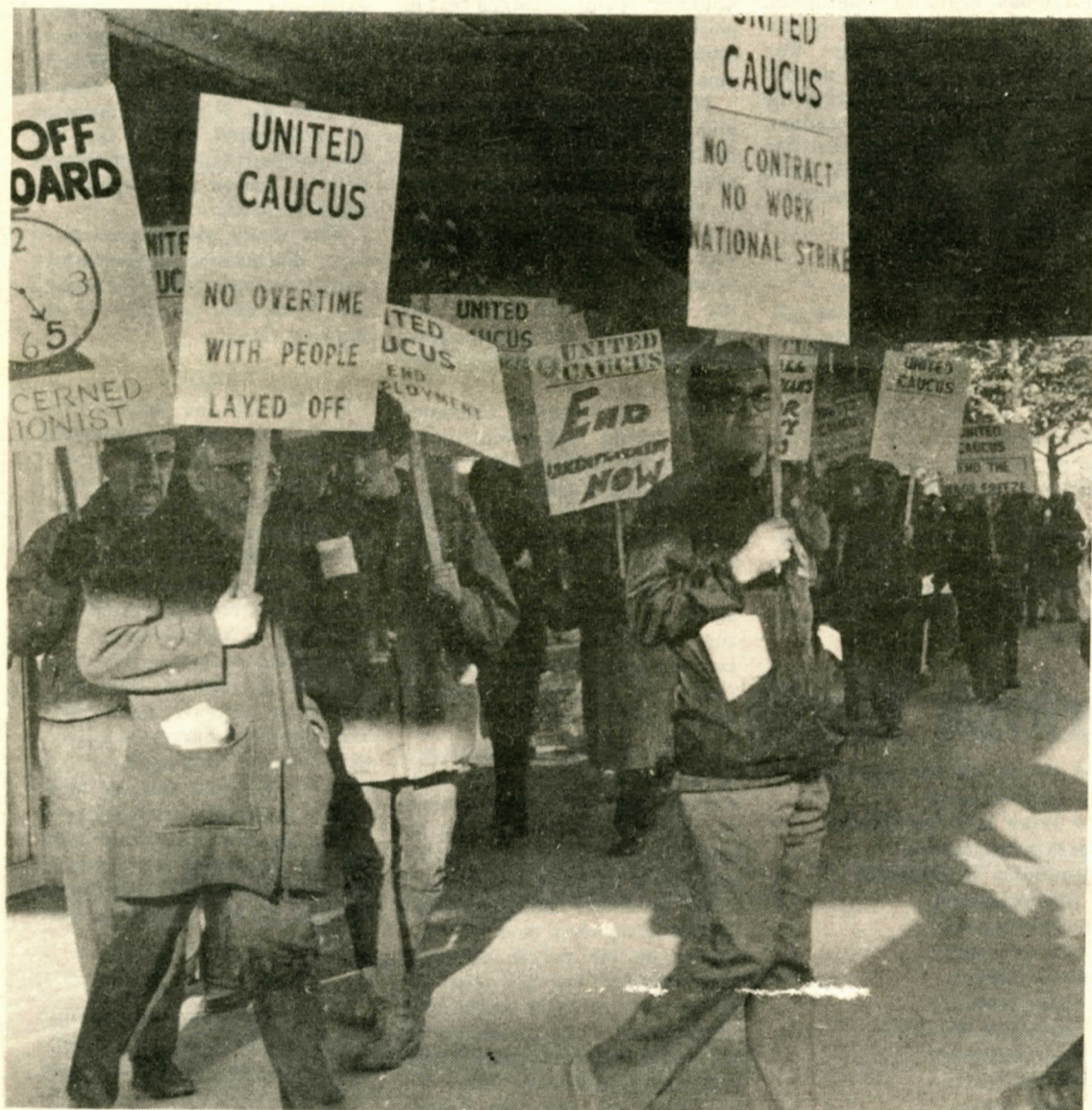


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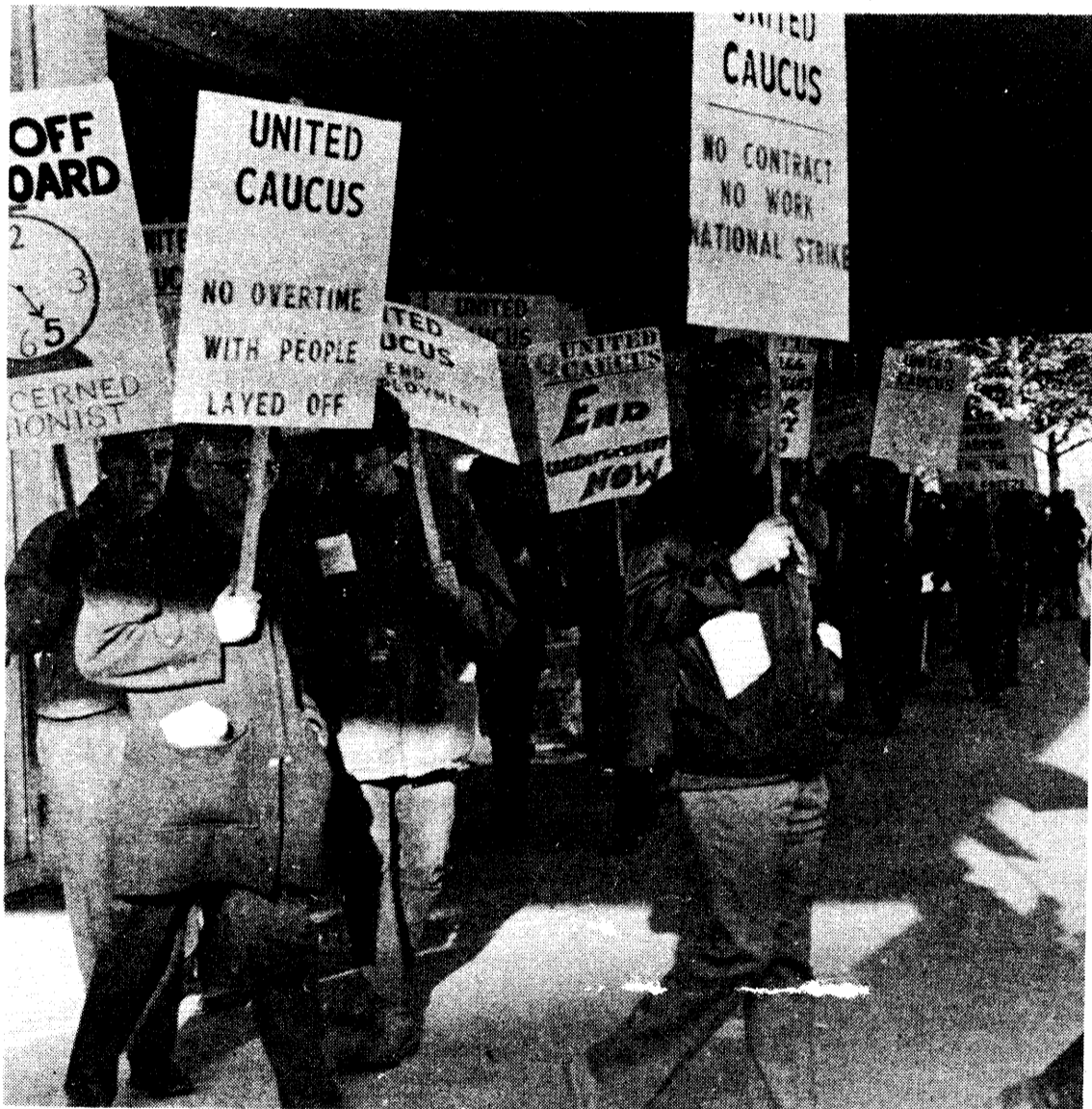
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Daily News Creates Spy Scare Over China Entry

BY ALAN BERENSON

The new Chinese delegation to the United Nations arrived in New York last week, greeted by a screaming **Daily News** headline, which triumphantly announced that the delegation was actually a secret spy ring led by China's supposed super sleuth, Liu Kiang.

However, the leader of the delegation ignored this welcome and in his opening address saluted the "great American people," sending his good wishes to citizens of "all walks of life," including, presumably, capitalists.

Actually, the Chinese Stalinists are walking into a trap laid by international capitalism for the Chinese people. The sensationalistic attack launched by the **Daily News** is an obvious attempt to whip up anti-communist hysteria, similar to that sparked in England last month by the Tory Foreign Office.

While the American bourgeoisie recognizes the necessity of gaining Maoist compliance, a cheap commodity these days, it never loses sight of its ultimate goal—the overthrow of workers rule in China itself. That dream first demands the crushing of the American working class, a task which the Chinese leadership is aiding.

The entry occurs in the period of deep conflict within China itself, where China's latest foreign policy betrayal is accompanied by a purge of leading party members—most notably Lin Tin Piao.

The entry into the United Nations is the latest step taken by the Mao clique in pursuance of Stalinist class collaboration and



Chinese delegation arrives in New York to join UN "Den of Thieves." counterrevolution.

In 1945, in the same article in which Mao Tse-tung, who almost died at the hands of the Koumintang, was calling for conciliation and coalition with Chiang, he also praised the planning of the reactionary United Nations:

"The great efforts of the four great powers, Britain, the US, China, and France, and the peoples of the other anti-fascist nations have made possible the defeat of the fascists—after which the peoples of these nations will build a world of stable and lasting peace. The United Nations Conference in San Francisco will be the starting point of that peace."

Mao could not have been more admiring of the "efforts" of the international bourgeoisie than in this paragraph. The roots of this brand of total class collaboration and liquidation lie in the history and tradition of the Chinese Communist Party itself,

a party which was born, nurtured and almost destroyed under the disastrous aegis of Stalinism, from which it refused to break.

Even after the Korean War in which this assembly of "peace" sent out its army to destroy the gains of the Chinese Revolution, the CCP still followed its line of class betrayal and spoke merely of "reforming" the reactionary UN.

REFORMS

Now that China has been admitted by the world bourgeoisie into their den, the bureaucracy wastes no time over even "reforms." In their self-congratulatory eyes, the UN is once more the forum for the preservation of peace and understanding.

This is, however, not being perpetrated without a deep struggle within China itself in which a Trotskyist leadership must be constructed against the betrayals of Stalinism.

Greek Prisoners: Save Turkish Youth

From inside the prison of the Greek military dictatorship, we have learned of the action of their friends, the Turkish dictator, in passing the death sentence on 18 young revolutionary fighters.

After the offensive against the workers' movement, destroying the organizations of the working class, the Turkish bourgeoisie does not hesitate to press forward their attack on peasants and students.

Now they are slaughtering the vanguard of the fighters of the working people. By these means they hope permanently to subjugate the workers and poor peasantry and to place on their backs the burden of the social, economic and political crisis of capitalism.

We believe that the Turkish working class, with the full support of the European proletariat, will not only act to prevent the murder of these militants, but will step up the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and will advance that indispensable weapon, the proletarian party, to destroy this foul capitalist system which brings only hunger, torment and exploitation, and establish a wor-

kers' and peasants' government.

We, the Trotskyist prisoners in our own country, feel the deepest indignation, revulsion and hatred for this sinister crime proposed by the military dictatorship in Ankara.

We demand the immediate annulment of this sentence, and the release of these youth.

We express our comradely sympathy and we call on workers of the world, particularly the revolutionary youth of Europe, to organize in strength to stop the butchery of the Turkish oligarchy.

- Hands off our comrades in the Turkish jails!
 - Down with the butchers of Turkish capitalism!
- Theothisis Thomathakis (life prisoner)
Sterios Katsoras (life prisoner)
Antonis Liakos (life prisoner)
Triantafilos Mitafithis (life prisoner)
Ilias Korovessis (eight years)
Iannis Felekis (eight years)

Rebellion Hits Wisconsin Prison

BY JOYCE ARNOLD

GREEN BAY, WIS., Nov. 13—Several hundred prisoners from the Wisconsin State Reformatory here began what prison warden Donald Quatsoe termed "a full-scale riot."

The prison contains prisoners between the ages of 18 and 30 and forty percent are Black.

Four or five militants hurled chairs through the mess hall windows while other inmates seized acetylene torches from the work shop, and cut into the prison bars near the prison entrance. The prison staff "got to some shot-guns and fired them through the

bars up in the air to warn the prisoners to disperse." Although the shots were supposedly to warn the prisoners, one inmate was reported suffering from buckshot wounds.

About 350 cops from three neighboring counties, Green Bay police state patrolmen, 28 officers from Waupun Prison, and a unit of the Wisconsin National Guard were called in to assist the prison guards who used massive doses of tear and pepper gas to crush the rebellion.

The warden stated, when asked of the cause of the rebellion: "I don't know how it began and I don't want to say..." The pri-

Tories Plan Bloodbath In Ireland

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Britain's Tory government is escalating the murder and persecution of the people of North Ireland into a ruthless bloodbath on the scale of the fascist barbarism of the Nazis in World War II.

The British Army in Ulster is being given deliberate instructions to step up wanton shootings of innocent civilians, arrests and tortures in an attempt to terrorize the IRA and Ulster Catholics into acceptance of British rule over North Ireland.

British Defense Secretary Carrington stated: "I do not know how long it will take to finish this emergency. In the process it will almost certainly be that we shall see much more bloodshed and even an extension of it to this country."

And North Ireland's Defense Minister openly declared that no political solution would be possible until the terrorists were smashed.

These capitalist ministers are giving the green light to full scale massacres. British troops have been instructed to "shoot on sight" any "armed" children.

A mother of eleven children was blinded by a rubber bullet when she went to her window to see what a British soldier was shouting about. She had been simply playing an Irish independence record.

When her daughter screamed at the troops "Look what you've done to my mother" they drove away singing a song.

Another young mother was shot down while standing in her garden. Two thousand Catholics followed the funeral procession of another woman, Kathleen Thompson, killed on Nov. 6th. Demonstrators took the loudspeaker and called for a general strike to protest the murders.

At the Long Kesh internment camp where prisoners are kept without trial and under the most brutal conditions the bloodthirsty troops went on a rampage under the excuse of quelling a "riot."

The prisoners had been dumping the disgusting food they are served on the prison grounds. This rebellion was the signal for the invasion in which troops used CS gas, beat prisoners mercilessly with pipes, screwdrivers, pick-axe handles and stole all the prisoners' personal belongings.

Hatred for these soldiers is so

great that Irish girls who date them have been tarred and feathered.

In the midst of this campaign of terror and murder there is the disgusting spectacle of Harold Wilson, the leader of the British Labour Party consulting with Tory chief Edward Heath on the visit of James Callaghan to North Ireland. Callaghan, the Labour Party's former Home Secretary, was the first to call for troops to go into North Ireland when the Labour Party was in power.

Both the Tories and Labour Party leaders want a "political solution" in which the opposition parties and the IRA agree to collaborate with the Protestant Ulster government. They seek to achieve this through a campaign of such brutal terror that the IRA and their Catholic supporters will be beaten into submission and destroyed.

This would pave the way for a new Bonapartist regime which would dominate both the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working class.

PAISLEY

Ian Paisley the fascist Protestant leader who is forming his own party has said that "a very high source in London" informed him that Britain is planning a direct takeover of the Ulster government. He claims that the present British ambassador to Paris has been offered the post of Commissioner of North Ireland.

One thing is certain. The Tories want to crush the Irish working class' struggle against British imperialism as soon as possible in order to bring the troops home to England and use them against the British working class.

This is why the Tories will only be too happy to agree to the demand of the Ulster Police Federation that they be re-armed.

REACTIONARY

As the civil war intensifies dangerous divisions in the working class are being deepened by the right wing Protestant forces. 10,000 Protestant workers marched through Belfast with British flags in a demonstration called by the reactionary Orange Lodge against the visit of Callaghan.

The failure of the trade union leadership to fight against unemployment in Ulster and the inability of the political parties to develop a program that meets the needs of all Irish workers is responsible for these divisions.

This is why the fight of the Socialist Labour League in the British trade unions for the defeat of the Tories and for reelection of a Labour Party that stands for complete withdrawal of troops from North Ireland, for socialist policies is so critical. Only this fight can provide a lead for the thousands of Irish workers who would rather die than accept the dictatorship of the Tories in Ireland.



Rank and file voting in opposition to President Leonard Woodcock at last week's United Auto Workers convention in Detroit. A large percentage of delegates opposed Woodcock and his financial report.

Special Report From UAW Convention

Woodcock OK's Nixon's Freeze

BY DAN FRIED

DETROIT—The Special Convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW) held here November 13 came at a historic turning point for the U.S. labor movement. With a rapidly growing movement of trade unionists now demanding that labor get off the Pay Board and begin plans for a general strike to smash Nixon's wage freeze entirely, the UAW could have taken the leadership in this struggle.

Instead, the UAW under the leadership of Leonard Woodcock and with the full support of the UAW Executive Board and most of the local leaders, endorsed the actions of Woodcock in remaining on the Board, as the resolution stated, "in order to protect the rights and interests of UAW members and all workers."

Woodcock and his lieutenant, UAW Secy.-Treasurer Emil Mazey, thus ended up, if anything to the right even of George Meany, who has yet to make a definite pronouncement on the Pay Board. Woodcock over-rode a small but significant minority at the convention which was demanding his

immediate withdrawal from the Board, as well as the demands for withdrawal from the Board and for general strike put forward by the Amalgamated Meatcutters and the Baltimore Central Labor Council. He thus acted in support of all the forces who want to cooperate with the Board at next week's AFL-CIO Convention.

CAPITULATION

Mazey defended this capitulation to Nixon and the ruling class as follows: "The law is going to be here whether we like it or not... We can fight a lot more efficiently on the inside than on the outside."

Woodcock was able to justify this policy only on the basis of an agreement which he announced that the workers for the Big Three auto companies would get pay increases due them under the 1970 contract of approximately 6% within the next month, as well as the holiday pay for the Christmas shutdown.

Clearly, in exchange for an o.k. of the 6% increase by the Board (as well as an o.k. on increasing car prices), Woodcock is willing to subordinate the rest of the UAW, including more than 200,000 members who will be deprived of retroactive pay, and the entire organized labor movement to the dictatorial mandates of an admittedly "stacked" Board.

What ever happened to Woodcock's pledge that all contracts abrogated by the Board be declared "null and void"? What about those hundreds of thousands of UAW members in aereo-
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IAM Local Demands General Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—District 837 of the International Association of Machinists called Sunday night for a one day general strike against Nixon's Phase II wage freeze.

A meeting of over 200 shop stewards representing over 10,000 workers at McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft Corporation here unanimously voted to send a telegram to the AFL-CIO Convention in Florida calling for a nationwide labor work stoppage. Workers at the huge Phantom Jet factory have their three year contract expire next month and are demanding large wage increases.

LAYOFFS

In recent years there have been massive layoffs at McDonnell due to automation. In some depart-

ments there have been cutbacks up to 20 years seniority including highly skilled aerospace workers.

Revisionist sociology professors at Washington University have recently produced a white paper and a film on the deteriorating conditions at McDonnell Aircraft. This was part of a research project financed by the Teamsters union which has been attempting to raid the Machinist union.

PROGRAM

Despite denunciations of profit-hungry corporations and the use of Phantoms in Vietnam, these middle class radicals offer no program to save the aircraft workers. Only the Workers League has called for a shorter work week, the labor party, nationalization under workers control and a general strike. Now these demands are being taken up in this key defense industry.

STOP PRESS, Nov. 10—The Philadelphia AFL-CIO Central Labor Council voted unanimously for a nationwide work stoppage against all "unfair aspects of the wage freeze." The motion was made by John Ryan of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, Local 3, AFT. All the member unions of the Council are instructed to assist the AFL-CIO Convention and Executive Committee in carrying out a nationwide strike of all working people.

Mine Contract Sacrifices Jobs For Wage Increases

BY BOB MICHAELSON

The leaders of the United Mine Workers Union reached an agreement with the coal mine owners Saturday, November 13 on a new soft coal contract.

The contract calls for an estimated 30% increase in wages over three years, and is tied to an in-

crease in productivity. This will bring skilled coal miners up to a \$50 daily wage and unskilled to \$42.25 by 1973.

The companies' contributions to the union's welfare fund will also be raised from 40¢ to 80¢ per ton by the end of the contract.

Tony Boyle, President of the UMW, is hoping that the Pay Board will agree to the wage settlement. He has been assured by Arch Moore, a member of the Cost of Living Council and the Governor of West Virginia—which has 45,000 miners on strike—that since the contract was agreed to before the November 14th deadline of Phase I, it will be considered an "existing agreement" under Phase II.

JOBS

Moore's assurances are based on the fact that the Pay Board has stated that wage raises may be allowed if they are tied to increased productivity of the workers involved. This is precisely the method by which the coal mine owners agreed to the wage increase, and it will mean the loss of thousands of jobs in the coal industry.

For this reason, it is quite possible that the Pay Board would be willing to allow all or most of the increase through the grinder. The UMW bureaucracy is hoping on just that.

Such a contract would be a gross betrayal of the rank and file miners. Boyle and the bureaucracy are willing to make a sacrificial offering of thousands of jobs through productivity increases to the owners in exchange for a contract and wage increase.

Mine workers must demand the right of the rank and file to ratify the contract. Some rank and file groups are already making this demand. It should be carried forward now with the demand that no contract be accepted if the wage increases are dependent on a rise in productivity.

Taxi Militant Wins Big Vote

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Though the final tally is not in, the Harry Van Arsdale slate has apparently retained the leadership of Local 3036 by a 2-1 margin over the Rank and File Coalition.

At the same time, Dave Nickerson, a candidate for borough-wide office from Manhattan, who ran independently on a program centered around a General Strike of the entire labor movement to smash Nixon's wage freeze and Phase II, a labor party for '72 to throw Nixon and the Democrats out, and the driving of all labor leaders off the Pay Board, captured better than 20% of the Manhattan vote.

SQUEEZE

The meaning of the Nickerson vote cannot be overemphasized. Taxi drivers have been caught in a monstrous squeeze for well over a year. On the one hand, the owners, the City Council, Nixon's Pay Board, and a sellout union leadership try to ram a rotten contract down the ranks' throats.

Meanwhile the press, the public, and the Taxi Commission launch salvos from the other side, attempting to slander, castigate, and demoralize drivers, in preparation for the actual smashing of the union.

The number of fares has dropped, tips have diminished, and the drivers' salaries are going down.

The ranks are already one year without a contract.

In the face of these continuing attacks, the Rank & File Coalition has seen fit to run a "bread and butter" campaign for the past eight months, refusing at every point to take up the political struggle necessary to win a decent contract.

The Stalinists, International Socialists, and other middle-class radicals who dominate the leadership of the Rank & File Coalition must be held accountable for this disastrous course.

Basing their fight for union leadership on democratic unionism and constitutional reform, the Coalition actually set itself up as a barrier to drivers taking their contractual struggle forward.

STRONG

In other words the Coalition was saying that Nixon's union busting tactics, the decisions of the Pay Board, and the labor leaders participation on that Pay Board don't matter. Change the leadership of Local 3036 and the way the union is run, and a decent contract will take care of itself. Drivers correctly saw that

replacing Van Arsdale was only part of the problem.

Nickerson in the short period of just two and a half weeks took a strong political fight for a one day general strike and labor party into every Manhattan garage. When the final vote is counted, he stands a good chance of being the top independent vote-getter in the whole city.

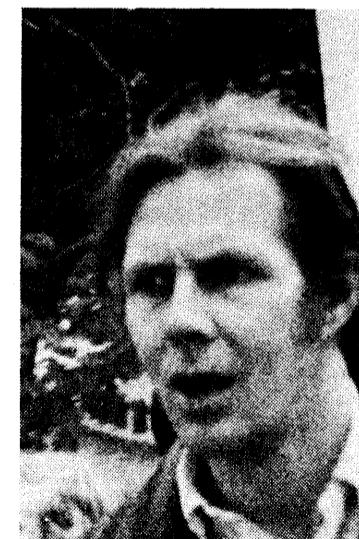
The mandate is clear. Drivers are beginning to see that it is going to take a political battle to win that decent contract that's been denied for over a year.

CEILING

Already Van Arsdale and the Shop Chairmen are meeting to determine contract strategy, in light of Nixon's Pay Board decision to set a 5 1/2% ceiling for wage increases in new contracts. The Pay Board's cancelling of retroactive increases immediately throw out the \$10 a week raise due inside workers, and the 7% differential to 42 percenters.

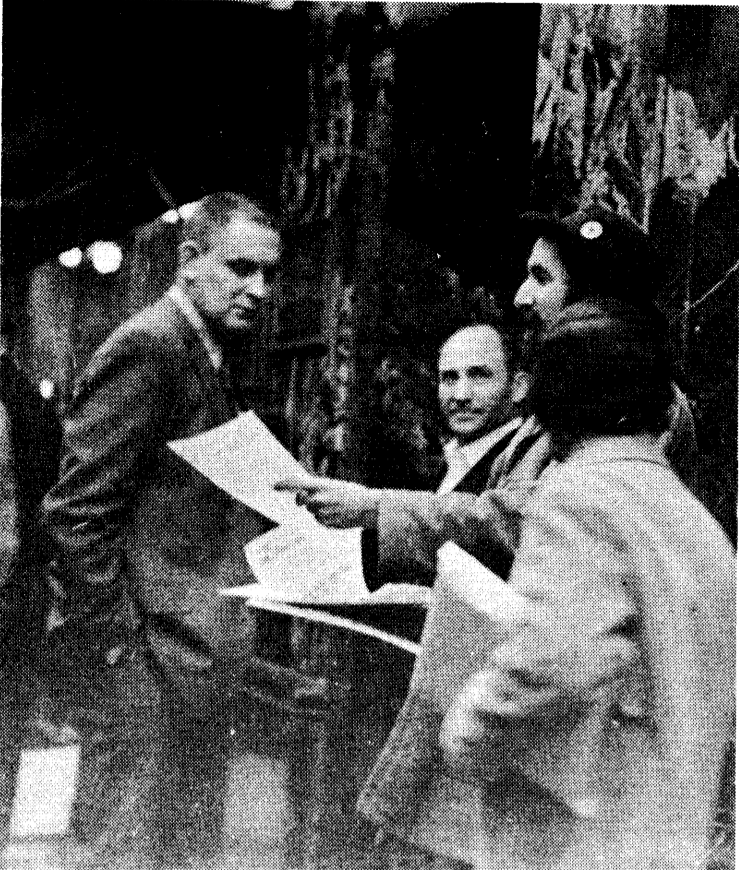
Not only have drivers' salaries decreased from last year, but further decreases are on the agenda unless a political fight such as Nickerson's is mounted city-wide.

Meetings must be held in every garage mandating that the Shop Chairmen and the leadership immediately:



Dave Nickerson, a rank and file militant opposed to Van Arsdale.

1. Renegotiate the whole contract beginning with 60% of the meter.
2. Call for a one day General Strike action to smash Phase II and win all retroactive increases in the taxi industry.
3. Drive Meany and every other labor leader off the Pay Board. No cooperation with any Pay Boards!
4. Build a Labor Party for '72 to throw Nixon and the Democrats out!



Bureaucrats of the United Mine Workers Union harass a supporter of the Black Lung Association at Roosevelt Hotel, where the UMW was holding a meeting. The BLA is supported by many rank and file.

Baltimore ILA Ends Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Nov. 13—Members of all six ILA locals are balking at their leadership's orders yesterday to return to work.

The return order came when the District Court of Maryland threatened to arrest the representatives from the ILA who had all taken a firm position against the court's temporary restraining order against the union. The restraining order was brought against the ILA after the local employers' group (the Steamship Trade Association-STA) filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

They contend that the Baltimore port is striking in sympathy with New York, and that the issues involved make it a secondary boycott for the workers here. They charged that they were suffering undue hardships as a result.

The temporary restraining order was issued Nov. 6th, and ignored by the union leaders until Thursday. On Thursday the hearing on the charges against the ILA started, and the judge announced that all ILA officials would be held in contempt of court for not complying with the restraining order. The leaders have, of course, shown their good faith in the court now by ordering their men back to work.

Precisely at the time that the cry for a general strike against Nixon and his courts is being heard across the country, this treacherous arm of the national ILA leadership has attempted to cut off a mounting, militant part of that movement.

All ILA members interviewed by this reporter were very angry over the moves of their leadership, but not many were very surprised. This local bureaucracy has a long history of contract sell-outs.

The problem, however, as one dockworker put it: "They've sold us out many times in the past. But now we're dealing with a government that wants to crush our movement altogether. This is no more a secondary boycott in Baltimore than it is in New York. We're striking because we're all affected by the GAI. But it's more

than that. It's not just the concept of the GAI which is at stake, but the whole right of working people to band together and organize without government intervention and control. For this reason, I completely support what I've read in the BULLETIN about a General Strike.

"I've got a lot of friends who work at the Schmidts bakery. Last year, during their four months long strike, they tried to talk all of our local into supporting their strike, sort of starting a general strike movement of their own. Well we told them it wasn't our affair. Now I see differently. A strike at a time like this affects the future of all working people...If we win, they win; if we lose, more losses will be coming."

HEARING

The hearing on the NLRB charges continues Monday with guest witness, president of CONASA (Council of North Atlantic Shippers Associations). The charges against the ILA have gone unchanged despite the testimony Thursday by a member of management from the Old Dominion Sugar Company that the employers agreed nationally not to negotiate any part of the contract until the GAI was settled in N.Y. The nationwide plot to break this strike has been uncovered, and Nixon's courts have shown precisely that they stand with management—in New Orleans, Philadelphia, and now in Baltimore.

The members of the ILA locals, however, have shown that they are ready to go beyond the limits their leadership has set for them.

The opportunities and the need for building a new leadership in the ILA have never been greater. Just at the time when militancy and desire to fight are rising, the leadership retreats, fearing no support and defeat. So instead, the present leadership settles for "a little bit of union breaking."

Philadelphia Dockers Return To Picket Lines

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 15—The East Coast longshore strike is now at the stage of out and out confrontation between the ILA and the government and its courts.

This is the meaning of the \$70,000 fine which was slapped on Local 1291 Friday night in answer to a two-day wildcat involving 1000 men, which was sparked off when Philadelphia dockers refused to cross the picket lines set up by their brothers from New

York and Hoboken.

These pickets were set up in order to stop the unloading of cargo that was being diverted from New York to Philadelphia to scab on the dockers strike in New York.

For over two weeks, the go-

vernment has had an injunction providing for \$5,000/day fines against the union and \$50/day fines against each striker.

The walkout was in clear and open defiance not only of the government, but also of Floyd Askew, President of Local 1291 and the entire ILA leadership.

When the pickets were first set up, Askew tried to keep the men from honoring them by echoing the allegations of the Philadelphia Marine Trade Association, that the cargo was not really scab cargo, but was intended to be unloaded in Philadelphia in the first place.

This was a boldfaced lie. Any cargo unloaded on the East Coast while the strike is still in progress is scab cargo.

This two-day battle has now forced the leadership to call an official strike starting today, the day the present injunction runs out. But the ranks must make sure that Askew is not allowed to pull a fast one this time.

They must lay the responsibility for the \$70,000 fine squarely on the shoulders of the leadership, where it belongs.

1291 members must now demand that Askew call on the Philly Central Labor Council for general strike action of Philadelphia labor against the fine and to end the wage freeze.

They must demand that the leadership fight for the extension of the 40-hour guarantee to Philadelphia and all other ports, as well as \$7.50/hr., 6-hour day, and \$500 pension. There cannot be any return to work anywhere without these basic demands being met.

To insure that this program is taken up, longshoremen must take up the fight to construct a rank and file caucus in the port of Philadelphia. This must be consciously undertaken as part of a national rank and file movement to smash Nixon's wage freeze, build a labor party for '72, and nationalize shipping under workers control.

Shippers Prepare To Use Injunction In Boston Strike

BY MARTY JONAS

BOSTON, Nov. 14—As the ILA strike goes into its seventh week, the 1500 striking longshoremen here face a critical situation.

International Vice President, Edward Dalton, went to New York on the 11th for negotiations, where Anthony Scotto is fighting to send the men back to work without winning any guarantee of the GAI (Guaranteed Annual Income).

The Boston men, who are not covered by the 2080 GAI, are under tremendous pressure to go back without winning anything.

There is no doubt that while Scotto pleads "isolation," and for the men to go back in New York, Dalton plans to bring the same rotten deal to the Boston port.

While militant Philadelphia and Baltimore dockers defied court imposed injunctions, the union leadership is preparing to bow down before such injunctions.

While Dalton still claims the basic gains must be won, he and the other officials refuse to mobilize to win them. He will not take into the New York negotiations the demand for a master contract and an extension of the guarantee to all ports.

The Boston Shippers Association and the local businessmen hit by the strike are preparing to bring in an injunction. Robert Calder, head of the BSA, is throwing around stories of how

Canadian shipping is "booming" in Halifax and St. Johns, and that Canadian docks will "hold on to business" when the strike is over. With this he is warning dockers that they should go back to work now or face no job at all.

The pressure that is brought against the dockers in an attempt to demoralize them was expressed by a Local 5 docker who said, "They're trying to starve us out. We can't even get on welfare. You can get food stamps, but you can't give those to your kids to buy school lunches."

Another docker told us he was beginning to understand what is going on in the prisons: "I'm just about ready to go rob a bank myself." The determination shown by the Baltimore and Philadelphia dockers is expressed by the Boston longshoremen. "We'll stay out til January if we have to," one Local 1066 workers told this reporter. But to stay out and to win means the fight to mobilize and defy the injunction that the Boston Shipping Association and the employers are preparing to bring in against the dockers.

1199 May Strike Against Freeze

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, hospital workers union, told the Guild Delegates Assembly November 11th that he would demand the resignation of the labor leaders from the Pay Board and that strikes would be authorized at hospitals which refuse to pay the November increases.

He also stated that workers facing contract expirations in July 1972 would never accept the 5% wage guidelines.

Davis stated that the Pay Board was a "trap" and that Meany was "helping Nixon." "They are five out of fifteen and it goes against them all the time and they know it," Davis said. "It's better to get off and openly encourage violation of every part of this indecent order."

It is clear that Davis has taken this step only under the tremendous pressure of the ranks. This was reflected in the numerous delegates who took the floor to demand that the labor movement take action against Phase II.

While Davis called for the resignation of Meany and his cohorts and for "violation" of the

wage controls he refused to go any further. He angrily attacked delegates who placed a motion on the floor calling on the 1199 leadership to fight for a policy of general strike action at the AFL-CIO Convention.

Just one month before, he ridiculed those who called for a one day general strike on November 12th against the Pay Board.

Davis must be forced to carry through on his pledge to strike the hospitals if the bosses attempt to appeal the increases to the Pay Board. At the same time hospital workers must demand that this be linked to a fight to bring out the whole labor movement in general strike action.

At the delegates meeting the report on the wage freeze was placed seventh on the agenda after a long series of routine reports and announcements.

One delegate at the November

11th meeting denounced the Democrats and Republicans and demanded to know why the unions could not get together and build their own party.

Many of the delegates applauded when a speaker called for a general strike and said that Davis was covering up the fact that the Meatcutters and many other union locals have passed general strike resolutions.

Davis responded with a vicious tirade saying "You talk about the Meatcutters and this union and that union...You just don't know what you're talking about!"

Union leaders like Davis have for years boasted about their "progressive" stand. If these leaders refuse to take up the fight against Meany they must be replaced with new leadership that is prepared to carry forward the fight with a general strike and the construction of a labor party.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas
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Revolutionary Youth Issue Call For December 18 Conference

The following is a statement by Abbie Rodriguez and Gilbert Gonzalez, leaders of the East New York Workers League Youth Club, on the critical necessity now to construct a revolutionary youth movement in the United States. The statement calls for youth to attend the Workers League Youth Conference on December 18th.

The recent developments in the crisis of capitalism in the US internationally has put the youth in a most important position. At a time when Nixon and the ruling class are trying to drive workers back to the conditions of the 1930s, the youth will have to play a decisive role in building a leadership in the working class to fight against these vicious attacks.

The wage freeze and the budget cuts are attacks on all sections of the working class so that the bosses can preserve their profits. The youth have felt the full

brunt of these attacks. With the continuous rise in unemployment the youth have the least chance of being hired.

The budget cuts have hurt the education which was already inadequate even before Nixon slashed the funds. Classes are even more overcrowded because teachers have been laid off, and funds for extra-curricular activities have almost disappeared entirely. Programs which helped to finance college education for poverty stricken youth such as SEEK and College Discovery have also been cut so that higher education for working class youth is continuing to diminish.

Even those who manage to receive a college degree are having difficulties finding jobs. Engineers cannot find jobs while other technicians are being laid off. All of this plus the events at Attica and the brutal murder of George Jackson indicate what the ruling class has in store for workers and youth unless we take up a fight immediately.

UNITE

The lessons drawn from the killings of Attica are that no movement can survive

against capitalism if it is isolated from the working class. The reason why members of various nationalist groups have been brutally murdered at will is exactly the same as in Attica. All of these movements failed because of their isolation from the working class and lack of Marxist theory to guide them.

The youth must take up the fight now at a time when the government is attempting to further divide the working class by pitting Black workers against whites. It is essential that this movement be built in order to unite all sections of the working class and youth.

The willingness and ability to fight and the growing discontent with the economic situation has been sharply expressed among the youth. On Nov. 4th a demonstration was called against the cuts in bus passes in New York City. Spontaneously 3,000 youth came out to protest. The cops proceeded as they did in Attica, to attack students. Many students were hurt and all this energy was dissipated because of the lack of leadership.

Up to now the youth have given their support to various nationalist groups and to

middle class politics. But with the deepening crisis in capitalism the bankrupt policies of nationalist organizations such as the Black Panther Party and Young Lords Party have been exposed. Thousands of youth in the past had come to these organizations looking for leadership and were left with nothing.

REFORMISM

The reason for this is that these organizations did not take up the question of Marxist theory which is the only guide to taking workers and youth to power, and based their perspectives on racial rather than class lines. At the same time the reformist demands of the Communist Party, the Young Workers Liberation League, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance and Progressive Labor are being uncovered. The CP and SWP bring youth out to anti-war rallies to hear speakers like Tony Randall and Senator Hartke who represent the same ruling class that is exploiting us. PL says youth should protest cuts in bus passes and what happens is that the youth without leader-

(Continued On Page 14)



Jefferson High School students in New York City take part in Workers League meeting last week. The new film on the Civil War in Ulster was shown and Lucy St. John, editor of the Bulletin spoke on the need to build a revolutionary youth movement in the U.S.

SWPAids CP-Dem. Slate

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BOSTON—Last summer the Communist Party cooked up a cynical deal with assorted Democratic and nationalist groups here under the cover of the nationalists' Black Political Convention here.

This convention sealed an alliance between two Black Democrats and the CP's School Committee candidate, Pat Bonner-Lyons. The CP agreed to support the two Democrats—A. Reginald Eaves, head of the Mayor's Office of Human Rights, and Royal Bolling a "neighborhood" politician—in return for their support for Bonner-Lyons.

The bankruptcy of the slogan of community control was fully revealed in the Boston municipal elections. The CP's program included everything from "select the best teachers" (and presumably fire all the rest) and "allow diversity within state and city standards," all the way to "give parents the responsibility to educate their children."

The completely reactionary character of the platform, endorsed by the *Boston Globe* and several Democratic Party groups, is most clearly revealed in the light of the openly racist "law and order" campaign of Louise Day Hicks for Mayor.

Mrs. Hicks' central slogan was one of giving the power back to the neighborhoods. She, along with Mayor Kevin White, helped to mobilize every racist and anti-labor element against school busing, encouraging racist attacks and shootings in the Dorchester and Roxbury areas.

SHAMELESSLY

The CP's alternative to this was to shout "Community control," along with the Democrats and Black nationalists, and to turn the willingness of the Black and white workers, especially the youth, many of whom were now able to vote, against these Republican and Democratic strikebreakers into support for the very Black "neighborhood" Democrats who are bent on enforcing the wage freeze and unemployment on Boston's working class.

The CP shamelessly acted as a left cover for the most vicious racist attacks on the working class and youth. The Stalinists' rotten program of community control not only avoided the question of the wage freeze, but actually encouraged the right-wing forces gathered around Hicks who would like to see the wage freeze extended into bans on unions and all types of workers' organizations.

But the crowning touch was provided by the Socialist Workers

Party which gave what it called "critical support" to the CP campaign. Their none too energetic "criticism" consisted of asking Pat Bonner-Lyons to break with the Democrats.

But as for support, there was no question. Adding their name to a list of supporters which included the capitalist press and a section of the capitalist class, the SWP supported the CP candidate without any stipulation that she must break with capitalist politics.

The rapid shift to the right of the SWP under the blows of the sharpening class struggle encourages the Stalinists in their conniving with the capitalist politicians who seek to smash the working class.

The fact that the CP received over 53,000 votes is an indication of the readiness of the workers and youth to struggle against the government's attacks, but the cynical maneuvering of the Stalinists with the full support of the SWP is a reminder to all workers and youth that the lessons of Pabloism in Ceylon, Algeria and France are not restricted to faraway places.

Only through the building of a labor party can there be any alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. This is completely bound up with the fight to construct a revolutionary youth movement.

NAB Covers Up Layoffs With Vets 'Job Fair'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Last week, the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) here held a "Jobs Fair for Veterans," with most of the major corporations in the area represented.

Their stated intention was to provide preferential employment for Vietnam veterans. The capitalist press and local veterans organizations worked with the NAB to give the fair massive publicity.

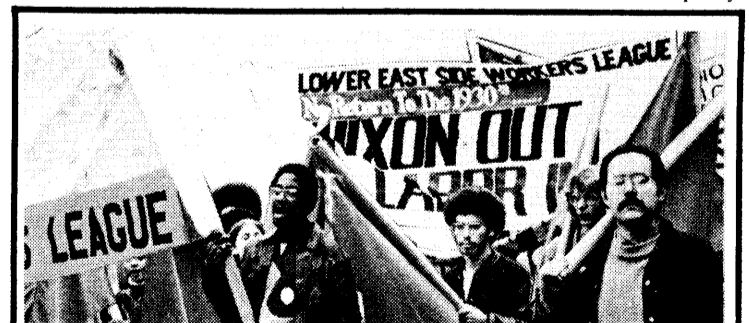
However, what was not publicized was that virtually all these corporations have been adding to the national unemployment figure of 6% with massive layoffs in the recent period. For instance, McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, which was supposedly recruiting at the fair, has reduced its work force from 20,000 to 11,000 in St. Louis.

With the added advantage of the good public relations, the corporations were obviously seeking a source of cheap labor. In opposition, a rally was called by rank and file autoworkers to expose the real meaning of the fair and to begin the fight against unemployment.

Nat Mosley, President of the UAW Black Caucus, described how big business represented at the fair could not solve the crisis of unemployment, for in fact they were responsible for its creation. He also pointed out how the present union leadership such as Woodcock and Meany must also be held responsible because they held back from the fight against massive layoffs. He called for the removal of the present union leadership and their replacement by those who represented the needs of the workers in the plant.

A number of organizations such as the Black Panthers, the Peoples Coalition Against Lead Poisoning, and the National Welfare Rights Organization then addressed the rally and in essence presented a diversion from the real problems facing the workers present.

The Workers League representative emphasized the need to unite the working class, employed and unemployed, Black and white, in the fight against Nixon and the bosses. Union action must be part and parcel of political action by workers directed towards the formation of a labor party.



Workers League

Dec. 18, 1971

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Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Labor Leaders Betray Pay Board Fight

While the labor leaders are lining up one after the next in defense of Nixon's wage freeze, the ranks of the unions are showing their impatience with their cowardly capitulation and are demanding action. George Meany at the AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach has received hundreds of telegrams and letters from across the country demanding that the unions call a one day general strike against the freeze.

At the same time Phase Two has opened under the cloud of "confusion." Both employers and unions claim they are "confused" as to what wage and price increases will be allowed. Last week the Pay Board announced that retroactive pay increases would not be granted on an across the board basis and that wage increases would be held to 5.5% but also said that there were to be exceptions.

This "confusion" has a two-fold meaning. First of all it is a conscious attempt by the employers, the government and the trade union bureaucracy to create illusions within the working class that there is "flexibility" and that some workers will get increases. At the same time the question of "exceptions" is designed to create big divisions within the working class, to divide union against union and sections of workers in the same union against each other.

But behind the "confusion" also lies something else. It reflects the weakness and fear of the employers and the government as they now face a powerful working class which has made clear it will not have its contracts abrogated and its living standards slashed as the bosses reap big profits.

Nixon, his head of the Pay Board and various politicians in Congress are trying to clear up some of the confusion by demanding that the lines be drawn with the unions. In this situation the leadership of the unions is critical.

Are the labor leaders going to be allowed to virtually give Nixon and the bosses a blank check to destroy the union movement, to destroy every gain and right the unions have won? Because this is precisely what they are up to now. This is the position put forward by that so-called "progressive" union leader, Leonard Woodcock, at the recent UAW Convention. Resting on the deal Woodcock supposedly arranged to get the auto workers their back increase, he defended Nixon's Pay Board and the freeze.

Woodcock today is matched in his treachery by John Delury, president of the sanitationmen's union in New York. Delury sitting with Mayor Lindsay and grinning like a cheshire cat announced on Tuesday the settlement he had reached with the City. The sanitationmen's settlement provides a measly wage increase of 4.5% and additional 2% for productivity with little or no increase in fringe benefits. Not only will the sanitationmen suffer a cut in their living standard but they will be worked twice as hard. This is the situation facing all workers.

Delury comes out against "revolution" to defend capitalism and its attacks on the working people. The laws, the courts, the Pay Board and the whole apparatus of the government is now used by and for the employers to maintain their profits by destroying the working class. These are the laws Delury and Woodcock seek to defend while they don't bat an eye as Nixon rips up contracts and takes away the rights of the unions.

World capitalism is heading into a worldwide recession. The labor leaders in this situation seek to demoralize the ranks, prevent them from fighting. This is precisely what the trade union leaders did in Germany in the 1930s. At each point they refused to mobilize the labor movement independently and politically against the government's attacks. Under the slogan of "legal opposition" the labor leaders delivered the workers up to Hitler and fascism. The unions were smashed and the same union bureaucrats thrown into concentration camps.

It is now up to the ranks of labor. The calls for general strike across the country show the way forward. But these calls must be turned into action. The labor leaders must be told that they either get off the board or get out. This fight is now urgent, each step by the bureaucracy strengthens the hand of Nixon and turns his position of weakness into strength.

Trade unionists must now take the fight for the general strike into every local and begin now to build a labor party for '72 which can defeat the government.



What we think

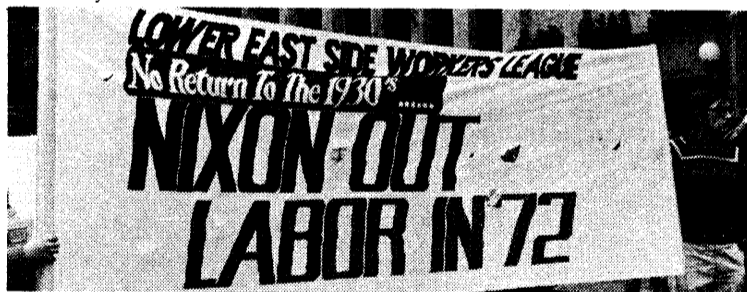
(Continued From Page 1)

the 1199 Rank and File Committee, the Stalinists refused to speak up for it.

In every instance where there was a fight to be made for this demand the CP has capitulated to the labor bureaucracy.

The same is true in their intervention at the UAW Convention and their treatment of it in the Daily World.

The CP completely subordinated itself to the United National Caucus "opposition" against Woodcock's support for the Wage Board. The Daily World article of Nov. 16 on the convention states, "it (the United Action Caucus) led whatever fight was allowed on the convention floor against the freeze and the Pay Board." The writer, William Allen, emphasizes the most conservative aspects of this fight when he describes the UNC demonstration outside Cobo Hall as supporting "a one-day labor holiday to protest the wage freeze." Even UNC spokesman Art Fox spoke of a "general strike for one day, or two days..."



The Daily World emphasizes the undemocratic nature of the convention, especially playing up the fight of the UNC as a protest against the leadership's moves to cut off discussion on the wage freeze. But the previous evening, the UNC leadership had itself completely subordinated the question of the freeze to a discussion of the possibility of working with the UAW Region 9a opportunist caucus over the issue of the union finances.

While Allen's article makes a big point about the UAW convention stand against the Vietnam War (as does their editorial page cartoon), not one word is said in this article or in the editorial denouncing Woodcock's plans to take the fight for retroactive pay to CONGRESS.

Not one word is said condemn-

ing Woodcock's call at the convention to defeat Nixon in '72 by supporting Democrats. And no wonder! This is the Stalinists' own policy on which they hope to collaborate with Woodcock. That is made clear in the World's article on the Communist Party National Committee meeting at which support was announced to movements within the Democratic Party, including "the Black caucus in Congress and formations, primarily Black led, such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the National Democratic Party in Alabama."

It is now clear that beginning with his statements before, during and after the UAW Convention Woodcock has emerged as the leader of all the right wing forces in the labor bureaucracy against breaking with the Board and against a general strike. The New York Times, following the convention, plays up Woodcock to the exclusion of the other labor members of the Board, focusing on his statement that there is no need to quit the Board "as long as things are going

as well as they have been."

Woodcock's role in pushing through support for the Pay Board at the Convention was ABSOLUTELY CRITICAL in the attempt to undermine the forces fighting for withdrawal and general strike. But the Daily World says nothing about this, resting content with characterizing the Woodcock policy as "wrong for the short run and disastrous for the long run." Other than that, Woodcock is simply lumped together with the other labor members who are given no more than a slap on the wrist.

What the actions of these traitors, Woodcock in particular, really means, is that their betrayal opens the door for the smashing of the unions. The urgent task of the rank and file is to take forward the building of rank and file caucuses aimed at replacing these labor bureau-

crats and taking forward the call for a general strike and a labor party in 1972.

The CP's criticism of Woodcock has the character of all their other "criticisms" of the bureaucrats. A criticism after the fact, but a refusal to fight the bureaucracy in concrete practice. The CP's liquidation of the fight against Woodcock (it must be remembered they also covered up for him during the GM strike) into the United National Caucus, is an effort to head off all manifestations of rank and file independence and struggle, to render them impotent and to subordinate them to "coalition" politics, to support the liberals.

It must be made clear that the refusal of the UNC leaders to fight for the labor party at the Convention is a capitulation to the Stalinists' "coalition" politics. The Stalinists therefore are setting the tone and providing the political framework for the syndicalist leaders of the UNC and the other opportunists such as the International Socialists.

It must be remembered that this latter group, an outgrowth of the Shachtmanites who broke with Trotskyism in 1940, lining up with imperialism against the Soviet Union, are today in a bloc with the Stalinists not only in support of the UNC but in a number of other trade union caucuses and coalitions. The refusal of their newspaper Workers Power to call for a labor party is merely the left cover for the Stalinists' support for liberals.

There is absolutely no escaping the historic role of Stalinist betrayal and of the struggle of Trotskyism on the basis of principle. This conflict is just as much at the heart of the fight for revolutionary leadership today. It is decisive for the future of the working class all over the world.

Fox, Kelly and the other United National Caucus leaders, by refusing to recognize the decisive question of the fight for a Marxist leadership in the unions, adapt to existing reality, ending up in an abandonment of the most fundamental principles of the working class movement and a capitulation before Stalinism and the labor bureaucracy.



SSEU: A Case History of Militant Trade Unionism

1 From Victory to Defeat 1965-1967

by Dennis O'Casey

The Social Service Employees Union representing some 10,000 New York City employees in the Department of Social Services and the Human Resources Administration is faced with the threat of mass layoffs and its virtual elimination as a union in the coming period. The reorganization scheme agreed to by the Stanley Hill bureaucracy in the contract accepted this summer virtually takes away all the gains won by welfare workers since the SSEU began in 1961. It leaves the ranks wide open to every vicious whim of the Lindsay Administration.

The struggle that must now be taken up to defend the ranks from Hill's betrayals and the Stalinists upon whom he rests requires a turn back into the history of the SSEU—only by coming to grips with how the battle against Stalinism and revisionism and its support to the labor bureaucracy has been fought out historically in the labor movement can the struggle to defeat these betrayers be taken forward today.

There is no richer case history of the fight for Trotskyism against Stalinism and revisionism in the American labor movement in the recent period than the fight in the SSEU. As the American working class enters a new period of revolutionary upheavals this history holds critical lessons for the American labor movement as a whole.

The Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) was founded in 1961 in a rebellion against the bankrupt, sellout leadership of Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Local 371 had officially represented New York City welfare workers since 1951. In that year the earlier United Public Workers which had led militant struggles of wide layers of city workers was broken in the post-war anti-communist witchhunt. During the 10 years in which it had existed in the Department of Welfare, Local 371's leadership had done little more than sign up members and collect dues.

During this whole period welfare workers, boxed in by the Career and Salary Plan, had progressively fallen behind the wage movement of other city workers. Overwork became progressively more burdensome with caseloads standing at from 75 to 100. Turnover stood at 40%. A reign of fear prevailed throughout the Department with mass trials of investigators and recipients for fraud and conflict of interest. Meanwhile one corrupt 371 president after another graduated to lucrative positions with the city.

The stranglehold of the conservative 371 bureaucracy over the ranks and the relative absence of struggle within the Department in this period reflected above all the relative quiescence that existed within the labor movement not only in the United States but internationally in the middle of the postwar economic boom.

By the early 1960's, however, the long postwar economic boom was already beginning to break up and with it the period of relative compromise between the employers and the working class. Internationally this was reflected in the great Belgian General Strike of 1960-61. In the United States big collisions between labor and the em-

ployers in basic industry were in this period still sporadic. The break up of the boom took the form of the organization of whole new layers of workers particularly public employees into the labor movement and the emergence of big struggles over wages and conditions among this strata. The emergence of the American Federation of Teachers against the National Education Association in this period was the clearest expression of this trend.

FORMATION OF SSEU

The formation of the SSEU in the period 1961-62, which took the form of the creation of a dual union in welfare against Local 371, must be seen first and foremost as a part of this process.

was launched aimed at winning bargaining rights for welfare caseworkers away from 371.

It has always been the position of the SSEU leadership that it was impossible to conduct a successful struggle against the 371 leadership from within the union. However, this can by no means be accepted on the grounds on which it has been explained, i.e. that 371 was simply too bureaucratic both in terms of its structure and its leadership.

There is every reason to believe that if the drive that was carried out to build the SSEU over the next two years had been directed at breaking up the 371 bureaucracy from within this fight could have succeeded. In any case such a fight would have been no different



SSEU strike in 1965.

The movement found particularly sharp expression with the New York City Department of Welfare as the Department was inundated in this period by large numbers of young workers fresh off the university campuses.

The actual founding of the SSEU, originally the Social Service Employees Association, occurred in 1961. It was founded by a former vice president of 371, Sam Podell, and by Bernard Kline. Podell had for some time headed up an opposition grouping within 371 called the "Committee for a Militant Union" which sought to reform 371 from within.

In 1961 Podell ran against the incumbent leadership and lost in an election in which only 40% of the membership voted. After this defeat Podell and many other militants left 371 in disgust. Podell and Kline then took the lead in chartering the SSEA and gaining recognition from the city for the new organization in March of 1961.

Meanwhile another more important group of militants from the Boro Hall Welfare Center came into contact with and joined the SSEA in January of 1962. This group included Joe Tepidino who had been considering the establishment of an independent union within the Department since the summer of 1961. Under the leadership of Tepidino and soon thereafter Judy Mage, who joined the SSEU in March, 1962, a massive organizing drive

than that which confronts militants today and confronted them then in virtually every other union in the country.

At the same time our main dispute with Mage and Tepidino is not that they initially acceded to the movement in the Department for an independent union. Whether or not the struggle could have been carried forward inside of 371 by early 1962 after the SSEU had already been launched was a tactical question primarily determined by the fact that whole layers of militants had already come over to the SSEU out of 371.

By early 1962 the question of taking sides between the SSEU and 371 was already sharply posed. We believe it was correct at that point for Mage and Tepidino to take sides with the SSEU and take up the fight to build it. This had, however, to be seen as a tactical necessity, one that would lead to the strengthening of the SSEU forces, within the framework of a strategy to return at a future point to the AFL-CIO where the battle against the AFL-CIO bureaucracy from within could again be taken forward on a higher level.

The crime of Mage and Tepidino is that having pulled the ranks out of the AFL-CIO they thought and educated the ranks in the illusion that the SSEU could make a go of independence from the AFL-CIO indefinitely.

In the next few years the SSEU met with tremendous success. In the ten years 371 had been in the Department

its leadership had organized only one quarter of staff. In five months the new local organized half again as many members as 371.

The SSEU organizing drive was carried forward under the most difficult circumstances with the 371 leadership conspiring with the city at each point to prevent it. Early in the drive the right to use Departmental premises for union meetings was withdrawn from the SSEU forcing the union to hold meetings in storefronts and other locations adjacent to centers. In spite of this the SSEU grew at a rapid pace.

In 1962 the bankruptcy of the 371 leadership was sharply exposed by its betrayal of the fight for the 1962 contract. On the eve of the deadline upon which the ranks of both 371 and SSEU had voted to strike, Jerry Wurf then head of DC 37 himself intervened in a mass 371 meeting to force the local to call off the strike. When the SSEU came out against this sellout and called for going on with the strike it was denounced by 371 leaders as representing the "lunatic fringe."

FIGHT FOR BARGAINING RIGHTS

Between this sellout and the SSEU's successful bid for bargaining rights in 1964 two struggles in particular stand out.

The first of these was the three day sit-in at Boro Hall Welfare Center in March 1963 in protest over the city's renegeing on payment of wage increases negotiated the previous fall. In the course of this action first Joe Tepidino and another leader were suspended and then a full 150 staff members including members of 371 who came to their defense were suspended. The solidarity of this action forced the city to relent and reinstate the workers establishing the ability of the SSEU to carry out actions in the centers.

The second struggle was the massive protest campaign carried out by the SSEU after Tepidino and Mage and two other leaders Cucinotta and Betts were suspended in August 1963 for writing a letter to the Federal government protesting sharp increases in workload that new federal welfare provisions were about to precipitate in the Department. Again the union succeeded in reversing the suspensions establishing its ability to defend workers victimized for union activity.

By the fall of 1964 huge support for the SSEU was building up as the struggle for the 1965 contract loomed. At this point the SSEU finally made its bid for a bargaining election which took place in spite of efforts by 371 to stop it in October of 1964. When the vote was tallied, the SSEU had won by an overwhelming two to one margin, 2642 to 1411.

The SSEU proceeded directly from the huge mandate in the bargaining election to prepare for the fight for the 1965 contract.

From the fall of 1964 until the union hit the streets on January 4, 1965 the union was on a collision course with the Wagner Administration. The City's best offer by December 22nd amounted under the Career and Salary Plan to a \$300 raise for starting workers and \$240 for the rest. There was no decrease in workload and the City refused to even bargain on the question of working conditions. The SSEU was demanding on the other hand salary hikes from the current \$5150 to the \$6100 to \$9500 range, depending on longevity and a caseload of 60.

1965 STRIKE

On January 2nd the membership voted overwhelmingly at a mass meeting at Manhattan Center for a policy of "no contract, no work." On the morning of January 4th the union hit the streets in a strike that was over 90% solid and quickly shut down 10 welfare centers.

Not only did the strike win wide support from the SSEU caseworker membership, but the impetus of the SSEU's initiative forced the 371 and District Council 37 leadership into a common strike pact that brought out most of the supervisors, 70% of the clerks (still represented by 371) and gained the support of wide layers of city labor.

The city's first response to the strike was to come down against the strikers with everything it had. Armed with the vicious Condon-Wadlin anti-strike law, Mayor Wagner and Welfare Commissioner Dumpson put 19 strike leaders including most of the officers behind bars, forcing negotiations to proceed from the city jail.

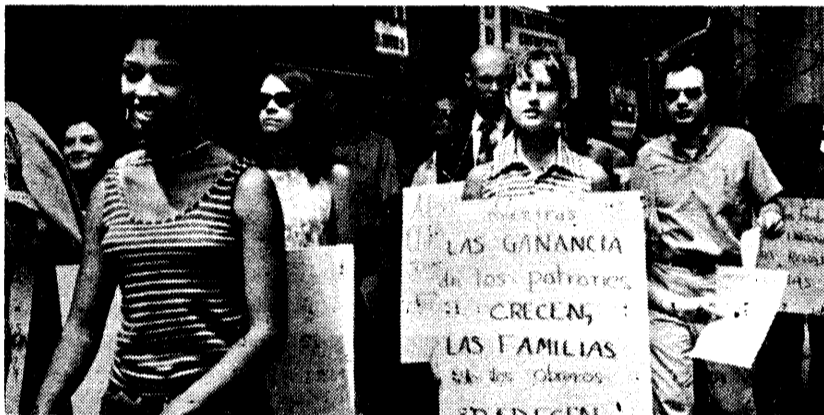
The role of Wurf, the DC 37 leadership, Van Arsdale and the Central Labor Council who were forced to take a hand in the strike, was at each point to try to seek a deal to sell out the strikers' demands. But the solidarity of the strikers and their rejection of the first deal worked out by the top city labor bureaucrats made this impossible.

In the second week of the strike the City was forced to meet a substantial number of the union's basic demands, if only in the form of an agreement to take all demands to fact finding. The breakthrough came, however, when the City agreed that all union demands were bargainable. This meant that for the first time since the UPW, welfare workers were to have a bona fide collective bargaining contract instead of a "memorandum of agreement." The demands that were won and subsequently incorporated into a contract signed in June, 1965 were for start-salary hikes of from 5150 to 5750, a 60 caseload,

a six month training program, a semi-automatic clothing grant for recipients, and many other demands.

Although these demands were agreed to in the second week of the strike, it took two more weeks on the picket lines to gain exemption for the strikers from the penalties provided by Condon-Wadlin.

Although it is clear that a continuation and deepening of this strike could most likely have won more money, a signed contract outright, and an 18 month contract as originally demanded, there is still no doubt that the 1965 strike represented a huge victory. Not only did it constitute a milestone in the alleviation of conditions in the Department, it gave a powerful lead to the whole of the city labor movement in the fight against Wagner and the sharpening attack that was beginning to come down on all the city unions



Judy Mage, first president of the SSEU (above, left) and Martin Morgenstern (below, right) her successor.

by 1965.

The task now before the SSEU was to take the strength that had been built up in this fight back into the AFL-CIO and use it as a bludgeon to break the stranglehold of the bureaucracy within DC 37 and the city labor movement as a whole. Only in this way could the gains made in the 1965 contract be defended and extended.

Neither Mage nor Tepidino, however, proceeded on this basis. For Tepidino, the success of the 1965 strike was seen as a vindication of the power of remaining independent. Mage likewise spurned a turn toward labor, seeking to turn the union in a professional direction and towards various forms of middle class protest. The false character particularly of Tepidino's perspective was quickly exposed by the challenge the City made to the gains in the 1965 contract before the ink on it was even dry.

First came the inevitable rash of contract violations. Contract provisions on training, workload, plant and equipment were systematically ignored. In the summer of 1965 a showdown developed when Iris Asher, a militant at the East End center, was summarily fired on trumped up charges of incompetence.

In the face of this counter-offensive the policy of Tepidino was one of constant retreat. This led to a growing rebellion in the ranks which was soon translated into a split opening up within the bureaucracy between Tepidino and Mage. The more militant layers of the SSEU including its radicals, which now included the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and Progressive Labor, crystallized around Mage in opposition to Tepidino.

THE MAGE LEADERSHIP

This split was resolved in a bitter election fight culminating in the defeat of Tepidino by Mage in January 1966. The Mage slate swept to victory over the Tepidino slate (although Tepidino himself was elected first vice president) by a 52% margin, Mage winning over Ishmal Lahab 1,943 to 1,437 with 296 votes for Jim Noe, the right wing candidate.

The defeat of the Tepidino slate was a progressive and necessary step for the further development of the SSEU. Tepidino had no perspective for carrying forward the 1965 victory. While standing for independent bread and butter unionism, he was already incapable of defending the ranks on this basis. He was an open con-

servative on political questions such as the war in Vietnam and the unions relation with clients. The election campaign was characterized by a whole series of vicious charges by Tepidino and Noe against Mage as they sought to appeal to the so-called "silent majority." Open red-baiting was encouraged among Tepidino and Noe supporters with a whispering campaign being launched against Bernie Cacchione, Mage's candidate for first vice president, because of the CP affiliations of his father who had been a city councilman in the 1950s.

The deadend character of Tepidino's leadership was reflected after the election when Tepidino left the union on leave of absence to run for congressman on the reform Democratic ticket.

While the election of Mage represented the triumph

of those who wanted to fight the City over those who wanted to turn the SSEU back into an independent replica of 371, Mage herself was soon to betray those very forces that elected her. In fact in the platform which guided her 1966 election, was the perspective of professionalism and middle class radicalism. The basis for the defeat of the union two years later in the 1967 strike was already being laid.

Judy Mage is an instructive example for the whole labor movement, particularly those new layers coming into struggle for the first time.

Judy Mage started her career, at least nominally, as a Trotskyist. She was a member of the Socialist Workers Party which represented in the United States up until its degeneration in the early 1960s, the continuity of the hundred year struggle of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Mage was not only a member of the SWP, but when the SWP moved sharply away from Trotskyism towards various petty bourgeois trends in the early 1960s, Mage joined the opposition tendency within the SWP which together with the British and French sections of the Fourth International, fought within the SWP against this revisionism. It was this opposition which in 1964 was to emerge as the Workers League.

In 1961 when the leadership of the SWP which was by then openly hostile to any fight in the unions ordered Mage to quit her SSEU activity, she up and quit the party. The opposition tendency supported in principle the correctness of her taking up union work. But it made clear to Mage that there could be no Marxist penetration of the working class separated from the fight to build the revolutionary party. It therefore insisted that Mage subordinate the question of her union work to the fight for the party. At this juncture this meant the fight inside the SWP. Therefore to avoid expulsions and endangering the whole tendency, it was demanded that she comply with the demand of the party leadership and call off her union work.

Mage, however, proceeded as a complete pragmatist and impressionist, broke with the party over this issue thinking that she could somehow give a lead in the American working class apart from the struggle against revisionism and apart from the struggle to construct the revolutionary party.

This, of course, is not possible. Therefore it was not long before Mage's flight from Marxism had catapulted her into the position of being the chief

fountainhead within the SSEU of the same middle class, radical opportunist conceptions to which the SWP itself had succumbed.

Mage quickly abandoned any kind of class line in the SSEU and any kind of perspective for turning the SSEU to the labor movement. Exploiting the tendency toward middle class protest thinking among whole layers of the SSEU militants, she turned the unions toward illusions that it had allies among the capitalist politicians in Albany, the capitalist press, the so-called "social work community," various charlatans that emerged in the welfare rights movement and all sorts of other petty bourgeois riff raff.

Mage's association with the protest movement among welfare recipients in this period was above all used as a cover for refusing to mobilize the member-

posed 100 times sharper than ever before. On January 1, 1966 Lindsay took office. In what was a signal of the big struggles city labor would now face, the Transit Workers Union began a bitter two-week strike. The election of Lindsay represented in fact a turning point for city labor.

It was at this point that Lindsay first came forward with his vicious Tri-Partite scheme under the Office of Collective Bargaining scheme (OCB). This plan meant the abrogation of virtually all of the rights of the city unions. It held that all questions other than wages formerly negotiated with city labor unions were now the province of "management prerogative" and outside the scope of collective bargaining.

The SSEU initially led a hard-hitting campaign against this law. It particularly attacked Victor Gotbaum, head of DC37, for his role as co-architect

This series of sellouts by the Mage leadership under conditions where the deadline for the 1967 contract fight was drawing near set the stage for the emergence of an opposition against Mage from out of the ranks.

THE RANK AND FILE COMMITTEE

The SSEU Rank and File Committee which was now to take up the fight against Mage's betrayals was formed in November of 1967. The RAFC included within its ranks supporters of the Workers League, supporters of Progressive Labor and various independents. However, from the outset the RAFC was led and its political line was determined by the Workers League which carried out a sharp struggle against the Maoist elements within the caucus.

Within a few weeks of the founding of the RAFC, a tasks and perspectives document was drawn up by a Workers League supporter and was adopted by majority vote of the caucus. It was on the basis of this document that the caucus functioned.

This document was itself based upon the Transitional Program of the Fourth International and reflected the fight for Trotskyism inside the SSEU.

It posed first and foremost the necessity for active intervention against the Mage leadership as part of the general struggle to mobilize all of city labor against the labor bureaucracy, Lindsay and the OCB. It placed this fight within the framework of the deepening crisis of U.S. and world capitalism, and the new stage of class struggle this was producing internationally. Above all it saw the question of the fight for wages and conditions under the conditions of this crisis as a fight that required the mobilization of the working class in the fight for political power. For this reason it put at the center of the caucus agitation the fight for a labor party based on the unions.

The perspective of the Stalinists who supported PL was the very opposite. Stalinism from its inception has been based upon a counterrevolutionary compromise subordinating the working class politically to the capitalist class through the agency of the liberal or national bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy. This policy, which led to mass defeats of the working class in the 1930s, is the policy known as the popular front.

The expression of this policy in the unions in the 1930s was the CP's policy of constructing center-left coalitions. It is precisely this policy in every detail that PL took over as the basis of its trade union work when it split from the CP.

What the center-left coalition conception meant was that PL, like the CP before it, fought to create caucuses politically based on a reformist trade union program, a program that the "center," that is ordinary rank and file militants, were ready to accept at any given moment. Thus such caucuses are based on the present bourgeois consciousness of the class and can pose no real struggle within them against the bureaucracy. The "left," i.e., PL supporters carry out "socialist" propaganda work and attempt in this way to recruit individuals to PL.

This complete divorce between theory and practice transforms Marxism into sterile dogma the only purpose of which is to provide a left cover for PL's capitulation before the union bureaucracy.

In no sense was Marxism seen as a method for the development of a strategy within the labor movement to transform the present struggles of the class in a revolutionary direction, to actually mobilize the class for the conquest of power in this period.

The strategy or non-strategy of the center-left coalition took different forms or was given different emphasis in the course of the evolution of PL within the SSEU. Thus when the RAFC was founded the emphasis was on the "left" aspect of the center-left conception. In fact the first battle with PL was over its attempt to turn the caucus into a PL Welfare study group. This group was to confine itself to giving classes on Marxism and criticizing Mage within the confines of this circle, while giving her free rein in the union at large to betray the ranks as she pleased.

Later after PL was dragged kicking and screaming into the fight in the union just before the split with the Workers League supporters, PL did an about face, completely submerging its socialist propaganda in order to totally embrace the Mage leadership.

While the emphasis changed, the counterrevolutionary Stalinist character of their functioning, their complete refusal and inability to develop a strategy to break the workers from the Mage bureaucracy remained the same.

THE 1967 CONTRACT FIGHT

The ability of the supporters of the Workers League to gain political leadership in the caucus against PL meant that the RAFC was turned from the outset into a bitter struggle with Mage over her preparations to sell out the 1967 contract. Lindsay had already made it clear that the budgetary crisis which faced the city government would require a hard line in bargaining based on the "management prerogatives" principles of OCB. While some 110 pages of bargaining demands had been drawn up and duly voted on by the union membership, it was becoming increasingly clear by the fall of 1966 that Mage hadn't the slightest perspective of how to win them. Not a word about



Striking SSEU workers (above, l and r) and at a rally (center) against City's vicious attacks.

ship of the union in its own defense.

Thus when Iris Asher was fired, massive client demonstrations were organized. Mage no more than Tepidino was prepared to defend Asher by putting the power of the union on the line.

In relation to the movement among welfare clients themselves, Mage's community action program was completely reformist. What was required was a fight to put the labor movement in the lead of the fight for welfare recipients. It meant getting the labor movement as a whole to take up the fight to organize the unemployed, to fight for full employment, 30 for 40, job training, and for unemployment and welfare grants to be set at the equivalent of trade union wages. It meant the fight for a labor party to carry this program out. Mage's program was completely opposed to the union organizing the clients. It called on the contrary for collaboration with the poverty pimps sent into the communities by Johnson and Lindsay in this period to hold back the struggle and to turn this movement against the unions.

The incorporation of these conceptions in Mage's 1966 election program revealed that more than a disoriented middle class radical, Mage was well on her way to being a hardened opportunist and bureaucrat.

This was shown even more sharply in relation to the position she took in this election on the war. In the fall of 1966 she came out against taking any position on Vietnam on the grounds that this would be "divisive." She even got the "Welfare Workers for Peace in Vietnam," led by the CP and the SWP, whom she encouraged privately, to put their committee in mothballs for the duration of her election campaign.

Thus while the election of Mage was a mandate from the ranks for taking forward the struggle of 1965 and opening up political activity around the issues of the clients and the war, Mage herself was completely opposed to carrying through this mandate.

LINDSAY OPENS ATTACK

On the eve of Mage's election, the necessity for the SSEU to turn towards the labor movement was, in fact,

of this law along with Lindsay. The campaign against OCB culminated in a mass demonstration 8000 strong at City Hall, involving the SSEU, the Teamsters and the CWA in June of 1966.

But then the matter was dropped. There was no perspective of how to break through the whole conspiracy between Gotbaum and Lindsay which would have required the organization of a rebellion within the DC 37 ranks, and the fight to bring forward a political offensive against Lindsay, centering on the call for a labor party. Soon Bart Cohen, Mage's third vice president, was submitting recommendations for a more benevolent OCB to the City Council. Within two years the SSEU became a signatory to the OCB law.

By the summer and early fall of 1966 Mage was not just in retreat on OCB, but was in full retreat on the issue of the defense of the contract as well. Through the summer caseloads rose to over 80. By October the situation had become so intolerable that a big movement developed for the dumping of excess cases. Mage was initially forced to go along with this movement. In every center workers systematically tied up thousands of excess cases in neat bundles and dumped them in the offices of the welfare center directors. The union had the City by the throat. But at exactly this moment Mage intervened to engineer a sellout of the action. "Pools," as they came to be known, were established, where workers ended up doing emergency work on the excess cases. While the City was forced to hire some additional caseworkers, it was basically let off the hook.

Mage's sellout of the case dumping was quickly compounded when she literally threw away the bargaining election for supervisors scheduled for November 1966. First Mage watered down the wording of the petition for the election in an opportunist move that backfired when the Labor Department threw the petition out. Then instead of mobilizing the supervisors and caseworkers in job action against the Department of Labor's action, Mage ran a futile sit-in, sleep-in at the Labor Department headquarters. It ended with the arrest of many union militants.

strike preparations appeared in any leaflet. No preparation was made by the leadership in the centers.

When Mage chopped down the democratically elected negotiation committee and voted practically all negotiating powers in the hands of Jack Beage, the Sanitationmen's union's chief bargainer with whom she had concocted an alliance, the handwriting was on the wall. Then in mid-December, Mage came forward with the proposal that the union's "no contract no work" policy be scrapped and the union extend the strike deadline beyond January 1st.

Against this retreat the RAFC led an all out war against Mage. In its newsletters, leaflets and in the fight among the ranks in the centers the RAFC fought for a policy of "no contract, no work." It fought to force Mage to prepare for the battle ahead by turning the union out to the city labor movement with a view to turning the fight of the SSEU into a movement of all city labor against OCB.

At the general membership meeting held in the middle of December, the RAFC rallied 40% of the membership to vote against Mage's proposal to extend the contract.

Though Mage got her delay, this won not a single crumb from the City. By the middle of January the tide of rank and file opposition to Mage's retreat was running so strong that at a mass membership meeting on January 15th, Mage was forced to come out in favor of strike action for the following morning.

THE MAGE SELLOUT

Mage, however, who had still done nothing to prepare this strike and did nothing to build it once it started, moved to sell it out just three days later. The settlement proposed to the ranks on January 18th was virtually unchanged from what had been obtained before the strike began. What Mage proposed was that the union accept the city's rotten money offer of \$1350, that it agree to the no-strike, no-action clauses demanded by the City, and throw virtually everything else into fact finding, even under conditions when the City held that most of the demands were non-negotiable under OCB.

In other words Mage conceded the bargainability of a whole series of issues that the ranks had sacrificed 28 days on the picket line to establish two years before.

At the meeting where Mage proposed this sellout, an extremely bitter floor fight took place. A speakers line stretched the entire breadth of the Fillmore Theater. When the vote was taken the RAFC and other militants succeeded in rallying 30% of the meeting to vote to continue the strike. Then after the meeting all hell broke loose. Hundreds of angry militants surrounded Mage in the entrance to the theater, shouting "Sellout," "Scab," and "No contract, no work" at her until she was whisked away at the point of being lynched by two reporters from the Daily News who hustled her into a taxi.

In spite of this sellout, within a month the struggle that Mage was trying desperately to suppress broke out again in the famous Non-Residence work actions. In February, workers at Non-Residence, overburdened with a workload that Mage's sellout had failed to resolve, took matters into their own hands and began a work action unilaterally limiting the work that they performed. Mass suspensions and a lock out resulted.

The RAFC which led this struggle mobilized Non-Residence ranks to accept nothing less than full pay for the duration of the lock out, as well as the work easements originally demanded. Overriding several votes of the Non-Residence chapters and the executive committee to back these demands, Mage and the CP supporters who were then delegates at Non-Residence ruthlessly acted to sell the action out while the RAFC fought to extend the action citywide.

The series of betrayals chalked up by the Mage leadership from November to February now placed the Mage leadership in an extremely vulnerable position as it faced the April citywide elections.

RAFC

The RAFC which had led the movement against Mage for the past five months now entered a slate in the election. It had the power and the perspective to topple the Mage leadership. But at precisely this moment Stalinism within the SSEU, in the form of both the CP and PL, intervened to bail the bureaucracy out.

The Communist Party had restricted itself to low key anti-war work and functioned in every other way in close collaboration with Mage. Its leading supporter, John Kalin, (currently editor of Labor Today) was instrumental in helping Mage sell out the Non-Residence action. It now suddenly threw up an opposition slate. This slate which was programmatically indistinguishable from Mage was designed solely to head off a huge opposition vote from coalescing behind the RAFC. The completely unprincipled character of the CP's role was expressed in the fact that

this slate, appropriately called the Unity Slate, appealed to the opposition to Mage from both the right and from the left.

SPLIT IN RAFC

The most criminal role however, was played by Progressive Labor supporters headed by Ray Agostini.

At a meeting of the RAFC held in late March, the PL faction within the caucus used the fact that they had a majority in this meeting to expell supporters of the Workers League after they refused to agree to restrict themselves in the campaign to the PL line adopted by that same meeting. In particular, the Workers League supporters would not agree to drop their call for a labor party.

PL had waged a constant battle within the caucus against the perspective of a labor party. This was of course completely in conflict with their Stalinist class collaborationist outlook of construction of the popular front. Against the labor party they counterposed the call for "independent political action," seeing this based on an alliance of workers with the welfare clients and the poor. This classless formulation meant, of course, the subordination of the working class and the poor politically to the capitalist class.

While the split with PL took place on the issue of the labor party, the split occurred as part of the headlong retreat of PL into the Mage camp under the pressure of the election.

Now that larger and larger forces were being drawn towards the RAFC, Agostini and Company, rather than seeing this as a reflection of the principled struggle carried out by the caucus against Mage, sought only to adapt themselves to these forces (a process that began in earnest in the Non-Residence action) and through these forces to Mage herself.

Within a few months Agostini and Company were completely submerged in the Mage bureaucracy. A few months after that, the period in which PL supporters had functioned in a common caucus with the Workers League, was officially interpreted within their rump RAFC as a sectarian error. In the election itself, so removed were the Agostini forces from the struggle with Mage and the real needs of the ranks, that they completely dropped all talk of the fight that was yet to come for the 1967 contract and filled their election platform instead with organizational trivia and collective bargaining demands for the 1969 contract.

The supporters of the Workers League took forward the principled struggle of the RAFC right through the campaign, running a slate of three candidates headed up by Dennis Cribben. The RAFC slate centered the campaign at this stage on the battle that loomed before city labor against the new Taylor Law banning public employees strikes. What the RAFC posed was that only by bringing forward the whole city labor movement against this law could the SSEU prepare seriously for the renewal of the SSEU contract fight which would be posed when the fact finder handed down his report considering the demands.

Mage, thanks to the role played by the Stalinists, was able to win this election by a two to one margin. The correctness and urgency, however, of the program which the Workers League supported RAFC fought for during the election was sharply underscored when the very mass rally against the Taylor Law called for in the campaigning by the RAFC was actually called by Gotbaum and the leaders of the TWU and UFT and scheduled to take place at Madison Square Garden on May 23.

The RAFC fought throughout the month of May to build this rally which drew 25,000 city workers and intervened in it to take it beyond the perspective of Gotbaum and Shanker, demanding that these leaders conclude a joint strike pact against the law and extend the fight to OCB, take the unity achieved at the rally on to the political plane through the fight for a labor party.

Mage and Agostini showed their seriousness about the fight to come in the SSEU and the fight ahead facing all city labor by completely abstaining from the fight to build the rally.

After the rally the RAFC went a step further and posed point blank in the May delegates elections the necessity for the SSEU to begin negotiations for re-entry into DC 37 as the only way to prepare for the struggle ahead. Mage and Agostini greeted this with hostility and contempt.

THE GREAT DEFEAT OF 1967

However, the struggle that had been postponed by the January sellout to to secure the 1967 contract could not be prevented. In early June the sellout character of the agreement Mage had entered into in January became more and more apparent as the city refused under the terms of the January agreement ever to enter fact finding on the basic issues of workload, job content and classifications. The city even called into question the \$1350 the union thought it had won in January.

Mage, unable any longer to keep the lid on the rebellion in the ranks, came out for a work action to begin on June 19th unless the city agreed to take all issues to fact finding. While it is clear that Mage

would have sold out if she could have gotten even a crumb, not even this was forthcoming.

After a whopping 87% referendum vote in favor of the action, the SSEU membership began a sitdown strike in the centers, individual workers replying to the administration when asked that they were "working for their contract."

While the strike itself was solid, within three days one third of the membership was locked out, suspensions began, and by the fifth week mounted to a total of 695. Police were stationed at every center. Workers were arrested and union militants beaten by police.

Very early in the struggle it became clear that Lindsay was out to bust the SSEU for good.

At the same time it was equally clear that Gotbaum was out to do everything in his power to make sure that Lindsay succeeded. Unlike 1965, Gotbaum encouraged the clerks and supervisors to cross SSEU picket lines while throughout the labor movement at large Gotbaum spread the vicious lie that the SSEU strike was nothing more than a jurisdictional dispute.

Against this drive to break the union it likewise became clear that Mage had not the slightest hint of a strategy. Mage called for filling the welfare centers with clients, for more harrassment of scabs. She organized a vigil at Gracie Mansion and scrambled behind the scene for some help from her friends in Albany, her friends in the "social work community", the press, and even the clergy.

What she could not and would not do (and this was just as true of PL by now submerged in her leadership clique) was confront the problem of mobilizing the support of the city labor movement.

Week after week during the strike the Workers League supporters around the RAFC demanded that this be taken up. The RAFC demanded that Mage take what union support was forthcoming from such unions as the NMU and Joint Council 16 of the Teamsters and at the same time take the initiative among the ranks of DC 37 and other city unions to organize a mass rally at City Hall in defense of the SSEU aimed at smashing RAT and OCB.

The RAFC proposed massive leafletting, sending speakers to local unions all over the city and a daily SSEU strike paper to be distributed all over the city to bring this about. Not only did the RAFC propose this but its supporters at East End and other centers began to carry it out, going to UFT chapters in local high schools and to longshoremen on the docks in the fight for support.

Upon RAFC initiative the Mage leadership was forced at least nominally to accept these proposals. But rather than then turning the whole membership into such a campaign, Mage turned the project officially over to Ray Agostini who was just as hostile as Mage to this perspective. He saw to it that it was never carried out.

By the fourth week of the strike the attitude of Mage was clearly to simply let the ranks work off their energy. She had completely abandoned the fight. With no perspective coming from the leadership scabbing at this point began to mount as the threat grew greater every day that strikers might never regain their jobs.

In the fifth week of the strike Mage made her first open bid to sell it out even though no demands had been won and the City still refused to agree to lift the suspension of key activists and delegates.

An angry mass meeting at the NMU hall, not quite able to stomach these reprisals, threw this sellout back in Mage's face by a 2 to 1 margin.

This action by the ranks was responsible for forcing the City to at least reduce these reprisals to the transfer of a number of key activists and delegates into different welfare centers. When this was agreed a week later the strike was called off.

The 1967 strike was a crushing defeat. The union was pushed back from its position of 1965. While a contract was finally forthcoming after the strike, all the no-strike, management perogative clauses were in it while the 60-caseload now had attached to it a 90 day waiver.

Much has been said in the subsequent period about the 1967 strike. It has been used to show the innate weakness of a welfare workers' strike. What this leaves out is how it was the union defeated the City only two years before.

The defeat of the 1967 strike was not inevitable. While the defeat arose in the first instance because of the much more aggressive determination of the employers and particularly Lindsay to attack the labor movement in this period because of the deepening of the economic crisis, this defeat could not have taken place if it had not been for the betrayals of Gotbaum, Mage and the Stalinists.

Gotbaum who found the militancy of the SSEU a thorn in his side, openly conspired to break the SSEU strike. Mage, both before and during this strike, refused to fight for a policy that could break through this conspiracy. This was the essence of the defeat of '67.

The isolation from the AFL-CIO was now completely intolerable and could only lead to disaster if persisted in after this defeat. What was now required was for the SSEU to confront the issue of merger with Local 371 and entry into DC 37 postponed since 1961 and the task of going after Gotbaum and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy from within.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

WR--Mysteries Of The Organism

WR--MYSTERIES OF THE ORGANISM. Director: Dusan Makavejev; Photography: Pega Popovic, Aleksander Pelkovic; Players: Milena Darvic, Jagoda Kaloper, Tuli Kupferberg, Ivica Vidovic, Jackie Curtis.

In recent months a great cult has developed and grown around Wilhelm Reich, the "revolutionary" psychoanalyst who broke with Freud and Marx respectively. He developed the theory of the orgasmic reflex or life energy revealing the deep roots of fear of freedom, fear of truth and fear of love in contemporary humans. This life energy is in fact—the orgasm!

Reich, Freud's first assistant, was also part of Austrian Social Democracy prior to World War I. He not only supported the October Revolution but was a pioneer organizer of the Austrian CP in 1921. The betrayals by the Social Democracy in 1921 and 1923, the inexperience and theoretical backwardness of the Austrian and German Communist Parties coupled with the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, found Reich completely outside of politics—nay, a bitter opponent of Marxism, of Leninism.

He was never able to differentiate between the policies of Stalin and Lenin, receding instead into his work in psychology. The rise of fascism, also never comprehended politically, forced Reich to flee to "democratic" America. His absorption into individualist psychology whose vortex was the orgasmic reflex, gave rise to an entirely new school of idealist behavioural psychology rooted in a profound distrust of authority and a naive utopian belief in "work democracy—an organic society based on liberated work and love."

Dusan Makavejev, the director of WR—

Mysteries of the Organism (WR) studied psychology at the University of Belgrade in Yugoslavia. He had read and assimilated Reich's "Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis" and, as he told a reporter for the *New York Times*: "I was impressed by Reich's ideas that changes in society must parallel changes in individuals, because inward repression parallels society's oppression."

WR--Mysteries of the Organism was begun in 1968 and terminated in 1971. It was shot, mostly on location, in America and in Yugoslavia. Although he had made three previous films, Makavejev saw in *WR* something new for him. Indeed, 1968 depicted not only massive upheavals amongst millions of students but saw the emergence of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries, notably in France in May-June 1968, and the brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia. The events in 1968 were the first outward signs of the profound capitalist crisis which exploded within Eastern Europe as well.

The intelligentsia reacted fiercely. Many supported the Czechs and issued manifestos denouncing Kosygin and a return to Stalinism. Films like *Across the Countryside* directed by Dujanovic, attacked Tito's repressive policies against the peasants and paralleled these with the Russian invasion. The film was banned and we have not heard from the director since.

Other artists, like Makavejev, reacted completely subjectively and turned to the crassest forms of "humanistic mysticism." Makavejev was particularly attracted to Reich's contempt for Marxism,

WR may be said to exist on several levels. All levels are shot out of a canon like Quaker Oats and are supposed to form, through montage, an entity. On one level the director attempts to recreate

a composite of Reich. Glimpses of documentary footage of Reich's rather backward neighbors in Renegley, Maine, where the exile set up his Orgone Laboratory; interviews with Reich's offspring, petty-bourgeois philistines all, who spew forth calumnies against Marxism and the American dream—precisely Makavejev's position.

We see Food and Drug Administration agents supervise the burning of Reich's books in 1950 and 1956; and finally Reich himself led off to Lewisburg Penitentiary, convicted of quackery (claiming a cure for cancer through orgonomy), where he subsequently died. Tape recordings made by the good doctor attest to his hatred for Marxism as well as his belief in the duality of mind and body.

"I hate communism. Communism is like fascism. I voted for Eisenhower in 1950—a great democrat." The "great democrat" saw to it that Reich was incarcerated, and his "orgone boxes" his "orgone cylinders," his institution, vandalized (subsequently restored).

Reich's disciples take us into the world of the "ergonomics of exercise"—excruciating and fatiguing—very much akin to faith healing and all geared towards masturbatory response, relaxation and pseudo-fornication. The disciples are plump, spectacled fatheads who inhabit plush air conditioned offices and expound Reichian principles with the facility of beavers building dams.

On another level—a descent into the underground. Nestled on one pole is Tuli Kupferberg, super-radical, chums with Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin; erstwhile contributor to the *Guardian* and *Screw* magazine; we see him scurrying about the palaces of the rich in army fatigues and machine gun, denouncing Marxism and bequeathing revolution.

And finally, as Makavejev explained:

"I wanted to reach a larger audience; and stories are fun. To say something serious, you must do it in an entertaining way. I don't believe in science that is boring or political messages that are dull." The "love" story takes place in Yugoslavia. Its protagonists are Milena (played by Milena Dravic) and Vladimir Ilich (played by Ivica Vidovic), a Russian champion figure skater and "star." Milena and her roommates are Reichian-socialists. In between denunciations of Marxists as red-fascists and a Stakhanovite worker parodying and making a mockery of the heroic Yugoslav working class, the roommates experiment with fanciful young males. The love affair is uphill all the way as Vladimir upholds his communist principles, while Milena seeks to weaken him with her down-to-earth charms. The artist-stoic finally succumbs, makes love several times and chops off Milena's head in a fit of madness.

All of this in Eastmancolor. The handheld footage is quite balanced and well focused. The editing, seeking to create a montage—"an organic film as a collision of disparate images and sounds"—degenerates into a commercial political circus, as you will, a noxious fantasy about the political life of the genitalia. *WR's* anti-communism will go over big with distributors everywhere. The scenes of Stalin, taken from a cult film of the thirties—*The Vow* (Chiarelli)—juxtaposed with Milena and Vladimir; the scenes of euthanasian torture in a Nazi concentration camp mingle with Reich and Lenin. The collage is indeed disgusting.

Miles and mental institutions and labor camps separate Makavejev from Solzhenitsyn and Medvedev. *WR* is fitting tribute to Reich and a scurrilous attack on revolutionary Marxism.

BOOKS

MARK ALEXIS

BOSS, RICHARD J. DALEY OF CHICAGO. Signet Books, 1971, 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York.

In the heart of Chicago are the giant office buildings, shining in the hazy sunlight, the centers of commerce and finance. They stand stark above concentric arcs of shops and department stores, of worn-out skid rows, of high-rise lakeshore apartment buildings, and finally, of the apartment complexes and houses of a massive working class community. Peppered within and around Chicago proper is industry—steel, metal work, electronics, food processing, textiles. You name it, Chicago has it.

Since the middle of the last century, the city has been the home for immigrants searching for employment. Confused and unable to speak the native language, these immigrants naturally drew together with others from the home country. In the west of the city settled Jews and Italians. Poles gathered in the northwest. On the north side were Germans, and to the southwest were Bohemians and Lithuanians. To the south lived the Irish.

The nationalism of the immigrants kept them disorganized and retarded the growth of class consciousness. A German worker would rather support his ethnic petty bourgeoisie than an Irish worker.

The mass of these workers, despite their ethnic differences, did form unions and engaged in many important struggles. They remain today in the working class and it is their potential for struggle which frightens the small Chicago elite to look down from their fashionable duplexes on a sprawling city of workers. This is why they institute terror against militants and radicals and seek to stir up every conceivable level of prejudice and conflict within the working class.



Cops attack youth on the night of the Democrat's Chicago Convention in 1968.

Mayor Daley is one of the few who clawed his way out of this working class ethnic mass by deserting his fellow workers, turning upon them, and building himself up on their back.

To Mike Royko's credit, he tracks Daley's journey out of this milieu and along this path—from the son of a sheet metal worker to the most powerful politician in Illinois.

Royko develops a brilliant snapshot of Chicago: the ties between organized crime and the city, the distribution of patronage jobs, the fixing of elections, the collaboration of labor leaders and bureaucrats with Daley's political machine, the rampant corruption.

In short the author documents all the rotteness and degeneracy of capitalism in decline as mirrored through an American city. We all knew what was in the toilet, but Royko lifted up the seat.

All this is to Royko's credit. No one knows the particulars of Chicago politics

like this journalist. His pen is a divining rod for scandal, his notebook an indictment of the Daley machine. But there is much to Royko's discredit.

What, after all these odiferous revelations, is to be done? Reform, says Royko. He ends the book like this: "Chicago ain't ready for reform yet," Alderman Bauler said when Daley was elected in 1955. And in 1970, ready or not, it wasn't getting any."

Daley's rise to power, Royko asserts, is a result of personal ambition, ruthlessness, trickery and a little luck. Daley's regime serves Daley.

This attitude is clear when Royko explains the huge intelligence network of the Chicago police: Daley built the intelligence division because he wants to know everything about those who may be working against him.

Royko's outlook is essentially a classless outlook. His book is devoid of any

hint of class struggle. There are even times when Royko suggests that the rulers of industry and finance, the men who occupy the top floors of the skyscrapers, are subordinate to Daley and the machine.

Daley is not merely a dirty politician who rules the city and state with an iron will and unfailing wisdom. Daley is not boss—he is servant to the capitalist class and will be mayor only so long as he conforms to the wishes of that class. Chicago's intelligence division is not financed to serve the mayor, but to serve his masters.

Important too is the crisis which has gripped capitalism and finds its reflection in society as a clash of classes, a sharpening of the class struggle. In Chicago we find most notably the riotous 1968 Democratic Convention, the ghetto uprisings, increased labor militancy represented especially by the Teamsters, and the attacks on the Black Panthers, the murders of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton.

What, for example, does Royko see in Gestapo-like murders of two Black Panthers? Not the class struggle. No. To Royko this represents Daley's fear that groups like the Panthers and the Black P. Stone Nation will develop into a political force capable of—electing aldermen! So works the mind of a reformist.

Daley's ruthlessness is in relation to his fear. His fear is in relation to the independent movement of the working class. But Daley is not alone. He trembles along with Lindsay, Hatcher, Rockefeller, Reagan and Nixon. He trembles with the liberals and the conservatives, with all those who serve capitalism and run its state apparatus.

And this is what Royko forgets. Daley's position, his ambition and ruthlessness are not unique or personal. It is his heritage as part of the state machinery of capitalism, and no amount of reform will break up that state. This can only be done by building the revolutionary party to lead the masses to state power.

Boss

UAW CONVENTION. . .

(Continued From Page 3)
space and other industries, and throughout the working class, who still face a fight to win contracts with first year increases comparable to the Big Three, increases which far exceed the Pay Board's 5.5% guideline?

PEACE

Woodcock is simply selling them out, in order to keep peace with Nixon. With this approach, the call for one year contracts or second year wage re-openers is a fraud unless the UAW is willing to confront the wage freeze.

Instead of mobilizing the workers in strike action and general strike plans, the UAW resolution called for a campaign in Congress to "require payment" of retroactive wage increases lost during the freeze.

Woodcock thus takes the fight against the freeze to Congress, the same Democratic-Republican Congress that initiated the call for wage controls long before Nixon—the very same Congress in which all the liberal Democratic friends of labor that Woodcock supports have gone along entirely with the wage freeze and Pay Board. Along the same lines was Woodcock's call for all those delegates to stand up who were in favor of defeating Nixon in 1972, without so much as the hint of any break with the Democrats in this anti-Nixon campaign.

DISCUSSION

In keeping with the practice of bureaucratic control and limited discussion of previous UAW conventions where hundreds of delegates who want to speak often cannot, Woodcock rushed through the entire discussion on the wage freeze from the floor in about 45 minutes. In the limited discussion period however, some delegates who were opposed to Woodcock's participation on the Pay Board were able to get the floor. A delegate from UAW Local 6, International Harvester said, "I want to state categorically that staying on that board is to dignify the damnable lie put out by the employers that labor's wages are responsible for inflation...Just to give an example of how the rank and file feels about it...The other day I sent you a telegram, Brother Woodcock, I sent you a telegram. I went to the first 40 workers I met in the shop and asked them to send the following telegram: Leave Nixon's Board; Join with the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union in calling for a national one-day stoppage. Thirty-seven of the guys agreed with the telegram..." He received considerable applause, reflecting a sentiment for a break with the Pay Board.

OPPOSITION

The main opposition tendency on the question of the wage freeze was represented by the United National Caucus, a group formed out

of elements from the old skilled tradesmen's \$1.00 an hour caucus based in Ford Local 600 together with a number of radicals and syndicalists. Art Fox, a delegate from Local 600 and one of the main leaders of the UNC, was the first delegate to speak against Woodcock's proposal. Fox called for Woodcock to quit the Board, stating:

"When we legitimize that fraud in Washington, not only are we putting a dagger at the backs of 200,000 of our members who are being cheated out of retroactive pay, we're scabbing on thousands and thousands of our brothers in the AFL-CIO unions who are demanding that their leadership support and if necessary, call a national general strike, for one day, or two days to protest that game in Washington."

The whole thrust of Fox's statement, however, was to take the fighting edge off the struggle. Rather than clearly state the need for a general strike unqualifiedly, Fox calls for a limited general strike, as a "protest," rather

books."

Fox also tried to justify his call for non-cooperation with the Board, by invoking the memory of Walter Reuther, regarding his leadership of the 1946 GM strike when he criticized the leadership of the UE for "scabbing" on the UAW. But this is nothing else but the same kind of opportunism involved in invoking the "authority" of Ralph Nader and taking the fighting edge off the call for the General Strike. The struggle that Fox carried on against Reuther for so many years in the UAW is so conveniently pushed aside in his efforts to appear as nothing more than a militant Reutherite.

PARTY

It is the same opportunism that resulted in the failure of Fox and of UNC President Pete Kelly—who also spoke against the Woodcock proposal—to raise the demand for a labor party against Nixon in 1972. This demand was not only urgent, but Woodcock had laid himself open for a fight

tely in support of Woodcock's position on the Pay Board.

Even though an attempt was made to defend the principle of the strike fund, the UNC leadership was unable to get to the roots of the method of this other group, its pragmatism, which despite disagreement, it held in common with Woodcock. The same pragmatic willingness to sacrifice the principles that the working class had learned through bitter experience, was revealed by the UNC leadership's hasty discussion on the wage freeze, and their failure even to mention the labor party at the caucus meeting or at the convention.

This was further revealed during the discussion on the financial question the next afternoon when Pete Kelly in effect assumed the role of one of the floor leaders for the Region 9a proposal by speaking on a point of order to request a role call vote on the Woodcock proposal. In this way, without clarifying his opposition to BOTH proposals, Kelly wound up in a bloc with the region 9a

locals representing parts supplier shops for parity with the Big Three:

"We've been after these things for 10 years and nothing has ever happened for us. When are we going to get these things done for the people on the bottom. Never, it looks like...What are we here for? If we're not here to protect everybody in this union in all the little local unions down the line, then we don't need to be here at all? How would it be if 250,000 independent supply workers walked out of this union?..."

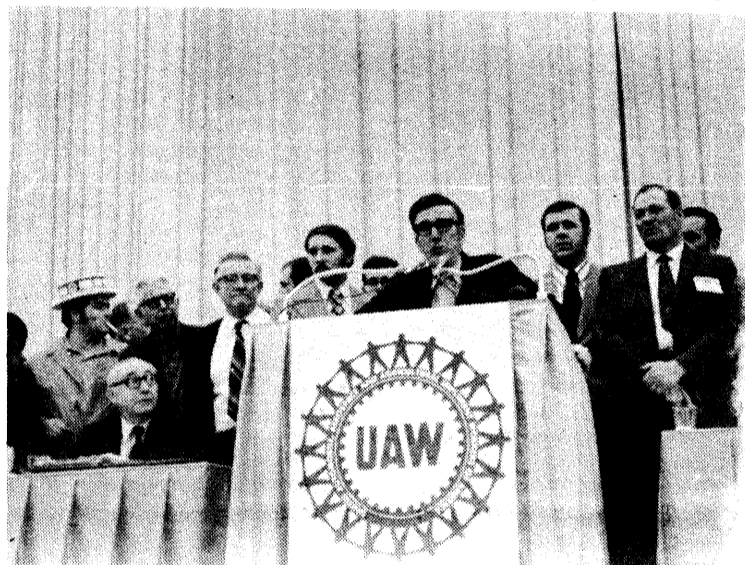
While the leaders of the opposition to the financial proposal reflected the real problems and grievances of the ranks, their posing of the solution as taking money out of the strike fund, their separation of the financial question from the basic and fundamental question of a political fight against Nixon and the wage freeze, was completely reactionary. They still believe that the problems that the workers face can be solved within the framework of old fashioned trade unionism and wheeling and dealing with the bureaucracy.

What is required is the building of a national rank and file caucus in the UAW to take on and defeat Woodcock on a program that must be fought for in deeds; a program to defend the interests of the rank and file in a struggle against the employers and the government. This is a political struggle, and in fact a revolutionary struggle for the working class to create its own party, a labor party which will nationalize the automobile and other basic industries and set up a government of the working class.

That is why the fight against the wage freeze and for the construction of a labor party in '72 is the first and most critical demand for a real rank and file opposition caucus in the UAW. All those revisionist tendencies in the UAW that pose a "militant" or "left" alternative gravitate around the Communist Party which most sharply opposes the mobilization of the working class for a real battle with Nixon around a labor party. That is why, today, as the Democrats and Republicans and the labor bureaucracy are thrown into crisis by the resistance of the working class, the revisionists gather together in opposition to principled struggle. It is significant that a spokesman for the Communist Party supported trade union group NCCTUAD who was allowed to speak at the United National Caucus meeting spoke of a "national work stoppage" as a protest and of a "coalition" (with Democrats) against Nixon in '72, and received polite applause from the Caucus leaders.

Workers League members and supporters in Detroit sold 175 copies of the Bulletin and a number of subscriptions to auto workers at the convention. The League is now planning to take forward the development of a national rank and file caucus in the UAW to fight for leadership against the Woodcock bureaucracy, based on an understanding of the entire history of that union, around the demands:

- Stop Phase II—General Strike; Labor off the Board; Build a Labor Party for '72.
- End the Speedup—Worker Control over Production.
- 30 Hours Work at 40 Hours Pay; Unlimited SUB at Full Wages for Laid Off Workers.
- Full Parity for all UAW Members Including Full Cost of Living Escalator and 30 and Out at \$500 Monthly at Any Age.



Woodcock announces yes-vote for his financial proposals (l).



Pete Kelley (r), UNC leader.

than the only way in which the working class can smash the freeze. In the same manner, he began his remarks by saying that in his opinion, and in the opinion of Ralph Nader, the wage freeze and the Phase II set up was on very shaky constitutional ground, was in fact illegal.

By posing the struggle to begin with as a constitutional question, as a question to be decided in the courts, he accepts the same groundwork of capitalist law and the courts that Woodcock and Mazey use as an excuse not to mobilize the working class independently.

That is why, following Fox's remarks, Woodcock was so quick to jump into the discussion, saying, "Despite the opinion of delegate Fox, and even of Ralph Nader, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, upheld by unanimous action, the constitutional authority of the President to do what he's doing under the law on the

question of support to the Democrats when he had taken a virtually unanimous vote on his motion to oppose Nixon in '72.

Both Kelly and other members of the UNC have called for the formation of an American labor party in their newspaper and the caucus supposedly supports it in their program. Could it be, that the UNC delegates—three of whom spoke at the convention—simply "forgot" about this demand, or are they opportunistically burying their principles beneath an alliance with revisionist groups such as the International Socialists and the Communist Party who refuse to even call for a labor party?

CAUCUS

The opportunistic character of the leadership of the UNC was apparent at a meeting of the caucus held the night before the convention. The leadership of another "opposition" caucus basing itself on the local Presidents of a number of UAW locals in Region 9a was allowed to take over the first part of the meeting to ask for "questions" and get support for their proposal on the UAW financial question which was to be taken up at the convention in the afternoon session.

The spokesmen for the Region 9a caucus asked for support for the proposal that rather than take an additional 3% of the funds of the locals out to pay for the UAW's Black Lake educational camp (a lavish undertaking in "memory" of Reuther and his wife), that these funds come out of the strike fund. The 9a spokesmen were not concerned with any other question, and as the events of the convention revealed, were comple-

people, attempting to lead their organizational struggle against Woodcock but FOR a policy which weakens the union strike fund.

SMALL LOCALS

Woodcock attempted to demagogically get support for his financial proposal by attacking the opposition as in effect not wanting to back up workers who were currently on strike or who would face strikes in the future. During this discussion, only one delegate really tried to put the financial question in the proper perspective, when he stated: "The question came up before of whether we're still going to have a union. Brother Woodcock should remain on the Pay Board. Personally, I feel that being that all the votes that I've seen were 10-5, that it's useless. I feel that we've got to go back, that we've got to make a decision here and now of whether we're still going to have a union."

The discussion over the financial question reflected the growing resentment against the International leadership among the rank and file, particularly in those areas of the union outside of the Big Three.

What these delegates, many from small locals, were saying is that the leadership does not back them up, does not give a damn about them. One delegate, the Black president of a small local sounded a common theme when he said that the local was constantly being drained by having to go through arbitration and that in all his 34 years in the UAW, the last contract they got was absolutely the worst in his history. Another delegate angrily said in reference to the fight by the

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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England

Trade Unionists Pledge To Build Revolutionary Party

BY MELODY FARROW

Sixteen hundred delegates and visitors representing workers from all of Britain's major industries attended the largest conference ever of the All Trades Unions Alliance on the weekend of November 6th.

The conference unanimously voted for the resolution of the Socialist Labour League which called for the mobilization of the labor movement to bring down the Tory government, for re-election of a Labour Party under new leadership pledged to a socialist program and for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party in 1972.

The tremendous turnout and the enthusiasm of the delegates is powerful confirmation of the rapid political changes taking place among British workers as the Tory government drives towards all out destruction of the jobs, wage gains and rights of the British labor movement.

Only the Socialist Labour League and its daily paper the *Workers Press* have consistently fought to build a new leadership in the trade unions based on the struggle for power and to bring workers into the revolutionary party.

The draft manifesto which will now be submitted to the local areas for further discussion and amendment includes six basic parts:

The Common Market Conspiracy. Against the massive opposition of the working class and with the support of the traitors in the Labour Party the Tories are conspiring to drag the workers into a Europe dominated by the banks and monopolies under conditions of more unemployment and inflation.

Government Without a Mandate. The Tory government is an illegal one whose policies are directly opposed to the masses of people who elected them. It must be defeated through the mass action of the working class.

Throw out the Labour Traitors! A Socialist Policy! The Labor Party and trade



Packed meeting of the All Trades Unions Alliance in London, England

union leaders have paved the way for the Tory attacks by refusing to mobilize the working class against the Common Market and the Industrial Relations Bill. A Labour Party must be re-elected pledged to socialism and the Charter of Basic Rights fought for by the ATUA and the SLL.

War on the Working Class. To save their decaying system the capitalist class of Britain and its counterparts throughout the world are preparing the same fascist barbarism that was used during World War II.

Defend Basic Democratic Rights. To defend these rights the working class must fight for the overthrow of the Tories and for a Labour Party pledged to nationalization of basic industries under workers control and for withdrawal of British troops from Ulster. The fight for democratic rights can only be defended with the Transitional Program of the Fourth International of Trotsky and the destruction of Stalinism.

Building the Revolutionary Party. The crisis of capitalism can only be resolved through the building of the revolutionary

party based on Marxist theory.

THEORY

The resolution states:

"The first task will be the thorough training of all these forces in Marxist theory, so as to intervene in and understand every new working class struggle and win the thousands of new forces who will be forced to fight.

"Only such a party, a revolutionary party preparing for workers power can defend the basic rights of the people and defeat the rotten leadership which now controls the labor movement.

The manifesto concludes:

"All those who accept these responsibilities are asked to join with the SLL and the All Trades Unions Alliance to launch the revolutionary party in Britain during 1972 with every ounce of energy they can find. This will stop the tide of reaction in Britain and throughout Europe."

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, warned the delegates that the crisis now facing the capitalist system would make the 1930s "pale

into insignificance."

He said that the labor bureaucrats must be cleared out of the way so that "the workers would see the weakness of the master class, see that it could be defeated and this knowledge would prompt an enormous revolutionary leap in consciousness of the masses."

Stating that the Tories were preparing the same murder and oppression in Britain as in Ireland, Healy called for the construction of the revolutionary party. "We ask you now to carry this fight forward, to seize this enormous opportunity to smash the exploiter forever, to build a better world where men can live."

This conference was held in the midst of a big intensification of wage attacks and unemployment against workers in such areas as mining, steel and engineering.

The Tories have threatened to close the River Don plant of British Steel involving the jobs of 4,500 steelworkers. Following the lead of the Scottish shipyard workers, the Plessey workers and the machine tool workers at Snow and Co., the steel workers have overwhelmingly approved their shop stewards call for a sit-in at the plant.

The Wincobank branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has called for a General Strike and a General Election and for the mobilization of the union membership in defense of the occupations.

The Tories are now concentrating their attack on wages on the Coventry tool-makers. The Tories have announced an end to a 30 year agreement which assures the toolworkers a high wage level and seek instead to tie wage increases to productivity and speed up.

Toolroom workers have called for an all out strike after the Rolls Royce management locked out 8,000 men in response to a one day protest strike.

280,000 miners are moving towards strike action in defense of their pay claim.

The labor bureaucracy in the Trade Unions Congress is rapidly moving to the right and seeks to head off the growing sentiment for General Strike action with protests over rising unemployment.

At a 25,000 strong demonstration against unemployment in Liverpool October 30th TUC leader Victor Feather was heckled and booed by workers demanding action against the government.

Feather only got a handful of votes for a resolution calling for the "restoration of full employment" but which separated this from the fight to bring down the Tories.

But a member of the Young Socialists won wild cheers and applause when she attacked the union leaders for refusing to fight the anti-union laws and called for the expulsion of the Labour Party leaders who voted for entry into the Common Market.

Thousands of workers in Britain today are breaking the stranglehold of the old reformist leaderships and are moving towards an all out confrontation with the government. The manifesto of the All Trades Unions Alliance is a pledge to carry this fight forward through building the revolutionary Marxist party deeper and deeper into the working class.

France

Common Market Axes Steel Jobs

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

OVER 12,000 JOBS in the French steel heartland of the Lorraine are being axed over the next three years, turning the whole district into a derelict area.

Wendel-Sidelor, the second largest steel monopoly in the Common Market, is closing down seven of its main factories and moving its operations to Fos-sur-Mer, near Marseille, where a modern steel mill is under construction.

The closures are part of a ruthless scheme to rationalize the French steel industry and make it more competitive inside and outside the Common Market.

It shows plainly what the future is for British steelworkers inside the Monopolists' Club which the Tory government is now rushing to enter.

The decision to shut down most of the Lorraine plants is a direct result of the crisis in the Common Market steel industry.

Steel production has been falling off sharply over the past few months, especially in the wake of the US import surcharge, and profits have plummeted.

The Lorraine steelworks are far older than their German and Japanese competitors and productivity is low. Twelve man-hours go into each ton of Lorraine steel, compared with seven across the border in Germany and six in Japan.

DOMINATES

Wendel-Sidelor dominates the entire region and for more than a century the steel

barons have sucked profits out of the workers in the towns and villages of the Metz basin.

"In some villages," says *Le Monde*, "the schools, the roads, the hospitals, the houses, the sports centers, all the factories and all the land belonged to the 'baron' or to some descendant of the dynasty."

Only a few years ago, it is said, the Customs Administration was given money by Wendel to build a new frontier post.

Towns like Villerupt, on the Luxembourg border, will be wiped out by the Wendel-Sidelor plan. The town is completely dependent on the 100-year-old Micheville factory due to disappear by the end of 1973.

Already Villerupt—which is under Communist Party administration—has seen its coal mine close along with another steel plant.

The company is busy issuing bromide statements that alternative work will be found. But with unemployment in France close to the 500,000 mark and rising, no one is taken in.

The workers' reaction to the closures are made even more bitter by the huge state handouts Wendel-Sidelor has pocketed over the last few years.

Because of the terms of the Treaty of Rome, which supposedly makes restrictive practices illegal, much of the gov-

ernment aid has been secret. The unions are finding it impossible to discover how much taxpayers' money has been syphoned off by the group.

Publicly acknowledged state assistance to Wendel-Sidelor alone amounts to nearly 4,000m francs over the 18 years since the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community.

(Most of at 1 or 2 percent below the going interest rate.)

As *Le Monde* puts it:

"The unions see the contraction of work at Wendel-Sidelor as scandalous in the light of the public aid amounting to several thousand million francs. (They ask) was all this money given or advanced in the name of the taxpayer only in order to raise the shareholders' dividends without any assurances about the future of work in the region?"

"For the management of the firm, on the other hand, the public finance has been judiciously used because it has allowed them—and still does—to raise the productivity of the forges, notably by cutting the labor force..."

STRUGGLE

It is clear that the steelworkers face a sharp struggle ahead. The Stalinist dominated union, the CGT, has joined hands with the reformist CFDT "to hold the rank and file in line."

In France, as in each country, the question on the agenda is the urgent need to construct revolutionary parties based on Marxist principles.

Latin America

Castro Makes Rescue Mission To Chile

BY ED SMITH

THE RECENT VISIT of Cuban leader Fidel Castro to Chile on behalf of Dr. Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government of Stalinists, Social Democrats and various bourgeois radicals and liberals is nothing more than an attempt to shore up this regime against the very workers and peasants it purports to represent.

Interspersed with trout fishing in Chilean glacial lakes and chit chat with Dr. Allende, his "long-time friend and political admirer," Castro will journey to the copper mines of Chuquicamata, recently nationalized by the Chilean government. The miners have threatened strike action for a 50% wage increase and have twice turned down government offers of 35%, even spurning a personal appeal by Allende.

Castro will also visit peasant plots distributed under Allende's land reform program. He will not be paying visits to estates expropriated by force of arms by the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) which considers itself to be Castroist, and which recently called for Allende's overthrow.

And what message will Castro bring these workers and peasants, as they move into a basic confrontation with capitalism and Allende's Popular Front which rests upon it? His host, Allende, makes it quite clear. The New York Times of November 10th reports:

"The political importance of the visit, Dr. Allende said, was that Mr. Castro's presence here would be public recognition by the Cuban revolutionary leader that 'Chile is living a revolutionary process under a revolutionary government, although with tactics different from those used in Cuba.'

"The end is the same however, to make Chile politically independent and economically sovereign," he said."

RESCUE

Allende uses the "revolutionary" reputation of Castroism to keep miners from striking and peasants from seizing land. Castro is on a rescue mission for Allende in the most concrete sense of the term—not in a struggle with the imperialists, but to bar the further advance of the Chilean workers and peasants.

All this is just the beginning. Chile is now seeking to "renegotiate payments" on a foreign debt of over \$3 billion. \$300 million was supposed to be paid this year, and \$400 million each in the next two years. This does not include the \$736 million in debts taken over by Chile in

connection with the nationalization of U.S. copper companies.

This comes at a time when the production of copper, Chile's main source of export income, has only reached 580,000 metric tons a year as against the 800,000 tons expected. This is after an investment of over half a billion dollars on industry improvements over the past several years. In the context of this growing economic crisis, the essence of Allende's "Popular Unity" is exposed. He protests the U.S. import surcharge and foreign aid cut, but winds up asking only for a rearrangement of debt structure for Chile's tribute to imperialism.

These "debts" will only be paid by pushing back the Chilean working class, justified by Castro's "revolutionary" prestige, propped up by the prodigious efforts of the Stalinists and revisionists over the past decades.

As the New York Times of November 9th put it:

"For Dr. Allende, the visit not only cements the political friendship between Chile and Cuba but also has domestic political importance.

"Since his Presidential campaign last year, Dr. Allende has had problems with the Revolutionary Left Movement, a pro-Cuban group that promotes land take-overs by peasants, preaches violent revolution and exercises influence on radical sectors of Dr. Allende's Socialist party.

"The presence of Mr. Castro side by side with Dr. Allende is expected to serve as an endorsement of the Chilean President's nonviolent 'road to socialism through legal electoral means, not arms.'

This is the reality that lies behind all the demagogic activities of the Allende re-

gime, including its new proposal of a "Popular Assembly" to replace the present legislature. Such gestures are only a crude cover for Allende's rightward course. Like all capitalist governments, however na-

tionalist, it must in the deepening economic crisis, play the role of a tributary of imperialism—or face ouster.

Then there is the role of the Castro government in Cuba in this situation. For its part this regime hopes to use Castro's visit to wed itself firmly to the policy of "the peaceful road to socialism" and "re-integration into the hemispheric system" of imperialist exploitation. The New York Times states, "For the United States and other members of the Organization of American States, which expelled the Castro regime from the hemispheric organization in 1962 and ordered a diplomatic and economic boycott in 1964, the visit may place this policy in a new light.

This was followed up by the following day's editorial in this mouthpiece of American imperialism. Under the title, "An End to Cuba's Isolation," the Times remarked:

"Fidel Castro's imminent arrival in Chile for his first visit to South America in more than eleven years unquestionably symbolizes the beginning of the end of the effort to isolate Cuba in the hemisphere...

"The breadth of that sentiment is indicated by the announcement that General Velasco, head of Peru's military Government, will meet Mr. Castro during a stop at Lima airport on the Cuban Premier's trip to Chile...

"This indicates the other Latin American governments are now satisfied that Mr. Castro no longer seeks to export his revolution by training, financing and even directing guerilla forces bent on subverting them...

"Cuba has ridiculed the O.A.S. in language similar to that once used by Peking



Fidel Castro of Cuba and Alexei Kosygin, Premier of the USSR.

for the United Nations; but if Mr. Castro changes his line and most O.A.S. members want to invite him back, the United States should not bar the door..."

The reference to China's entry into the

U.N. is particularly appropriate. Cuba, of course, from the very beginning participated enthusiastically in this "den of thieves." In any case the sharp turn of the capitalist crisis after Nixon's August 15 speech must bring all these elements into closer collaboration with capitalism's drive to maintain its "stability" against the working class at all costs.

EAGERLY

This is more than confirmed from the other side of this budding "detente" in the Communist Party's Daily World of November 12. Under the title "Raids seek to block new look at Cuba," veteran Stalinist publicist and Daily World magazine editor Joseph North writes:

"Will Cuban counter-revolutionaries, spurred on by CIA and other U.S. reactionary forces, succeed in stepping up their hit-and-run murder raids on Cuban coastal towns to try to prevent a detente between Washington and Havana..."

"That pirate assault almost coincided with the day Senators Edward Kennedy and George McGovern delivered speeches urging a new look at Cuban-U.S. relations, arguing for peaceful coexistence..."

"The question remains: Will the American people allow these murder expeditions to continue, especially at a time when leading U.S. political figures are calling for recognition of socialist Cuba, for the resumption of trade and friendly relations? Such new relations would benefit the entire world seeking eagerly for an end to world tensions."

This article comes from someone well placed indeed to know the Cuban rulers' underlying intentions. We must note it was precisely through such sources as the liberal senators and the New York Times that Nixon's rapprochement with Peking was first pushed forward over a year ago.

In the face of such clear and open betrayal by Stalinism and particularly by nationalism in the form of Castroism, we have a right to demand of such revisionists as the SWP an accounting of their position on these questions. They always demarcated themselves from the Trotskyists of the International Committee by their own "flexibility" and liquidation into the "Cuban road to revolution." Now their "policy" is in ruins and Castro is heading into the arms of imperialism at top speed. What do the revisionists say in evaluation of all this?

The International Committee through its principled struggle against Pabloism, developed the political alternative to the betrayals of the Stalinists and Castroites the Pabloites covered up for. This alternative must now take the form of the construction of parties of the International Committee that can destroy these betrayers and lead to the establishment of real working class power in Latin America and throughout the world.

YOUTH CONFERENCE. . .

(Continued From Page 5)

ship are beaten by cops while the question of taking power is never raised.

Organizations in the high schools want to keep their eyes closed to what is happening of improving their own schools without realizing that it cannot be done simply inside the schools. You cannot separate the problems in the schools from the present day conditions outside of them and try to make things rosy for the few hours that students are there. The only way that conditions within the schools can be changed is through changing the conditions faced in our everyday lives which are caused by the capitalist system.

CONFERENCE

This is why a youth movement that will fight in the interests of and unite the workers and youth is needed. The Workers League is holding a Youth Conference on December 18 to launch this movement—a youth movement that will root itself in the working class and take up the struggle for Marxist theory. Only through this study of the Marxist movement will it be able to draw the lessons needed to arm us for the

struggles today.

RIGHTS

At a time when the bosses are increasing unemployment, when Nixon is ripping up contracts and is moving to crush the unions, workers must fight to preserve their rights to collective bargaining and to strike. The youth movement has to expose and fight the traitorous role that the union bureaucracy is playing because it refuses to fight in the interests of workers and has once again sided with the bosses. Workers must demand that the unions call a general strike against Phase II and that there be no cooperation with the Pay Board. The youth movement must demand that unions take up the fight against unemployment for jobs for all through the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

The youth movement must raise the demand for the building of a labor party to provide a political alternative to the Republican and Democratic Parties which supported Nixon's attacks, and will help construct it.

Unlike other movements that disappear after the rallies end, this move-

ment will continue because it is being built around a program that will take youth into the struggle, a program that has been developed through years of struggles of the working class and the lessons drawn from them.

It is a program which raises the basic demands needed by workers and youth in order to live while at the same time it raises the question of taking power.

Only through the building of this movement can we unite the struggles of working people and youth internationally. Just as on a smaller scale a school cannot be taken outside of this crisis, the crisis in the US cannot be separated from that of world capitalism.

This youth movement basing itself on Marxist theory must always begin from an international perspective. The perspective of always fighting in the interests of the working class internationally. It will unite the struggles of the youth, people in Ulster, Europe, Japan, Vietnam, throughout the world.

THEORY

Only through building this movement

can we continue the fight to understand Marxist theory which George Jackson had turned to before he was murdered. After years of trying to fight capitalism through nationalism he finally made a turn to Marxist theory because he realized that it was the only way that workers could take power.

Weeks before his murder he stated that the most important book he had read was Engel's Anti-Duhring on Marxist philosophy. It is this fight that George Jackson turned to that the youth must continue.

This most important task must be carried out by the youth immediately. To hold back and wait is suicidal as it was for the German workers when Hitler rose to power. We face the danger of fascism if this fight is not taken up. The attempts to crush the unions, the stacking of the Supreme Court with racist, anti-labor judges are signs of this. It is the youth movement which has a central role in leading the battle against capitalism.

We urge all youth to attend the Workers League Youth Conference to be held on December 18 which will prepare us for the battle ahead.



Bulletin salesman speaks to seamen at Los Angeles Harbor who are picketing against job cuts.

Seamen Picket Harbor To Protest Job Decline

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Members of the several unions of merchant seamen are currently picketing in the Los Angeles-Long Beach harbor area to protest the huge decline in seamen's jobs over the last few years.

In the background stand row upon row of containers that are driving longshoremen into the unemployment office as the picketers distribute a leaflet that says, "American Seamen's Jobs Go Down the Drain!"

Since 1966 literally thousands of merchant seamen have been thrown off the ships in a job loss of more than 50%. The vast majority of American shipping is conducted under foreign flags in order to avoid the pay scales and job conditions required by American union contracts.

Under these conditions, and behind the real need of workers to fight for jobs, stand the union leaders who refuse to mobilize the ranks for an all-out struggle for employment.

The leadership of the seamen's unions has no intention of mounting a strike. It was, in fact, these leaders who refused to disclose the full contents of a contract the ranks were asked to approve.

It was not until all was said and done that the fine print revealed not a single word about foreign registry or job loss. Now these bureaucrats have taken a "militant" stance and are conducting "informational picketing" against one ship.

The reality of this situation is that these leaders are preparing to disarm the merchant seamen in the face of the bosses' attacks. Their carefully-worded leaflet implies that there is actually a great boom in foreign trade and workers have merely to get their "fair share." They further appeal to national defense and patriotism in an attempt to convince "taxpayers" that seamen are getting a bum deal.

This means that they stand with Nixon and the labor bureaucrats on the Pay Board who say that a wage freeze and strikebreaking are "patriotic sacrifices."

In fact, there is no trade boom, but rather preparation by the capitalists for an international trade war. That means wholesale attacks on jobs and wages and the return of conditions like those of the Great Depression. Patriotism is the

demand that workers fight and die against other workers in wars, and stand in bread line or starve just so the capitalists can continue to make profits.

In the middle of this great "patriotic boom" stand the thousands of workers in auto, steel and on the docks who are being automated out of jobs and are having their wages frozen because the capitalists face the end of the economic boom. Their international finance and trade agreements have collapsed, and they want the working class to shoulder the burden.

The answer to that must be a

resounding "NO!" Seamen must come together with the longshoremen to shut down the docks, and unite with workers all across the country in a general strike to defeat the wage freeze and unionbusting by the bosses.

STOP PRESS, FONTANA—Kaiser Steel here was given a ten day strike notice by the USWA on November 8, 1971. This strike will clearly be in defiance of the freeze, the Administration's Pay Board and the union leaders who sit on it, including USWA head, I.W. Abel.

Construction Strike In Danger

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

RIVERSIDE, Nov. 11—A strike several months long, of a section of mobile home construction workers here currently faces a critical battle for survival.

Riverside has one of the country's largest sectors of the mobile home industry, and it is almost totally non-union. The current strike, though relatively small at present, is, according to spokesmen for the strike, not only a fight for a contract with some of the companies, but also the attempt to begin an organizing drive in the entire industry in this area.

However, this perspective has never been fought for. Despite the desire for a struggle on the part of the ranks, the leadership has allowed the strike to become more and more isolated so that even the companies being direc-

tly picketed have not stopped production, and are totally manned by scabs.

The strike may be in trouble at this point, but the situation is certainly not lost. The international leadership of the Carpenters' Union understands the potential for such a militant organizing drive in this period. They are preparing to throw this local out of the union because of its "radicalism."

These union bureaucrats fear the possibility of a much larger movement of the ranks in construction unions. The passage of general strike resolutions by several locals shows what is brewing, and they are trying to cut it off.

This is the central question for the strike. Who is it that fights, not for victory, but for isolation and defeat? The responsibility for this belongs with the section of the strike leadership controlled by the Communist Party.

West Coast News SWP Embraces Jesus Freaks And Maoists

BY A CORRESPONDENT

IRVINE—Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party spoke at the University of California here on "Marxism and Christianity" and revealed the logic of Pabloism.

Edwards introduced himself as a member of the Fourth International which, he claimed, "is one of several revolutionary currents of Marxism that followed the degeneration of the Soviet Union like Maoism and Castroism." That is, Maoism, which prepared 750,000 Indonesian communists for slaughter and today aids the Khan regime butcher workers in Bangla Desh, is a "revolutionary current of Marxism."

This rubbish has nothing to do with Trotskyism which founded and built the F.I. on the basis that no other revolutionary currents could "emerge" from Stalinism.

However, it was during the lecture and discussion that followed that it became clear how much the SWP has degenerated. While

Edwards formally held the position that Marxism and Christianity are irreconcilable, he actually put forward exactly the opposite.

He described the rise of Christianity in terms of economic necessity facing the masses in the late Roman Empire. Christian communes were founded for survival and because they were historically necessary could not be wiped out by persecution. Today, he claimed, we face a similar situation, the decomposition of society.

At this point it becomes clear that Edwards, on behalf of the SWP, is consciously adapting to the Jesus Freaks, the latest and most blatant expression of raving middle class hysteria. Edwards implied that the current communes have the same social role now as then. Edwards also failed to point out that the present period resembles not the fall of the Roman Empire but the crisis preceding the rise of the fascist empire that covered Europe.

In order to maintain the formal posture that Marxism and Christianity are incompatible Edwards explained that Christianity became "institutionalized and bureaucratized" as time went on. The institution is the enemy of Marxism, but "we don't care what is in people's heads."

Of course Edwards didn't get away with this charade. On one side the "bishop" of some local commune asserted that "all this crap" about materialism was wrong and that his commune was based on spiritual needs. "Well, that's your opinion," Edwards answered.

It is no accident that today the Stalinists publish books trying to reconcile Christianity and Marxism or that the SWP follows the logic of "new radicalization" and goes tailing off after the Jesus freaks. Both reflect desperate attempts to head off and avert the fundamental struggles of the working class now opening up in this period. And it is no accident that while the Stalinists talk with the Bishop of Rome the SWP talks with the Bishop of Irvine.

EDITORIAL . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

others.

The Socialist Workers Party, stunned by the November 6 debacle, now calls for unity of the NPAC with the Stalinist PCPJ. For the SWP the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie is a piece of baggage from the old days.

Thus they make a few formal criticisms of the Stalinists and the Democratic Party only to cover proposals for unity with these same forces. For these wretched ex-Trotskyists the only principle is to confine the working class to middle class protest.

A Black party, a Spanish-speaking party, support to the reformists of Raza Unida in Texas and Los Angeles and unity with Stalinism in the fight for a popular front, this is the real perspective of the SWP. Their feeble calls for a labor party are simply propaganda window dressing to disguise their counter-revolutionary perspective.

It is no accident that at precisely this time the nationalists of the Young Lords Party built up by

Stalinism and revisionism conduct a tour of the West Coast seeking to divert the youth from the movement of the working class into bankrupt nationalist adventures and reformism.

The real potential of the youth was demonstrated in Los Angeles when Chicano youth demonstrated against Muskie. Although this demonstration was led by a nationalist leadership, the hatred of the youth for the capitalist parties was clearly expressed.

It is the unity of these revolutionary youth with the independent mobilization of the working class that the Stalinists, revisionists and nationalists fear above everything else.

Only the Workers League's fight for the construction of the mass revolutionary party in an all out battle to expose and destroy these tendencies can forge this unity.

The struggle to drive the labor bureaucrats off the board, to prepare a general strike action against the freeze and to construct a labor party will go forward through the fight to build this party.

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

Editorial

Calls For General Strike Throw Stalinists, Revisionists Into Crisis

Several weeks ago UAW Western Regional Director, Paul Schrade, called for the construction of a labor party and general strike action if union demands and contracts are not honored.

This week, Art Carter, Secretary of the Contra Costa Central Labor Council, announced his intention to introduce a motion calling on Meany to withdraw from the Pay Board if wage retroactivity is not granted in full and the 5.5% ceiling is not removed.

These bureaucrats are sitting on a powder keg and they know it. The real force behind these statements came forward at the General Motors plant in Fremont this week.

Shop meetings were held to instruct delegates to the UAW convention to take up a fight to demand that Woodcock withdraw from the Pay Board and to prepare general strike action if the union contract is abrogated.

This action from the rank and file comes together with the overwhelming strike votes in aerospace, the strike notice at Kaiser Steel in Fontana, the general strike call from California AFSCME and the explosive situation on the docks up and down the coast.

It is no accident that these votes and demands are coming from aerospace, auto and steel. Each day the leaders of these unions expose themselves before millions while they dance to Nixon's tune on the Pay Board.

The shop meetings at Fremont are a warning that a head on confrontation is developing that can sweep these "leaders" away and bring Nixon's anti-labor drive down in ruins.

These developments now mean a desperate crisis for Stalinism and revisionism. The potential for the working class to come forward as an independent force for its own class interests in a break from the liberals and the middle class means the destruction of these tendencies.

Both the Stalinists and the SWP are extremely upset by the failure of the November 6 anti-war marches to bring out masses of youth and trade unionists. The Stalinists in particular are well aware that this is not because the workers and youth do not wish to fight but rather that they are seeking alternatives to bankrupt peace protests.

Thus the People's World while forced to report on the calls for a general strike refuses to take up a campaign to mobilize the class to prepare it. Instead they continue to report on liberal sheriff Hongisto and the potential for third world parties.

Seeing the danger, the November 13 People's World calls for the rebuilding of the anti-war movement around a coalition of the labor movement, Black and Brown communiti (Continued On Page 15)

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FREMONT—Two shop meetings held at the giant General Motors plant in Fremont express the opposition developing to any collaboration of the UAW leadership with Nixon's pay board.

On November 9 a meeting of soft trim workers and on November 10 a meeting of Department 25 workers both voted unanimously to instruct the delegates to the UAW convention to demand Woodcock's withdrawal from the Pay Board and to call for the organization of a general strike against Nixon's freeze.

MEETINGS

These meetings were held after work and were attended by 25 and 40 workers respectively. So overwhelming was the opposition to the Woodcock policy that even John Herrera, Local 1364 leader, was forced to vote for the resolution.

The meetings which were originally called to discuss shop problems, could not be confined to local issues and rapidly developed to a discussion of the

crisis facing the UAW.

The Fremont UAW workers have been hit by a speed-up campaign launched by GM around the slogan, "Buy American" and cooperate in improving the competitiveness of "our" product. cooperation in improving the competitiveness of "our" product.

Workers are told their jobs are at stake and with the full cooperation of the union leadership a campaign for improved quality and a war against absenteeism has been launched.

LEADERSHIP

All company forklifts and scooters have "Buy American" stickers on them as well as cars in the lots, including those of the union leadership.

The workers are pushed each day with a quality control slogan

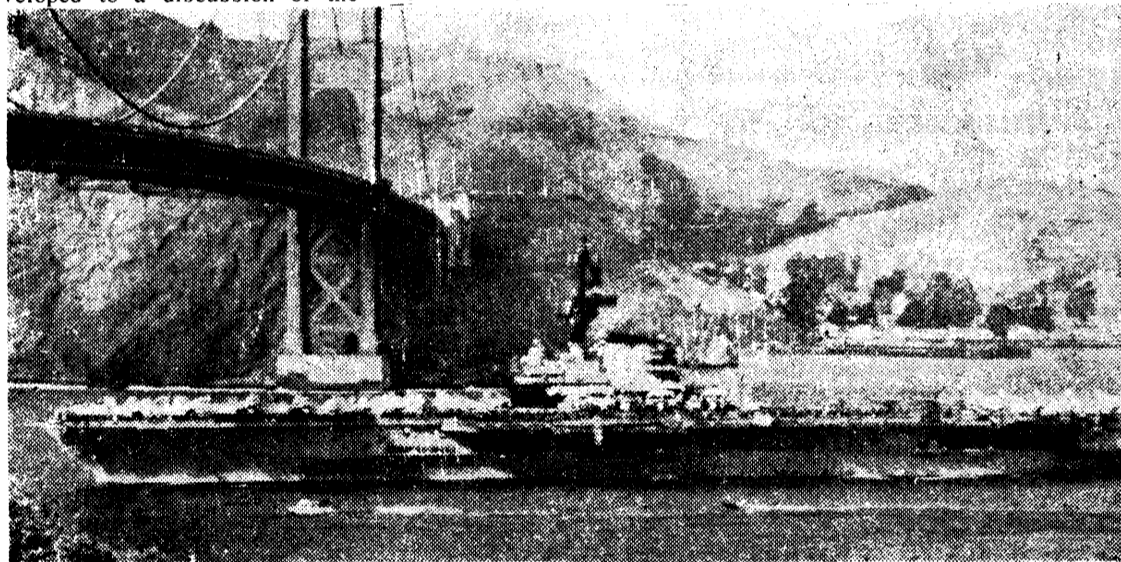
of "Break 120" which is the standard the auditors are trying to achieve.

Each day cheers go up in the factory whenever the P.A. system announces poor low quality scores, and loud boos for all announcements of high scores in quality.

Management has been suspending workers for absenteeism and "poor quality workmanship." Any cooperation with management's speed-up program has meant cut backs in the work force, squeezing more and more out of those remaining in the plant.

Now the government, with the open collaboration of the Woodcock bureaucracy seeks to cancel even the rotten contract won in weeks on the picket lines.

Fremont workers will be looking very closely at the performance of their delegates to the UAW convention. These meetings represent the beginning of a movement among the ranks to force the leadership to fight or get out of the way for a new leadership that will.



U.S. Carrier Coral Sea setting sail for Vietnam under the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco.

Sailors Protest Vietnam Trip

BY J. COORS

SAN FRANCISCO—The Coral Sea set sail for Vietnam November 12, with over a third of the crew opposed to that war. Of the 4,200 sailors assigned to the carrier, 1,200 had signed a petition protesting the ship's return to Vietnam.

In addition, three junior officers of the carrier have submitted their resignations, and it is reported that anti-war sentiment is increasing on two other carriers in the fleet, the Hancock and the Midway.

CARRIERS

The Coral Sea is one of five aircraft carriers assigned, on a rotation basis, to the coast of Vietnam. At least three carriers lie off the coast at any given time in order to provide air support, offensive air power and aerial and electronics surveillance. Almost half of all combat sorties into Vietnam are

flown from these carriers.

Although it was reported earlier that a number of sailors had refused to return to the ship, there is no information available as to the number of crewmen missing at the time of the ship's departure. On November 10, the "radical" city council of Berkeley voted to provide asylum to these men. It is doubtful, however, that any sailor will take advantage of this dubious offer, in that the offer so well publicized by these "radicals" functions objectively to set up these sailors for arrests.

The developments on the Coral Sea have also led to the middle class SOS (Save Our Ship) movement. This organization was able to rally 800 civilians to demonstrate their support of the crewmen at the time of the ship's departure.

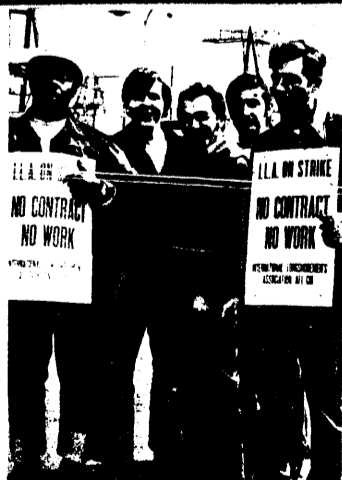
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The ruling class press has falsely reported that the SOS intended to prevent sailors from

entering the main gate of the Alameda Naval Station. While the SOS has so far avoided such adventurism, it has nevertheless attempted to maintain the demonstrations on the lowest possible political level. As one of its spokesmen said at the demonstration: "We have only two reasons for being here—to have a good time and to pass out our leaflets to the sailors."

In fact, the growing anti-war sentiment within the armed forces is but one manifestation of the sharpening crises of capitalism. The answers to these crises lie in individual acts of rebellion against the brass, and it is most certainly not solved by having a good time and passing out a few support leaflets. It is the organized struggle of labor, the trade unions, and not the Stalinists and fake radicals in or out of Berkeley, that must be turned to for the fight against the war and system which engenders it.

25c



**SHOWDOWN
ON THE
DOCKS**

From
Labor
Publications
135 W. 14 St.
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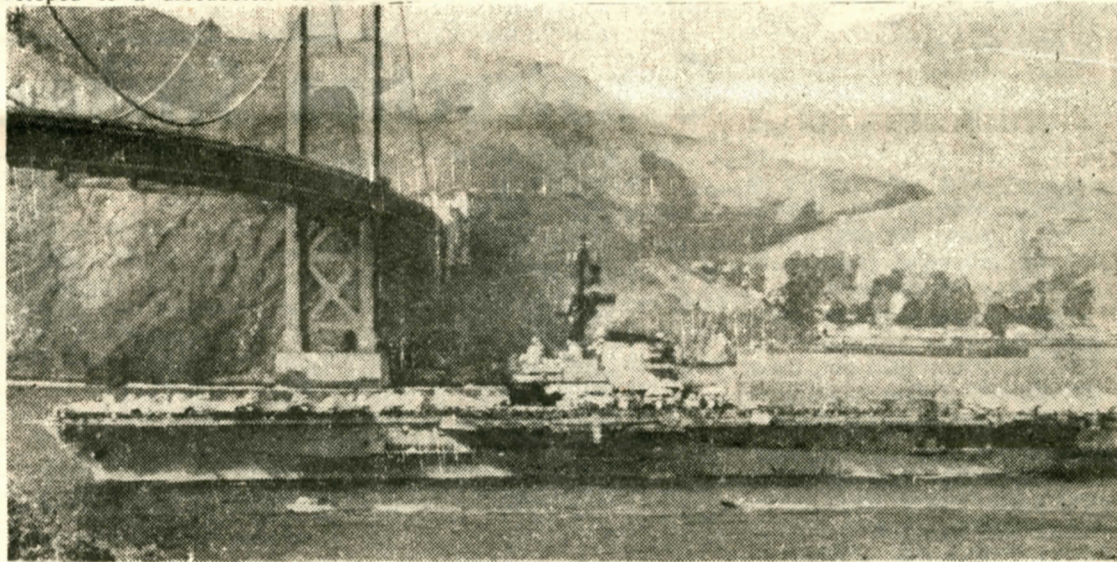
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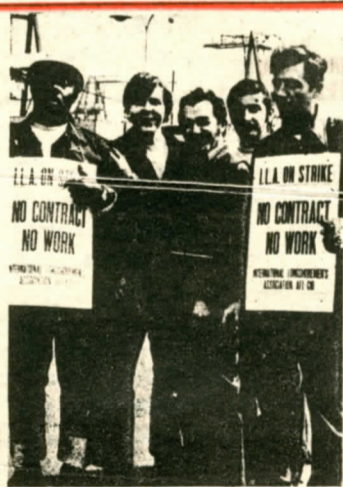
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