued to urge support for the set the date proposal by explaining that if Nixon did not honor this date he would be exposed again!

What Little is really saying is that we should unite with members of the liberal bourgeoisie such as Hartke. Behind the set the date proposal is the move by the Kremlin to present a new offer on the prisoners of war in order to reach a deal with imperialism on Vietnam.

The Workers League carried the struggle against Stalinism and for a labor party into the workshop that afternoon on "Labor and the War." This was the central political workshop and was attended by some 400 including the Workers League, Labor Committee, trade union officials and Communist Party trade unionists.

The Communist Party did not fight directly but only through its working class members and the trade union leaders influenced by it who sought to avoid the political issues by claiming that workers didn't understand politics. Ed Block of the U.E. told the students to let the workers "take care of their own problems."

Dennis Cribben, a member of Local 371, SSEU, addressed the workshop. He stated that it was important that the trade unions were present at the convention because it showed the big change that was taking place in the labor movement. After twenty five years of prosperity the unions

are under attack from the government and are waging big struggles.

"We must root the fight against the war in this movement of the working class. The trade unions are now the center of everything. For the first time there is a nationwide stoppage of the ILWU on the West Coast."

He said that we must demand that Harry Bridges, head of the ILWU, call on his members to boycott all ships sending supplies to Vietnam and demanded that the Communist Party state



Vance Hartke

where it stood on this.

"Today the conditions are being created for a Labor Party. The Stalinists are preparing international betrayals of the working class as they did in Ceylon and Pakistan. Now is the time for the working class to take a historic step and build a Labor Party."

## CP

A supporter of the Communist Party was forced to say that he thought such a boycott of Vietnam supplies would be good.

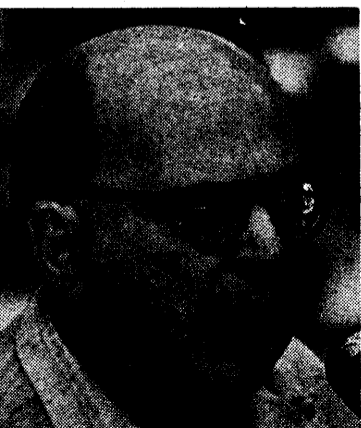
Members of the Young Workers Liberation League attacked the students present for being "white chauvinists" and "cute college kids" and said that the political discussion was a lot of "jive."

While the Stalinists were unable to defend their positions in direct confrontation with the Workers League their defeat is not an automatic and inevitable process.

The denunciations by the Labor Committee of the labor leaders is nothing but contempt for the working class and the unions as a whole. They see no role for the unions. One of their members openly stated that "the unions cannot raise the demand for control of the means of production."

The two major resolutions presented at the workshop were voted upon. The Labor Committee presented two motions: first to give strike support to the Detroit city workers and secondly to fight for "independent political action." Both proposals received about 85 votes. The Workers League proposal to fight for the Labor Party received around 100 votes. The NPAC supporters at the workshop voted against both resolutions.

Sunday morning the PCPJ



Harry Ring

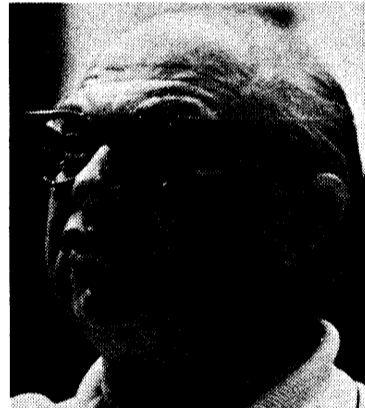
passed out a statement "rejecting and disapproving the conduct of those members of PL/SDS who attempted to disrupt..." The statement then devoted the greater part of its attack to the "repressive and violent actions of some NPAC marshals..." It particularly singled out Fred Halstead, a leader of the SWP, for initiating the violence.

This was a clear stab in the back by the Stalinists against the SWP. Despite the "unity" in NPAC the Stalinists sought in any way they could to undermine the SWP.

It was especially hypocritical in view of the fact that Saturday afternoon and again Sunday the PL forces physically attempted to barge into the convention and a number of NPAC marshals were injured.

The NPAC presiding committee introduced a motion to commend the marshals for their handling of the disruption as a way of countering the PCPJ attack.

Tim Wohlforth spoke to explain why the Workers League was supporting the motion to commend the marshals. He said that "It is no accident that the PCPJ has come to the defense of PL and that the PCPJ Convention was not disrupted." The reason, he said was both organizations had common roots in Stalinism. They are completely united in their hatred of Trotskyism. He reaffirmed the Workers League position to defend the SWP any where at any time against Stalinist



Abe Feinglass

hooligan attacks.

It is also significant that I.S. was for letting the PLers back into the conference and that Lynn Marcus of the Labor Committee took a middle of the road position by stating that he was opposed to "hooliganism in all its forms." On this question every other tendency tried to cover the Stalinist origin of the attack.

A worker and member of the Communist Party said that he would support the motion to defend the marshals reflecting a split between the Maoist and pacifist section and the CP itself.

In the middle of the discussion on this issue a hysterical Carol LaRouche, member of the Labor Committee, demanded that the convention go on record to repudiate a statement by Hartke at a news conference that "PL is just as responsible for the war as Nixon."

This motion was not a principled one but was a maneuver to force the SWP to vote with them and PL/SDS. Coming at the time it did it was aimed at diverting the discussion from Stalinism and giving a cover to PL.

At the same time it was clear that a large section of the SWP, YSA and its supporters were looking for some opportunity to repudiate Hartke, the very man

the SWP had been instrumental in inviting there. Harry Ring, seeking to get around this situation, actually ended up putting forward a motion in the anti-war movement which took a clear class stand on the war.

He stated: "If Hartke said this I want to disassociate myself from it. But this would tend to destroy the coalition." He proposed the following motion:

"To repudiate any declarations that PL is responsible for the war. It is Nixon and the class that he represents who are respon-



Tim Wohlforth

sible for the war."

A few minutes later he attempted to change the motion to eliminate the phrase "and his class" making it appear as if only Nixon was the main enemy.

Tim Wohlforth made a procedural motion demanding that the motion be voted on as it was originally proposed. This procedure was accepted and Ring's first motion was passed overwhelmingly.

A similar incident took place afterwards during the general discussion on the resolutions when a member of a Maoist break-off from PL denounced a resolution in support of Bangla Desh and declared his support to West Pakistan and China. Ring again took the floor and declared "We are confident that the people of Bangla Desh will win their struggle" to a roar of approval from the YSA.

# STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

smash Nixon and the bosses in opposition to Abel and his Communist Party apologists.

Central to this program is the preparation of a fight for a \$1.00 an hour immediate increase with an additional 50¢ in the second and third years; full cost of living escalator to begin immediately; the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay; the ending of all racial discrimination against Black and Latin workers and \$500 pension after thirty years regardless of age.

The struggle over the contract by this Committee and by the Workers League is part and parcel of the program for the nationalization of steel without compensation and under workers control. This is more and more

For the first time at an anti-war convention a resolution was passed laying the blame for the war squarely on the ruling class. This dealt an important blow to the Stalinists and their support to the liberals.

The vote of NPAC to repudiate Hartke can mean only one thing: the next step is to defeat all members of the ruling class by fighting to build a Labor Party. If this alternative is not fought for no amount of verbal repudiations will prevent a new bourgeois coalition from diverting the workers back into the Democratic Party.

It is no accident that following the vote on Hartke the Workers League resolution was excluded from the final vote.

After a straw poll the major resolutions were narrowed down to ten and Don Gurewitz, the chairman proposed to further reduce this to five.

Tim Wohlforth proposed a motion to limit voting to only one resolution per person. He explained that if the convention was taken seriously there couldn't be four or five major directions for the anti-war movement and this would prevent blocs from being formed.

This motion was defeated and during the course of the vote I.S. blocked with the Labor Committee to get each other's proposals on the final list. Despite the support of at least 120 people (more than the I.S. or Labor Committee) the Workers League proposal was excluded.

After attempting to reverse this situation the Workers League left the convention to protest the exclusion of what was clearly a major resolution.

No dishonest maneuvers will prevent the Workers League from taking this fight forward into the trade unions. It will fight for the construction of a labor party for the 1972 elections and will base this fight in the powerful upsurge of the labor movement that is now taking place.

urgent today as the corporations threaten plant closures, massive layoffs and complain they can't "afford" to pay decent wages and maintain safety and decent working conditions.

The crisis in steel brings home sharply the role of both Democratic and Republican parties behind the attacks on the steelworkers and the entire labor movement, raising the immediate need for the construction of an independent labor party for the 1972 elections to represent the needs of the working people.

Abel's sellout course requires that the rank and file take the fight for a decent contract into every USWA local, forcing the local leaders to vote NO on the sellout and preparing for wildcat action to shut down the entire industry and win their demands.

# Bulletin

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## Essen

# 5000 Revolutionary Youth Rally

Vive Trotsky," "Long Live The Fourth International," "Long Live Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg," rang out.

### BEGINNING

This rally of thousands of youth is only the beginning, and shows the tremendous potential today for the development of mass Trotskyist parties in every country. As the bourgeoisie launches vicious assaults on the working class in every country, and is aided by the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, the development of Marxist leadership among the youth and working class becomes absolutely urgent, if the working class is not to be driven back and crushed. The construction of the Revolutionary Youth International is

the upcoming steel strike. It is this offensive which the ruling class fears, and for which it prepares Bonapartist dictatorship.

The secret Vietnam report exposes to the working class that at the same time as the government steps up its attacks on the working class, it can only carry out its brutal imperialist slaughter in Indochina by lying and deception as well as repression at home. This is why the government fights so desperately to suppress this report, which reveals its moves toward dictatorship.

The movement of students and minority youth continues, but now the American working class, organized in millions in the trade unions, comes forward in struggle against the attacks of the capitalists.

At every point the Stalinists and re-

prepare for massive changes in consciousness in the American working class.

These are the conditions under which the struggle of youth, in the universities, the factories, the ghettos and the army, must now be taken forward as part of the struggle of the working class for power.

Every tendency which has put forward protest politics and middle class radicalism among the youth and workers is left behind by the movement of the working class. As the capitalist crisis reaches an unprecedented depth, it requires an unprecedented theoretical struggle on our part to prepare for leadership.

A previous speaker, an American, spoke of the struggle against the Vietnam war, and of the necessity for the American people to endorse the people's peace treaty.

The people's peace treaty is put forward by Madame Binh and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the basis of peaceful coexistence and the defeat and betrayal of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Just as they move forward against U.S. imperialism, the Stalinists put forward a compromise which can only mean their defeat. The fight to defend the Vietnamese revolution means above all the struggle against the American bourgeoisie to take forward the struggles of the U.S. working class into its only independent political expression, a labor party, to prepare for the working class to take the power.

The speaker talked of "the American people." There is no such thing as "the American people." There is the bourgeoisie, there is the working class, and there is of course also the middle class which speaks of "the American people."

The question of a Revolutionary Youth International is not a European question, nor is the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe. The fate of the world working class rests on this struggle. As Trotsky said in "Europe and America," the American bourgeoisie seeks to put Europe on rations. This was shown in the recent monetary crisis, and is the meaning of the entry of Britain in to the Common Market, as the European bourgeoisie prepares new onslaughts on the European working class.

This crisis means massive revolutionary developments in America as well as in Europe.

There is no way forward for the youth internationally except through the struggle in unity with the working class to take the power. This can only take place on the basis of the development of Marxism. The crisis of leadership of which Trotsky writes in

**BY PAT CONNOLLY**  
ESSEN, GERMANY, July 4—A massive rally of more than 5,000 Trotskyist youth was held here today in preparation for the building of a Revolutionary Youth International.

Youth from more than 19 countries were represented by delegates and contingents, the largest from the AJS (Alliance of Youth for Socialism), youth movement of the French section of the Fourth International.

The rally was called on the initiative of the AJS, the Young Socialists (youth movement of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International) and the Junge Garde, youth movement of the German section of the Fourth International.

Also represented at the rally were the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Bolivia, the Workers Internationalist League of Greece, the Workers League of the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist League of Ceylon, the Trotskyist Group from Israel, the Eastern European Students Committee, the Trotskyist Fraction of Comunismo of Spain, as well as representatives from Australia, Bangla Desh, Brazil, North Africa, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, and Reunion.

### LIAISON

A meeting was held last night at which it was decided to establish a liaison committee which would continue to work on the formation of a Revolutionary Youth International and which will meet later this year.

A draft resolution was put forward, discussed and amended at the meeting, and was unanimously adopted.

This morning final contingents arrived on buses and trains and over 5,000 youth marched into the huge rally hall singing the Internationale and carrying red flags. The inside of the hall was draped with banners in five languages, saying "Imperialism No, Stalinism No, Socialism, Yes," "For the United Socialist States of Europe," "Long Live The Workers Of Poland And Eastern Europe," "Forward To The Revolutionary Youth International."

The main podium was covered with pictures of Lenin, Trotsky, Marx, Engels, Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

### GREETINGS

The conference was opened by Comrade Charles Berg of the AJS and then, delegates and representatives from every nation brought greetings to the rally. Comrade Cliff Slaughter brought greetings from the British SLL Central Committee stressing that the rally was a beginning point, which was made possible by the long struggle going back to the Left Opposition, the foundation of the Fourth International and the struggle against revisionism and for the development of Marxism. He stressed that we must go back to our own history, to bring all the gains of the October Revolution and the struggle since into the fight today. The crushing of the German working class by Hitler and the growth of fascism warned what would happen if the struggle against Stalinism and revisionism was not taken forward.

Comrade Stephan Just brought greetings from the French OCI, and spoke on the significance of the struggle to unite the workers of Eastern and Western Europe, the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe and the fight to build the Revolutionary Youth International.

During the rally there were spirited and lively responses from the crowd to the reports and greetings from different countries as the chants of "Vive Lenin,



Top: Five thousand youth from five continents rise to sing the International as Essen Rally begins. Center: Pat Connolly brings greetings from Workers League. Bottom: Chants of "Vive Lenine, Vive Trotsky" rang out throughout the rally.

inseparable from the struggle to construct parties of the Fourth International in every country to take up the crisis of leadership which is now posed.

## GREETINGS

Comrades, I bring the warmest greetings from the Workers League of the U.S.A. to this International Assembly of Revolutionary Youth in Essen. Since our first participation in the 1967 International Assembly of Youth, we have seen immense developments as the working class has come forward against the attacks of a bourgeoisie in crisis unprecedented in history.

The May-June events in France, the movement of the Czechoslovakian workers and youth against the Stalinist bureaucracy, the movement of the British working class against the Tory government and its attacks have signalled a new intensity of the class struggle internationally in which the question of power is posed to the working class in country after country.

At the same time we have seen the coming forward of the American working class under sharp attacks on its living standards and working conditions.

Two weeks ago, in the first political strike of American workers in this period, city workers in Manhattan struck against the state legislature which had revoked their pension increases, at the same time as these workers faced 90,000 layoffs in NYC alone. In the middle of the night truck drivers stalled their trucks, loaded with sand, in the middle of major inter-sections as bridge workers opened the drawbridges cutting off the largest city in the USA.

The government called out the Army to repair the bridges and the trade union bureaucracy called off the strike. This is the same bureaucracy which supports the bourgeois parties in maintaining a system which can only survive by driving the workers and youth back to the conditions of the 1930s and the depression. The U.S. working class during the boom period won certain concessions and all of this is to be taken back as the bourgeoisie fights desperately to maintain its profits.

This is the meaning of the wage offensive expressed in the Teamsters strike, the municipal workers, the auto strike and in



visionists seek to tie the youth and the working class to the "liberal" bourgeoisie and to the trade union bureaucracy, to create again the popular fronts and class collaboration which led the working class to defeat after defeat in the 1930s, and which today in Ceylon and Bangla Desh means the slaughter and defeat of millions.

This is the future in the U.S. unless the struggle of the working class is taken forward to power. The fight for the construction of a labor party in the U.S., which only the Workers League fights for, is the expression of the strategy to break the working class from the grip of the bourgeoisie, to bring the masses of workers against the trade union bureaucracy, which represents the bourgeoisie in the working class movement, and to

the Transitional Program, faces us today in its sharpest form. That we live in the period of civil war, of an unprecedented crisis means that we must prepare theoretically to face the responsibility of that leadership.

- U.S. imperialism out of Vietnam—Victory to the Vietnamese Workers and Peasants!
- Forward to a Labor Party in the U.S. and to a Socialist America!
- For the United Socialist States of Europe! Forward to the Revolutionary Youth International!
- Long Live the Fourth International!

## Spain

## Trotskyists Expelled From 'Comunismo'

This article was printed in the *INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE*, a publication of the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is here translated from French. It has been cut for space purposes.

BY M.E. LAURENT

IN EARLY MARCH, a split developed within the Spanish "Comunismo" group, allied with the Unified Secretariat. This split is of great importance for the construction of a revolutionary vanguard in Spain which bases itself on the Transitional Program and joins the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

This split took place over problems which are decisive for the construction of the revolutionary party. Its central point was the defense of the method and principles of Marxism as they are expressed in the Transitional Program. It gave birth to a nucleus of militants thrown into a sharp factional struggle against the falsifiers of Trotskyism.

The split gave rise to the "Trotskyist Fraction of the Comunismo group" which brings together the militants who were expelled by orders of Comunismo under the most bureaucratic and arbitrary conditions for having "expressed fundamental disagreements with the Unified Secretariat" and "having shown sympathy for the positions defended by the International Committee."

The leadership of Comunismo (which includes a leading member of the Ligue Communiste, French Pabloites) feared a discussion. The expulsion was carried out in order to cut off the discussion and to prevent it from developing into a struggle over fundamental questions.

The "Trotskyist Fraction" immediately organized itself independently. But it has not abandoned the fight to hold this discussion and to fight for the group's next congress to be organized to allow minority positions to be expressed. It has already published the first issue of its organ, *La Aurora*. In this issue it reprints the essentials of the internal documents in which it defended the positions of Trotskyism inside Comunismo.

To understand the implications of this split it is necessary to begin by returning to the past.

## COMUNISMO

The Comunismo group was born in 1969 out of the break up of the centrist parties.

Its transitory importance lay in the fact that, among the numerous centrist groups which emerged and disappeared out of the crisis within the Stalinist party and the emergence of a new generation of young intellectuals, it alone took Trotskyism as its reference point and expressed a desire to develop as a section of an International.

Its intrinsic weakness "lay in its proven inability," in the words of an article in *Aurora*, "to present a political alternative to the working class which would enable it to break from the bourgeoisie and Stalinism, and enable it to develop a program for proletarian struggle that would assure its class independence."

The orientation of Comunismo is sectarian reaction when faced with the dominant political currents within the workers movement or ultra leftism, taking refuge in the activities of a propaganda circle. The basis of the group's narrow political activity is the illusion that by isolating itself from the workers struggle, it would avoid being contaminated by the class collaborationist politics practiced by the major organizations."

## PABLOISM

Its contact with the Unified Secretariat and the Ligue Communiste only crystallized these tendencies, gave them a theoretical justification and imprinted the group's politics with the zig-zags that are characteristic of Pabloism.



Top, left, Soldiers rest before battle in Spanish Civil war. Top, right, Fascist Franco. At bottom, illegal demonstration against the trial of Basque militants.

We can see the extent and the forms of this development by examining the typically Pabloite positions which the leadership of Comunismo attempted to bureaucratically impose on the members, at the very moment when the actual development of struggles was absolutely disproving these positions.

These positions (which were formulated in the document significantly entitled "La Tactica Plan") can be briefly summed up as follows: It would be futile to wait for the Spanish proletariat to wage a struggle strong enough to bring about the collapse of the Franco dictatorship, thus creating a political situation in which if only briefly, the proletariat and its vanguard can organize themselves and openly construct the instruments of the revolution. Two factors contribute to this: on the one hand, the absence of a revolutionary party, and on the other hand the relatively high degree of stability of the Franco regime which is based on the prosperity of Spanish capitalism.

According to the "Tactica Plan" we should also take into account the fact that the regime is equipped with "armed forces" increasingly technically developed and supported from the outside which makes the mobilization of the working class in mass struggle impossible. Faced with such prospects "in the short run" the aim of revolutionaries would consist, of course, in building the revolutionary party because only its construction can solve the problem. But this task is seen as something outside of the movement of the class which requires the formation of a military type organization capable of confronting "technically developed" armed forces.

## GUERRILLAIST

As the militants of the Trotskyist Fraction say in *Aurora*, as soon as you throw out the position that the working class can wage important battles you automatically wind up with a guerillaist conception of building a party, as a task separate from the class struggle: this is the foundation of the "Tactica Plan."

Together with these policies, the Pabloite leadership of Comunismo presented (solely based on its assertion of Franco's role as arbiter among the different sections of the bourgeoisie) a definition of the Franco regime as Bonapartist and affirmed that its only unstable elements came from internal contradictions within the bourgeoisie without this having any relationship with the working class. The abandon-

ment of Marxism is thus absolute and complete.

Parallel to the publication of this document, in which as our comrades point out the influence of the Ligue Communiste is obvious, the leadership of Comunismo imposed a program perfectly adapted to these theoretical positions. On November 3rd, 1970, they called for a boycott of the national day of struggle for amnesty, with the excuse that it had been called by the Communist Party and the Stalinist controlled workers commissions. Towards the beginning of December, it organized commando actions outside of the main demonstrations which took place against the Burgos trial and refused to have anything to do with them. They explained that the kidnapping of the German consul Beil by the nationalist faction of ETA was the example to follow to save the life of Izco and his comrades.

## CLASHING

Finally, in the period immediately following the victory of the workers over Franco, they tried to transpose this "tactic" to the organization of strikes, forcing the organization of push button strikes on its worker militants, artificially starting and stopping struggles completely outside of the workers own movement and directly clashing with the positions adopted at workers factory meetings.

In reaction to this orientation and during the course of a bitter political struggle the "Trotskyist Fraction" had to define its position and confront the Pabloites in the leadership of Comunismo.

The "Trotskyist Fraction" begins with the position that "The emancipation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves" and declares its agreement with the position of the Transitional Program that "the class struggle is uninterrupted" and that "the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatuses."

The estimation by the fraction of the fighting capacity of the Spanish working class and the factors that have regulated its relationship with the bourgeoisie are the key to its positions. This is determined first of all by the fact that it took military defeat and the physical crushing of tens of thousands of fighters before the working class gave up its arms to the bourgeoisie. A military dictatorship and all the help of Stalinist betrayal was necessary to bring an end to the revolution of 1936. Since 1939, on the other hand, the Spanish

bourgeoisie out of deep fear of the proletariat, has never ceased to be on a war footing.

## RESISTANCE

According to the Trotskyist Fraction, the stubborn resistance of the workers, even after defeat, has determined the policies of the bourgeoisie since 1939. This situation has sharpened following the big movement of 1956-1957 and especially after the upsurge of the proletariat in the Asturias miners strike in 1961-1962.

The Franco regime has never been a Bonapartist regime but a military fascist dictatorship which today is disintegrating under the double effect of the crisis of Spanish capitalism and the constantly developing struggles of the proletariat.

It is in the course of the coming struggles of the Spanish proletariat that our comrades believe it is both possible and necessary to root the construction of a revolutionary party. Each step made in this direction will reinforce these struggles and raise their level of consciousness. The construction of the revolutionary party means the sharpest political confrontation with syndicalist reformism and especially with the Spanish Communist Party. According to the Trotskyist Fraction, this task is indissolubly linked with the fight for the workers united front, for its political expression, the workers government.

## PROGRAM

This is how the Trotskyist Fraction began its first definition of a workers program from the beginning of the factional struggles against the Comunismo leadership and the first issue of *Aurora*. Contrary to the Communist Party's program of subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie under the cover of the so-called "Pact of Freedom," the Trotskyist Fraction of Comunismo plans to set up a workers alliance formed by the workers parties and organizations on the basis of a common program of defense of the workers needs and a fight for political and union freedom.

In the course of a direct struggle against Pabloism, a Trotskyist nucleus capable of organizing a workers vanguard is emerging. The split of Comunismo means that Trotskyism can link up with the layer of militants who are taking up an identical struggle within the Communist Party against the "Pact of Freedom" and for a workers government that breaks with the bourgeoisie.



Ernest Mandel:

The Fraud of  
Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

50¢



## West Coast News

# Construction Strikes Spread Through State

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Thousands of Bay Area and Northern California construction workers are heading for a big clash with Nixon's wage policies.

Painters, carpenters, sheet metal workers and laborers are now out on strike. A number of other contracts are up or about to expire.

Nixon's construction industry stabilization committee has already been able to force settlements in over twenty nationwide cases for an average increase of

only 6.1%.

Every one of the striking unions faces government intervention along these lines. Under these conditions the policy of the union bureaucracy is absolutely criminal. Most of these construction strikes involve only sections of the locals. There is absolutely no coordinated policy between the various trades.

The question of the danger of government intervention and a strategy to take it on has not been raised in these strikes. The striking ranks must force their leaders to call an immediate conference of all trades for a joint council of war.

The movement now begun can force a shattering defeat on Nixon if it is prepared to turn these isolated actions into a general construction shutdown until all demands are granted.

## East Bay Bus Drivers Vote Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY—The Amalgamated Transit Union, Commons Division 192, last week voted 97 to 6 to give the union's executive board the power to strike. It unanimously rejected the meager offer of the Alameda Contra Costa Transit District.

The union is demanding a 20% wage increase over 18 months (44¢ the first year, 50¢ the six months). The Transit District has made the contemptuous offer of 52¢ over three years which is only 3% a year. In addition the Transit District is making an open attack on the escalator clause, by attempting to exclude it from the first 18 months of the proposed contract.

Last year, the AC drivers struck for 19 days over the issue of wages. Despite their militancy they were only able to win an 8.5% increase as a result of the leadership's acceptance of binding arbitration.

This same question of wages, is posed even more sharply today. Just as in last year's strike, it appears that the leaders of the Commons Division 192 of the ATU, are attempting to derail the struggle.

On July 1st, hours after the contract had expired, the union's executive board announced that AC had made a new offer, which the executive board recommended the union accept. Significantly, the new offer has not been made public. Bus drivers must stand firm for 20% over 18 months and for the cost of living escalator clause.

The real meaning of the Berkeley Coalition must be understood as well. Throughout this struggle the "radicals" in Berkeley have refused to raise in any way the question of the East Bay bus drivers.

Not a single one of these champions of "the people" has stepped forward to take up the drivers' fight. Could this be the reason why the *People's World* has remained absolutely silent on these developments? Indeed, a major bus strike would blow the last bit of what left-wing cover remains to these "friends of the people."

## UAW Heads Silent On GM Layoffs

BY A CORRESPONDENT

FREMONT—The threat to layoff 1500 workers at GM's Fremont plant has brought scarcely a whimper from the UAW bureaucracy. Confining themselves to sympathy and suggestions on collecting unemployment, these traitors are hoping to ride things through the coming closure for a changeover so that 1500 problems will simply disappear.

This announcement of the layoffs came simultaneously with layoffs at three other GM plants. This is no temporary cutback. These workers are slated to go for good. With the slump developing in auto sales, with particularly larger models, these must be seen as a warning of plant closures to come.

The recent closure of the Maywood Chrysler plant under pressure of soaring imports and declining sales shows that this is no idle speculation.

Little over a week remains to take up the fight. Once the 1500 workers are gone those remaining will be considerably weakened in any fights to come.

There must be an immediate fight taken up to force the Herrera leadership in the local to call mass stop work meetings in the plants to discuss a fighting strategy.

Herrera and his boss Paul Schrade must be forced by the ranks to take strike action and campaign in the union to make it official with the demand that Woodcock move to reopen the contract to take up the fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay on a national basis.



Striking farmworkers fight off cops and scabs at Egger-Ghio fields in San Diego County.

# Farmworkers Battle Cops

BY JAMES DUNN

San Diego, July 2—While United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) organizer Margo Cowan and her sidekick, the Utmost Reverend Salondini, were coming down off their week-long hunger strike for non-violence, UFWOC strikers violently challenged their tactics.

## Longshore Strike. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

by the trade union movement that has never been more powerful or militant. Such an offensive threatens its very existence.

The union bureaucracy is also aware that its neck is on the chopping block. This is the confrontation that the Bridges, Abels, Gotbaums, and Woodcocks fear above all else. The class relationships resting on decades of compromise now threaten to break up. Above all it is the Stalinists who are determined to fight tooth and nail within the working class to prevent its emergence as an independent force.

The *People's World* plays the most despicable role in backing Bridges' every betrayal in refusing to place before dockers the truth about the seriousness of this political confrontation.

This is why the *People's World* in its latest issue simply reports the contract demands and comments that the "contract is generally more well-rounded than contracts negotiated by unions in the past several years and will likely set the pattern for the entire transportation industry..." This is coupled with a long article on "independent" politics boosting the possible candidacy of former Senator McCarthy.

The Stalinists will do everything possible to prevent the development of any left wing leadership that can challenge its bureaucratic allies. They will attempt to aid Bridges in isolating and starving out the strike

and then selling attrition and a weakening of the union with left rhetoric.

Bridges already accepts attrition. He recognizes the right of the employers to close down ports and simply requests the right to negotiate it. He has been forced kicking and screaming into a strike he does not want to lead.

Dockers must begin with the understanding that this strike is political. This means that it can only be won if the strength of the entire working class is mobilized to defeat the government in its attempts to crush the unions.

The strike must be fought as a conscious campaign to bring the entire trade union movement into the struggle to defend the unions through the wage offensive and the fight for the shorter work week.

The ILWU has the strength and the history to take the lead in this fight. Bridges must be forced to issue the call to the entire labor movement to join the dockers' fight. Already copper and big sections of construction are out in the western states.

The steel and phone workers are heading for a big clash. Now is the time for a joint fight. The call must be taken up immediately for a convocation of labor to take up the struggle and give the political lead with the preparation to launch a labor party that will bring down the strike-breaking government in 1972.

The strikers fought off scab attackers and cops at the Egger-Ghio fields in San Diego County.

The battle occurred when Egger-Ghio hired Mexican nationals to work in the picketed fields after the U.S. Labor Department declared the strike "no longer a legal labor dispute." Such a declaration means that the federal government is giving its approval to the use of scabs and cops to break the strike.

The government move is a serious threat to farm labor. It is nothing less than a declaration of support for all-out war on the UFWOC organizing effort in Southern California.

### LEADERSHIP

What does the UFWOC leadership understand about this? Thus far, Egger-Ghio is the only company to be struck. The leadership refuses to strike all farms until they get a settlement there.

This leadership, arm in arm with the priests, is taking farm workers straight into the guns and clubs of strikebreaking by refusing to mobilize the strength of labor for a total strike movement now.

### STRATEGY

There is not a moment to lose. The situation is rapidly changing with the farm bosses preparing to unchain their dogs. Only the Workers League has fought from the beginning for a strike of all agriculture, and support for the farm workers by every union in the San Diego area. At this stage, such a strategy is crucial for victory.

The UFWOC leaders must declare themselves on these questions. They must state where they stand in the fight ahead. If they will not lead, then they had better clear out.

# West Coast News

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

## Longshore Strike Shuts All Ports

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Every port on the West Coast is now shut down tight. The ILWU leadership despite efforts to water down strike demands and to obtain last minute extensions had no choice but to call a walk-out.

Bridges now finds himself squeezed between PMA which has no intention of conceding to the dockers' demands and the rank and file which is absolutely determined to nail down the guarantees on its jobs and income.

What must be understood is the fact that there is an absolutely fundamental confrontation taking place here.

The employers must deliver big blows to the union if they are to carry out their plans for

rationalization of the ports. These plans include the total elimination of all but four or five ports on the West Coast as the drive for complete containerization goes into its final phases.

The developing trade war with Japan and Europe will only intensify the need to cut costs and increase productivity. The employers are determined to have their hands free to proceed with mechanization, shut ports and eliminate huge sections of the

work force through attrition and eventual mass layoffs. This policy is dictated to them by the deepening economic crisis.

The defeat of the dockers is no easy task. The PMA is up against a longshore force that has seen two years of declining opportunity. There is a very great understanding on the waterfront that the future of 15,000 jobs is at stake in this fight. There is an enormous confidence in the strength of the union. There is also a large group of dockers that is convinced that every attempt by Bridges to sell out can be voted down and defeated by the rank and file.

What must be understood by every docker is that these sentiments and even the greatest militancy are not enough. In demanding a wage package that goes beyond what the Teamsters won in an all out wildcat struggle and in demanding a 40 hour guarantee which means in essence a shorter work week, longshoremen are heading into a fundamental political confrontation with the government.

These demands are in total contradiction to the conscious recessionary mass unemployment policies of the Nixon Administration and his Democratic Party supporters. These demands are not simply longshore demands but express the essential needs of the entire American working class. The ILWU has now taken the lead for the entire class.

The capitalist class is all too well aware of what is at stake here. An ILWU victory can lead to a wages and shorter hours explosion on a massive scale

(Continued On Page 15)

### Honor Bloody Thursday

SAN FRANCISCO, July 5—Over 300 longshoremen assembled Monday, July 5, to commemorate the murder of dockers in 1934 and the general strike that followed.

The meeting was held in the context of the first ILWU strike since 1948 and the open provocation of the employers in opening the port of Encinada, Mexico, and Vancouver, British Columbia.

Harry Bridges, International President of the ILWU, led off the meeting. He said:

"Dockers since 1934 have seen the forms of struggle change but these forms have basically remained the same....Today we can discuss in relative calm. Even though the ships are working in some ports they're working with union men."

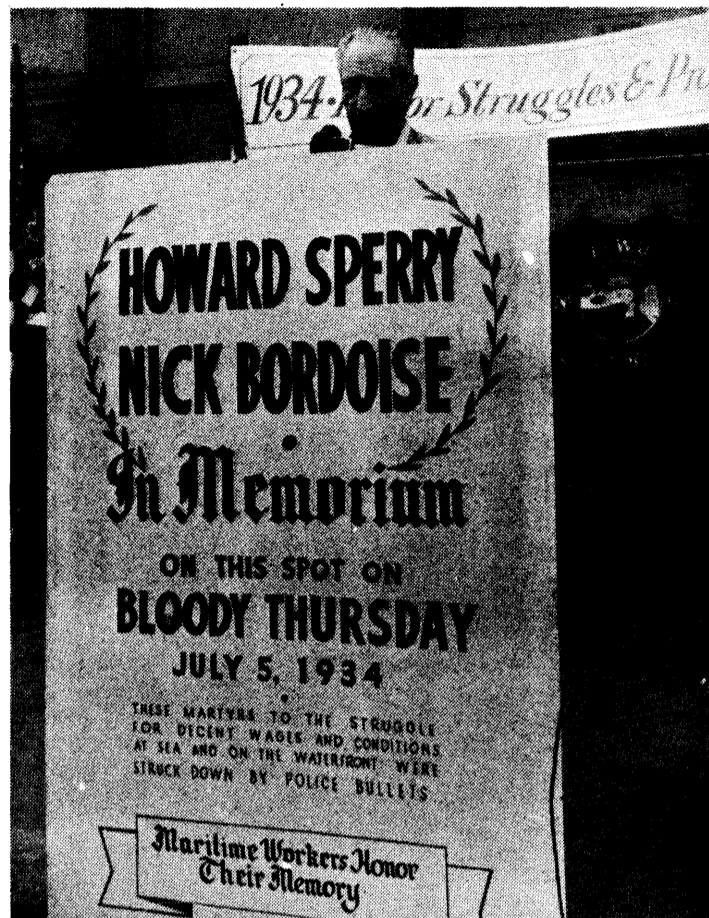
"Ships diverted to these ports can be stopped at any time and we can stand a lot of that in relation to the employers since it is financially very expensive

for the employers to shift cargo across the borders....Although we don't face the threat of shooting when out on strike it could happen again."

Bill Chester, Vice-President of the ILWU, then spoke:

"Labor's answer to Bloody Thursday was the general strike. Today however we have a different mayor and police department. Because of this it won't happen again. We will win this strike because of support of the ILA and the rest of labor."

The point is this is the period of struggles like Bloody Thursday. The only way the ILWU and all unions can win victory is by mobilizing the general strike and building a labor party to take the offensive against the government strikebreakers.



Harry Bridges of ILWU speaks at commemoration of "Bloody Thursday", 1934, when S.F. dockers were shot down by police.

## Reagan Budget Slashes Wages

BY A CSEA MEMBER

Governor Ronald Reagan, in a display of complete contempt for over 100,000 state employees, eliminated a 5% cost of living increase from the California state budget.

This means an invitation for virtual depression conditions for thousands of clerks now being forced to live on less than \$6,000 per year.

At the March 2nd rally of 10,000 state workers in Sacramento, the overwhelming majority clearly showed their readiness to fight the entire state government if raises were denied. This anger must be galvanized into strike

action immediately. Every department and every California city must be shut tight.

The California State Employees Association leadership, kicked in the face by Reagan as thanks for keeping a lid on the militancy of state workers, proposes to "mount a massive campaign" to pressure the legislature into overriding Reagan's cuts.

### DEMOCRATS

This is the same strategy of pleading with "friendly" Democrats that led to this defeat. Every CSEA chapter must now be forced by the ranks to go out in wildcat action if the statewide leadership refuses to move. State workers must demand restoration of the raise, a guaranteed end to attrition and layoffs and a written contract.

### LESSON

State workers have now learned the bitter lesson of the CSEA leadership's support of the Democrats in the legislature. Before the budget even got to Reagan's desk, the Democrats knew he would cut it to shreds and this did not upset them one bit.

There will be a meeting of state workers in San Francisco called by the Workers League to form a caucus on the following program:

For a statewide strike for the raise, no layoffs, and a written contract. Meet Reagan's strike-breaking with a call for a general strike of California labor. For a convocation of all labor organizations to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

## LONGSHOREMAN: 'KEY ISSUE IS WAGES'

LOS ANGELES—This is an interview conducted by a Bulletin reporter with six members of the ILWU, Local 13 in Los Angeles, San Pedro, and Long Beach who are now on strike.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think are the key issues in this strike?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** One of the major issues is employer harassment, crew size and working conditions. If you file a grievance it takes months to settle it. In the meantime the employer is winning because the work is getting done. We want to stop this. If you take any job action the employer puts you on a list of trouble-makers. If you are on this list and get fired there is no way that you can get a job. What it is, is black-listing. Grievances have to be settled on the spot.

The other thing is that we are way behind the Teamsters on wages. We used to be way ahead. The last contract was for five years. In my opinion, what we need is a two year contract

so we can keep up on wages.

**LONGSHOREMAN:**—I think that the key issue is wages. Every cent that we earn is eaten up by inflation or lost by using containers with no compensation to the worker.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think the union should do about the Company diverting ships to Mexico?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** If they send the ships down to Ensenada we should stop unloading all perishables, passenger ships, mail, and military cargo. Let the employer lose.

**BULLETIN:** How has the M and M agreement and containerization affected the number of jobs?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** Thousands

of jobs have been cut. What they're doing is loading the containers onto flat bed trucks, taking them to San Pedro somewhere and using Mexican nationals, cheap labor, to unload the containers. It's not the Mexican laborer's fault that he has to come here to work and that he is being used to hurt us.

The Mexican government isn't taking care of its workers either. It's just like Bethlehem Steel making deals with Hong Kong to build a shipyard so they can take advantage of the cheap labor over there. The result is we're losing our jobs. We don't want to live on the crumbs of welfare and unemployment handed out by the government to people who can't find work. Jobs are very few these days. We have to fight for a job guarantee.

**BULLETIN:** How long do you think the strike will last?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** It'll last

awhile. Probably 90 days or so.

**BULLETIN:** Given the conditions of the economy and the attitude of the government towards the railroad workers, what is your opinion on the union calling a general strike of the labor movement if the government tries to intervene and stop your strike?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** We should do like they did in France in 1968. Shut it all down. To hell with them. These days we have to fight for everything. These have been some pretty bloody battles down on these docks.

**BULLETIN:** Given the role that the Democrats and Republicans have played in relation to labor what do you think of building a labor party based on the trade unions?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** You can't do anything without uniting labor. If we don't unite against them they will hammer away at us until we have nothing.

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BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

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rationalization of the ports. These plans include the total elimination of all but four or five ports on the West Coast as the drive for complete containerization goes into its final phases.

The developing trade war with Japan and Europe will only intensify the need to cut costs and increase productivity. The employers are determined to have their hands free to proceed with mechanization, shut ports and eliminate huge sections of the

work force through attrition and eventual mass layoffs. This policy is dictated to them by the deepening economic crisis.

The defeat of the dockers is no easy task. The PMA is up against a longshore force that has seen two years of declining opportunity. There is a very great understanding on the waterfront that the future of 15,000 jobs is at stake in this fight. There is an enormous confidence in the strength of the union. There is also a large group of dockers that is convinced that every attempt by Bridges to sell out can be voted down and defeated by the rank and file.

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(Continued On Page 15)

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Harry Bridges, International President of the ILWU, led off the meeting. He said:

"Dockers since 1934 have seen the forms of struggle change but these forms have basically remained the same....Today we can discuss in relative calm. Even though the ships are working in some ports they're working with union men."

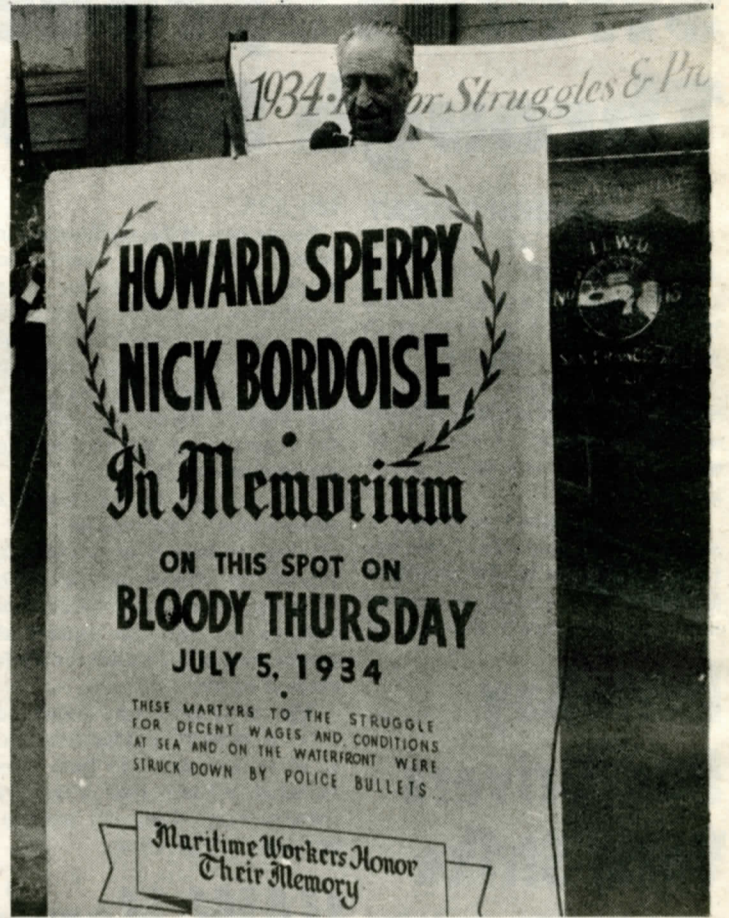
"Ships diverted to these ports can be stopped at any time and we can stand a lot of that in relation to the employers since it is financially very expensive

for the employers to shift cargo across the borders....Although we don't face the threat of shooting when out on strike it could happen again."

Bill Chester, Vice-President of the ILWU, then spoke:

"Labor's answer to Bloody Thursday was the general strike. Today however we have a different mayor and police department. Because of this it won't happen again. We will win this strike because of support of the ILA and the rest of labor."

The point is this is the period of struggles like Bloody Thursday. The only way the ILWU and all unions can win victory is by mobilizing the general strike and building a labor party to take the offensive against the government strikebreakers.



Harry Bridges of ILWU speaks at commemoration of "Bloody Thursday", 1934, when S.F. dockers were shot down by police.

## Reagan Budget Slashes Wages

BY A CSEA MEMBER

Governor Ronald Reagan, in a display of complete contempt for over 100,000 state employees, eliminated a 5% cost of living increase from the California state budget.

This means an invitation for virtual depression conditions for thousands of clerks now being forced to live on less than \$6,000 per year.

At the March 2nd rally of 10,000 state workers in Sacramento, the overwhelming majority clearly showed their readiness to fight the entire state government if raises were denied. This anger must be galvanized into strike

action immediately. Every department and every California city must be shut tight.

The California State Employees Association leadership, kicked in the face by Reagan as thanks for keeping a lid on the militancy of state workers, proposes to "mount a massive campaign" to pressure the legislature into overriding Reagan's cuts.

DEMOCRATS

This is the same strategy of pleading with "friendly" Democrats that led to this defeat. Every CSEA chapter must now be forced by the ranks to go out in wildcat action if the statewide leadership refuses to move. State worker's must demand restoration of the raise, a guaranteed end to attrition and layoffs and a written contract.

LESSON

State workers have now learned the bitter lesson of the CSEA leadership's support of the Democrats in the legislature. Before the budget even got to Reagan's desk, the Democrats knew he would cut it to shreds and this did not upset them one bit.

There will be a meeting of state workers in San Francisco called by the Workers League to form a caucus on the following program:

For a statewide strike for the raise, no layoffs, and a written contract. Meet Reagan's strike-breaking with a call for a general strike of California labor. For a convocation of all labor organizations to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.

## LONGSHOREMAN: 'KEY ISSUE IS WAGES'

LOS ANGELES—This is an interview conducted by a Bulletin reporter with six members of the ILWU, Local 13 in Los Angeles, San Pedro, and Long Beach who are now on strike.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think are the key issues in this strike?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** One of the major issues is employer harassment, crew size and working conditions. If you file a grievance it takes months to settle it. In the meantime the employer is winning because the work is getting done. We want to stop this. If you take any job action the employer puts you on a list of trouble-makers. If you are on this list and get fired there is no way that you can get a job. What it is, is black-listing. Grievances have to be settled on the spot.

The other thing is that we are way behind the Teamsters on wages. We used to be way ahead. The last contract was for five years. In my opinion, what we need is a two year contract

so we can keep up on wages.

**LONGSHOREMAN:**—I think that the key issue is wages. Every cent that we earn is eaten up by inflation or lost by using containers with no compensation to the worker.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think the union should do about the Company diverting ships to Mexico?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** If they send the ships down to Ensenada we should stop unloading all perishables, passenger ships, mail, and military cargo. Let the employer lose.

**BULLETIN:** How has the M and M agreement and containerization affected the number of jobs?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** Thousands

of jobs have been cut. What they're doing is loading the containers onto flat bed trucks, taking them to San Pedro somewhere and using Mexican nationals, cheap labor, to unload the containers. It's not the Mexican laborer's fault that he has to come here to work and that he is being used to hurt us.

The Mexican government isn't taking care of its workers either. It's just like Bethlehem Steel making deals with Hong Kong to build a shipyard so they can take advantage of the cheap labor over there. The result is we're losing our jobs. We don't want to live on the crumbs of welfare and unemployment handed out by the government to people who can't find work. Jobs are very few these days. We have to fight for a job guarantee.

**BULLETIN:** How long do you think the strike will last?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** It'll last

awhile. Probably 90 days or so.

**BULLETIN:** Given the conditions of the economy and the attitude of the government towards the railroad workers, what is your opinion on the union calling a general strike of the labor movement if the government tries to intervene and stop your strike?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** We should do like they did in France in 1968. Shut it all down. To hell with them. These days we have to fight for everything. These have been some pretty bloody battles down on these docks.

**BULLETIN:** Given the role that the Democrats and Republicans have played in relation to labor what do you think of building a labor party based on the trade unions?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** You can't do anything without uniting labor. If we don't unite against them they will hammer away at us until we have nothing.