

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

M. Mandel
And The Dollar

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER FIVE (214)

OCTOBER 4, 1971

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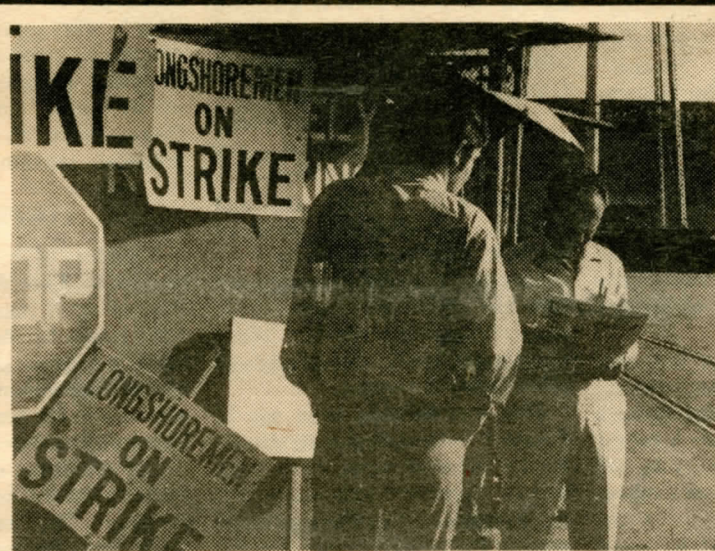


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The Workers League calls upon every worker and youth to rally immediately to the defense of Juan Farinas.



SHOW DOWN ON THE DOCKS

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What
we
think

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When a party turns away from the conscious fight for the development of Marxist theory and proceeds on the pragmatic basis of what "works" for it at the moment, it is not long before a complete degeneration in the direction of the cynicism of the bourgeois intellectual sets in. The recent writings of Joseph Hansen and his protege Gerry Foley in *Intercontinental Press* sadly prove this to the hilt. The strategy of these two spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party is to accuse the Workers League and the International Committee of doing what they so flagrantly do themselves.

In an article entitled "Disaster in Bolivia for Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth," Gerry Foley states "A minor but vivid lesson of the Bolivian defeat, it seems, is to be its illustration of the logic and rewards of unprincipled factionalism. Until sufficient information about the main questions involved in the rightist victory in Bolivia, it may be worth dwelling a bit on this lesson. It concerns some elementary rules of building a revolutionary movement nationally and internationally, about which a reminder is always useful."

So here we have the nub of it. Gerry Foley, over one month after the right wing coup in Bolivia, refuses to take any stand on what happened in Bolivia. He has no position whatsoever on the Popular Assembly, on the strategy of the Lora group, or any other aspect of the political ques-
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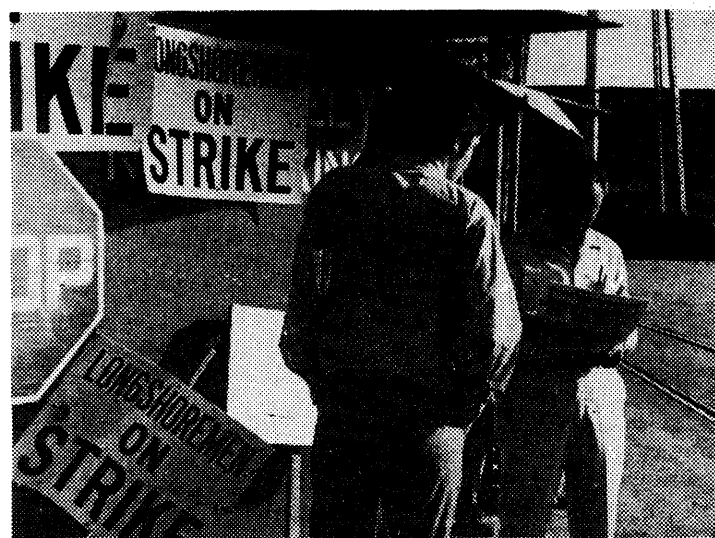
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Tories Witchhunt Soviet Officials

BY DAVE GREEN

In a move designed to arouse public hysteria against the Soviet Union and prepare for a crackdown on all domestic left-wing groups, the British government has accused 105 Russian representatives of espionage and ordered their expulsion from England.

The Kremlin leaders, who are currently planning visits to the four corners of the globe in search of a detente with imperialism, are stunned by the ruthlessness of the British action. It follows by only one week the assertion of General Numeiry that Russian agents were responsible for the defeated coup in the Sudan. The Soviet Union accused London of "whipping up an anti-Soviet spy-scare atmosphere" and threatened "to take corresponding measures in re-

ply."

However, the Tories have made it clear that they will not yield an inch to Russian indignation. The expulsion order is the first stage in the Tory plot to hound the left-wing out of politics. The English working class must prepare for a series of new attacks.

The English ruling class has a long history of using the most monumental falsifications in order to turn public opinion against a rebellious working class. In the late eighteenth century, popular unrest was linked to the activities of the French Jacobins. In 1922 the British ruling class attempted to discredit the upsurge of English workers by manufacturing the infamous "Zinoviev Letter."

DANGERS

There is not an ounce of truth in the espionage charges being made by the Tories. Nevertheless, the action poses real dangers for the working class. In 1922, the monstrous fabrications against the workers state were answered by a government of revolutionary Bolsheviks led by Lenin and Trotsky. Unfortunately, the task of exposing



Old Tory Alex Home is man in charge of new red scare hunt.

Meir Regime Bans Strikes

BY ALEX STEINER

The growing strike wave in Israel is leading to a sharp political confrontation between the government and the labor movement.

Premier Golda Meir referring to the recent strike of airport workers and customs officials said that "the situation is deteriorating into a rebellion, not by Arabs but by our own hands."

At the same time Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, the Secretary General of the Histadrut (the Israeli labor organization) is supporting the proposals of the ruling Labour Party for strengthening anti-strike legislation. He has called for tighter controls by the bureaucracy against the rank and file movement which has swept Israel. He advocated "manning the local labor councils with the right men, who can properly represent the Histadrut and the workers," i.e., the handpicked men of the bureaucracy.

DAYAN

Defense Minister Moshe Dayan has expressed the most vicious hostility to the struggles of Israeli workers by openly calling for the jailing of workers participating in "non-authorized" strikes.

By the end of last week, the Cabinet had agreed with Dayan. A bill was drawn up to be presented to the Israeli Knesset (Parliament) meeting in special session which would make it a civil offense to strike in breach of collective agreements. Some of the right wing members of the Cabinet wanted to go beyond this and make such actions criminal

offenses.

Only the ministers from Mapam voted against the recommendation, registering a token protest so that they could avoid the responsibility for the policies of a government of which they are an integral part. In this way they try to absolve themselves of the necessity to break from the government coalition and mobilize the labor movement against the government.

BILL

It is reported that the bill being drawn up will deal with any area of industry which the government deems "essential services" such as hospitals, ports, electricity, postal services, customs, foodstuffs, etc. The right to strike in these services will be confined to the period when a collective agreement is under negotiation. After a document is signed, it becomes a contract. Subsequent differences will be referred to compulsory arbitration under the aegis of a "neutral" chairman picked by the government.

Any individual or group of strikers in violation of this law may be sued for damages in court by "injured parties." This weapon gives the government and the employers the right to financially destroy any union that strikes against its dictates.

The present upsurge in Israel is a direct result of the economic crisis of capitalism and Nixon's devaluation of the dollar. Israel devalued its own currency by 20% one week after Nixon's move, causing sharp increases in the price of essential foodstuffs and heating.

equally monstrous charges rests with a government of counter-revolutionary Stalinists led by Kosygin and Brezhnev.

The expulsion of 105 Russians exposes the bankruptcy of the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence." The international crisis of capitalism is forcing the breakdown of all the old relations between the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists. The preservation of capitalism demands the application of tremendous pressure against the Soviet Union in preparation for the destruction of the gains of the 1917 revolution and the actual restoration of capitalism.

TORY

In 1956, Nikita Khrushchev could barely contain his admiration for the Tory way of doing things. The old Stalinist carelessly admitted that had he been born an Englishman, he would have voted straight Tory. Now, it is the Tory Government that is leading the attack against the Soviet Union.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers is openly supporting the action of the British Government. He announced within 24 hours of the expulsion order that the espionage issue "is going to be a factor" in determining whether to convene a European security conference as proposed by the

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Captain Medina and wife greet acquittal of imperialist murder charges.

Army Acquits Medina For Mylai Murder

BY MELODY FARROW

After only sixty minutes a military court of five combat officers acquitted Captain Ernest Medina of all charges relating to the 1968 Mylai massacre. There is no doubt that Colonel Oran Henderson now being court martialed for covering up the murder at Mylai will also be set free.

Medina was charged with shooting a woman, assault of two prisoners and overall responsibility for the death of at least 100 civilians.

This acquittal is a clear signal that the Army and the Nixon government do not intend to let "democracy" stand in the way of the continued war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

After all the testimony from soldiers who eyewitnessed the massacre about the brutal shootings of men, women and children, we are expected to believe that no officers outside of Calley can be found who are responsible.

One of the defense witnesses at the Medina trial, a rifleman who was at Mylai, testified that it was he, and not Medina who had shot the small boy. This obvious attempt to cover up for Medina revealed one important thing. The witnesses' testimony

clearly proved that Medina was there during the shootings.

Medina himself claimed he may have made some "confusing" sounds that were interpreted as an order to shoot the child. So Medina was in the midst of the massacre but somehow had no responsibility for what happened!

"INTENT"

The Medina trial was a staged farce from beginning to end. Judge Howard openly did everything in his power to get an acquittal.

On September 17th Col. Howard threw out the charge concerning the boy and reduced the charge of premeditated murder of 100 civilians to involuntary manslaughter. This carries a maximum sentence of three years. In justifying this ruling, Howard told the court that Medina clearly had no "intent" to murder.

On September 21st, Howard told the court that they could decide to further reduce the charge to negligent homicide, a misdemeanor with a maximum sentence of only one year. This was finally rejected by the defense lawyer, F. Lee Bailey and Howard only because a harsher sentence would force the brass on the jury to free him.

The real meaning of this acquittal can be seen in the type of men who rushed to congratulate Medina. One of the chief financial contributors to the case was a man named Glenn Turner, a reactionary crook from Florida who worked his way up in the South to make millions on a phony cosmetic company called Koscot. It is clear that the acquittal by Medina will lay the basis for getting Calley off.

DESPERATE

The Nixon government is in a desperate situation in Vietnam. They are not able to defeat the

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Crisis Shakes China

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The sudden cancellation of China's October 1st national day celebrations has causes other than the health of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The calling-off of the mammoth demonstration—held every year since 1949—has been accompanied by overtly political actions. All civil and military aircraft flights over China were suspended between September 13th and 15th, and there have been reports of irregular troop movements and the cancellation of all military furloughs.

This was to have been one of Peking's largest demonstrations. Weeks of preparation have gone into it. There are indications that the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party was in session for most of last week.

Since the sharp turn to the right in China's foreign policy—manifested in its backing for Yahya Khan's war against the Bengali people, its close relations with the Sudanese regime of General Numeiry, and the overtures to Nixon—there has been growing political tension inside China.

CONFLICT

A section of the CP leadership, headed by Chou En-lai and army chief-of-staff Huang Yung-sheng, and backed by Mao, is in sharp conflict with the party's left wing, whose spokesman is Chen Po-ta, who was in the leadership of the Cultural Revolution.

For sometime moves have been made to expel Chen from the leadership. The bureaucracy no doubt fears the mobilization of the masses on October 1st.

Thousands Rally Against Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT, Sept. 23—Over eight thousand trade unionists, students, youth and unemployed today showed their determination to fight Nixon and the wage freeze when they demonstrated in front of Cobo Hall where Nixon was addressing the Detroit Economic Club.

The demonstration was called by the Detroit AFL-CIO Metropolitan Council. On the picket line were members of the UAW, Teamsters, as well as telephone, sanitation, government workers and teachers. They carried signs saying "Stop the Freeze," "Freeze the Freeze," "Freeze Profits," and "Who Sacrifices—Not Wall Street." Other placards opposed the war and recession.

Inside at the \$10 a plate banquet for the leading Detroit capitalists, waiters and waitresses, members of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 705, wore buttons on their uniforms which said "Freeze the Freeze."

PROFITS

The Detroit Economic Club is made up of the leading Detroit capitalists and some of the richest sections of the American ruling class. Nixon was enthusiastically received inside as he vowed above all to preserve profits. "To say anything for profits before this audience," he said, "is like the preacher talking to the choir." "Putting it quite bluntly," he said, "I am for profits." Nixon assured his

friends that Phase II of the freeze would have "teeth" and hinted he was preparing new laws against the trade unions.

But things are not going to be that simple for Nixon and his profit-bloated friends. This is the meaning of the demonstration outside Cobo Hall. The ranks of the labor movement are angry and ready to fight Nixon.

DANGER

The greatest danger in this situation as the labor movement heads into a big clash with Nixon and the employers is the role of the trade union bureaucracy. Leonard Woodcock, head of the UAW, was conspicuously absent at the demonstration although ranks of the UAW marched. Woodcock's excuse was that there was a "better way" to "influence" Nixon. Woodcock and Meany's better way is to refuse to mobilize the unions and to aid Nixon in setting up the apparatus to break the unions. Other bureaucrats seek to limit the right to protests.

COLLISION

The fight against Nixon and the freeze requires a head on col-

lision with the labor bureaucracy to mobilize the unions and a political fight to defeat Nixon and the Democratic and Republican parties.

A leadership must be built in the unions now to fight for:

- No participation in any form in any board or other arrangement aimed at imposing a wage freeze or ceiling on workers.
- A general strike of labor to break the freeze and any arrangements that follow it.
- The construction of a labor party for '72 fighting to establish a workers government committed to full employment through a shorter work week, an end to inflation and nationalization of industries involved in layoffs and shutdowns.

This must be taken now into every union and every local.



Thousands of Detroit workers demand a freeze on profits not wages.

IMF Discusses Fate Of Dollar

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The 1971 Annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund opened Monday, September 27 in New York. The keynote speech was delivered by IMF managing director Pierre-Paul Schweitzer.

His speech reflected the real fear that grips the capitalist class in the face of a growing economic disaster but above all the fact that the European and Japanese capitalists are now being forced to dance to the American whip.

While Schweitzer warned of the big dangers to world trade and prosperity threatened by the monetary impasses, the main thrust of his speech was an appeal to the European and Japanese capitalists for cooperation with the U.S. in its efforts to reverse its projected 13 billion dollar payments deficit.

Schweitzer's appeal was in line with the agreement reached by the Group of Ten ministers the day before. The Group of Ten, retreating from its earlier hard line insistence on an of-

ficial change in the dollar price of gold, went over the position that Europe would negotiate upward revaluation of its currency in return for the removal of the 10% U.S. surcharge.

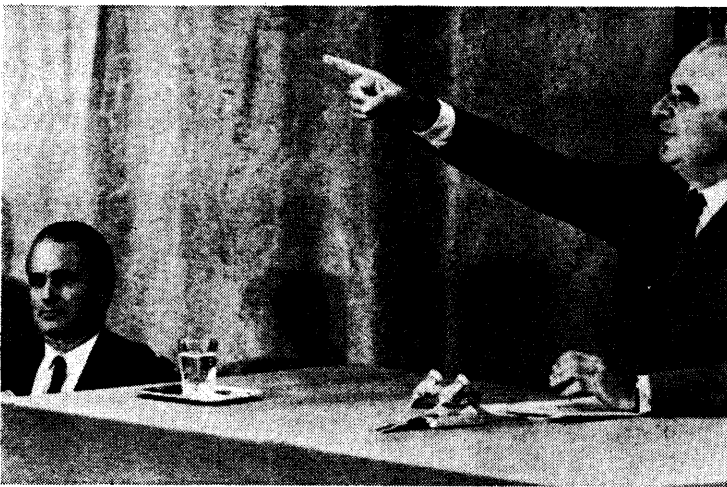
CONNALLY

The Europeans are reported to have taken as good coin Connally's quip that "the U.S. is not committed to the mythology of gold," even though he stated clearly that the U.S. was not devaluing for the present.

Connally's and Nixon's real position is, however, just the opposite. Precisely because they recognize, if only empirically, the very real power and ability of gold to assert itself against the whole fabric of paper currency and credit built up during the boom they are totally committed to freezing the relation between the dollar and gold for as long as possible and placing the whole burden of the dollar's overvaluation on Europe.

Last week American capitalists encouraged by the first hints of European and Japanese capitulation on the revaluation of their currencies began to step up the pressure on the whole issue of quotas.

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Chaban-Delmas and Pompidou, representing French bourgeoisie.

Unemployment Soars Above Five Million

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's August 15th speech talking of "fighting inflation" and "creating jobs" is exposed as a pack of lies as millions upon millions of workers are thrown out of work.

Unemployment is now over five million.

The U.S. Department of Labor statistics for August record 5,115,000 jobless workers, not counting the tens of thousands, many youth, who have given up looking for work.

The publication of these figures follows on the heels of Nixon's wage freeze and his vicious "work ethic" Labor Day speech, and are a sharp warning of what Nixon and his class have in store.

The capitalists are out to create massive unemployment, to turn the unemployed against the employed, in order to smash the unions. They are seeking to whip up a nationalist frenzy against "foreign competition" and "foreign workers."

Speedup and job cutting are the order of the day in every plant and industry in the country.

While Nixon plans Phase Two of the freeze, "controls with teeth," the big corporations grow ever more fat and bloated with tax breaks and price increases.

Rebellion against the wage freeze has reached the boiling point in the unions. This is in the face of Meany's and Woodcock's refusal to fight. Now the growth of unemployment with no end in sight poses a tremendous danger to the working class.

POWER

The employers step up job cutting, speedup, and layoffs with

the hope that the Meany's and Woodcocks will act as their labor lieutenants once again.

But the working class, organized in the most powerful trade unions in the world, have the power to stop Nixon and his class.

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Gleason Retreats On Wages Fight

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Sept. 27—On September 18, Thomas W. Gleason, President of the ILA, sent a "progress report" to union members concerning the contract that expires on September 30. Intended to take the heat off Gleason, this letter has instead spelled out the ways in which Gleason intends to sell out this fight.

The result in the Baltimore port has been a reinforcement of the determination of the rank and file, pitted against both Nixon and the employers' new CONASA as well as the dockers' own national and local leadership.

The weapon levelled against the dockers has been local bargaining on work conditions. This is an attempt to keep down the number of hours in the GAI and diffuse any fight against containerization—fights that have sprung up in every major port as either spontaneous work stoppages or one day strikes. The group maintaining this situation is, today, the union bureaucracy.

As the average number of work hours per man per week plummets in every port, and the ranks demand a guaranteed 40 hour work week for all union members to be negotiated with the national demands, Gleason blandly tells each local bargaining committee: "to return to its port and to negotiate with the employers in that particular port...with reference to the number of hours that could be paid under the guaranteed income provisions."

GLEASON

What Gleason's position starts and stops with, is the financial ability of the employers to pay.

The employers, under the present contract, have shown exactly how much this is. They have cut many crews by more than 60% and for those men still working, supply a mere 25 hours of work per week. What this position completely ignores is the needs of the union members.

FIGHT

But Gleason does not stop here. In relation to the question of wages and the fight he intends to lead against Nixon's wage freeze Gleason states: "President Nixon's Proclamation has limited our discussions on any increases in wages or contributions to our funds." In other words, it is for Gleason a given fact that there can be no fight on wages as long as Nixon wants it like that.

In reporting on a negotiating meeting where CONASA "insisted upon a stipulation extending the agreement beyond Oc-

tober 1...and that each port would vote separately," Gleason correctly sees that "there is no question that the employers are attempting to divide and conquer us."

REJECT

What is completely dangerous in his assessment, however, is his complete retreat on the question of wages, and his attempt to appear to fight by talking up local and secondary demands. But no matter how great these benefits, if you lose your job by attrition of hours or direct lay off, they don't mean anything. And this is what is planned for 60% of the Baltimore dock workers!

The militancy of the local ranks is not enough to stop Gleason from giving in to Nixon and CONASA. A political fight must be begun in every local in every port to reject a contract extension.

State Plans Special Prison For Militants

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Two weeks after Rockefeller opened up the bloody massacre of prisoners in Attica, he has come out with his plan for "prison reform."

At a secret meeting of State Correction Commissioner Oswald, Rockefeller and four legislators, they agreed to put four million dollars into repairing Attica and to establish a prison for "hard-core revolutionaries." Oswald said after the meeting that putting the militants in one prison would be the "first order of business."

For the last week Oswald has been demanding that the state establish a maximum security prison for "militant and aggressive troublemakers." Oswald has said he already has a list of 600 militants.

It should be clear that such a prison will be established not only to hold leaders and participants in the prison struggles, but militants in the trade unions, among the youth, minority and working class movements who take up a struggle against capitalism. These moves expose the bankruptcy of the Stalinists and revisionists who are attempting to limit the struggle of Attica to simply a question of pressuring the government for "prison reform."

ATTACKS

The attack at Attica was aimed against the working class as a whole and its leadership. As Rockefeller has made abundantly clear, it is not reforms but more attacks on the working class that the capitalists are preparing.

The state troopers who were called out to crush the Attica rebellion remain stationed inside the prison armed to shoot during times when the prisoners are released from their cells.

At the same time Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) which represents the prison guards has called a "work action" in which guards have kept the prisoners locked in their cells and refused

to let them out unless they are controlled by armed guards. While Wurf has stated that "We're not at war with the inmates, the State of New York is at war with them," his position is completely reactionary. He waited a good two weeks after the massacre in which both guards and prisoners were shot without uttering a peep.

The last thing that this so-called "progressive" trade union leader plans is a fight against Rockefeller and the "State." Instead he has turned the whole thing not against the "State" but against the prisoners, begging Rockefeller for more riot equipment and supporting the demand for a maximum security prison for "troublemakers."

The massacre at Attica and now the moves to set up prisons for militants are the preparation by the capitalist class for their war against the trade union movement. This is what Wurf refuses to say.

Revolt Brews In NMU On Passenger Ship Sellout

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Sept. 27—The September port meeting of the National Maritime Union was held here today.

Reflecting the real fear the Curran leadership has for the rank and file, it was called at short notice for 10 a.m. instead of the usual 3 p.m. This was done to insure that as few men as possible show up. Many missed the meeting.

At the meeting, the chairman, port agent Lobaczewski, calmly announced that the passenger liners, including the SS United States, and the Independence, were being sold to Greek shipping interests. A bill is now



Prisoner raises fist saluting marchers outside of the Baltimore jail. Marchers were protesting the murder of 40 in Attica. Now Rockefeller moves to set up special jail for political prisoners.

Hospital Bosses Stall On 1199 Contracts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—On Wednesday, September 22nd, four hundred members of Philadelphia Local 1199C Drug and Hospital Workers Union at-

tended a meeting called by the union on the wage freeze.

The militancy of the ranks was expressed by members who walked off their jobs at nearby Hahneman Hospital to attend.

In recently organized hospitals the administrations have stalled union elections and contract negotiations. In those hospitals under the 1970 contract the workers will not receive a 20% to 25% raise due in October. At St. Luke's Hospital, workers were told on payday that the hospital had no money to pay them.

The union is mobilizing for a rally October 1st against the wage freeze. The union leadership said that the contract must be settled by October 15th "or else."

The leadership has attacked Governor Shapp, the so-called "friend of labor," for not intervening in Temple Hospital where union elections have been stalled, and he is on the board of directors.

STRIKE

In the midst of an organizing drive which has brought in 14 institutions since January, the hospital workers have been unable to conclude contract negotiations anywhere.

This is no longer a time for ambiguous "or else." Strike action must be taken if the contract is not signed by October 15th.

The only way to answer Shapp is by building a labor party for the 1972 elections.

in Congress to make this possible. Thus all hope for 5,000 NMU jobs is disappearing forever.

Every scheme the Curran bureaucracy has put forward for "saving" NMU jobs has been a fraud.

The whole object was to assure the ranks that "something was being done" while the owners in reality prepared to axe the jobs.

The few dozen men able to attend the meeting exploded in an uproar. One seaman proposed seeking the support of the rest of labor, through the news media, for the fight for NMU jobs. Lobaczewski said that was "a waste of time," and adjourned the meeting.

Only a struggle for a new caucus in the NMU, around a program of a strike to force the companies to hire more men at full NMU wages to organize the foreign-flag American ships into the NMU, can defeat the shippers.

Veterans Walk Out Of SMC Forum

BY ELISSA MORRASH

PHILADELPHIA—Debby Bustin of the Socialist Workers Party and national chairman of the Student Mobilization Committee recently spoke at an SMC meeting at Temple University.

Bustin's speech from the very beginning was intended to convince the students that despite the wage freeze and the massacre in Attica, the fall anti-war activities called remain the same.

Throughout her entire speech, Bustin insisted that students should not be demoralized because the war had not ended. She blamed this demoralization on the skepticism many students had about the anti-war demonstrations and said that if the demonstrations were large

enough, "Nixon will be forced to end the war."

This is what the SWP poses to the youth after the massacre in Attica! Attica proved beyond doubt that the capitalist class has no intention of "giving in" to any of the demands of the workers and youth. It meant that capitalism has brought the war against Vietnamese workers and peasants home against American workers and youth.

1199 Calls Mass Rally On Freeze

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The October 1st demonstration against the wage freeze called by Hospital Workers Local 1199 in New York City is a powerful opportunity for pressing forward the fight against Nixon and the bosses.

1199 has called upon its members to rally in the thousands at Federal Plaza in lower Manhattan. Federal workers have been called out on a one day strike on the same day, and their representatives will be speaking at the 1199 rally. Other unions are also calling upon their members to support this demonstration.

The demonstration has been called for 4 to 6 P.M. Thus thousands of hospital workers will be leaving their jobs one to two hours early to join it. This partial strike action can be a powerful expression of the determination of the ranks to fight if it is developed through a program to defeat Nixon.

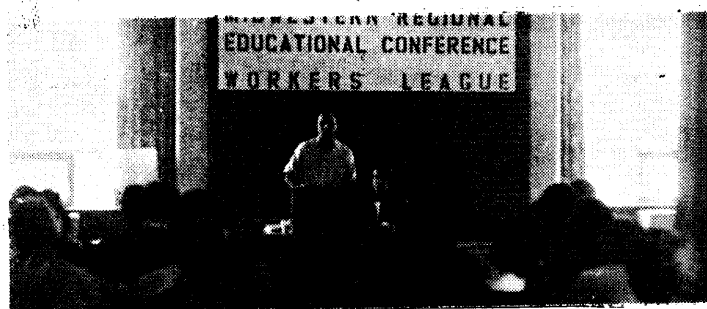
The demonstration will not stop Nixon. It must be the beginning of an all out fight to mobilize the working class to finish the job. This means a fight for general strike action by the labor movement, along with absolute non-cooperation with any controls on wages set up by Nixon with or without the collaboration of the union bureaucracy, following the freeze.

At a chapter meeting of 1199 Guild members at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center on September 22, a motion urging absolute non-cooperation with wage controls and wage-price boards was passed overwhelmingly. A motion recommending the preparation of general strike action against the freeze received about 1/3 support.

In the immediate period ahead millions of workers will be coming into head-on collision with the capitalist government.

The Rank and File Committee of 1199 will be fighting for this program as part of the October 1st rally. Hospital workers will be there with signs and banners calling for general strike action against Nixon, non-cooperation with wage-price boards, a complete break with the Democrats and Republicans and the fight for a labor party in the 1972 elections.

MIDWEST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE



Lectures- Discussion- Dancing

A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

LECTURE I

The Fourth International in the Days of Leon Trotsky

LECTURE II

Fourth International Under Michel Pablo

LECTURE III

The International Committee of the Fourth International

U. of Wisc. (Madison) Student Union. Saturday-Sunday, Oct. 16-17, 9:30-5. For more information call Minneapolis — 612-336-9966 or Madison—608-256-5157.

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BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

KERHONKSON, NEW YORK—Some 150 youth and trade unionists attended the third annual Workers League Weekend of Education and Recreation held here September 25th and 26th. At least one-third of those in attendance were young workers largely from New York's Lower East Side, Fort Green and East New York-Brownsville areas.

In introducing the educational section of the weekend, Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, stressed that the 1966 Conference of the International Committee decided that a history of the Fourth International be written. These lectures were viewed as the beginning of a contribution to such a history.

"We are now in a new period of class struggle and civil war on an international scale. A new generation is coming forward which has been brought up under conditions of the Vietnam War, the ghetto rebellions, and unemployment. What we must do is bring the history of the struggle for Marxism into this present struggle of these youth. This is what will be decisive for the success of the socialist revolution. This is why we turn at this point, when Nixon announces his new economic policies, to a history of the Fourth International."

TROTSKY

The first lecture was given by Lucy St. John, Editor of the *Bulletin*, on "The Fourth International in the Days of Leon Trotsky."

"The Fourth International was not simply founded on a particular date but developed through struggle. You cannot separate out the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 and its central document, *The Transitional Program*, from the whole struggle which went before to construct this international party."

Comrade St. John went into Trotsky's great struggle against Stalinism for the essentials of Marxism explaining that revolutionary Marxism passed only through this struggle. She then discussed Trotsky's battle in the period of 1934-38 to form the Fourth International through a struggle against both opportunist and sectarian tendencies within and without the Trotskyist movement.

"The sectarians were idealists who thought that the existing leaderships of the working class were defeated simply by making a correct criticism of these leaderships. What was and is required is taking the alternative revolutionary program into the actual movement of the class and constructing the alternative leadership in concrete reality."

Then she discussed those who separated Trotsky from the Fourth International itself and opposed the formation of the Fourth International. The clearest representative of this view was Isaac Deutscher, who viewed Trotsky as a hero, a "prophet," she noted.

"The most important period in Trotsky's life was his struggle against every difficulty and against the general tide of history to construct the Fourth International. This, more than his position as head of the Red Army, was Trotsky's greatest contribution to the world working class."

Comrade St. John then showed how the Fourth International was constructed through a struggle of opposites through Trotsky's struggle against a host of petty bourgeois elements who resisted and distorted Marxism and maintained their distance from the working class. *The Transitional Program* is the product of this struggle, can only be understood in the light of this struggle, and it is the experience of this struggle as well as the program itself that we bring forward to a new generation of fighters.

WAR PERIOD

Tim Wohlforth gave the second lecture on "The Fourth International Under Michel Pablo." Wohlforth began by explaining the heroic struggles the Trotskyists engaged in during the course of World War II facing the powerful repression of the Nazis and the Stalinists as well. While serious mistakes were made, he stated, we do not agree with those petty bourgeois critics who utilize these errors to deny the continuity of the Trotskyist movement. The central factors are that the death of Trotsky was an extremely severe blow to the Fourth International as the process of development of its cadres theoretically had barely begun. In addition, the conditions of world war made it

impossible for the Fourth International to really function as an international movement in a coherent way. The postwar period would be the test of the ability of the cadres left by Trotsky to continue his work.

"From the point of view of dialectics, development takes place through the negative—through the negation of the negation. In the theoretical development of a movement this means that through the struggle against the revision of Marxism, Marxist theory develops. But this is not an idealist process as it is in Hegel. As Marxists

Wohlforth detailed the impressionistic theories Pablo developed—that there was a new reality after the war so that Trotsky's program did not really apply; that Stalinism could now play a revolutionary role; that World War II was imminent and it would be combined with revolution; that for a number of centuries to come there would be a process of forming deformed Stalinist states thus putting off the need for forming Trotskyist parties for that long as well.

He then explained how these theories began to be implemented by liquidating the cadres of the Trotskyist movement in the mass social democratic and Stalinist parties. Pablo proposed that such parties would develop centrist tendencies which would "roughly" carry out a revolutionary policy.

The formation of the International Com-

Wohlforth explained that this gave the Trotskyist movement a second chance to carry on Trotsky's struggle. But this could only be achieved if a struggle was waged to get to the roots of Pabloism in its method and to educate the world movement in this process. This is why the British proposed in 1954 that discussions be held with the Pabloites in the hopes of clarifying the whole movement. The SWP opposed this and quickly dropped any kind of struggle against Pabloism. Then in 1957 the SWP wrote the LSSP proposing reunification on the basis of dumping Pablo without a discussion of the principled questions posed by revisionism.

Wohlforth also commented on the role of the LSSP of Ceylon and the POR of Bolivia in this period. The LSSP, while agreeing with the IC's criticisms of Pabloism at least on the question of Stalinism, refused to break from Pablo's international organization. It preferred to take the course which left it the greatest freedom to do what it wished within Ceylon. It began from a national and not an international perspective. This paved the way for its open capitulation to capitalism by entering a capitalist government.

The POR broke with Pablo when he insisted it liquidate into the bourgeois nationalist MNR. But the POR turned its back on the newly formed International Committee feeling it could avoid revisionism by rooting itself in the Bolivian working class and keeping its distance from international matters. This also laid the basis for its inability to lead an independent struggle against Torres in the recent period.

In 1961-63, Wohlforth pointed out, the SWP returned to Pabloism because it had refused to take up international leadership in 1953 and to probe the roots of revisionism in its abandonment of the Marxist method. It proposed and carried through a reunification without any discussion of Pabloism. The product of this reunification, Wohlforth emphasized, was the entry of the LSSP into a bourgeois government one year later. The reunification had taken place on the basis of no discussion of not only Pabloism but also neither of the LSSP.

1966 CONFERENCE

Wohlforth concluded the lecture by discussing the 1966 Conference of the International Committee:

"In my opinion the 1966 Conference was the most important international meeting of Marxists since the Founding Congress of the Fourth International in 1938. The Second Congress in 1948 was important as it indicated that not only had the Fourth International survived the death of Trotsky and the difficulties of World War II but it was growing in strength in many countries. However, the Congress was already marred with the confusion which was later to flower into Pabloite revisionism. The Third Congress in 1951 codified all the elements of Pabloite revisionism and was Trotskyist only in the sense that a struggle against its decisions was to characterize the next period of the International. The first two conferences of the IC were preliminary in nature. It was the Third Conference which was able to make an advance on the basis of the program and struggle embodied in the Founding Conference of 1938."

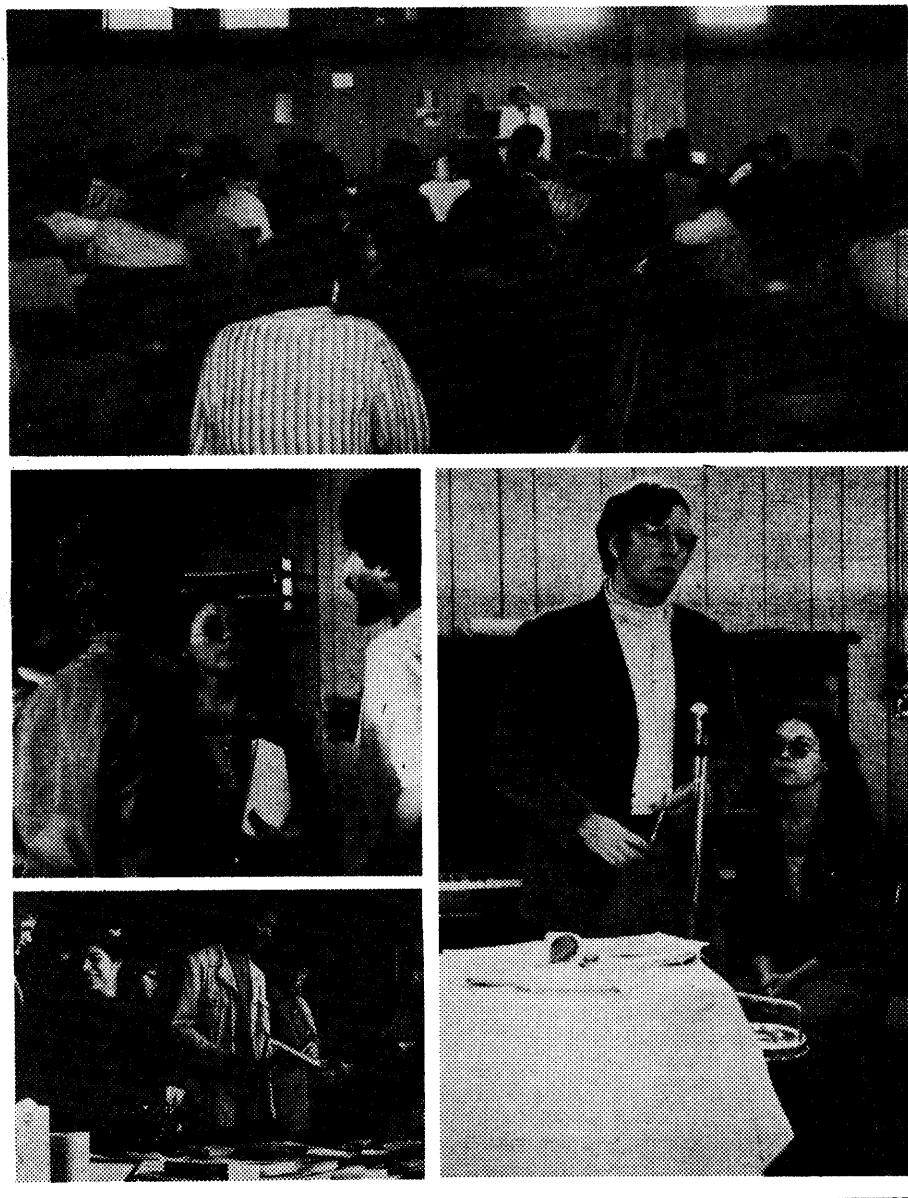
He noted that the time of the Conference was devoted primarily to a struggle against two groups which had broken away from the Fourth International in an earlier period—the French VO group and Robertson's Spartacist group. These organizations denied the continuity of Trotskyism and in this way turned their backs on the theoretical struggles which have developed the movement. The result is these groups operate as personal cliques hostile to internationalism.

The Third Conference presented a developed understanding of the crisis of capitalism and a perspective for constructing revolutionary parties, based on the Transitional Program, in all countries. It went further to establish three central points:

(1) The continuity of the Fourth International has been preserved precisely through the struggle against those who sought to destroy its program. The Fourth International exists today and does not

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Educational Camp Studies The History Of 4th International



we see this as at all points a struggle to penetrate into the existing labor movement fighting revisionism with the strength of this penetration and penetrating with the strength of this fight against revisionism."

Wohlforth outlined the early history of the British movement as an example of this and of the strengths of the Fourth International in the immediate postwar period.

He explained that the Socialist Workers Party did not proceed from this point of view. As a party with the greatest experience and with a developed leadership, it should have assumed theoretical leadership of the Fourth International in 1946. It could then have drawn on the experience of its past struggles and grappled with all the new theoretical problems facing the fledgling international movement.

PABLO

Instead it handed this job to Pablo who had no real experience in constructing a party in the working class. Pablo proceeded to handle things from a secretariat removed from the life of the movement and to develop theories not rooted in the historical development of Marxism—theories reflecting his own impressions.

mittee took place through a rebellion of the French section, British section and the American SWP against the consequences of this liquidationist line. Wohlforth emphasized that the empirical character of this break in no sense lessened the importance of this break. Under conditions in which the SWP has failed to take up leadership of the International earlier this was the only way a break could take place. Once such a break was made it became possible to proceed further—to dig at the root cause of the revisionism of Pablo.

The third lecture, also by Comrade Wohlforth, discussed the history of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Wohlforth began with the split in 1953. He explained how the SWP broke with Pablo only after Pablo organized a faction within the SWP.

"Nonetheless the break that took place in 1953 was fundamental and principled. The SWP mustered all its history, all the understanding it had acquired from its common struggles with Trotsky, and issued an 'Open Letter' which reasserted the very fundamentals of Trotskyism, of Marxism, against revisionism and under difficult conditions of a boom in the capitalist nations."

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Press Uses Racism To Divide Workers

The New York Daily News has opened up a racist stampede and hysteria. In what is the most vicious outburst of racist propaganda, the News headlined its Monday issue: "Illegal Aliens Get IM U.S. Jobs."

Let there be no mistake about it, the racist demagogues of the News are the right arm of the capitalist class whose purpose it is to whip up an hysteria in order to confuse, divide and defeat sections of the working class on the eve of big struggles aimed at maintaining the living standards of all working people. Racism is used now like Hitler used anti-semitism.

It is no accident that racism raises its ugly head now. The deepening economic crisis and the growth of racism are two sides of the same coin. The News seeks to divert the working class, through racism and nationalism, away from the real class division in society and its real enemy.

At a time when Nixon and the employers are consciously using unemployment to break the wage offensive, when they are cutting wages, the scum of the News seek to put the blame on immigrant workers from Latin America and the West Indies.

The News says, "Between 1 and 1.5 million illegal aliens are holding down jobs that rightfully belong to unemployed Americans. They are sending back perhaps \$1.5 billion annually to relatives in their homelands and taking advantage of such overburdened urban facilities as housing, hospitals and public schools." They say that these "alien intruders" are costing "America."

This is a vicious lie. It is the capitalist class which has slashed jobs, cut social services and frozen wages to protect their fat profits. What we cannot afford is capitalism. We cannot afford the employers and the rest of the exploiting crew. They are costing all the working people too much.

The role of the Daily News is to sound out the possibilities of bringing together an extreme right wing movement of frustrated middle class and backward workers to attack the fighting capacity of the organized working class. It is a means of building up a right wing neo-fascist movement. Behind the racists stand the fascists waiting in the wings to smash the unions. It is no accident that the News came out with this filth the day after George Wallace visited New York.

Nixon has openly encouraged this movement with his talk about the "work ethic" and the "American way" trying to stir up chauvinism to protect the interests of American imperialism.

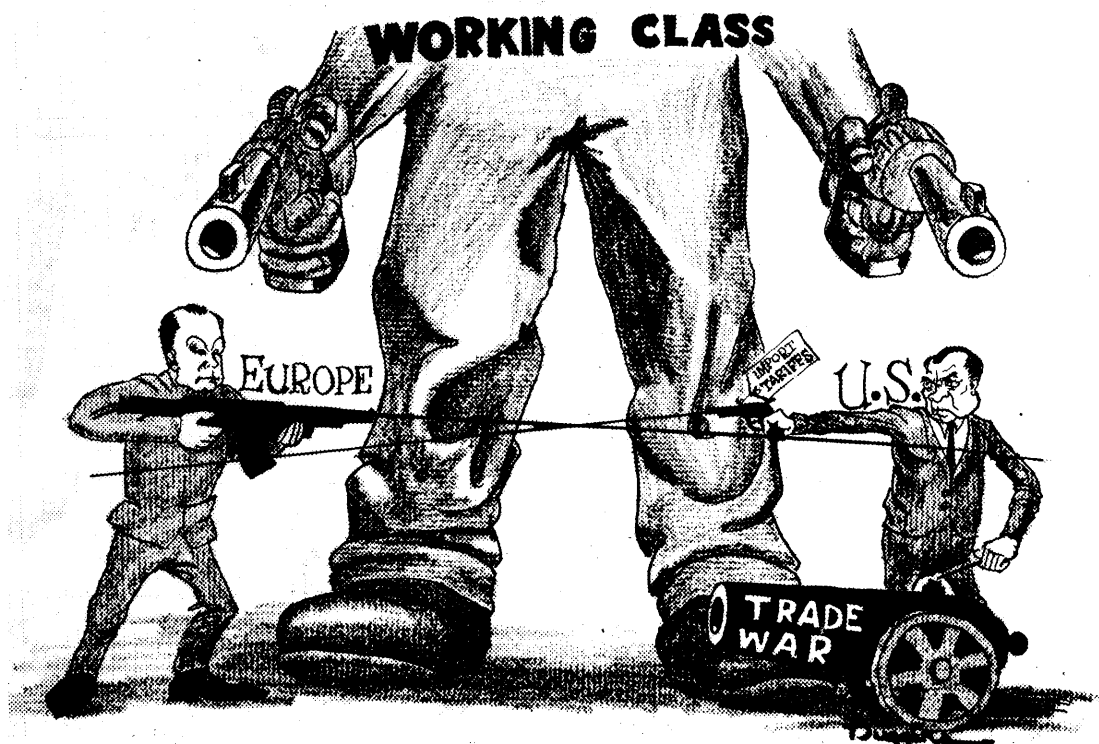
Any success these reactionary forces have is due to the labor bureaucracy which fosters racism in its own way and which has pushed Nixon's patriotic appeals to protect American capital. The Stalinists and revisionists who base themselves on the divisions within the working class on separatism and Black nationalism, are feeding forces like the News.

They have refused to mobilize the workers, youth and unemployed around a program that unites all races and nationalities, demanding full employment through the thirty hour week at forty hours pay and fighting for a labor party to unite the working class, youth, and minorities. They have in fact done everything to prevent this.

There can be absolutely no concession made to racism. Workers who are racist, who go along with the filth that is in the News are traitors to their class. Those who perpetrate the divisions are their partners.

The working class must be united in the U.S. and with their brothers internationally. The racists will be defeated only by consciously leading the working class into big class actions under conditions where the poison of racism can be destroyed and in which the working class must learn to fight as a class, unite as a class and think as a class.

This means fighting in the unions today and among the youth for defiance and rejection of Nixon's wage freeze. It means fighting for the unions to take up the struggle against unemployment mobilizing the youth and unemployed for full employment and the shorter work week. It means fighting now to build a labor party for the 1972 elections against the Demprats and Republicans.



What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

tions involved in Bolivia. But, he insists on commenting on the principled position taken by the Workers League on these questions.

If this is not unprincipled factionalism we would like to know what is. Is not the central question the question of Bolivia itself? Is it Foley's position that the Workers League is wrong in criticizing Lora or is it Foley's position that this is correct but perhaps these criticisms should have been made earlier or in some other manner? On this Foley is completely silent. He has nothing to say on matter of principle. Instead he writes six pages on Bolivia without a point of view.

Starting without a point of view the article descends into the crassest cynicism—the hallmark of a political whore. Referring to a statement we made that Lora "never made any serious attempt to assess his own history" he states: "How then could Lora have become a member of the IC, an organization that supposedly demands rigorous public avowal of all past deviations?" and he adds, "When the overwhelming majority of the world Trotskyist movement reunited in 1963, Healy and Lambert justified their refusal to accept the majority decision by claiming that the reunification was 'unprincipled.' Their argument was that the groups that had decided to work together on the basis of agreement on present tasks had not discussed and settled the question of past differences."

Is Foley stating that it is incorrect to insist on an accounting of a history of a party, to go back to the development of revisionism in the Fourth International under Pablo and probe it to its roots in order to be able to develop the Trotskyist movement in opposition to this revisionism? Clearly this is his position because this is how the SWP has acted for a number of years. Instead of stating this as so and attacking the Workers League for making a "sectarian" error in criticizing Lora for not making an accounting of his past, Foley only dwells on whether we have consistently carried out our struggle on this question. Before one discusses consistency in a task one has to agree as to whether such a task should be undertaken. On this the

International Committee is clear—it has always fought for such an accounting while the Pabloites of Foley's SWP have opposed it.

The all-pervading cynicism is then reflected in the snide way the very fundamentals of our movement are treated. Foley refers to our struggle for Marxist philosophy as "the Healyites' much celebrated 'method.'" In similar fashion his mentor Joseph Hansen writes: "The 'principles' to which the SLL leaders adhere should not be overlooked in seeking to understand why they follow courses that sometimes seem irrational. From the ultra-left sectarian viewpoint of the SLL, students bear an original taint—they are 'petty bourgeois,' not 'proletarian.' An influx of students would confront the SLL with the danger of having the class composition of the membership 'watered down!'" ("The Credibility Gap—The Politics of the SLL," September 20, 1971, *Intercontinental Press*).

We take questions of principle seriously and proceed at all times from them. We begin with the division between the working class and the capitalist class fighting for the construction of a working class party, made up of workers, deeply rooted in the working class. It is not a question of original taints or sins but of the objective class character of students. It is not even a matter of their recruitment to the party—which is essential—but whether the party bases itself and its perspective on the working class or the middle classes. This is a principled question.

Where the cynicism finds its sharpest expression is that Hansen knows all this so well. After all he was brought up on Jim Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. He knows of Trotsky's proposal that student and intellectual elements in the party should be reduced to sympathizers if they could not find a relationship with workers. He is also aware that the SLL followed a course which no doubt appeared "irrational" to cynics like Hansen of actually building a base among working class youth and in the trade unions and on this basis launched the world's first Trotskyist daily paper.

Then we come to Foley's charge that our British comrades in the Socialist Labour League reflect a "national narrowness." We can

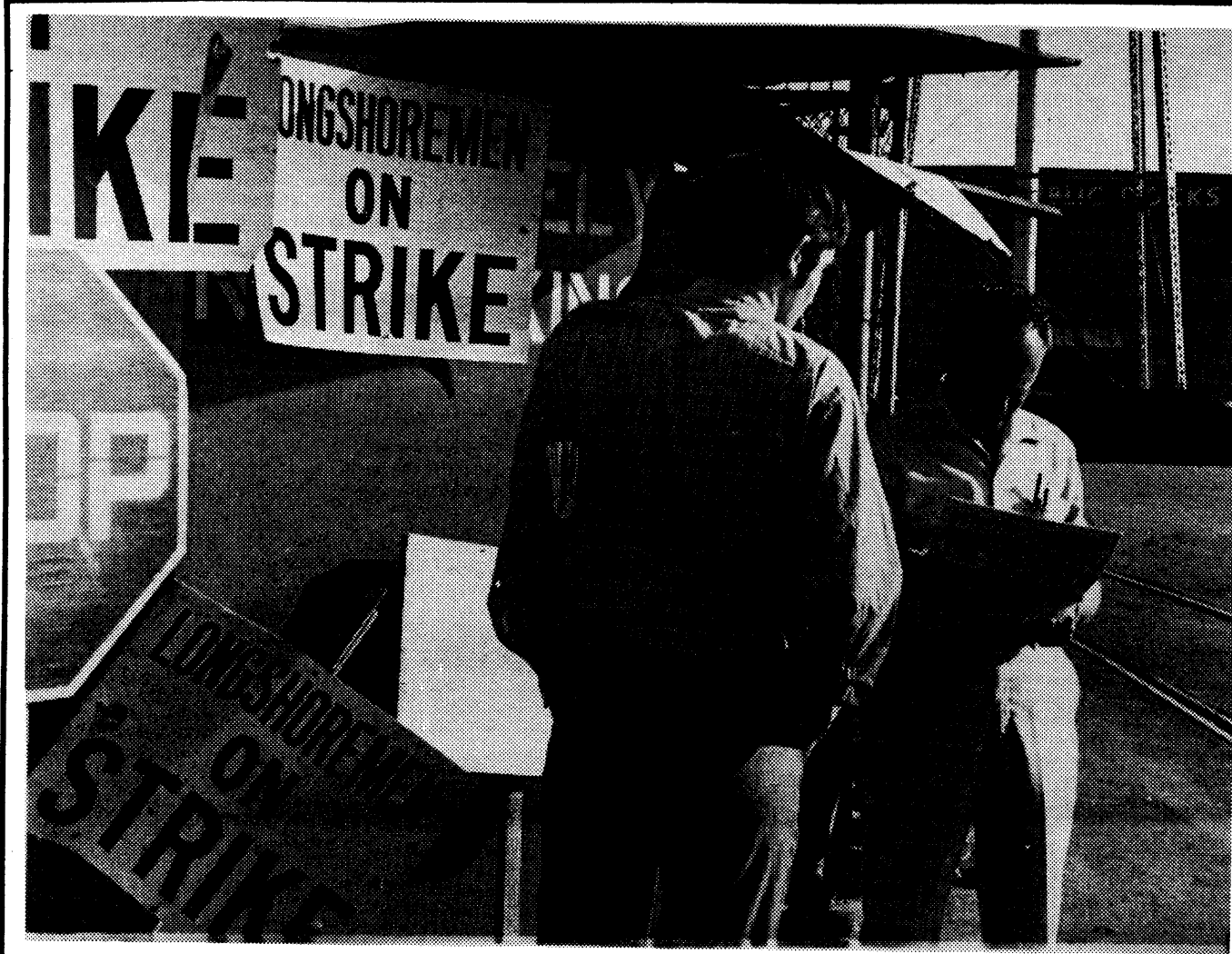
understand why Foley makes light of questions of history for the history of the Fourth International reveals that it has been the narrow nationalism of the Socialist Workers Party which more than any other factor has contributed to the degeneration of the Fourth International. The SWP refused to take up international leadership in 1946. The SWP only fought Pablo when Pablo interfered with the internal life of the SWP. The SWP turned its back on the struggle against Pabloism internationally after 1953. The SWP reunified politically with the Pabloites only in order to avoid an international discussion within the International Committee, a discussion which would have meant a break-up of all the old national narrowness of the SWP.

We suggest that Foley consult his fellow party member Tom Kerry on this question of narrow nationalism. It was Tom Kerry who announced at the last convention of the SWP, that there was no higher body in the world than the Political Committee of the SWP and threatened with expulsion any party member who appealed, according to the procedures in the Statutes of the Fourth International, to any international body.

Finally, we have Joseph Hansen's incredible statement on Ceylon (no wonder the article is entitled "The Credibility Gap"). "In battling within the world Trotskyist movement against the retrogressive current headed by N.M. Perera in Ceylon, the SLL, if it had joined forces with the United Secretariat, the Socialist Workers Party, and the left wing of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, might have added sufficient weight to block Perera from obtaining a majority in the LSSP for his sellout proposal in 1964 to accept posts in the Bandaranaike government." It seems the betrayal in Ceylon was all the fault of the SLL!

As Hansen knows, as Foley knows, and as even most readers of *Intercontinental Press* know, the reunification in 1963 took place on the basis that no discussion would take place on the Ceylonese issue! The opposition inside the SWP which was to form the Workers League was expelled for just asking for a discussion on the role of the LSSP. The responsibility of the

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SHOW DOWN ON THE DOCKS

BY DAN FRIED

THE UNPRECEDENTED CLASS conflicts and rank and file explosions now shaping up as Nixon and the employers attempt to destroy all the rights, all the gains won by the American working class over many decades of bitter struggle, are perhaps most sharply focused now on the East and West Coast docks.

Despite the ultimatums delivered by Nixon to the West Coast longshoremen represented by the ILWU to immediately end their strike in accordance with the wage freeze, and in the face of the devious attempts by ILWU President Harry Bridges to weaken the strike and sign a sellout agreement, the men are still out and adamant in their refusal to settle for anything less than the 40 hour weekly guaranteed wage.

With the contract of the East and Gulf Coast longshoremen represented by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) expired on September 30, Nixon is faced with the possibility of a nationwide dock strike that could lead to a general strike aimed at junking the wage freeze and all the attempts of the Republican-Democratic Congress to smash the unions. The government, shipowners and ruling class as a whole are once again counting on the labor bureaucracy—George Meany, Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, Anthony Scotto and the other ILA leaders to prevent, as Gleason has happily pledged, any strike during the 90 day wage freeze.

But the rank and file of the ILA are another matter. Since 1945, the ILA has been a constant battleground, a virtual guerrilla war of the rank and file against both the bureaucrats who have run the union and the local, state and Federal governments which have increasingly moved in to dominate the union.

The resistance of the ranks to the government's attempts to tame their independence, and, in the name of a campaign against racketeering, to create a disciplined labor force suitable for the uninterrupted flow of profits that the bosses have reaped from "containerization," now merges with the resistance to the desperate attempts by the government to save the crisis-ridden capitalist system through wage freezing, "wage-price review boards," a "new" transportation bill establishing compulsory arbitration on the docks—a Draconian series of attacks opening the door as George Meany himself has admitted, to fascism.

The inevitable conflict of the ILA ranks with the Gleason leadership and with the government is thus more than a defense of the ILA and the wages and conditions that the longshoremen have wrung from the shipowners. It has revolutionary implications, posing the destruction of the Nixon policies through the mass mobilization of all of labor and a move to create a labor party against both Democrats and Republicans.

But this conflict also poses more sharply than ever before the need to understand the lessons of the past, to learn most of all that the great strength of the ILA revolts, their militancy and independence is at an absolute dead end without the development of a political program and leadership based on a Marxist understanding that can seriously challenge the Gleasons, the Scottos and their henchmen and defend the rights and gains of the rank and file against government-ship-

owner attack.

THE EARLY HISTORY

The struggle of the rank and file longshoremen in the U.S. goes back well over 100 years. In New York, the earliest recorded strike of longshoremen was in 1836, over wage increases and shorter hours. In 1874, a strike of 8,000 to 10,000 longshoremen centered on the Manhattan and Brooklyn docks was defeated through the use of scabs after a five week tieup. Despite a number of major strikes and organizing drives by various unions including the Knights of Labor (who sold out the longshoremen in 1887) and a representative of the British Dockers Union, the longshoremen did not win their first real collective bargaining agreement until 1916 when the ILA, the AFL union which the bulk of New York longshoremen now supported, won a wage increase and "preference of employment for union members."

For some thirty years after this agreement, the ILA leadership under Joseph P. Ryan who in 1916 was an International Vice President, was able to rule the ILA without the OFFICIAL threat of a strike or lockout at any time. But what was to become the familiar pattern dominating the post World War II years was already evident in the year 1919, a year of stormy strike struggles and radicalization in the working class following the conclusion of World War I. The leadership of the union including Ryan and then President T.V. O'Conner agreed to the arbitration decision of a commission on which they were in a minority—in which the deck was stacked against the longshoremen. It was therefore no surprise that the commission reduced the union demand of a wage increase of 35¢ an hour and 90¢ an hour for overtime in its award to 5¢ an hour for straight time and 10¢ an hour for overtime. In the face of the leadership's acceptance of the decision, some 5,000 rank and filers led by the Chelsea dockers struck in protest. In Brooklyn, two men were reportedly killed in the course of a riot growing out of a battle between the strikers and those who were for acceptance of the award.

The rank and file began putting up posters throughout the port attacking what they called the "Woolworth award": "You Can't Make a Five and Ten Cent Store Out of the ILA." The insurgents were answered in the same manner which the leadership was to employ for the next fifty years, right up until today, when O'Conner stated that "the strike was engineered by the I.W.W. (the "Wobblies") working with the radical elements in...the union. The men are dominated by Bolsheviks and the I.W.W." During the course of the strike, a thirty day "wildcat," O'Conner suspended three dissident locals and threatened the replacement of the strikers with scabs.

The dissidents, who claimed an adherence of 22,000 longshoremen, facing the attacks of the leadership and the betrayal of their own so-called leaders, were forced back to work. These leaders, like so many later leaders of the dissidents, did not begin with the principled defense of the interests of the men. They were themselves opportunists and bureaucrats, incapable of building a serious movement to challenge the O'Conner-Ryan machine.

The Ryan machine fastened its grip on the ILA during the years 1919 to 1945 in which there were no major strikes among New York longshoremen. During this

entire period, only a slight modification took place in the shape-up hiring system which was a central feature in the control of the docks by the Ryan machine, Tammany Hall (of which Ryan was a part) and the parasites of organized crime.

The effects of the failure of the 1919 rebellion were quickly felt by the dock workers. Even though the 1921 contract agreement set up three fixed times per day for shaping up and guaranteed two hours pay for those picked for work, this was accompanied by a REDUCTION in wages from 80¢ to 65¢ an hour for straight time and from \$1.20 to \$1.00 an hour for overtime. In 1922, former ILA President I.V. O'Conner now "graduated" to the post of director of the Marine and Dock Industrial Relations Division of the U.S. Shipping Board, commented on the Board's "successful" policy:

"That we have been able within the past few months to inaugurate so great a saving in longshore and marine labor wages without serious interruption tends to justify that policy."

THE RYAN REGIME

Joseph P. Ryan, who was elected International President in 1927, and later in 1943 elected to a "lifetime" presidency, typified the spineless, class collaborationist, corrupt, flag-waving, opportunist bureaucrat that was not uncommon in the AFL. In 1928 he became President of the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council. He was also chairman of the New York State Parole Board and a powerful, if "unofficial," figure in the New York Democratic Party (Tammany Hall) machine. Ryan was on intimate terms with many politicians and "public servants" of both parties.

Ryan had his own little machine, also, in the form of the "Joseph P. Ryan Association" which was set up and solicited "contributions" from the shipowners and stevedores supposedly "to fight Communism on the waterfront." Among the honorary chairmen at the Association's annual dinner in 1931 were (then) New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Governor Alfred E. Smith and New York City Mayor Jimmie Walker. Twenty years later, in 1951, Ryan had as special guests at that year's dinner, not only big waterfront businessmen and officials, but also New York City Mayor Vincent Impellitteri, the former head of the New York Stock Exchange, the Secretary of State of New York and New York City Police Inspector William McQuade.

Ryan's "patriotic" campaign "against Communism" had a real cash value—both for himself and for the employers.

Personally, Ryan had great difficulty in keeping union funds as well as the funds of the Joseph P. Ryan Association, out of his own pockets. Many of the "contributions" made to "fight Communism" ended up in his personal bank account. \$8,000 of the proceeds of the above mentioned 1931 dinner were used for a plush European vacation for himself, his wife, two daughters and a niece. As it was revealed later by the New York State Crime Commission investigations, Ryan used \$17,000 of the funds of the Joseph P. Ryan Association for his own personal use over a five year period.

The New York City police were a bulwark of the Ryan machine and were heavily represented in the "membership" of the Association which gave them privileged treatment in moonlighting as longshoremen. But "New York's Finest" also did their bit in maintaining con-

trol of the Ryan machine over the ranks as was alleged in testimony before the Senate Committee on Commerce in 1938:

"We can testify here that Mr. Ryan still has sufficient influence in certain police precincts to pack his local meetings with plainclothes policemen who participate in the union meetings, even to the extent of voting."

Up until 1945, the shipowners and stevedore firms were more than pleased with the "success" of collective bargaining as carried out by Ryan. Collective bargaining in the Port of New York was described by the representative of a leading stevedore firm in 1945 as follows:

"We call Ryan in once a year or so and say, 'Joe, how much of a raise do you need to keep the boys in line?'"

At the same time there was no effective union protection on the job, no job security, no grievance machinery or effective safety code, and a continual practice by the employers of hiring less than the stipulated standard gang of twenty-one men (short ganging).

Ryan's patriotic, flag-waving anti-communist crusading endeared him to the employers and government officials who were later to use the investigation of Ryan's corrupt regime to bring in government regulation, screening and controls over the ILA in order to manacle the rank and file. In 1950, only a short time before he ordered the New York State Crime Commission to investigate the ILA, Governor Thomas E. Dewey sent Ryan a letter regretfully apologizing for not being able to attend the "annual affair of the Joseph P. Ryan Association" because of a prior personal commitment. Dewey also stated:

"On behalf of the people of the entire state, I congratulate you for what you have done to keep the Communists from getting control of the New York waterfront. Be assured that the entire machinery of the Government of New York State is behind you and your organization in this determination."

Ryan's patriotic anti-communist redbaiting was raised to attack the rank and file in virtually every wildcat rebellion and dissident movement against Ryan's sell-outs from 1945 through 1953. Typically, in the 1948 strike, when Chelsea docks Local 791 in New York sparked a port-wide wildcat against Ryan's sellout contract, he explained the wildcat on the basis that "propagandists and disruptive elements have been peddling their stuff on the waterfront." Earlier, when a meeting of 800 rank and file longshoremen took place at New York's Manhattan Center to discuss a recent Supreme Court decision on overtime pay, Ryan and about 100 officials of other AFL unions picketed the meeting and distributed a leaflet asserting that "the meeting had been called by the Communist Party to seek control of the ILA and to sabotage the Marshall Plan."

Interestingly, the "anti-communist" campaigns of Ryan which were taken up with equal fervor by his successors, Bradley and Gleason, were never allowed to interfere with graft payoffs to ILA officials. It was revealed in the 1952 report of the New York State Crime Commission that in 1950, a group of importers paid \$70,000 to certain ILA officials in order to secure a shipment of furs from Russia. The unloading of the furs had been held up by the ILA officials who had persuaded the longshoremen not to handle shipments of Russian furs for "patriotic reasons."

It is abundantly clear that in the ILA and throughout the labor movement, "anti-communism" is and has been used as a cover for the attacks against the conditions and interests of the workers. This was made even clearer by the screening process set up by the Coast Guard in 1950 and in the Waterfront Commission Act of 1953 aimed at weeding out militants. The more recent patriotic campaigns by Gleason against "Russian wheat" and the participation of longshoremen and ILA officials in attacks on anti-war protestors are part of the same cover.

This "anti-communism" has been used to try to confuse and prevent the workers from a real understanding of politics—of communism, socialism, Stalinism and Trotskyism—an understanding which workers must gain in order to really fight for their interests against the Ryans, the Gleasons, the shipowners and the government.

Above all, this anti-communism aims at giving the workers the false impression that socialism and Marxism are the same thing as the Stalinism represented by the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet countries which runs the society AGAINST the interests of the workers in those countries in much the same way as Gleason or any other bureaucrat runs "his" union by crushing the rights and interests of the workers.

In peddling this lie that communism, Marxism and socialism equal Stalinism as represented by the Communist Parties, they actually strengthen the Stalinist Communist Parties internationally. The Stalinists, by posing as the real opponents of the bosses' interests, the opponents of the "national interest," are able to gain a following from militant and dissident workers.

This is a complete fraud which can be exposed only by a study of the real history of the Soviet Union, of

Stalinism and of the collaboration of the Communist Parties of the world, including the American Communist Party with the employers and with sections of both the Democratic and Republican Parties.

It is Trotskyism that represents the real opposition to the bosses, to the "national interest" which is but another name for the bosses' interests. The entire struggle of Trotskyism to unite the workers of ALL countries has been in bloody opposition to Stalinism and the Communist Parties which over and over have betrayed the interests of the workers in order to form alliances with the ruling class.

This is nowhere spelled out more clearly than in the history of Harry Bridges who in the late thirties, and during World War II, advocated the most extreme patriotism and class collaboration with the employers—all in the name of fighting fascism. Later, Bridges, the "progressive" labor leader, pioneered in the capitulation before automation and containerization which today threatens every job on the waterfront. In turn, Ryan, and Gleason—up until today—have always used the alleged "Communism" of Bridges to drive a wedge between the ILA and the ILWU on the West Coast, a fact which today stands in the way of a strike victory for the West Coast longshoremen and which can also be used to help defeat an East Coast strike after the expiration of the contract. There is absolutely no doubt that the division of the two dock unions is what contributed to the employers' ability to withstand long East Coast dock strikes in the past.

The ILA rank and file and the workers in all unions, have, despite their rebellions, shared the same pragmatic, nationalist method of the bureaucrats which leads to "anti-communism." The pragmatist's hostility to theory, refusal to look at trade union and political questions scientifically, the immersion in the "facts" of the immediate situation, the deeply engrained anti-intellectualism is transmitted from the capitalists to the labor bureaucracy and into the working class. As long as the ranks share the outlook of pragmatism, of "common sense" with the bureaucracy, they have been unable to see that their very survival means they must break fundamentally with the nationalist capitalist framework and see the solution to the problems facing the working class in terms of the working class running society, of the socialist revolution.

WEST COAST LONGSHORE

Although it is true that the ILA on the East and Gulf Coasts, with its center in New York, was successfully kept out of the great mass upsurge that dominated the industrial working class in the 1930s and built the CIO, the organization of the West Coast longshoremen in open defiance of Ryan and William Green of the AFL has had the most fundamental impact on ALL U.S. longshoremen, East and West Coast alike.

The organization of the West Coast longshoremen, first under the banner of the ILA and later as a split off into the CIO as the ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) under the leadership of Harry Bridges and other young militants and radicals is not an "alien" development as Ryan and his successors in the ILA liked to pretend. The mass upsurge on the waterfront of every West Coast port which culminated in the great San Francisco general strike in 1934 is not only an essential part of the history of the ILA rank and file but also represented the first wave of the great battles that built the CIO in the mass production industries including rubber, auto and steel—bringing millions of unorganized workers out of the depths of the worst open shop slave conditions and laying the basis for the fundamental rights and conditions that the organized working class has gained and is fighting to defend today.

For many years the West Coast longshoremen were without even the protection that the ILA afforded the East Coast dockworkers from the misery of the open shop. The only "union" was a company union run directly by the employers, known as the "Blue Book." But in 1933, the new winds of the industrial upsurge of the American working class suddenly brought about 95% of the West Coast men into the ILA. This was basically a revolt against the conditions under which about three quarters of the longshoremen earned an average of \$10 to \$12 per week or LESS and in which more than 50% of the longshoremen were on the relief rolls.

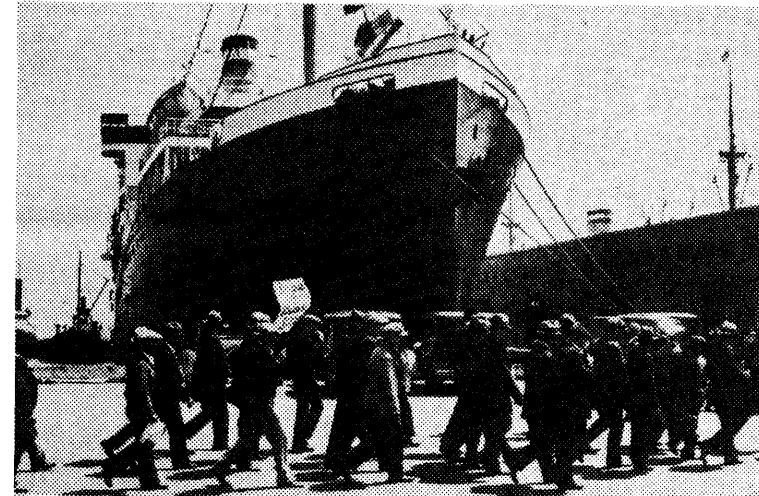
The basic demands of the rank and file, formulated in their own convention which excluded paid ILA officials, in February, 1934 were 1) union recognition; 2) union control of hiring halls; 3) wage increase from 85¢ to \$1.00 an hour, \$1.50 an hour for overtime; 4) a 30 hour week and 5) a coastwide agreement with a uniform expiration date. The strike took place up and down the coast, after delays and postponement at the request of the Roosevelt Administration which attempted to cover up its hostility to the strike and especially to the general strike which developed out of it.

In the face of a solid strike which by the end of May included the Teamsters, seamen and virtually all waterfront workers, Joseph P. Ryan, at the request of Assistant Labor Secretary McGrady and with the blessing of AFL President William Green, was flown in to San Francisco to make "peace." Ryan's "peace plan" was in reality a complete capitulation. Blithely ignoring the total rejection of his proposals by the

men, Ryan proceeded to operate as he always did in New York, and went ahead and signed an agreement with the representatives of the waterfront employers of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Meanwhile, the strike was escalating as strikers fought scabberding police with fists and brickbats. Appearing the next day at a mass meeting, Ryan was booed off the platform and at a later meeting he was lucky to escape with no more than the angry shouting of profanities, the mildest of which were "fink" and "faker"—in several languages. Ryan retreated to Seattle where together with Teamster "boss," Dave Beck, he fared no better in trying to tame the longshoremen and end the strike.

The attempts to reopen the Port of San Francisco, undertaken by the employers association of the City, involving the entire San Francisco police force to break the picket lines culminated in some of the bloodiest battles of the labor struggles of the '30s, the famous battle of Rincon Hill on "Bloody Thursday," July 5, 1934, in which two strikers were killed, setting the stage for the mass funeral procession of the San Francisco working class and the general strike which followed.



San Francisco workers start general strike in 1934 (upper left). Police tear gas dock in Seattle in 1934 (center). Two work

An eyewitness reporter, Donald Mackenzie Brown, described an episode in the battle:

"Suddenly bedlam broke over Steuart Street. Struggling knots of longshoremen, closely pressed by officers mounted and on foot, swarmed everywhere. The air was filled with blinding gas. The howl of the sirens. The low boom of the gas guns. The crack of pistol-fire. The whine of the bullets. The shouts and curses of sweating men. Everywhere was a rhythmical waving of arms—like trees in the wind—swinging clubs, swinging fists, hurling rocks, hurling bombs. As the police moved from one group to the next, men lay bloody, unconscious, or in convulsions—in the gutters, on the sidewalks, in the streets. Around on Madison Street, a plainclothes-man dismounted from a radio car, waved his shotgun nervously at the shouting pickets who scattered. I saw nothing thrown at him. Suddenly he fired up and down the street and two men fell in a pool of gore—one evidently dead, the other, half attempting to rise, but weakening fast. A gas bomb struck another standing on the curb—struck the side of his head, leaving him in blinded agony. The night sticks were the worst. The long hardwood clubs lay onto skulls with sickening force, again and again and again till a face was hardly recognizable.

"But an insane courage drove on the strikers. In the face of bullets, gas, clubs, horses' hoofs, death; against fast patrol cars and the radio, they fought back with rocks and bolts till the street was a mass of debris. One policeman was thrown from a horse, cracking his head on the pavement. Another suffered a cut face when he failed to dodge a heavy rock.

On July 9th, a mammoth funeral procession was held in memory of the two workers slain by police bullets. Howard Sperry, a longshoreman, and Nick Bordoise, a culinary worker who was a member of the Cooks Union and of the Communist Party.

The novelist, Charles G. Norris, described the spectacle, the likes of which no American city had ever seen:

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sands of men and women, to the solemn cadences of Beethoven's dirge, silently followed the dead and the attendant trucks piled high with wreaths and floral tributes. With measured step the vast procession of mourners marched up the main artery of the city. The police, at the request of the longshoremen, were nowhere in sight, and the latter, with blue bands about their arms, directed traffic. Sidewalks were lined with women, children, and sober-faced men of every walk of life. Hours passed and still the column moved onward. A great hush lay over the line of march, broken only by the rhythmic tread of trudging feet. Tramp—tramp—tramp, on the workers plodded, bare-headed, no talking, not even a cigarette. Tramp—tramp—tramp, grave and grim, on they came; there seemed to be no end to the procession. Long after the trucks bearing the coffins and flowers had passed from sight and the strains of the funeral music had been lost in the distance, the phalanxes of the marchers escorting the bodies of their fallen comrades continued. It was a demonstration dramatically conceived, dramatically carried out....

...the drama of the spectacle—the endless ranks of sober faces, bared heads, and the slow cadence of marching feet. Tramp—tramp—tramp. No noise except that. The band with its muffled drums and its somber music.... On the marchers came—hour after hour—ten, twenty, thirty thousand of them. Tramp—tramp—tramp. There was no break in the march; there was no division into corps or companies; there was no halting or hesitation. A solid river of men and women who believed they had a grievance and who were expressing their resentment in this gigantic demonstration."

While the General Strike involving 100,000 workers in the San Francisco Bay Area directly and another 47,000 indirectly in support of the longshoremen was unprecedented in American history—with the exception of the Seattle General Strike of 1919—it was also met with the organized vigilante terror against militants, radicals and workers' organizations and a massive anti-communist campaign by the press. These forces were ably assisted in their efforts to smash the general strike by Roosevelt's appointee, General

the collapse of the general strike. The conservative leaders were now calling the tune through their control of the general strike committee and quite obviously, the Stalinist Communist Party, committed as it was to Roosevelt and the "New Deal," offered no challenge. The collapse of the general strike led before long to the isolation of the strikers which was accentuated after the Teamsters returned to work, hauling scab cargo, their leaders giving as the excuse the threat of organized strikebreaking to smash their own union.

The "mistakes" which led to the isolation and collapse of the General Strike, rather than its extension, were the product of the Stalinist outlook of the Bridges leadership. Despite their espousal of socialism, the Communist Party allowed the strike to make serious concessions to the employers and government and looked for "support" from liberal politicians rather than seeing the victory of the strike as inseparable from a battle against Roosevelt and the New Deal leading to the formation of a labor party and the conquest of power by the working class. This was in accordance with the developing popular front line of the Stalinists advocating an alliance of the workers with the "liberal" capitalists behind Roosevelt and the Democrats.

Later, during the war and in the post-war period, Bridges' class collaborationist Stalinist policies nearly allowed the employers to take away all the gains of the '34 strike which had to be defended in a major strike in 1948. During the war, following the Stalinist line, Bridges was the strongest advocate of the no-strike pledge and wage freeze, stating that, "in this period, the unions must be converted into instruments of the speedup," and proposing to drop any provisions of the ILWU collective bargaining agreement which "in any way blocked an all-out war effort."

The different development of the struggle on each coast resulted in a disparity in wages resulting from the higher rates and greater job security on the West Coast as compared to the East. Even though in the post-war period the ranks of the ILA were able to begin to close the gap on wage rates through a series of militant wildcats in opposition to the Ryan leadership, the disparity was still expressed in the fol-

wage increase and a 40 hour week. But this time things were different. The say day, 1,500 members of the militant Chelsea docks Local 791 "voted with their feet" and walked off the job. Within three days the entire port was shut tight. A new era in the ILA marked by an almost continuous rebellion against the bureaucracy by the ranks, key element of which was the wildcat strike, had begun. What followed the 1945 strike has been an unprecedented twenty-five year period of labor turmoil. The clash between rank and file, the bureaucracy and various arms of the government, local, state and Federal continued almost uninterruptedly during this period and is posed once again today in a more critical way than ever before.

The 1945 strike did not begin with clear demands of the rank and file. Specific demands developed as the strike continued, including the demand for a 2,240 pound limit on sling loads, the adding of additional men to gangs and the reduction of the shapes to two per day. Perhaps more than anything else, the strike was an elemental outburst of the men against all the misery they had endured, which burst to the surface as part of the mass upsurge and strike wave of the unions emerging out of World War II. The U.S. working class was struggling to catch up with the effects of inflation that the labor leaders had ground them down under during the wartime wage freeze and no-strike pledge. The ILA strike came in the first wave of post-war strikes, shortly after the oil workers hit the bricks for their demand of a forty hour week at fifty-two hours pay, or a 30% wage increase, and just after 200,000 soft coal miners had gone on strike.

The 1945 strike recreated many of the features of the 1919 strike, features which were also to mark most of the post World War II strikes. It was, of course, a wildcat, characterized by a spontaneous movement of the rank and file, without any central or established leadership.

"Meeting at first in vacant lots, later in public buildings rented for the occasion, the men elected a committee to carry on negotiations with the ship-owners. For the first eleven days, the leaders of the revolt remained incognito because they were afraid of retaliation by ILA officials."



934 (upper left). Joe Ryan of ILA did everything to sabotage it (left).
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Hugh S. Johnson, head of the National Recovery Administration, who came to San Francisco to vehemently denounce the strike, attacking it as "subversive" as well as Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins who promised the State of California the "full cooperation" of the Department of Labor in the deportation of radicals involved in the strike.

As 4,500 National Guardsmen were brought in to augment the 1,800 police focused on the San Francisco waterfront, the press, led by Hearst and Knowland launched their "red scare." William Randolph Hearst himself telephoned from London to say that a story was being cabled "about the crushing of the 1926 general strike in England." On July 16 the San Francisco Examiner carried a front page article headed "General Strike in England Crushed When Government Took Control of Situation" and a front page editorial, "A Lesson From England," warning that if "the small group of Communists" were able to extend their power in the area "California would be no more fit to live in than Russia."

Unfortunately, the leaders of the general strike were not as consistently class conscious and resolute as Hearst and the other business interests and politicians of San Francisco. Even from the beginning, the General Strike Committee relaxed its grip on transportation by letting the municipal carmen return to work, failed to bring out the Ferryboatmen, the printing trades, the electricians, and the telephone and telegraph workers—all of which would have paralyzed communication including the press. There was no alternative leadership which fought to accomplish this, and to bring the control of the operation of the city under elected workers committees or to spread the strike by appealing to Seattle and Portland, where general strike movements were beginning, to join in.

Instead the majority of the Strike Committee voted, over a large minority, urging the West Coast majors and governors to appeal to Roosevelt to intervene and urging both sides to submit the disputes on the waterfront to arbitration. This was the beginning of

lowing statistics: In 1949-1950, less than 9% of New York longshoremen had annual earnings of \$4,000 or more, while in the port of Seattle, 73% of the registered longshoremen—1,092 men—earned more than \$4,000, and 34%—241 men—of the "Temporary Labor Pool Men" also earned over \$4,000 in the year 1951.

In addition, the New York waterfront was notorious for all forms of corruption and favoritism and various forms of payoffs in the shape-up as well as the aforementioned cozy relationship of Ryan and the employers. In fact, many professional criminals were steered onto the docks into jobs as hiring foremen and as union officials through Ryan's position with the New York State Parole Board. One stevedoring company official defended the hiring of criminals as hiring foremen:

"...To be perfectly frank, if I had a choice of hiring a tough ex-convict or a man without a criminal record I am more inclined to take the ex-con. Know why? Because if he is in a boss job he'll keep the men in line and get the maximum work out of them. They'll be afraid of him."

In case there is still any doubt that the employers fostered and protected criminals, racketeers and corrupt union officials on the docks in order to squeeze more out of the longshoremen, to maximize profits, we quote another boss, an official of the Standard Fruit and Steamship Company who defended the employment of one Albert Ackalitis, an ex-convict and waterfront thug as foreman:

"We would like to have twenty Ackalitis. He gets more work out of the men than anyone else. We're not interested in his personal affairs."

POSTWAR STRUGGLES

The long dormant rank and file of the ILA began their challenge of the low wages, poor safety conditions and lack of job security with the expiration of the contract between the ILA and the NYSA (New York Shipping Association) on September 30, 1945. As in the past, Ryan announced on October 1 that he had negotiated another "outstanding" contract—providing for a 10¢ an hour

As in 1919 and again later, whenever there was any wildcat movement in defiance of the leadership, Ryan tried to use redbaiting to divide the workers, charging that "outside influences are fostering the strike."

Just as significantly, the rank and file ignored Ryan's redbaiting. A few days later Ryan was booed, hissed and shouted off the stage of a Brooklyn meeting by 2,500 longshoremen.

Despite their militancy, the strikers did not pose the spreading of the strike to other sections of waterfront labor including the Teamsters. Apparently the strike leaders' support of New York Mayor LaGuardia's proposal to end the strike and to hold a representation election between Ryan and the insurgents also contributed to the isolation of the strikers and the strengthening of a back to work movement.

LaGuardia's intervention and the subsequent submission of the dispute to arbitration represented a pattern that was to dominate the docks from 1945 until today: the intervention of the government in every major dock strike, whether "official," or "wildcat."

"BUYING PEACE"

It is important to understand that as a result of their strike, even though the contract was settled through arbitration, important concessions were gained which went considerably beyond what Ryan had been willing to settle for, including a 25¢ an hour wage increase. The arbitration procedure was used to CONTAIN the struggle of the ranks which could have spread and could have won ALL the demands of the ranks. At the same time, the arbitrator had to concede something to the ranks, especially in the face of the mounting mass strike wave in the U.S. at the time, December 31, 1945. In effect, behind the ILA wildcatters stood millions of other workers out on strike or about to hit the bricks.

Whatever concessions were granted the ILA at that time and in the next few years were attempts to "buy peace" on the waterfront under conditions where it

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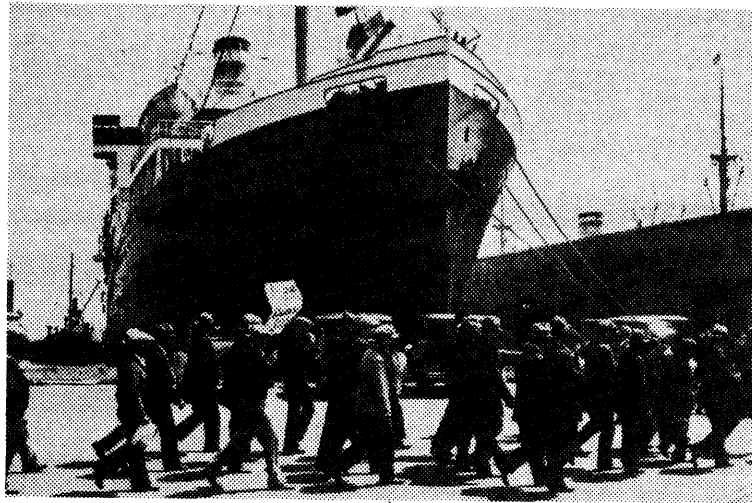
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Because if he is in a boss j
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In case there is still any dou
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"We would like to have twer
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interested in his personal affairs

POSTWAR STRU

The long dormant rank and fil
challenge of the low wages, po
lack of job security with the ex
between the ILA and the NYSA (N
ciation) on September 30, 1945
announced on October 1 that he
"outstanding" contract—providi

was feared that another wildcat might cost the employers far more. It is also important to understand that these concessions come at the beginning of a period when the U.S. ruling class was "solving" its domestic strike wave, turmoil over unemployment and the threat to the "two party" domination by the capitalist parties by dissidents in the labor movement who posed the fight for a labor party, through limited, but real material concessions wrested from them by the power of the organized labor movement.

These concessions were based on the beginning of expansion of world trade which accompanied the post-war boom. This boom was possible only as a result of the decision by the world's capitalist rulers and bankers to undertake the stabilization and rebuilding of European capitalism through huge pumping in of dollars, an inflationary movement which temporarily was able to put the lid on the working class upsurge in Europe and America by creating an expanding economy.

However, the Marshall Plan and all the other programs by which U.S. capitalism was able to get the wheels of capitalist expansion going was based on CREDIT, basically on the printing of paper currency resulting in the mounting inflation of recent years. Today, we see the price that the world capitalist system is paying for this temporary "solution," not only in the huge inflation, but in the huge balance of payments deficit of U.S. capitalism and the attempts to overcome this through vicious measures against the unions including the wage freeze, the beginning of a world trade war, and the continual threat of a catastrophic collapse of the world monetary system, the drying up of world trade, the bankruptcy of business and mass depression far beyond the scale of the 1930s.

The concessions that the ILA ranks won at the beginning of this boom period in 1945 wetted their appetite for more. Having gotten something through an insurgent movement against the Ryan machine (a revolt that was not without dangers and the threat of physical reprisal and victimization), the rank and file were prepared for more revolts and strikes in defiance of Ryan.

Since 1945, there has never been a "peaceful" contract settlement on the New York docks. More and more, the revolt against the sellouts in the Port of New York has extended up and down the coast. The question of dock strikes has increasingly become a national question. The Taft-Hartley "eighty day cooling-off period" injunction has probably been invoked more often against the ILA than against any other union and undoubtedly more of these injunctions were against wildcat strikes called in opposition to the leadership than in any other union.

TOWARDS GOVERNMENT CONTROL

The ruling class was beginning to lose its confidence in the Ryan leadership—the capitalist press complained that Ryan was "losing his grip on the men" and that he "can't hold them in line." The *New York Times* which earlier had been quite friendly toward Ryan, commented that the (Ryan) "leadership does not lead." The employers were preparing their dump Ryan campaign under the auspices of the New York State and Federal governments, a campaign which had only one aim, and one aim only: to bring in a "new" leadership over the longshoremen in order to better control and exploit the longshoremen and pave the way for the vast technological changes beginning in the mid-fifties—containerization.

In 1951 Governor Dewey instructed the New York State Crime Commission to make a thorough investigation of "waterfront crime."

These investigations which began in late 1952 were no more concerned in reality with "crime" or the welfare of the longshoremen who were victimized by the gangsters than were the later investigations of "crime" in the Teamsters union under the Senate McClellan Committee and Bobby Kennedy's investigation and persecution of Jimmy Hoffa. All these committees and investigations were means to the end of hamstringing and controlling unions with a militant rank and file, especially in transportation.

Despite the purposes of the New York State Crime Commission investigations, the hearings actually provided the most scathing indictment of the capitalist system of "private enterprise" as the basis for the corruption of the union leadership and the domination of the docks by racketeers. The essence of Ryan's corruption was class collaboration—his cozy relationship with the bosses who were more than happy to bestow favors on Ryan and to pay hard cash, as they themselves admitted in the hearings, "to prevent quickie strikes," to "assure a sufficient supply of labor," to gain "peace on the waterfront."

Along with the waterfront controls came an organized and well-financed campaign, undoubtedly encouraged by the Federal government and big business, by George Meany and his underlings, Paul Hall of the SIU and Dave Beck of the Teamsters, to throw the ILA out of the AFL, replacing it with the ILA-AFL. This was Meany's attempt, supported by virtually all top labor bureaucrats, to try to be "clean" in the eyes of the Federal government and to demonstrate to the CIO, as the basis for the upcoming merger, that the bureaucracy would run the labor movement with dictatorial powers, not tolerating "communists" or "racketeers."

In this effort, they unified with the government's

anti-union drive, just as they later jumped on the bandwagon of the McClellan Committee investigation of the Teamsters. Beck and Hall, the active agents of this raid, were two of the biggest strikebreaking fakers in the entire labor movement—and both had collaborated on a very friendly basis with Ryan for many years. In particular, Beck was a notorious strikebreaker who teamed up with Ryan to try and crush the waterfront strike in Seattle in 1934. It is indeed an irony that Mr. Beck himself should later be exposed as a simple crook and indicted by the same forces he was trying to play ball with in 1953.

The reaction of the ILA ranks to the government regulations and the AFL raid was perhaps the stormiest reaction of the ranks in the whole turbulent history of the post-war ILA. The same rebel locals, led by ILA Local 791, were in the forefront against the Dewey Commission (New York State Crime Commission) hearings, fearing that what the government was really after was the stamping out of all wildcats including special legislation to that effect. The rebels opposed the hearing in no way out of love for Ryan. In fact, both the employers and Louis Waldman, ILA attorney, testified before the commission on the need for anti-wildcat legislation.

The real battle erupted following the calling of a strike over the contract by Ryan in 1953. But this was only after the shipping bosses had been persuaded by Dewey and others not to sign Ryan's "cut rate" agreement in order to provoke a strike and then come in with a Taft-Hartley injunction. Ryan's maneuver had been to sign a cheap agreement which would forestall any representation election (against the AFL) for at least a year, according to NLRB rules. After the cooling off period expired, instead of a vote on a new contract, there were a series of NLRB representation elections, jurisdictional battles, goon squad attacks by AFL forces, and port-wide wildcats.

The first NLRB election in December, 1953, won by the ILA was set aside. This was followed by a period of jurisdictional strikes tying up the New York piers off and on for months. In March, 1954, a special Taft-Hartley injunction was gotten against ILA picketing. The ILA ranks responded with an immediate port-wide wildcat during which the NLRB asked for the jailing of three ILA officials and a \$100,000 fine against the union. Governor Dewey called the wildcat "a criminal conspiracy."

After twenty-nine days, the strike was ended only after it was threatened to remove the ILA from the NLRB ballot. A new election was set for May. Even before the election, the legal attacks on the ILA (Ind.) were stepped up. The union was fined \$50,000 and an additional eight locals were fined a total of \$42,000 for "contempt" by the Federal District Court.

The May election was again set aside pending a ruling on challenged votes by the NLRB. Finally, on August 27, 1954, the NLRB ruled that the ILA (Ind.) had won the election. This was more than seven months after the original election and the 1953 contract still had not been signed after nearly one year. Despite the terror by the AFL, bureaucrats, the unprecedented government campaign of repression and harassment, the continual witchhunting and redbaiting of ILA militants (New York State Attorney General Brownell called the ILA "subversive" following the certification), the open support by the Waterfront Commission for the AFL raid, the longshoremen stuck to their union.

To underline the point that the tenacity with which the ranks held to the ILA was a product of their militancy and deep distrust and suspicion of both the government and their "own" bureaucracy, they once again turned down the new contract, served up to them by their newly elected president, Captain William Bradley, a supposedly "clean" bureaucrat who replaced Ryan. Ryan had "retired," allegedly at the urging of John L. Lewis who was a major supporter of the ILA during the jurisdictional battle with the AFL.

Bradley's contract had accepted meager wage gains, in exchange for a "no strike pledge," which the ranks

refused to buy. Only after a second election, which dissidents claimed was rigged by Bradley and the unwelcome prospect of another strike after all the turmoil, was Bradley's contract accepted, this time with the no-strike clause hedged.

THE THREAT OF CONTAINERIZATION

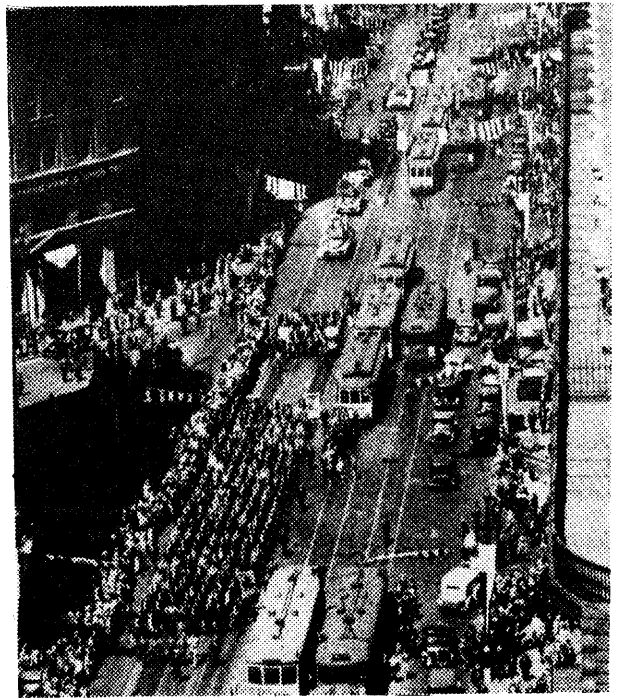
As the longshoremen approached the second part of the decade, they were, without their knowledge, facing a new threat, soon to be introduced on both coasts—containerization. While the independence of the ILA rank and file had hardly been broken, a strong foothold by the government in its efforts to guarantee stability on the waterfront had been taken through the Waterfront Commission.

For all their militancy and independent spirit which time and time again had been captured by so-called dissident, but opportunist leaders like Gene Sampson, Business Agent of Local 791, the ranks were still saddled with the same bureaucracy, with the same methods and philosophy of class collaboration and cooperation with the government. Bradley, and later Gleason, a life-long collaborator of Ryan's, did not change this one iota.

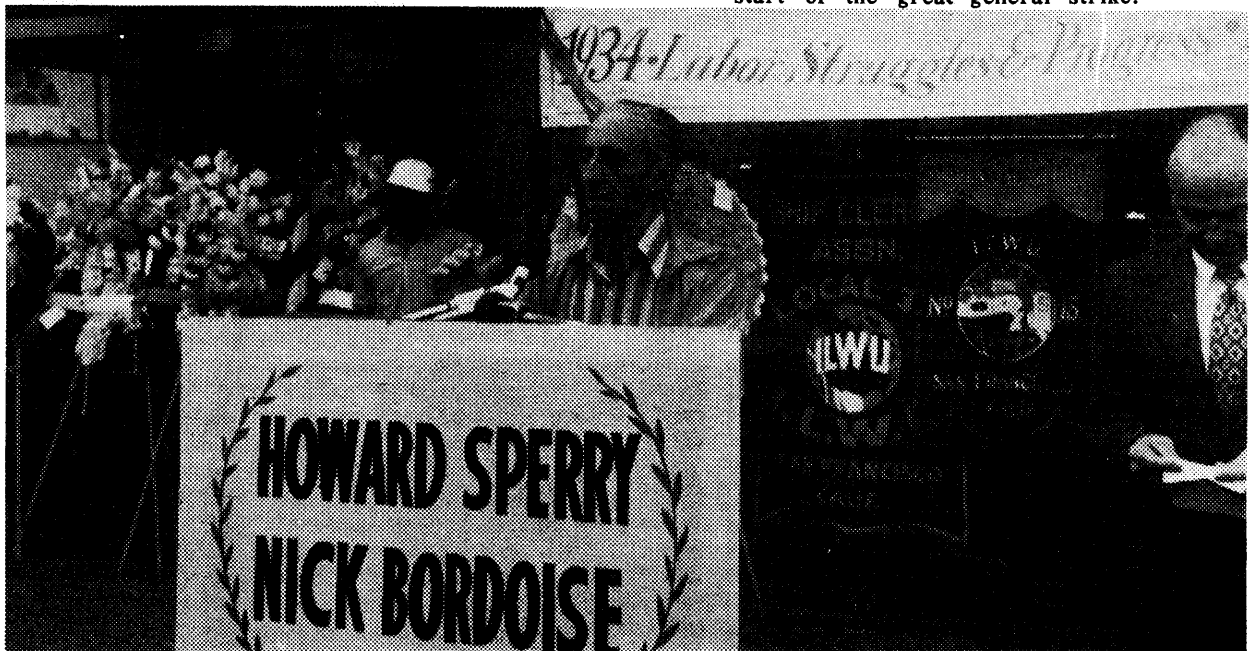
For all of the redbaiting in the ILA, socialists and communists did not play an important part in the ILA, either in the leadership or in the ranks. What characterized the revolts was above all the bankrupt American philosophy of "common sense," of pragmatism which espoused a deep-seated distrust of theory and abhorrence of "ideology." Yet, it was precisely theory and ideology—the theory and ideology of Marxism, of the Trotskyist movement that could not only explain the events in the ILA in the post-war period, but lay the basis for a revolutionary leadership that could lead the fight against government domination and for a real rank and file leadership against the bureaucracy.

For all their militancy, the ranks could not on their own develop a consistent program in their own interests, a program which could have had an impact far beyond the ILA on the basis of the demand for the union hiring hall, the thirty hour week, the labor party and the nationalization of the docks and shipping under workers control.

As we shall see, today after years of the acceptance of and utilization of containerization, when the longshoremen are faced with the wholesale destruction of their jobs and the smashing of the union in this new period of capitalist crisis, a new basis is being laid in the ILA for a fight for this program under the leadership of genuine Marxists. The lessons of the past history and struggles of the ILA are indispensable for the development of this leadership.



This massive funeral procession was start of the great general strike.



Bridges honors 1934 victims but makes no assessment of lessons for today.

BOOKS

LUCY ST. JOHN

Struggle For Marxism In The United States

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES: A History of American Trotskyism. By Tim Wohlforth. Labor Publications, Inc., New York, 1971. 231 pages, \$2.45

The republication of this work on the history of Marxism in the United States, and in particular the history of the Socialist Workers Party, is the most important contribution the Workers League can make to the advancement of the class struggle today and the construction of the revolutionary party capable of leading this struggle to victory.

Tim Wohlforth, author of the book and National Secretary of the Workers League, states in the new introduction:

"The first pamphlet edition of this study appeared on the eve of the May-June days in France in 1968. This marked the first shot of the socialist revolution of our time. We venture to predict that this new edition will be followed closely by revolutionary events which go way beyond May-June in France."

In less than a month after the publication of this book, Nixon made his declaration of war against the world working class. Civil war and revolutionary battles are on the agenda for today. The only way we can prepare for these struggles is through the history of the Marxist movement in all its struggles and in all the experiences of the working class historically. It is precisely by bringing this past forward into the struggles of today that the new generation of workers and youth will be armed. Only in this way will we lay the basis for the development of theory.

It is the continuity of the Marxist movement that is now under attack by all sections of the radical movement. After Nixon's announcement the renegades from the Trotskyist movement such as the Independent Socialists, the Spartacists and Workers World suddenly discover the working class and go back to pick out some demands from the Transitional Program.

These organizations long ago abandoned the Fourth International and its program, the Transitional Program and became its most vicious enemy. Now in the most unprincipled maneuvers these organizations seek to distort this program separating it from its history and from the party which is its expression.

Leading this is the Socialist Workers Party itself. Today the SWP in reaction to the movement of the working class and with the crassest opportunism raises demands for a congress of labor and the labor party. These demands are not based on the international strategy of the Transitional Program but on a rejection of it. They are not based on the construction of the Fourth International but on a complete break with it.

CONVENTION

This is the meaning of the recent convention of the SWP. Wohlforth in the last chapter takes up the perspective of the "New Radicalization" which is at the heart of the resolution adopted by this convention.

The resolution rejects the basic assessment made of this period in the Transitional Program and the central question to be resolved—the crisis of leadership. It denies the revolutionary role of the working class, seeing the "radicalization" devolving through the middle class movements in the U.S., women's liberation, gay liberation, Black nationalism, and the anti-war movement. It begins strictly from an American nationalist perspective, adapting Mandel's theories of neo-capitalism to American soil. Revolution and the real threat of fascism are the furthest things from the minds of the SWP leadership.

This perspective represents a complete break from an international revolutionary strategy. It is the road to an alliance with a section of the capi-



Max Shachtman (left) and James P. Cannon at time of arrest during Minneapolis strike.

talist class. At the center of the SWP's convention was its preparations for a split with the majority of the United Secretariat while refusing to make any accounting whatsoever of its split with the International Committee and its reunification with the United Secretariat in 1963. Without this accounting, the SWP is proceeding to break all historical links with the continuity of Trotskyism. Its split becomes a cover to avoid facing up to the development of the International Committee.

LESSON

The degeneration of the SWP and its complete break with the continuity of Marxism only underlies the lessons outlined in this book. This book is the only history of Trotskyism in the United States. The SWP is incapable of writing its own history.

The leadership of the SWP and in particular James Cannon never confronted the basic problem facing the American Marxist movement, the necessity to break from American pragmatism. This meant a consistent fight for the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism against revisionism.

While Cannon represented the best traditions of the American working class fighters, he was also imbued with the traditions of American radicalism in its hostility to theory and its narrow nationalist perspective.

Cannon accepted Trotsky's perspectives without examining their origins and the struggle which lay behind it, without assimilating the method which produced it.

This approach very much dominated the relationship between Trotsky and the leadership of the SWP. Wohlforth describes this situation:

"By 1932 a clear national and international division of labor had been worked out by the American Trotskyists. This division of labor was to have a deep impact on the whole future evolution of the movement and shows clearly the approach of the American Trotskyists to theory and method. First and foremost was the division of labor between the American party and Trotsky. Trotsky supplied the basic theoretical and strategic outlook for the organization."

The relationship that Cannon had established with Trotsky turned into its opposite after Trotsky's death. Cannon accepted Pablo's leadership of the International in the same pragmatic way he had Trotsky's.

When Pablo's revisionist theories of centuries of deformed workers states and their conclusion in the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinism threatened the very existence of the Fourth International, Cannon fought him only when he organized a faction within the SWP itself.

Because the leadership of the SWP did not seek the methodological roots of Pablo's revisionism and its meaning for the international movement, the SWP again reunified in 1963 with the very forces it had fought in 1953.

IC

The whole development and growth of the International Committee is based on the struggle against Pabloite revisionism. This is what has prepared it for the responsibilities of leadership in this period.

The Workers League was born in this struggle. The members of the SWP including the author of this book, who were expelled when they demanded a discussion of the role of the LSSP in Ceylon as it entered a coalition government. This exposed the whole unprincipled character of the reunification.

Today the results of this unprincipled reunification have come to a head, as the SWP prepares its break with the United Secretariat without any accounting of the past. Today the SWP denounces the very positions it defended at the time of the unification not on the basis of principle, but because they have become impediments to the SWP's alliance with a section of the liberals.

This is what really lies behind the SWP's call for the labor party and a congress of labor.

The SWP opportunistically uses this to deny the international implications of the crisis, tying the working class to nationalism and to the trade union bureaucracy precisely as it prepares to help the capitalists "on the road to fascism."

The labor party and the perspective for the American working class can only be developed through the fight for dialectical materialism as part of the international movement and its history. The mass Trotskyist party will be built in the U.S. on this basis by the Workers League and in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth international.

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

Summer Of '42



Summer of '42. Director, Robert Mulligan, writer, Herman Raucher, photography, Carl Small, stars, Jennifer O'Neill, Gary Grimes, Jerry Hauser, Oliver Conant.

In Agnew's recent vituperations against the press, the TV networks, the book publishers, he bemoaned the fact that controversial subjects were "rending our nation." He pleaded piously for simplistic, straight-forward, innocuous entertainment and news fare that would enable a "troubled people" to experience "peaceful equanimity."

Consequently the fall TV line-up excludes all controversial dramatic and documentary fare; news coverage and prime time coverage will be sharply truncated and chockful of nature studies, family-fantasies, and sports of all kinds. In other words the cultural requirements of capitalism at each point reflect the political and economic requirements of

the ruling class, faced with international trade wars, collapse and mass bankruptcies.

It is therefore not so surprising that a decadent bourgeoisie, in order to prop itself up must ideologically resurrect all the old cultural forms of the past—for it is incapable of developing culture as it is incapable of developing the productive forces.

A nostalgic reminder on celluloid is Herman Raucher's *Summer of '42*, which would hardly be worth more than a mention either cinematically or culturally, save that it, like *Love Story*, has been prepared in no less than 11 languages and distributed in all American cities and in major capitals in Europe, Asia, (including Vietnam) and Australia.

MYOPIC

The disarmingly myopic theme of *Summer of '42* recalls to the writer, Herman Raucher, a summer spent in Cape Cod with his middle class Jewish parents and two buddies from New York. It was during the Second World War and the boys were encountering their first sexual experiences, almost like primates, as Hitler was exterminating millions, and millions of young peasants and workers were dying in the interests of capitalist plunder and redivision of the world.

Of course Raucher's interest in the war is only for the purpose of advancing the main point—the coming of age of little "Hermie" (the author as teen-ager) vis-a-vis the wife of a soldier who goes off

to war and is killed. In her moment of despair little Hermie, whom she has befriended and who in turn is secretly in love with her, spends the night with her. The next morning she leaves and our little hero shares with the viewer the pangs of a parting note.

TRIPE

If ever the impotence of the middle class were revealed it is in this little piece of tripe which purports to be at once "serious and touching" and... funny! The ribald humor of sixteen year olds who experiment with little girls in the balconies of movie theatres which play Bette Davis and Paul Henreid films (oh, how chic) or who fumble and grope in drug stores as they conjure up the courage to purchase sexual protective devices, no doubt drew chuckles from middle class elements who fondly remember teen-age years in summer resort areas.

For our part we could only retch. So we decided to concentrate instead on the blue and white bird-patterned sunsuits and McKesson's Tooth Paste posters, on the photography, which was tinted mellow shades of brown and sought to illuminate superficially and psychologically the pacing of the editing.

Director Mulligan gets first rate performances out of the kids and an incredulous performance out of nicely tanned, sunflower skinned Jennifer O'Neill—apparently today's typification of the anti-Blonde Bombshell down-to-earth beauty. This film is what the middle and upper classes deserve.

The Dollar And Monsieur Mandel Clinging To The Possibility Of Reform

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

MONSIEUR ERNEST MANDEL is one of the leading spokesmen of the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Paris. This body claims, falsely, to represent Trotskyism.

It brings together many of the renegades from revolutionary Marxism, Trotskyism, in a number of countries.

The Socialist Labour League, and the International Committee of the Fourth International to which it is affiliated, broke with these gentlemen in 1953, and since then there has been a wider and wider political divergence.

Mandel has always come forward as the "theoretician" of these revisionists. British and American opponents of the Socialist Labour League are fond of pointing to the "reputation" and the "sophisticated analyses of modern capitalism" of Mandel.

DOWNFALL

For example, the editors of Tony Polan's anti-SLL pamphlet, "Why the SLL is not marching: an Autopsy," told us: "The leading theoretician of the modern Fourth International, Mandel, has developed a serious and comprehensive analysis of modern capitalist expansion as the third industrial revolution."

And the Pabloite magazine *Intercontinental Press* refers to him in its latest issue as "the noted Belgian Marxist."

The same news-sheet supplies an article by the noted Mandel, entitled "The Downfall of the Dollar," which very well illustrates the impotence of the "Marxism" of the "modern Fourth International" of the revisionists—which is not surprising, since Mandel has analyzed post-war capitalism on the basis of its expansion through a "third industrial revolution"!

This is no academic debate. The Socialist Labour League has trained its forces on the perspective of deepening crisis of capitalism. We have never ceased to stress that the "great strength" of U.S. capitalism about which Mandel and the revisionists rhapsodized was really a highly-explosive contradiction, because, in fact, U.S. capitalism had been forced to concentrate within itself all the contradictions of the declining capitalist world.

Mandel and his friends, on the other



hand, embraced the theories of the middle-class "new left," and talked about "neo-capitalism," in which the old capitalist contradictions no longer existed.

They fell in with the middle-class sneering at the SLL as some sectarian group basing itself on an out-of-date notion of capitalist crisis. They accused us of keeping our members "up to the mark" in activity by demagogically stressing the impending crisis.

Behind all this was their clinging to the possibility of reforms under capitalism,

and our insistence that the contradictions posed struggles for power and the building of independent revolutionary parties.

Since 1968, Mandel has been forced to give verbal recognition to the fact that capitalism could experience revolutionary working class struggles, but he has refused to accept that behind these lay directly the onset of deep-going economic crisis, and the collapse of the Keynesian policies practised since the Second World War.

APPROVAL

In analyzing the 1968 events in France, he very deliberately rejected any notion of capitalist crisis producing large-scale breakdown of the economy. Instead, he referred to the "basic contradictions of neo-capitalism," quoting with approval his own remarks in 1965:

"It is perfectly possible that in the present economic climate—that of 'neo-capitalist affluence' or the 'mass consumption society'—the workers will become more and more radicalized as the result of a whole series of social, political, economic or even military crises (incomes policy, wage freezes; anti-union measures, authoritarianism; recessions, sudden monetary crises; protest movements against imperialist aggression, imperialist military alliances, the use of tactical nuclear weapons in so-called wars, etc.) and that, once they are radicalized, they will launch more and more far reaching campaigns during the course of which they will begin to link their immediate demands with a program of anti-capitalist structural reforms, until eventually (?) the struggle coincides with a General Strike which either overthrows the regime or creates a duality of powers."

LOST

There is no way out of this for Mandel. In his 1968 article (*New Left Review*, 52, November-December 1968) he refers to all this as the strategy of Marxists; i.e., he accepted that they must work with a perspective of the type of struggles occurring within "neo-capitalism,"

within the Bretton Woods-Keynesian framework elaborated after 1944.

His analysis was accepted in toto in the World Congress of the Pabloites in the following year (1969).

Small wonder then that when he tries to confront the crisis after Nixon's speech of August 15, he is lost, and tries to fit even this into "neo-capitalism" (though this expression has been discreetly dropped!).

Still his difficulties should be appreciated. One of his admirers, the courageous Mr. Polan, told us in his anti-SLL pamphlet:

"Past experiences indicate that in periods of expansion monetary problems can be overcome (e.g. the dollar shortage of the 1950s) and the present round of calculated devaluations and rejigging of the dollar-sterling-franc-D mark network is having that desired effect."

Perhaps Mandel would like to explain how Marxists would have prepared for the present situation if that was their perspective!

Now that the dollar is being devalued, and is no longer convertible into gold, and fixed parities are finished, and the rescue operations of IMF and World Bank are to be no more, what does Mandel say? He seems for a moment as if he is going to take the plunge—"The violent perturbation of the dollar means more than devaluation of a symbol and a monetary system..." Yes, but what does it mean? Mandel answers:

CYCLE

"The international capitalist system as a whole has emerged from a long cycle of expansion to begin a long cycle of much slower growth and many more crises."

And a paragraph later: "The long cycles last on an average 20 to 25 years."

Well, well, so what Nixon's measures precipitate is a cycle of growth, though slower than the last one! Mandel uses the formula to cover up what will be many millions unemployed and the collapse of whole industries, even whole national economies.

NO ESCAPE

Not a single country will escape the consequences of the immense cut-backs in investment already forced, first of all on the capitalists of other countries, by Nixon's measures.

We can only assume that the many more crises referred to by Mandel are of the type mentioned in his 1965 article, the "contradictions of neo-capitalism," economic and political struggles of all sorts within capitalist prosperity, and hopefully coinciding "eventually with a General Strike on a program of 'structural reforms.'"

What structural reforms are to be performed on the international economic system today remains a secret.

MANDEL'S POLITICS OF structural reforms (devised by him in 1960 and 1961 to enable him to accommodate to his centrist masters in the Belgian trade union bureaucracy and facilitate their betrayal of the Belgian General Strike) cannot be separated from his economic analysis.

His use of the term "neo-capitalism," which he tells us is a new style of capitalism succeeding imperialism, is parallel to the Stalinist "theory" of the Kremlin hacks, with their concept of "state monopoly capitalism."

Like him, they stress the role of the capitalist state in "socializing the costs" of production, as well as the role of multi-national companies. For them it follows that the state is not only an organ of class repression for the bourgeoisie,

From Labor Publications

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Ernest Mandel:
The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism
by Dennis O'Casey

50¢

And Completely Rejecting Marxism

but it also has progressive economic functions which can be taken over and used for humanity.

Clearly then the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism does not proceed through the "smashing of the state machine," for which Marx, Engels and Lenin called after the experience of the Paris Commune.

And in the same way Mandel draws the conclusion that "structural reforms" are possible. The use of the adjective "transitional" for these demands is sheer fraud and deception.

According to him, "...persistent inflation joined to exacerbated international competition signifies an erosion of the international monetary system that can no longer be averted." Can no longer? Mandel will not acknowledge the reality, that it is no longer a question of "erosion" (what a very comfortable and gradual word!) but of the definite closing of a whole epoch begun at Bretton Woods 27 years ago.

REVOLUTIONARY

This epoch implied a whole system of class relations which is now disrupted. The changed class relations means revolutionary struggles.

We face not "a long cycle" of slower growth, but a period of great mass struggles in which the strongest sections of the capitalist class will want to move to the most reactionary dictatorships. As the workers test out their traditional leadership and organization, they will run all the mortal risks associated with such a leadership, and it is impossible to over-stress the central character of the building of independent revolutionary leadership.

Everything Mandel writes is directed to the blunting of such a perspective.

When Mandel acknowledges the impossibility of "an inter-imperialist agreement on a sufficient new international reserve money" he still can forecast a 25-year cycle of "slower growth."

He has become politically incapable of facing up to the fact that this very impossibility means a crisis in which vast productive forces will have to be destroyed, if the capitalists of the major countries remain in power, and any "growth" would be resumed on a much lower level, after considerable defeats for the working class and the elimination of vast sectors of capital.

It is clear from these quotations that Mandel's revisionism is designed above all to lull its recipients into the idea that the struggles in front will just be more of what we already know, and that no particular break is marked by Nixon's August 15 measures.

Mandel is quite explicit: "Since 1966, we have entered a long period in which the coinciding of the two (rising rate of profit and expanding market) is being undermined more and more." In this long period the workers are to remain dominated by their reformist leaders.

Having abandoned the Marxist method and the unity of theory and practice many years ago, Mandel apparently feels no responsibility to square the collapse of the dollar-gold standard and its results with his previous analysis of a new capitalism growing on a "third industrial revolution" with the scientific and technical intelligentsia and students coming into a revolutionary role, etc., etc. Since he has no revolutionary party, he is responsible to no one. He simply supplies fashionable articles for his middle-class clientele.

MISLEAD

He is satisfied with generalizations like the following:

"Marx liked to repeat that monetary phenomena were only reflections of the economic life, and whoever sought to explain crises essentially by these phenomena was mistaking the appearance for the reality."

The reference to Marx is calculated to completely mislead. In the capitalist system, money is no mere dressing for

the "real" economic life. It is on the contrary the expression of the power of social labor, alienated from man the producer and turned against him as an alien force in the form of capital.

Mandel pompously reminds the capitalists that money is "not only a means of exchange, but a means of payment." But he himself forgets "that money is the universal equivalent, the measure of value, the universal representative of material wealth" (Marx) and that it constitutes "universal money" for trading relations between different countries.

For capital, money is no mere "reflection," but the very purpose of all production and exchange. Exchange value has to be augmented for capital to continually accumulate, and it does this in the shape of "money in process" from one magnitude to another, with goods coming in between purely with the function of facilitating this growth. In this process of capital is contained the contradiction at the heart of the capitalist system and inherent in the commodity, between the social labor of mankind, achieved only through the value-form under capitalism, and the appropriation of the social product as private wealth. To the growth of capital, and that means money, everything is subordinated under capitalism.

CLASS

All the production relations of capitalism, of which money in all its functions is a central one, are based on the antagonistic relations between classes. The abstract labor which produces the value of all commodities, and which is represented in money, is historically the activity of a definite class, a universal class, the industrial working class.

Mandel's wrong analysis, if such it can be called, of the crisis, involves a completely wrong approach to this class and its role, and indeed that has been the essence of the differences between the revisionists and the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Mandel tells us that the protests made

by U.S. right-wing trade union leaders against Nixon's measures "...signify that the American workers are going to battle harder for their standard of living, threatened by inflation, taxes, the consequences of the war in Vietnam, etc."

He adds to these the contraction of the U.S. market and impossibility of reducing unemployment.

But he has entirely missed the main point. It is the very strength of the American workers in struggles which have already taken place which precipitated Nixon's latest moves on August 15. The wages settlements in motors and especially in steel made it impossible any longer to maintain the equilibrium between the U.S. capitalists' international role and the pursuit of "consensus" politics based on ever-increasing earnings at home.

POLITICAL

For nearly four years the wages movement had been partially stemmed, and this postponed the dollar crisis which was inevitable after the sterling devaluation of 1967. But the last few months brought the breach in the wall. Now the American workers must go beyond defensive wages struggles to political preparation.

This is not just a question of the workers' pressure on wages providing an additional aggravation at an awkward time for the capitalists. The whole 1944 Bretton Woods agreement and the inflationary policies pursued in the capitalist countries constituted a general strategy of running post-war capitalism without taking on the working class.

In no country have the capitalists been able to shift the working class from their basic positions, just as they have been unable to regain any of the positions lost in East Europe and China.

The whole "prosperity" and "neo-capitalism," seen by the middle-class ideologists as some new-found strength of capitalism to neutralize the working class, was actually the capitalist class's retreat before the strength of the working class.

And they could effect this retreat only

with the direct help of the Stalinists and social democrats. Their control of the working-class movement was absolutely essential to the operation. The role of revolutionaries in hastening the crisis within reformism and within Stalinism, in fighting for a different outcome to the strength and fighting capacity of the working class, has therefore been the vital question of the whole period.

LEADERSHIP

And now that the capitalists have been forced to make a new turn by the explosions of the inner contradictions of the "post-war settlement," all the revolutionary preparation of the last 27 years must be realized in struggle for actual leadership of the revolutionary struggles before us. That is why our conception of the crisis, in its new stage since Nixon's speech, is the diametrical opposite of that of Mandel and of all the apologists of reformism.

Mandel rejects completely the theory and program of Marxism, which proceeds from theoretical mastering of the objective situation to conscious activity, revolutionary practice, the building of revolutionary parties.

He says in conclusion: "If the workers so desire, if they provide themselves with a revolutionary leadership that is up to the height of the historic task, this cycle can give rise to the victory of socialism in the West."

Here we see the casting aside of all leadership responsibility, and all the blame for defeat placed in advance on the working class, for not "desiring" the victory of socialism, for not "providing themselves" with adequate leadership.

The exposure and defeat of this brand of revisionism is an urgent task.

What is actually required is for the revolutionaries to grasp and hold high the banner of the Fourth International, to carry forward the political and theoretical struggle to ensure that the revolutionary party is built, and the struggle for workers' power is won!

EDUCATIONAL. . .

(Continued From Page 5)

need to be rebuilt from scratch.

(2) The central capital of the Fourth International lies precisely in the principled struggle against revisionism. It is this struggle which makes it possible now to take the Transitional Program forward into the working class.

(3) The struggle against revisionism is a struggle for the Marxist method. Only through a turn to questions of Marxist philosophy can a cadre be developed capable of penetrating the working class. Only through the struggle for such a penetration can the Marxist method be developed.

Wohlforth concluded by stating that the Workers League today is the continuity of Marxism in the United States and is laying the basis for the launching of a daily Trotskyist paper in the United States precisely through the kind of theoretical struggle taking place at this camp. He urged all in attendance to join with the Workers League in this fight as we prepare for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

There were a number of social and sports activities at the weekend school with everyone enjoying the country atmosphere. Food was dished up in tra-

ditional Catskills staggering quantities and a highly successful dance held on Saturday night.

Some 30 of those in attendance decided to join the Workers League. Defying the racists and the nationalists who aid them in dividing the working class and youth, one third of those present were Black and Spanish speaking. There was a tremendous collection of \$675.00 and over \$150.00 of Marxist literature was sold.

The Workers League is now organizing a Midwest Conference for the weekend of October 16-17 in Madison, Wisconsin and a West Coast camp in the Santa Clara Mountains November 6-7.



Ceylon

Tampoe Capitulates To Madame B.

BY A CORRESPONDENT

AS MRS. BANDARANAIKE'S United Front government continues its campaign of repression and harassment of rural Ceylonese youth and students and as living standards decline sharply, the supporters of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International are wasting no time in snuggling up to her regime.

After a brief flirtation with the JVP (the outlawed Guevarist party), the group, led by P.B. Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) has decided to abandon the last formal pretense of opposition to the government.

This capitulation to Mrs. Bandaranaike's dictatorship was effected by a resolution carried at the CMU's General Council recently.

The resolution, while criticizing Mrs. Bandaranaike's subservience to the International Monetary Fund and her attacks on workers' living standards, nevertheless preaches confidence in her regime by calling on her government to pursue socialist policies.

Among other things the resolution calls for the nationalization of "all coconut,

rubber and tea estates and all the other assets of the capitalist and imperialist exploiters of our people, for the development of the economy in the interests of the masses of the people!"

Instead of demanding that the reformist Lanka Sama Samaja Party and Communist Party leaders leave the coalition and form an alternative government and, in that way expose the capitalist nature of the coalition government, the Tampoe group is trying to create illusions in the class character of the coalition by calling on it to carry

out an anti-capitalist program.

Tampoe's consistent refusal to build a revolutionary party, his reliance on purely trade union means of opposition and his allegiance to the capitalist state and his revisionist center in Paris has now led him to kowtow to the coalition.

The CMU resolution says in part:

"The General Council resolves that in that event (i.e., the implementation of the CMU demands) the General Council will mobilize the entire membership of the union to make whatever sacrifices that the mass organizations of the people may consider necessary to that end and will call upon all other sections of the people to do likewise."

In other words if Mrs. Bandaranaike—like General Torres in Bolivia—did decide to nationalize a sector of the economy, the CMU would drop its opposition and offer "critical support" in the same way as the LSSP did in the 1950s to the late Mr. Bandaranaike's People's United



Bala Tampoe

Front government.

This is the quickest and surest road to defeat in Ceylon.

Sooner, rather than later, Tampoe's methods must lead him into the same kind of blind alley which ensnared revisionists Lora and Moscoso in Bolivia.

His opportunist actions prove that the defeat of this revisionist cancer is an indispensable precondition for the victory of Trotskyism in Ceylon and everywhere else.

TORIES. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Warsaw Pact.

The Rogers statement must come as a rude jolt to the Kremlin bureaucracy which has placed so much hope in the convening of such a conference. Even in its protest note to the British government, the Soviet bureaucracy referred to "the desires of many European countries to achieve a normalization and to hold a conference on European security and cooperation."

But while the Kremlin bureaucrats dream of "security

and cooperation," the imperialists are determined to extract more and more concessions from the Soviet Union.

USE

The manner in which the Tories will make use of this espionage fabrication is indicated with great precision in New York's *Daily News*. In its lead editorial published Monday, the *News* wrote that "These Red termites had been involved in espionage and sabotage ranging from efforts to cripple the Concorde super-

SWP. . .

(Continued From Page 6)

Ceylon betrayal must be borne by the SWP and the Pabloites because they have insisted that questions of the history of the movement are not important. What Ceylon proved was that a retreat from theory today can lead tomorrow to the greatest betrayals.

Such matters are not of great concern to cynics like Foley, Hansen and others who now lead the SWP. Above all they do not take themselves or their own parties seriously and have nothing but disdain for those who do. Foley writes: "The Bulletin's response to defeats of mass struggles has been, after all, rather standard. Its rule of thumb was set forth clearly in this same article: 'In every country of Latin America it can be said that capitalism rules only because of the paralysis and confusion of those elements which call themselves Trotskyists.'" For Foley the role of Trotskyism is not critical at all. It is only to comment on things after the fact, to perhaps influence historical processes led by others. After all more than a month after the Bolivian coup, Foley does not even know where he stands. This is Pabloism.

The Socialist Workers Party itself must accept responsibility for the events in Bolivia. It was the SWP which urged upon the Latin American Trotskyists a liquidationist line of dissolving their movements into Castroite groups, turning their backs on the working class in support of petty bourgeois guerrilla operations. It gave the worst kind of misleadership to Latin America. It cannot even now admit that it has supported and bolstered for years the Moscoso group which has deserted the Bolivian workers in favor of suicidal

sonic transport program to agitation in troubled Northern Ireland....It would be particularly good to find out to what extent, if any, the USSR has been active in promoting treachery, unrest, and upheaval in this country."

It should be clear that the expulsion order is a preparation for an open assault upon the working class in England and the Soviet Union. The Tory frame-up must be answered today as the Bolsheviks answered the "Zinoviev Letter": with revolutionary internationalism.

guerrilla adventures. We take back absolutely nothing we said about Cuba and Castroism. Recent events have confirmed every word.

As far as Foley's sneering remarks about the Workers League as a "small sectarian group" we will print an answer to that in the first issue of the first daily Trotskyist paper in the United States. We are laying the basis for such a paper in a way that no doubt will seem "irrational" to Hansen and Foley. We are turning our movement towards working class youth and the trade unions while at the same time deepening our political struggle against revisionism and for Marxist theory.

MEDINA. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

Vietnamese workers and peasants and every military campaign ends in disaster. American GIs refuse to fight and the civil war is rapidly blowing up in all of South Vietnam. Nixon has no intention of ending the war as the recent bombing of North Vietnam showed.

Faced with this offensive of the Vietnamese workers and now with the equally determined struggle of American workers to defend their wage gains, Nixon must bring the methods of Mylai home as he did at Attica prison.

The courts will be turned into tools to prosecute socialists, working class militants and the unions as a whole, while the ser-

vants of imperialism like Calley and Medina get off scot free. The bending of the judicial system to the needs of the capitalist class is a conscious part of Nixon's preparation for dictatorship.

STRUGGLE

Nixon may think that the book is closed on the Mylai massacre. But a new chapter is opening in which the American working class must take up a political struggle to defend its rights against the Nixon government, when massive strike battles will be fought out. It is in this fight that the massacres of Mylai and Attica will be avenged.

UNEMPLOYMENT. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

The trade unions must take up the fight for jobs for all, mobilizing the youth and unemployed. Over 40% of all minority youths are unable to find jobs, while youth unemployment as a whole is soaring. The millions of youth who have no prospects for ever finding a decent job are now joined by millions of older workers now being thrown out of work. The fight must begin in the unions to unite the employed and unemployed workers to stop Nixon's attacks.

This means the fight for a program against the labor bureaucracy. The fight must begin now for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control without compensation, for general strike action to stop the wage freeze and controls on wages in any form.

It means the fight to build a labor party to take on Nixon and the Democrats in the 1972 elections, to beat back inflation, unemployment, and every attack on the working class and youth.

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West Coast News

IAM-UAW Leaders Fear Aerospace Fight

BY STEVE CHERKOSS
LOS ANGELES—McDonnell-Douglas workers here are presently working on a day to day basis without a contract. Their contract ran out on September 15. The North American/Rockwell Corporation contract with the UAW expires on September 30.

More than 400,000 workers are directly involved in the aerospace negotiations. 125,000 of these workers are covered by contracts mainly with the UAW-IAM unions which have already passed their expiration date.

The key center of the aerospace industry is here in Southern California. This is the first year since the unions were organized in aerospace that the workers have been forced to work without a contract.

The UAW and IAM bureaucracy has done absolutely nothing to prepare the ranks for strike ac-

tion. They have completely gone along with the contract extension which means that the workers are forced to labor under the old 1968 contract. The '68 contract was a complete sellout on all the basics such as wages, job security, and working conditions. As everyone knows this industry has been particularly hard hit by layoffs that have knocked off well over 100,000 in the last three years.

The rationale that the union bureaucrats give for not striking the companies now in the fight for a decent contract is that "you can't fight the wage freeze—you can't buck the employers and the government at the same time." This is just plain baloney. Firstly, the only thing these same leaders fought the company for prior to the wage freeze was to maintain their cozy relationship of class collaboration with the bosses. Secondly, going along with the bosses and their government in this period of the deepest world capitalist crisis means a cut in wages, massive layoffs and worsening of all conditions for those who are "lucky" enough to have a job at all.

Every economic fight in this period is above all a political fight. And this is precisely what the trade union bureaucrats who are stooges within the labor movement for the capitalist class refuse to face up to.

IAM Ranks Face Lockout

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Members of IAM Local 389, employed at Sargent Industries, Fowler Division, have been notified that they will be locked out of their jobs for one week, from October 4 through 16 due to "lack of new orders." The lock-out is threatened just weeks before the monetary portion of their contract, signed last year, is opened for renegotiation.

When the original contract was being negotiated last year, the company also complained of losing business and cut the work week to four days. The bosses used the cut then to help the union bureaucracy force a rotten sell-out down the workers' throats, claiming they could not afford any more than the lousy \$1.93 per hour starting wage. As one worker put it, after reading the posted notice of the coming lock-out, "It's really something, the way these b----- go broke

down in ruins. This means a complete rejection of any return to work. It means a turn to the labor movement to prepare the way for general strike action

Dockers must force Bridges to break off all dealings with the government strike-breakers and lead the fight to mobilize the trade union movement. The fight must be begun now through the organization of the greatest labor demonstrations against this government in history.

A national caucus of all aerospace workers must be formed now to take up this sharp fight against the bosses and for a decent contract by demanding "No contract, no work," "Bust the wage freeze—close down the whole aerospace industry." No contract must be signed that does not give the workers a \$1.50 an hour in wages over the three years, full cost of living clause, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, a pension plan to \$500.00 per month for those with 30 years seniority, regardless of age and complete elimination of all racial discrimination.

This fight is above all political. The fight to build a labor party pledged to the fight for a socialist program and based on the unions, against the wage freeze, strike-breaking, war-making capitalist parties of the bosses must be taken up now.

If the bosses cannot provide a decent contract then the workers must nationalize the industry under workers control with no compensation to the present owners.

The aerospace workers can win a solid contract if they organize against their enemies and around this program. This fight against the bosses and the union hacks and the Nixon wage freeze can set a terrific example and pattern of struggle for the whole working class.

COMPLICITY

In a period in which the unions are under severe attack from the government in an attempt to completely smash their power to defend the workers, total complicity to such attacks, as demonstrated by chief steward Hosford, under the direction of District 50 President Baffone, is open sabotage. Such betrayers will break their necks to ensure that the upcoming contracts at Fowler, Rohr, Convair, and Solar will be even more vicious sellouts than before. There is only one answer to such betrayals, these bureaucrats must be immediately replaced by leaders from the ranks pledged to end sellouts, to fight for full employment and an end to the wage freeze through a general strike and the building of a labor party to fight for workers' rights.



500 youth demonstrate against Nixon, as he stops in Portland, Oregon and meets with Bridges in a move to crush ILWU strike.

BILLY SMITH. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

and question witnesses and that Billy and other prisoners charged with the same or lesser crimes as Lt. Calley be given the same treatment.

Also on September 18 a rally was called for Billy in Seaside attracting about 200 people including the Panthers and Venceremos. The middle class character of the method used to defend Billy was evidenced by the events that followed. These protesters marched to the main gate at Fort Ord demanding his release with shouts of "Free Billy," and "Frag the Brass." The object was to gain publicity and support of the case from no matter who as long as there was concrete agreement on the fact that Billy should be freed.

There is no room for concessions or superficial reforms. This can be seen by the lesson

Interview On Attica

Q: Forty-two people were massacred at Attica. What do you think about the whole situation?

A: The prisoners definitely had what they needed, unity. There has to be more support from the outside. I know a lot of people sympathize with them, but maybe they are not quite ready to act.

Q: What about a general strike of all labor, a national strike? Do you think that would change the situation with regard to the Nixons and the Rockefellers?

A: It would sure in the hell wake them up! Yes, because this system would fall, just collapse. And they live off the workers, you know. The workers are the people who do the doing, and the others benefit from it. About the prisons. If all the prisoners stopped working and doing what they were supposed to be doing, then the man would have to give in to their demands, wouldn't he? They have duties and if they just stop doing them and tell the man their demands, then he's gonna have to make some changes. But then again, now that I think about it, they are prisoners and they don't have any power whatsoever, not without losing their lives.

Q: If, like you say, the prisoners in themselves have no power, what was important about Attica?

A: It exposed Rockefeller and his system. Maybe the prisoners couldn't win this one, but it can move other people to take action. Prisoners say to themselves, "I've lost it all, so what is there to lose by revolting?" They got crushed but it sure made a few things come to the surface.

of Attica, and the murder of George Jackson. The defense of Billy Smith can only be rooted in the struggle of the working class against unemployment, the war and the wage freeze. The warning and lesson of ruling class "justice" must be brought to the unions and youth through this case. This movement can gain independent expression by uniting the youth, minorities and trade unionists into a labor party.

Alioto Attacks Union Rights

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—While Nixon is toying with what shape teeth will go into his Phase II plan against the American working class, Mayor Alioto has already shaped his Phase II attack on the rights of City employees here.

Phase I consisted of the Employee Relations Ordinance, a miniature of Nixon's Phase I, complete with control boards, no-strike clauses, and the city's inalienable right to lay off city workers. Phase II for Alioto consists of a 72 page draft of revisions of the Civil Service Commission rules which is designed to whittle away any remaining rights of city workers.

Supposedly, the intent of these revisions is to simplify language, but in actuality it serves to simplify the city's ability to lay off workers. The most blatant change would guarantee that every temporary employee would be laid off either after five months or one year depending on the duration of the requisition.

It also puts more power in the hands of the General Manager of Personnel to authorize non-civil service appointments, a scheme Alioto has been long waiting for.

The second prong of these revisions centers around the employee rights to an appeal to the Civil Service Commission. No longer would a city worker have an automatic right to a hearing. Neither would he have the right to cross examine witnesses or to make rebuttal to answer opposing arguments against him.

Of course, there is no other explanation for these legal preparations than that Alioto knows he will be forced to use these new regulations to lay off city workers as has been done to hundreds of government workers

across the country.

PROGRAM

City workers must begin a campaign for a program of not accepting any layoffs, to make all temporaries permanent, to make the civil service tests relevant to the job, to fill all vacancies with permanent employees, to win needed fringe benefits. This strategy poses the need for a break from the old policy of working out compromise deals with City Hall. It means reversing any union endorsement of Alioto and calling for endorsement of Nat Weinstein, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, the only candidate calling for the formation of a labor party and for a fight against the wage freeze.

It means no cooperation with the Employee Relations Ordinance, and calling on the unions to refuse to register. Instead of getting diverted into useless protests, a fight needs to be made in the unions to break with the old policies of expecting favors from politicians and begin to mobilize Miscellaneous City Employees, hospital workers, janitors, and Muni drivers in order to shut the city down until a contract is signed with the city guaranteeing all workers' jobs and fringe benefits.

LONGSHORE. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

up entirely with a report on a buffet arranged by clerical workers for striking longshoremen. Very nice, quite thoughtful of them, but we are afraid that the PW's full details on the menu and praises of the cuisine hardly prepares dockers for the battle now ahead.

It is now crystal clear that the only way forward on the docks is in a fight to bring Nixon's freeze and anti-labor offensive

West Coast News

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Nixon Out To Break Longshore

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As this is being written the struggle on the West Coast waterfront is heading for what may very well be the greatest explosion in the history of the ILWU.

President Nixon has just flown in to the Northwest to directly intervene in the longshore negotiations. There can be absolutely no doubt that he intends to deliver an ultimatum for dockers to return to work or face a Taft-Hartley injunction.

For Nixon the breaking of the militant resistance of the West Coast dockers is the key to forcing back the rest of the labor movement and crushing strikes about to break out on the East Coast docks, the mines and in rail.

Nixon's intervention is a smashing indictment of the entire strategy of the ILWU leadership.

Only a few days ago Harry Bridges was capable of writing in the *Dispatcher* as though the danger of government strike-breaking was minimal as long as the ILWU kept things cool. His entire rationalization for allowing Mexican and Canadian Ports to load cargo as well as East Coast operations to continue was that this would hold off the government from stepping in.

His policy was to maintain that the ILWU deserved an exemption to the freeze on the basis that his leadership had held down militancy and allowed full automation on the docks without a whimper for many years.

The employers, fully confident that Nixon would eventually be forced to come to their aid, have held off the union with pitifully inadequate offers. It would appear that the only concession so far granted is an offer on royalties for containers.

In essence this is a form of continuation of the M&M agreement in which money was paid into the union to allow unlimited automation and attrition of the work force. It was precisely this policy that led to the present crisis.

Dockers must win a big wage increase and a guarantee of forty hours pay to all longshoremen. Anything else will mean mass unemployment on the waterfront

no matter what the deal worked out on container royalties. It is this fight Nixon must break.

It is already clear that if Bridges has his way the union will capitulate to Taft-Hartley. He writes, "Taft-Hartley means that every disputed issue will be continued on the job, with every dispatch, on every vessel and with every gang."

This is bankrupt rubbish. A return to work under these conditions will only give the government time to prepare new legislation to prevent any further walkouts. The entire impact of the strike will be destroyed and a tremendous blow will have been struck against the East Coast dockers now about to come in to the struggle.

When the Workers League warned in the *Bulletin* that the trade unions were next after the Attica massacres it was precisely this situation we were preparing the unions for.

This is in direct conflict with the Stalinists who have not once seriously warned of the danger of government intervention or of Bridges' betrayals. In fact the latest *People's World* devotes an entire page to the docks taken

(Continued On Page 15)



President Nixon (left) meets with Harry Bridges seeking to break ILWU dock strike.

Billy Smith On Trial

BY A G.I.

FORT ORD—The growing rebellion of G.I.s in Vietnam is being answered with stepped up repression against those elements who actively oppose the continued murder of Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Billy Smith, a Black private sent to Vietnam in 1970, was arrested earlier this year and sent to Fort Ord to stand trial on a fragging charge. He is accused of the premeditated murder of two lieutenants, attempted murder of his Captain and First Sergeant and of assault on an M.P. stemming from a fragging incident in Bien Hoa March 15. He has been kept in solitary confinement since that time, first in Long Binh jail and lately at the Fort Ord stockade. The brass are very afraid of the support Billy would get in Vietnam and among the other prisoners.

The only evidence is a gre-

nade pin found in Billy's pocket during an illegal search. This means nothing since many soldiers collect pins for souvenirs and photographs have shown that the pin doesn't match with the grenade handle found near the incident.

OPPOSITION

But the evidence which really compels the army to attack Billy is his history of opposition and struggle against ruling class interests both in the U.S. and in Vietnam. He was arrested for curfew violations in Watts in 1965 and was finally drafted after many attempts to resist induction.

For expressing his hatred of the Army's racism and murder of the Vietnamese people he was described by his commanding officer as having a "bad attitude" and unenthusiastic about "closing with the enemy." At the time of the incident he was being processed for an undesirable discharge.

Billy saw the connection between the Army's role in occupying the ghetto and in Vietnam. How could he fight for the same interests which exploited workers and youth at home? Now the Army has to keep this hostility to capitalism from finding political expression among growing numbers of soldiers and workers in the U.S. and thus seeks to make an example out of Billy Smith.

The case so far has had two pretrial hearings on August 25 and September 14. The defense made motions to receive funds for lawyers to go to Vietnam

(Continued On Page 15)

San Jose Cops Kill 'Suspect'

BY A CORRESPONDENT
SAN JOSE—On Sunday, September 19, police here murdered John Henry Smith, a Black research chemist. The chemist was shot in front of the door to his apartment after being stopped by police who said he was a "suspicious suspect," who "refused to follow the officer's directives, was completely hostile and antagonistic and was considered a serious hazard to the officer's patrol duty."

What is being said here is that John Smith refused to be dehumanized by a disgusting search of himself by police in front of his own apartment. For this he was murdered. This murder follows close behind the government's hand-signalled assault by its troops on rebelling Attica inmates which left dozens of inmates dead.

As the capitalist class and its agents move into civil war they must use every means at their disposal to terrorize the working class into submission, including the outright murder of working people. These attacks must be met by the building of a mass revolutionary youth movement, capable of leading the offensive of youth against the government's plans for massive unemployment and brutality against workers and youth.

200 Daly City Teachers Fired

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DALY CITY—The strike of elementary school teachers here enters its fourth week with the city remaining absolutely determined to smash the union.

As this is being written the Superintendent of Schools, Frank Greenwood, has declared that the well over 200 teachers who were suspended are now to be considered officially fired and that all lines of communication between strikers and the city are severed.

The school board acting on the advice of the Daly City District Attorney has simply declared that any written agreement with the teachers that included binding arbitration of grievances would be

illegal and has dismissed the teachers as law breakers.

It has been clear from the beginning that the teachers' leadership has no comprehension whatsoever of what is taking place. Their initial position was that any section of a contract found illegal by the courts could simply be stricken out. They operated continuously as though what was involved was a matter of a legal dispute to be settled in the courts.

It is now completely clear that the City is determined to use the massive unemployment among teachers to maintain a scab force that can destroy the union.

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West Coast News

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Nixon Out To Break Longshore

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As this is being written the struggle on the West Coast waterfront is heading for what may very well be the greatest explosion in the history of the ILWU.

President Nixon has just flown in to the Northwest to directly intervene in the longshore negotiations. There can be absolutely no doubt that he intends to deliver an ultimatum for dockers to return to work or face a Taft-Hartley injunction.

For Nixon the breaking of the militant resistance of the West Coast dockers is the key to forcing back the rest of the labor movement and crushing strikes about to break out on the East Coast docks, the mines and in rail.

Nixon's intervention is a smashing indictment of the entire strategy of the ILWU leadership.

Only a few days ago Harry Bridges was capable of writing in the *Dispatcher* as though the danger of government strike-breaking was minimal as long as the ILWU kept things cool. His entire rationalization for allowing Mexican and Canadian Ports to load cargo as well as East Coast operations to continue was that this would hold off the government from stepping in.

His policy was to maintain that the ILWU deserved an exemption to the freeze on the basis that his leadership had held down militancy and allowed full automation on the docks without a whimper for many years.

The employers, fully confident that Nixon would eventually be forced to come to their aid, have held off the union with pitifully inadequate offers. It would appear that the only concession so far granted is an offer on royalties for containers.

In essence this is a form of continuation of the M&M agreement in which money was paid into the union to allow unlimited automation and attrition of the work force. It was precisely this policy that led to the present crisis.

Dockers must win a big wage increase and a guarantee of forty hours pay to all longshoremen. Anything else will mean mass unemployment on the waterfront

no matter what the deal worked out on container royalties. It is this fight Nixon must break.

It is already clear that if Bridges has his way the union will capitulate to Taft-Hartley. He writes, "Taft-Hartley means that every disputed issue will be continued on the job, with every dispatch, on every vessel and with every gang."

This is bankrupt rubbish. A return to work under these conditions will only give the government time to prepare new legislation to prevent any further walkouts. The entire impact of the strike will be destroyed and a tremendous blow will have been struck against the East Coast dockers now about to come in to the struggle.

When the Workers League warned in the *Bulletin* that the trade unions were next after the Attica massacres it was precisely this situation we were preparing the unions for.

This is in direct conflict with the Stalinists who have not once seriously warned of the danger of government intervention or of Bridges' betrayals. In fact the latest *People's World* devotes an entire page to the docks taken

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200 Daly City Teachers Fired

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DALY CITY—The strike of elementary school teachers here enters its fourth week with the city remaining absolutely determined to smash the union.

As this is being written the Superintendent of Schools, Frank Greenwood, has declared that the well over 200 teachers who were suspended are now to be considered officially fired and that all lines of communication between strikers and the city are severed.

The school board acting on the advice of the Daly City District Attorney has simply declared that any written agreement with the teachers that included binding arbitration of grievances would be



President Nixon (left) meets with Harry Bridges seeking to break ILWU dock strike.

Billy Smith On Trial

BY A G.I.

FORT ORD—The growing rebellion of G.I.s in Vietnam is being answered with stepped up repression against those elements who actively oppose the continued murder of Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Billy Smith, a Black private sent to Vietnam in 1970, was arrested earlier this year and sent to Fort Ord to stand trial on a fraging charge. He is accused of the premeditated murder of two lieutenants, attempted murder of his Captain and First Sergeant and of assault on an M.P. stemming from a fraging incident in Bien Hoa March 15. He has been kept in solitary confinement since that time, first in Long Binh jail and lately at the Fort Ord stockade. The brass are very afraid of the support Billy would get in Vietnam and among the other prisoners.

The only evidence is a gre-

nade pin found in Billy's pocket during an illegal search. This means nothing since many soldiers collect pins for souvenirs and photographs have shown that the pin doesn't match with the grenade handle found near the incident.

OPPOSITION

But the evidence which really compels the army to attack Billy is his history of opposition and struggle against ruling class interests both in the U.S. and in Vietnam. He was arrested for curfew violations in Watts in 1965 and was finally drafted after many attempts to resist induction.

For expressing his hatred of the Army's racism and murder of the Vietnamese people he was described by his commanding officer as having a "bad attitude" and unenthusiastic about "closing with the enemy." At the time of the incident he was being processed for an undesirable discharge.

Billy saw the connection between the Army's role in occupying the ghetto and in Vietnam. How could he fight for the same interests which exploited workers and youth at home? Now the Army has to keep this hostility to capitalism from finding political expression among growing numbers of soldiers and workers in the U.S. and thus seeks to make an example out of Billy Smith.

The case so far has had two pretrial hearings on August 25 and September 14. The defense made motions to receive funds for lawyers to go to Vietnam

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San Jose Cops Kill 'Suspect'

BY A CORRESPONDENT
SAN JOSE—On Sunday, September 19, police here murdered John Henry Smith, a Black research chemist. The chemist was shot in front of the door to his apartment after being stopped by police who said he was a "suspicious suspect," who "refused to follow the officer's directives, was completely hostile and antagonistic and was considered a serious hazard to the officer's patrol duty."

What is being said here is that John Smith refused to be dehumanized by a disgusting search of himself by police in front of his own apartment. For this he was murdered. This murder follows close behind the government's hand-signalled assault by its troops on rebelling Attica inmates which left dozens of inmates dead.

As the capitalist class and its agents move into civil war they must use every means at their disposal to terrorize the working class into submission, including the outright murder of working people. These attacks must be met by the building of a mass revolutionary youth movement, capable of leading the offensive of youth against the government's plans for massive unemployment and brutality against workers and youth.

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illegal and has dismissed the teachers as law breakers.

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