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MINNEAPOLIS UNIONS GIVE LEAD FOR LABOR PARTY

BY JEAN BRUST

MINNEAPOLIS, June 14—The Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council (CLUC) made a historic beginning in labor's fight back by voting at its June 14 meeting to try and build a labor party by the 1972 elections.

The attacks of the Pay Board on wages and the tearing up of hard-won contracts, as well as the anti-labor decisions of the Supreme Court, which abrogate union contracts every time a company is bought or sold, have had explosive repercussions in Minnesota and throughout the country.

Wednesday's action, which calls for investigating the possibility of creating a third political party by the 1972 elections with labor at its core, directing the CLUC leadership to contact the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and the National Farmers Organization, provides an important beginning now.

Every unionist throughout the country must use this beginning to take concrete steps to bring such a labor party into existence. Minnesota unionists, especially, must fight to implement this important decision by taking up the struggle in their locals.

It is the explosive situation developing between the labor movement and the government that is behind the action of the CLUC. A year ago the same CLUC voted to support the reactionary ex-cop Charles Stenvig for Mayor of Minneapolis.

Today the unions are under the direct fire of the government and all its representatives in the two parties. The action taken by the CLUC stands as a repudiation not only of its own past policy but of the policies of the union leaderships which have refused to fight Wallace. The Stenvigs and the Wallaces are the frontmen for the attacks on the unions and can only be fought through the building of a labor party.

The immediate impetus for this action was the kick in the teeth the working class received at the state convention of the DFL (Minnesota's Democratic Party). The only platform proposals considered at the convention were amnesty for all war protestors, legalization of marijuana, legalization of homosexual marriages—all of which

passed—and abortion, on which a neutral position was adopted.

As Thomas L. Loberg, CLUC president said: "There are more important issues facing people today than the things considered at the convention." One CLUC member said: "They can call us 'hard hats' or 'middle class' but we don't think these are the important questions today."

The DFL like the Democratic Party as a whole is the party of the corporations and the employers. This is why it could not pass a platform which addressed itself to the central issues facing the working class—unemployment, plant closures, the Pay Board—because along with Nixon, it is the author of these policies.

What those issues are becomes clear as the class struggle, brewing for months under the surface in Minnesota, has broken open in the past two weeks. Unemployment, long under the national average here, has mounted drastically and may soon surpass the national figure.

The Building Trades workers are fighting off a sustained attempt to break their unions, take away overtime and other hard-won rights, and may be fighting a

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Angry London dockers protest delegates' decision to postpone the national dock strike. See story on Page 2.

Big Business Plunders Alabama

Wallace Program Is Mass Poverty

Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay recently travelled to Alabama, the state which George Wallace has governed for eight of the last 10 years. The following article is the fifth of a series on where Wallace really stands.

Workers in George Wallace's Alabama live and work under the worst conditions in the United States. While big business fattens itself on profits in the "new" industrial South, Alabama workers must struggle just to survive.

One quarter of the state's population lives in poverty—as the term is applied by the Government itself. The average per capita annual income is below \$3,000. Only in two other states are the weekly wages lower.

Even the most powerful section of Alabama's labor force, the unionized workers, suffer conditions far worse than trade unionists in other parts of the country. There is no minimum wage law in Alabama. The state's "right-to-work" law threatens the power of the unions. It was only after a bitter fight that

any sort of workmen's compensation program was set up, and it is still far inferior to programs instituted in other states.

The children of Alabama workers receive the poorest education; less state money is spent for educating youth than anywhere else in the United States. Teachers receive an annual salary that is about \$2,000 less than the national average. Recently, George Wallace proposed that their retirement funds be used by the state in order to pay for Alabama's decaying mental health program.

If a worker in Alabama gets sick or injured, the chances are that he will receive inadequate medical attention. The state ranks 46th in the number of doctors per 100,000 population.

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Thousands Of Youth On Trial In Ceylon

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

Trials opened this week in Ceylon for the first of thousands of youth imprisoned after the April, 1971 insurrection against the coalition government of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Communist Party and ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

Trial is by a special commission headed by Ceylon's Chief Justice. Trials may be conducted in absentia, with confessions extracted in prison after the government crushed the rebellion.

There is widespread public sympathy for the youth. The rebellion arose after Ceylon's "socialist" government defaulted on its election promises to solve the country's crippling economic problems. Chief of these problems is unemployment. Even for college educated youth there is now literally no future but a lifetime of joblessness.

Since May 1972, the government has proclaimed Ceylon the "socialist republic" of Sri Lanka. But the economic crisis conditions that brought forth the insurrection not only remain, but have worsened.

Allende Ousts Minister To Appease Bankers

BY ED SMITH

The Popular Unity coalition government of Chile was reshuffled by President Salvador Allende on June 17. Six cabinet ministers, including Minister of Economics Pedro Vuskovic, were replaced.

The cabinet changes are Allende's biggest step yet in a desperate attempt to placate an increasingly aggressive right wing. Vuskovic was a particular target of the capitalist offensive. It was alleged that he had overstepped his bounds in bringing sectors of private industry under government ownership.

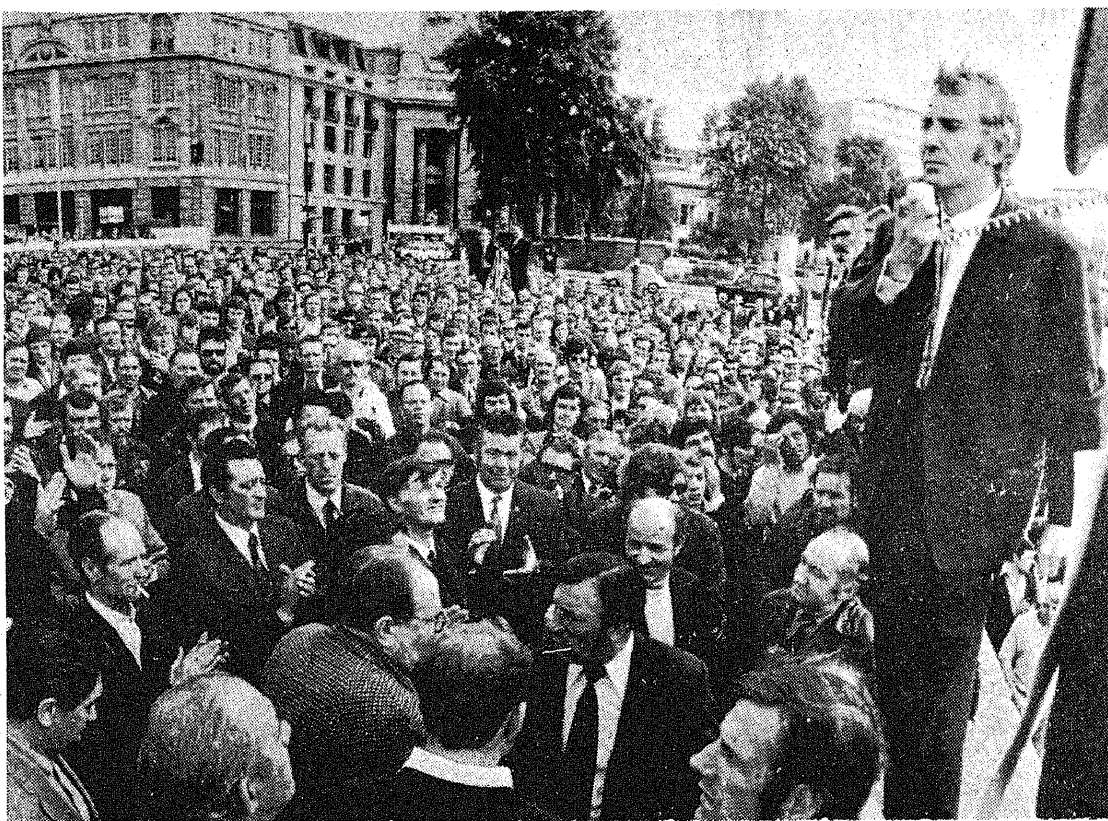
Vuskovic was replaced as Minister of Economics by Carlos Matus Romo, a member of the Socialist Party, who is viewed as being more of a "pragmatist." The move was approved among business quarters.

COLLABORATION

The removal of Vuskovic is counted as a major victory for the Chilean Communist Party within the coalition. The Socialist Party, to which President Allende belongs, includes strong forces who object to the CP's policy of open collaboration with the Christian Democrats and who oppose any slowdown in government expropriations of business, which has been proposed by the Stalinists.

INFLATION

Since the Popular Unity regime came to power, the amount of currency in circulation has increased 100 percent. Huge deficits were run up in the state budget. The first result was a feverish boom as demands for products soared. But now this situation has turned into its op-



Bernie Steers, one of three dockers whom government threatened with arrest, speaks to London dockers. They went back to work, but will continue to picket Chobham Farm where bosses are using scabs.

British Dockers Defy Jail Threat

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and the Tories erupted last week with a four day unofficial strike by 35,000 British dockers against the threatened jailing of three militant shop stewards.

Shaken by the tremendous militancy of the working

class, the Tories made a tactical retreat. Probably at the suggestion of the Government itself, the Appeal Court overruled the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) which had ordered the arrests.

However, this retreat does not solve the crisis. The Tories must now prepare the next attack more carefully because they know that the very survival of capitalism is at stake. Behind the attacks of the Tories is the world economic crisis.

England now faces the threat of another devaluation as its international trade slumps badly, as the recession deepens, and inflation continues to skyrocket.

For this reason, the central task facing British workers today is the political defeat of the Tory government and its replacement by the Labour Party pledged to socialist policies.

The wildcat occurred only a day after the national dock leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union decided to postpone the scheduled national strike for six more weeks.

Upon hearing of the decision, angry dockers poured into the meeting hall, shouting abuse at their leadership.

Gripped by its most serious political crisis since taking power in June 1970, the Tory Government remains in power only because the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy is doing everything possible to keep it in office.

MILITANCY

Not since the miners strike has there been a better opportunity for the working class to throw the Tories out. And the unprecedented militancy of workers in all sections of industry shows that this is what the great majority of British workers want to do.

The real feeling of the working class was reflected in the recent

statement of print union leader Richard Briginshaw, who called for a general strike against the Industrial Relations Act, and told the leadership of the TUC:

"If there was a willingness and desire on the part of our movement to have this Bill broken completely, it could be done quite quickly."

Only the Socialist Labour League has struggled to lead the working class in a fight to bring the Tories down and replace them with the Labour Party pledged to socialist policies.

It is demanding that the TUC be recalled to plan a political and industrial strategy to force the Tories out of office. And the SLL has called for the building of Councils of Action to prepare the working class for the Tory offensive and prepare the defeat of the Government.

Pilots Defy High Court

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The 24 hour world-wide work stoppage organized by pilots and maintenance crews from 62 different countries is the first international strike in history.

All at once, air traffic has been grounded by pilots refusing to fly unless greater security precautions are taken to prevent hijacking. It is a strike against the United Nations, which has refused to take action because to begin a discussion of hijacking would immediately raise the issue of the political and social conditions that are responsible for hijackings.

This strike has stunned the employers and their governments throughout the world who fear that world-wide strikes may become a new weapon in the arsenal of the international working class. If workers are capable of demonstrating their power over the technology of the international airline industry, what is to stop them from doing the same in the shipping industry?

Was it not just a few months ago that ILWU President Harry

Fascists Threaten Coup In Italy

BY ED SMITH

With Italian capitalism facing its worst crisis since the end of the war, the Italian fascist movement has openly begun preparations for a coup to destroy parliamentary democracy and for civil war against the working class.

Giorgio Almirante, leader of the Italian Social Movement (MSI), the fascist party, stated recently that if the present government failed in its battle against the working class: "We are ready to replace the state." These were not mere words, warned Almirante, who stated that: "I invite our opponents not to consider them as such."

He demanded that the fascist youth prepare for a "physical clash" with the Communist Party. "If prevented from entering the schools and the factories, it (the fascist youth) must know how to enter them and to stay there." This is an open prescription for fascist terror and civil war against the working class.

Italy already has half a million unemployed and at least 100,000 industrial workers will be added to the roles before fall. The Italian government recently went before the European Council of Ministers to obtain relief from its deteriorating position. But the other capitalist nations, preoccupied with their own problems, turned a deaf ear.

With the fascists openly preparing for civil war, the parliamentary system continues in permanent crisis. It has been impossible to form a majority coalition because there has been no agreement as to how to take on the working class.

The Communist Party, which leads millions of workers, clings to the ghost of parliamentarism as the fascists prepare to enter the schools and factories with knives and chains. Big business is now looking for a "strong hand" against the working class.

Only the defeat of Stalinism can ensure that the "strong hand" of fascism does not again come down on the Italian working class.

Bridges threatened to shut down the ports in every part of the world!

The Supreme Court of the United States, speaking in behalf of the corporations and cartels all over the world, issued an injunction against the strike. And acting in behalf of the workers, the pilots ignored it.

It is in this light that the pilots should consider the issue of hijacking. Who is really responsible?

We say that the guilt lies with the oppressive capitalist regimes that exploit the workers and peasants and not with the politically misguided individual who heroically seeks to fight the government.

The pilots and the hijackers face a common enemy—the forces of world imperialism that called on the Supreme Court to organize international strike-breaking activity.

Force ILA Leaders To Strike July 1st Against Pay Board

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—At the focal point of the attack on the labor movement by the Pay Board is the International Longshoremen's Association, which represents 45,000 dockworkers on the East and Gulf Coasts.

The relationship of the labor leadership to Nixon and the Pay Board was strained to the breaking point when the Board cut the West Coast longshoremen's (ILWU) wage increase and George Meany and the other leaders walked off the Board.

But Meany, Harry Bridges of the ILWU and Thomas Gleason of the ILA refused to mobilize the longshoremen and the rest of labor in a fight to abolish the Pay Board.

Now, the ILA can no longer postpone taking action in defense

of its 70¢ first year increase which the Pay Board cut to 55¢. As the top ILA leaders meet in New York to decide on a course of action, the rank and file must demand a July 1st strike deadline to shut down the docks in order to win the full 70¢ increase and to throw out the new work rules negotiated in the contract. This is the demand being fought for by the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract.

July 1 is the date on which the Pay Board has demanded that the ILA implement these work rules or else, says the Board, even the piddling second year

increase of 40¢ will be denied on October 1.

The same basic issue—the defense of dock jobs and seniority rights—lies behind the ILA strike in the Great Lake port of Milwaukee where the rank and file twice rejected the attempts of ILA Local 815 chief negotiator, John Brzek, to come to an agreement with the shippers.

In a split in the local leadership, President Peter Kalil, Local 815 President, emphatically rejected any proposal for arbitration, and stated that: "At no time are we willing to forfeit our bargaining rights."

The fight against this destruction of dock jobs is most sharply expressed in the current strike by the ILA in Montreal and other Quebec ports. The action of the rank and file in Montreal, who forced their leaders to reject arbitration, censured their conduct of the strike and voted to reduce the salaries of the leaders retroactive to the start of the strike, is the kind of action that the rank and file must take in New York and other East and Gulf Coast ports if Gleason refuses to fight the Pay Board.

The kind of action needed to smash the Pay Board entirely, a general strike by all labor, can now be brought forward through the action of the ILA. The rank and file must demand that they have the right to discuss and decide on strike action by the calling of meetings of all locals in all ports.

A strike by the ILA against the Pay Board will bring the entire labor movement to the breaking point not only with Nixon, but with the Democratic Party, fueling the fire of the movement for the creation of a real alternative for the working people, a labor party.

Meatcutter: It's A Crime To Take Back Our Money

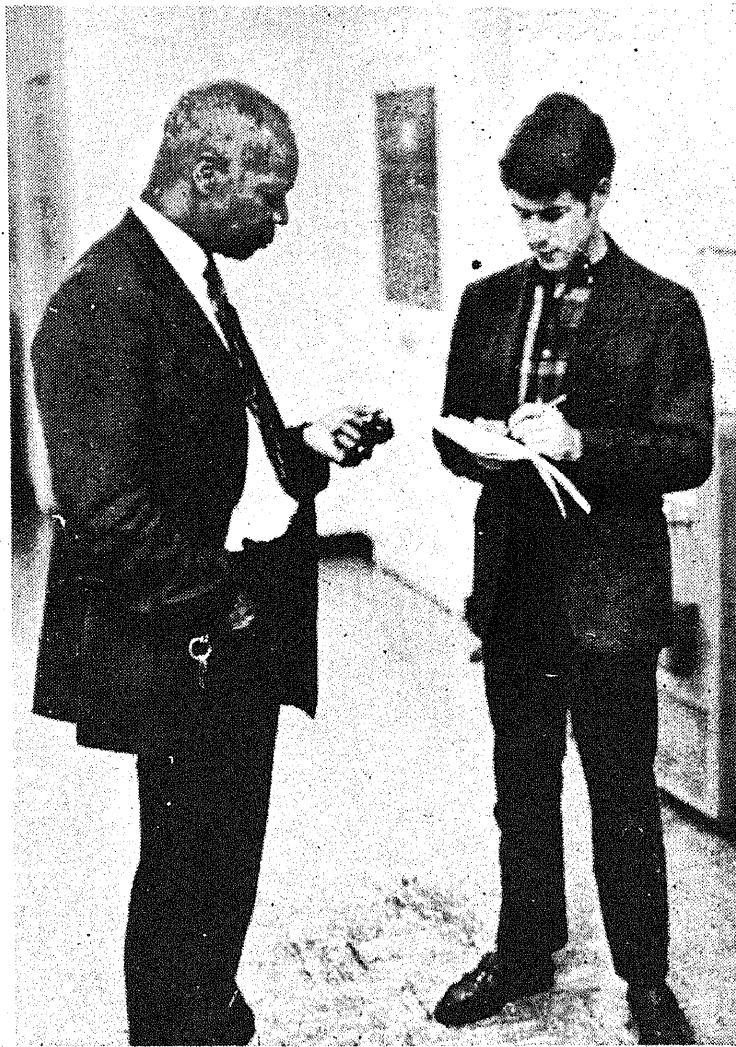
BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD—The Pay Board, having slashed the wage increases won by butchers working for A&P, Food Fair and Acme in the Philadelphia area, is now aiming its guns at a contract made a year and a half ago by Local 371 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher-men's Union, representing 3,000 New England workers.

"What right have they got to cut our pay?" demanded one Local 371 member. "We won our contract before the Pay Board was even around."

"We won it, we earned it, we deserve it. I saw what they did at A&P. That's not right."

The agreements under attack



Bulletin interviewed Pres. Tilghman of Local 80 Hotel Workers Union.

Canadian Dockers Vote Pay Cut For Union Heads

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—As the International Longshoremen's Association enters the sixth week of the strike against management's attempt to break up the 16 man gang system, the leadership is seeking a vote empowering them to accept arbitration.

The ranks went out in a wildcat strike after the union leadership had rammed through the sell-out contract, which left the door open to the breaking up of the gangs. It was clear that the workers were in no mood for further betrayals.

SALARIES

They voted overwhelmingly against arbitration and then proceeded to cut the salaries of the leadership to the strike pay that all received.

Montreal remains one of the few points in North America where the gang system has yet to be broken.

SCREAMING

At this point, the capitalist press is screaming about the millions of dollars in profits that are being lost and demanding that Labor Minister Martin O'Connell pass legislation ending the strike. The Trudeau government would like nothing better than to smash the strike.

What is clear is the tremendous militancy of the ILA workers, who were in the forefront of the general strike against Bill 19 and the jailing of the Common Front leaders.

The following is an interview with one docker concerning the questions behind the strike:

Bulletin: What are the main problems facing dockers?

Docker: The shippers won't obey the contract. They want to reduce our gang from 16 to 12. That 12-gang would have to do the same work with 4 less men.

There's no job security.

Bulletin: The American ILA is facing attacks as well. The Pay Board has just rejected Gleason's appeal to stop the 26 percent salary cut of dockworkers. Once Gleason gave the concession and broke up the gangs the Pay Board came along and ripped up the GAI.

Docker: We face the same basic things here. I see the attempt to break up the gangs as the first step to eliminating most of the jobs. You make one concession and they want another one, with the government right behind them with an injunction.

If we're on strike here, the dockers in N.Y. should support us in our stand. We're an International Union but instead we're treated like a small local. All the money goes to New York. The bosses are diverting all the cargo through the maritime ports. These sectors should be called out by the International.

Bulletin: You mentioned that the government is backing the bosses with injunctions. At the last CLC convention, workers called for an NDP government to replace Trudeau. Do you think a labor government is what workers require now?

Docker: I think the New Democratic Party is a good thing. It's absolutely necessary to have a change. Trudeau has nothing for us. He started this whole situation with the La Palme drivers. Trudeau will spend \$35 thousand dollars on his son but we can't even keep our jobs.

Nixon Denies Hotel Workers A Minimum Wage

BY TIM STEVENS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Hotel and restaurant workers in the nation's capital were excluded from a 40 percent increase in the minimum wage for the District of Columbia on June 12th.

The federal Cost of Living Council temporarily suspended the increase, from \$1.60 to \$2.25 an hour, which had been ordered by the D.C. Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board last April 13.

Rank and file hotel workers in the District reacted angrily to the suspension of the increase: "It seems to me that they (the Cost of Living Council) are running out of excuses," said a worker at a hotel on "E" Street.

"Raising pay from \$1.60 to

\$2.25 isn't going to start any runaway inflation. The \$2.25 is just a simple right and when they take it away from us they show where they stand.

"Now the court says that's the way it's going to be, so take it or leave it. If you take it you get what the government calls poverty wages and you have to try and raise a family on it. If you leave it, where are you going to find another job? It seems to me that the only thing we can do right now is start giving it back to them just as hard as they give it to us."

In contrast to this, the leadership of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Unions is trying to avoid a direct confrontation with the Cost of Living Council by referring the matter to the Pay Board and the Courts.

The Bulletin interviewed President Tilghman of Local 80, Hotel and Motel Service Workers Union, and Mr. Joseph Beavers, Business Agent for Local 209, Pastry Cooks and Kitchen Employees.

Both men adhered to the perspective that the Cost of Living Council and the Pay Board could be fought by appealing to the courts and the Democratic Party.

It is this perspective which poses great dangers for the 41,500 hotel and restaurant workers in the District.

It is only the strength of the working class, organized independently in its own labor party, that can smash back the attacks of the capitalists.

provide consecutive yearly increases of 18 percent and 11 percent in a two year period. Robert Petronella, President of Local 371, explained that during previous contracts, the cost of living rose 23 percent while wages rose only 9 percent.

The retroactive pay cuts forced on ITU Local 47 and the threatened retroactive cuts for Baltimore meatcutters brought an angry response from a Hartford meatcutter with 17 years in the union who said: "That's a crime, the companies and the government taking money out of our pockets that way. How can the company take back money we already earned?"

"What good is a contract if the government is allowed to rip it up? Petronella should pull every store out."

Hospital Workers Walk Out At NYU Over Suspensions

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The efforts of the hospital bosses to victimize workers, who walked out to attend last Tuesday's massive 1199 rally, were met with an immediate spontaneous work stoppage at two hospitals.

On Wednesday, June 14th, 250 workers at New York University walked out after two operating room workers and an X-Ray technician were suspended. The hospital's

charge that the workers had left patients on an operating room table was denounced by the union as a complete lie.

Thirty-seven workers at the House of the Holy Comforter in the Bronx were arrested for a sit-in after the nursing home attempted to suspend all of them for the walkout.

The reaction of the 1199 leadership was to squash the rebellion of the members as quickly as possible. Union officials were sent to NYU to order workers to return to work. The question of the suspended members at both institutions has been submitted to arbitration.

The League of Voluntary Hospitals has filed contempt of court proceedings against 1199 for holding the rally in defiance of a court injunction.

Vincent McDonnell, so-called pro-labor mediator, has declared the negotiations, in which the hospitals have only offered six dollars over three years, at an impasse. This is an excuse to use the 1963 no-strike law to set up a three man arbitration panel to impose a settlement on the union.

The New York Times joined the attack with a vicious editorial against 1199, calling their present wage level "favorable" and warning: "Neither the City nor the hospitals can surrender to this threat made in reckless disregard not only of law but of the needs of the sick and dying."

ATTACKS

That these attacks are being launched even before the contract deadline July 1st is clear proof that Lindsay and the hospitals are not interested in concessions but in beating the union into submissions.

But despite these warnings, everything Leon Davis has said and done since the rally is an attempt to avoid the real issues in this fight and to urge the hospitals to negotiate.

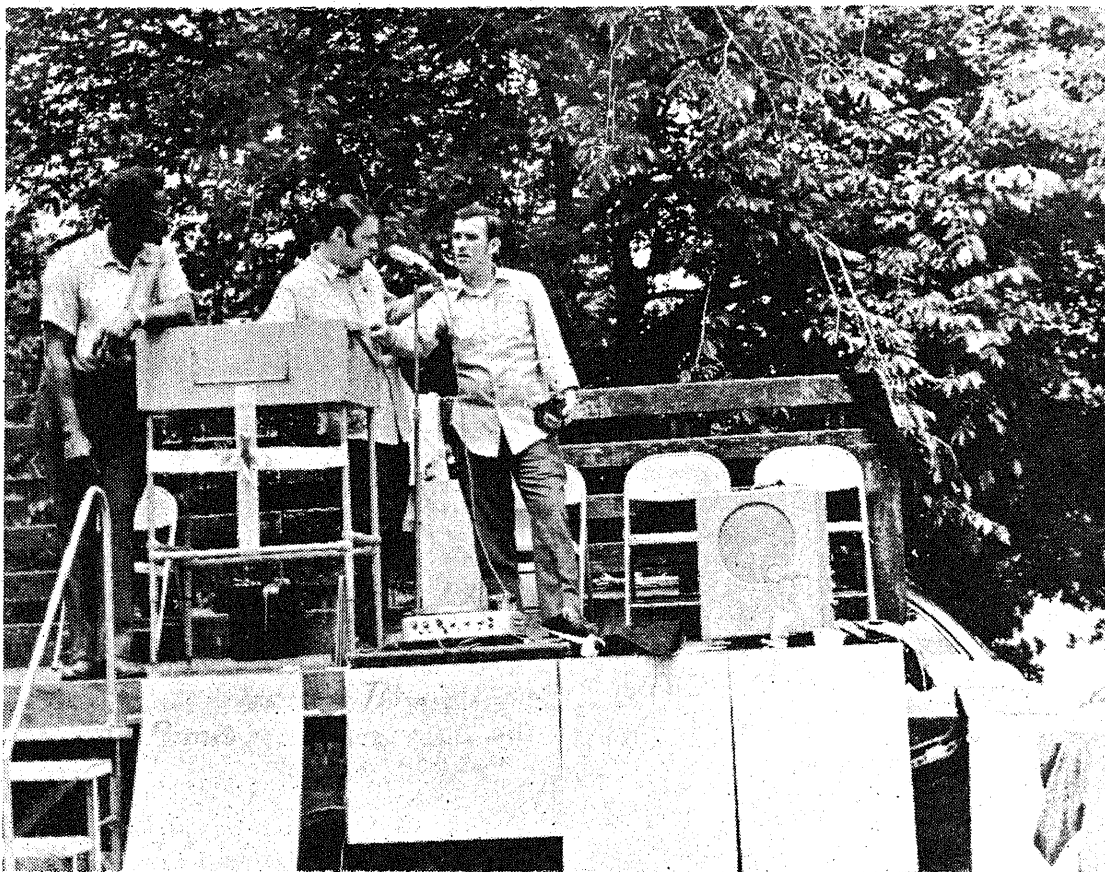
A fight must begin now to prevent the 1199 leaders from backing down on these demands and to demand a political break with the Democrats who have collaborated in these attacks on the unions.

This campaign was launched by the 1199 Rank and File Committee at a public meeting June 15th. The meeting was addressed by delegates from Beth Israel, Brooklyn Jewish, Mount Sinai and Kingsbrook Jewish.

Eddie Roberson, an O.R. delegate who has worked at Beth Israel for 12 years, related how the working conditions and the "foot on the chest" tactics could no longer be tolerated. "Now they are trying to push us further and further back. If we have to form another party, then that is what we must do. All working people have to get together."

Rudolph Smith, an engineering worker from Brooklyn Jewish, said that the protest on Tuesday showed the strength of the union but that the leadership does not show the will to fight. "After the AFL-CIO and Meany walked off the Pay Board, they

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Ten New Haven bus drivers laid off by PUC organized rally of hundreds to protest layoffs and cutbacks.

New Haven Drivers Rally Against Cuts

BY DANA MALLEY

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Several hundred people attended a rally called by ten bus drivers who were suspended last week for protesting against the layoffs of ten drivers and the cutbacks in bus transportation.

Hours before the rally, all the drivers were locked out when they reported for work to drive the runs that were to be eliminated, in addition to the scheduled runs.

The drivers have filled thousands of petitions demanding that Governor Meskill take action against the cuts.

The Public Utilities Commission has given E. Clay Gengrass, the owner of the Connecticut Bus Company, the green light to lay off ten workers, with more to go in September, and to raise the special rates for senior

citizens. Evening bus service will be greatly curtailed. Twenty-two bus runs will be eliminated in all.

DEFENSE

The organizers of the rally urged all those in attendance to come to the platform to speak. Many workers, youth, and senior citizens came forward in defense of the bus drivers. One elderly gentleman said:

"I just got here. I walked all the way from West Haven! I think this is terrible. Meskill, the Public Utilities Commission and Gengrass are trying to make it

impossible for us.

"Who do they think they are taking bus service away from us, and the jobs of these men? How are people supposed to get to work?"

A member of the Workers League received applause when she called for the building of a labor party. She said:

"The most important task that the State AFL-CIO faces at their convention this week is the launching of this labor party. There is no other way forward for working people today."

Connecticut AFL-CIO Must Support Labor Party Call

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—The State AFL-CIO Convention being held here this week will be forced to confront the most critical developments in the history of the American labor movement.

It was at last year's convention of the State Labor Council that Secretary John Driscoll made the statement that: "Behind the label of a Democrat we are now apt to find just as conservative, or even reactionary a stance toward labor...as in the most Meskill oriented Republican." He went on to say that labor might be forced to call for a working class coalition.

BUILD A LABOR PARTY NOW!

Speaker:
Tim Wohlforth,
Nat'l Secy,
Workers League

Wednesday,
June 28, 8 PM
Dwight Hall
Yale University

High Street between
Chapel and Elm (in
the Common)

The developments of the intervening year have eliminated any room for speculation. Connecticut workers, coming out of a year dominated by Nixon's August 15 measures, have faced a succession of plant closures and mass layoffs in such industries as Royal Typewriter in Hartford, New Departure in Bristol, MB Electronics in New Haven and Dyna Truck in Bridgeport. These developments have produced one of the highest rates of unemployment in the country.

The latest developments hold the most critical dangers to the very existence of the unions. George Wallace, waging a campaign based on a program to impose the conditions of Alabama throughout the country through the smashing of the unions, has emerged within the Democratic Party.

The attack against Local 47 of the ITU in West Haven represents a qualitative change in the operation of Nixon's Pay Board. Now 39 members are being forced to pay back money from their own pockets to their employer and are faced with possible fines and legal action against their union for the crime of striking for higher wages.

Meskill's State Labor Commissioner has begun, through the rigid enforcement of the three

year old State Unemployment Compensation Law, a vicious attack on the right of the unemployed worker to collect his benefits. At the same time that a projected 15,000 will be thrown off the rolls by the end of this summer through the termination of federal funding, the state government is mounting a sinister campaign to catch "illegal claimants" and to force unionists into non-union jobs at slave wages or else forego their benefits.

It is in this critical situation that the State Labor Council convenes. The Connecticut State AFL-CIO must take up the call issued by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council for the construction of a labor party for the November elections.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

Labor Editor: Dan Fried

Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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McGovern Shows True Colors In New York

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—George McGovern won Tuesday's New York primary, and now is virtually assured of a first ballot presidential nomination at the Democratic Party Convention.

While campaigning in the state, McGovern concentrated on assuring the Party bosses and financiers upon whom he is dependent that his "liberal" campaign pledges are not to be taken seriously.

In addition to publicly renouncing his tax reform proposals, McGovern took pains to develop an image as a strong "law and order" man, one who could be trusted to deal with the working class. He made a much-publicized visit to the police department in Forest Hills, and told the cops: "I sympathize with you. You've got the toughest job in the world."

McGovern spent a good deal of time in consultation with right-wing Zionist leaders, promising them that he will give Israel full military support. To other critics of his earlier proposals for a cut in military spending, McGovern insisted that he intended to make the United States the most powerful country in the world.

Voter turnout was exceptionally light. Victor Gotbaum, president of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union and a McGovern supporter, stated last week: "At this point, there's no enthusiasm for anybody."

What Gotbaum failed to mention was the reason. For months workers have been listening to candidates who all agree with Nixon that there must be a Pay Board, bigger wage cuts, more unemployment, greater productivity, and new union busting laws. Now, the Democratic Party—which is a party of big business—is about to nominate a supporter of "right-to-work" laws.

At the same time, the Democrats are preparing a thunderous welcome for George Wallace—who is supported by all the big business and neo-fascistic forces dedicated to smashing the working class—at the convention.

Workers will find nothing but hardened enemies at the Democratic Convention.

There is only one way forward now, and that is for the labor movement to break with both capitalist parties and build a labor party.

Norwood Ranks Defeat Back To Work Slate

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio—Last week Norwood Local 674 held elections in the midst of their bitter strike against General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) and its all-out speed-up.

An opposition slate was defeated which ran on a camouflaged back-to-work basis. The leaflet passed out by this slate openly attacked the union negotiators and made no criticism of GMAD, its local contract busting, speed-up, disciplinary layoffs, or GMAD fake negotiators.

On one side of their leaflet, above the list of all their candidates, it was stated that: "We have lost 25 weeks within two years and we must have a change of representation to get results."

On the other side of the leaflet was a secret company memorandum giving the times by minutes that the various department committeemen were in negotiations with the bosses in their respective departments for one week. Using this company memorandum, available only among company officials, the leaflet brazenly stated: "This is a fact sheet of what the present administration is doing to solve our problem. Nothing."

This back-to-work slate capitalized on the anger of sections of the members who want to fight back against GMAD and are not satisfied with the present leadership's worn out tactics, which are inadequate in the face of the collusion of the government with the companies in their drive to smash the unions.

Two rank and file members, who were independent of both slates, were elected and only one of the back-to-work slate won a post out of nearly 30 positions at this time.

DANGER

However, the election results pose the most deadly danger to this local and to the entire UAW. The serious challenge of a back-to-work slate stems from the bankruptcy of the present leadership, and reflects the failure of the leadership to take up the fight for a strike of all the GMAD plants.

The present leadership continues to act as though the fight against GMAD can be won at the bargaining table. They ignore the whole political direction that

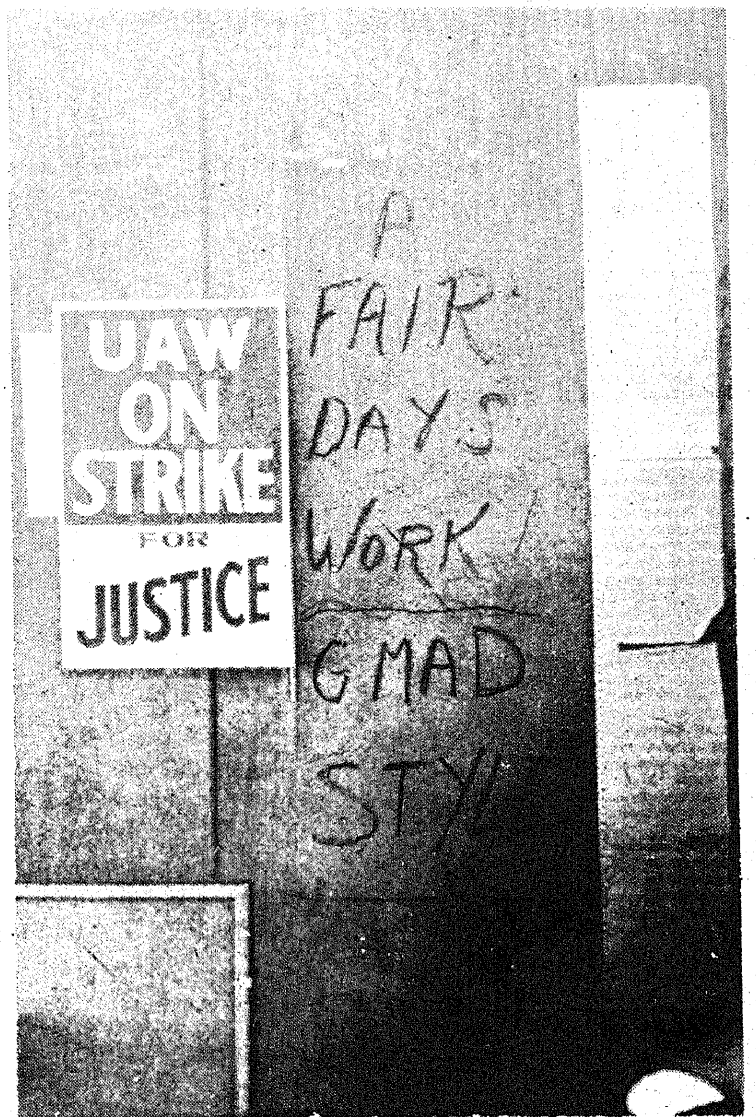
must be taken up.

Local 674 has always been in the forefront of the struggles against General Motors since the great sit-down strikes of 1937. But the local has been betrayed by the International time after time and has been left isolated in its struggle. The International has always dangled the sword of suspension (both Reuther and Woodcock) over the heads of leaders of militant locals.

Meanwhile in St. Louis, GMAD bosses are on a rampage against the workers. They are throwing as many as 60 men a day out on the street on disciplinary layoffs (D.L.O.'s). But the leadership of the St. Louis local is holding off their strike until the model changeover.

STRIKE

Clearly the only answer to GMAD's union-busting is a GMAD strike. Such a strike will also pose the immediate need for a labor party to defend the unions from the all-out attacks by both the companies and the government.



Norwood auto workers remain on strike against GMAD attacks.



Pete Kelly called for labor party at UAW convention.

St. Louis Peace Conference: Labor Party Is The Real Task

BY DAN FRIED

The Labor for Peace Conference to be held June 23-25 in St. Louis is the largest gathering of representatives of the labor movement in opposition to the Vietnam war since the anti-war movement began.

More than 1,000 delegates are expected to attend. The conference was initiated by leaders of 45 international unions, reflecting the growing hatred by millions of workers for the war and all the attacks on the working class now being carried out by the Nixon Administration, Congress and the courts.

Among the delegates are top officials of a number of unions including AFSCME, Meatcutters, ILWU (West Coast longshore) and UAW (auto—which includes Leonard Woodcock and virtually the entire UAW Executive Board) which have borne the brunt of the attack by Nixon through the Pay Board's slashing of wage agreements.

Two months ago, as the UAW convention opened in Atlantic City, Nixon was sending his B-52's over Hanoi, launching a new stage of genocidal terror aimed at smashing the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The Workers League warned in an open letter to the convention:

"This bloodthirsty act of genocide which serves no military purpose, must be a warning to all American workers. Nixon will do the same here if not stopped. Nixon is determined to destroy everything that stands in the way of the profits of the large corporations he represents."

This is the meaning of recent decisions against the unions by the NLRB and the Federal courts on all levels, and above all, of the Pay Board's rulings. As a number of union leaders have warned, if the Pay Board can simply "rip up contracts" at

(Continued On Page 18)

Detroit Tool & Die Layoffs Open Door To Godfrey

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—Over 500 UAW members in tool and die manufacturing may be laid off early this summer, General Motors officials announced this week.

According to GM, the majority of the layoffs which are the result of less requirements for die production due to fewer major model changes in GM's production will be temporary and most workers affected will be transferred or rehired within weeks.

FLEETWOOD

However, acting president of UAW Local 15 representing workers at the Fleetwood plant told Bulletin reporters that though a few of those laid off may be rehired after the next model change is scheduled to begin July 15th, most will be walking the streets.

First to go will be up to 70 die workers transferred from Fisher Body 23 in Detroit, a GM plant permanently shut down in February. These men, some of whom

had up to 30 years experience in Fisher Body 23, lost all seniority rights in the course of their transfer to the Fisher Fleetwood plant and are now at the top of GM's lay off list.

GMAD

Local 15 acting president informed the Bulletin that GM is possibly grooming Fisher Fleetwood to "go GMAD" in the fall.

Under these conditions a tool and die layoff can only mean preparation for a union-busting drive here on the order of Lordstown and Norwood GM in Cincinnati. Even now, Jones, vice president of Local 15, who works full time on the production line, reports that conditions in the plant are getting rough.

When asked what could be done to defend the affected members of Local 15, Jones stated that the UAW nationally should negotiate speedier grievance procedures

and take steps to stop the wholesale layoffs in auto.

Jones said of GMAD: "If GM continues to hold out against the people and continues to violate the grievance procedures I would be in favor of a nationwide strike against GM. This local union would be ready to offer assistance even to that extent if it were necessary to correct the situation for instance of Norwood."

FIGHT

He went on to say that: "Mr. Godfrey is way off base. We've got guarantees, both local and national, where people are entitled to so much relief on the line every day. The national agreement provides for that. The local negotiated a six minute coffee break twice a day. If he thinks he's going to come in and take that away from us he's going to have a heck of a fight."

The Labor Party and the UAW Convention

speaker: Dan Fried,
Labor Editor of the Bulletin
June 25th
Sunday 1p.m.
Rm. 309 Bush Center
St. Louis U.
N. Grand & La Clede

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Brownsville Cuts Expose Community Control Fraud

BY ABBY RODRIQUEZ

NEW YORK—The attack by the Republicans and Democrats on the education of working class youth reveals several things. First is the urgency for workers and youth to build their own party, a labor party against the two capitalist parties. Secondly, in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the new slashes in education also point out the complete bankruptcy of decentralization or community control.

The 5.5 million dollar cut-back that is slated to hit the Brownsville area has exposed the complete bankruptcy of community control. The School Board, whose head is Democratic Assemblyman Samuel D. Wright, has avoided announcing the estimated loss of jobs which will occur because of the cut-backs.

Mr. Haulton, another member of the School Board, told the Young Socialists that:

"The School Board has decided that it will not implement the cutback. We refuse to do so, if the cuts are to be implemented it will have to come from another body that is higher than us."

The reason for this decision is not that the Democratic politicians on the Board are concerned with the loss of jobs, but that they are terrified at the thought of facing the workers and youth in the Brownsville community.

What control does the community have over these cutbacks? Has the community decided to

implement the cuts? Or, in fact, has the control always been in the hands of the capitalist politicians? This is the question that is being raised by the workers and youth in Brownsville.

On Thursday, close to 200 workers and parents from the community attended a meeting where it was announced that another meeting would be held the next day. The next day, at I.S. 272, the auditorium was filled again but no clarity was given on the total of jobs to be cut.

Instead, what was announced was that the Board had taken legal action, calling on the courts to serve an injunction against the cuts. One worker, a para-professional, from Local 372 of District 37, told the Young Socialist that:

"From what we understand, there will be a loss of three million dollars or more. This means that 300 para-professionals and 275 teachers' aides will be laid off."

STRATEGY

When asked what the strategy of the union is she said: "The union is supporting the local



Young Socialist Bulletin Fund Drive party in Baltimore served steamed clams and beer, raised over \$50.

School Board in getting an injunction from the courts."

Another worker from the same union said: "These people must be joking about taking it to court as if that's going to do anything. We need something stronger because I'm not going to give up my job."

This is where the question of the labor party must be posed. The para-professionals and the teachers who will have their jobs taken away must take up a fight within the unions for a political alternative.

REACTIONARY

The very politicians who sit on the School Board are the ones responsible for the massive unemployment that is hitting all sections of the working class. For the workers and students in the community the new attacks by the Democrats and Republicans expose the reactionary role of community control.

The man sitting as the head of the Board belongs to the same party which has instituted the cuts. The entire School Board, which is supposed to protect education in the community, is taking the case to the very courts that jail trade unionists when they strike for decent wages.

It is important for workers and

youth to realize what the role of the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance is in this. In 1968, at the height of the nationalist movement, the YSA went right along with the nationalists and the demand for community control.

REVISIONISTS

The YSA went even further in that they provided the sophisticated "theory" through the revision of Marxism for the reactionary demand of "Black control of the Black community." Only the Workers League and today the Young Socialists have waged a relentless battle against this type of logic.

The concept of community control opened up the path for the Black middle class to make their way up, through becoming poverty pimps and stepping on the backs of the Black working class and youth. At the same time, and most dangerous of all was that community control has been used by the government to destroy the unions, particularly the United Federation of Teachers. In the December 16, 1968 issue of the Bulletin, we wrote in reply to the revisionists:

"Today every Black capitalist and petty bourgeois has taken up the demand for Black culture. Black capitalists such as Jesse

Jackson are seen as the friends of the Black transit workers.

"Today the Ford Foundation has become the hero in the fight for Black control of the schools, pouring millions of dollars into community control while the white workers, the teachers, become in the eyes of the nationalists the enemies."

The YSA was in the front of the nationalist movement, heaping attacks on the Workers League for the defense it took of the UFT in 1968. These revisionists on the other hand took the side of the capitalists in attempting to destroy the teachers' union.

The SWP-YSA wrote in the December 1968 issue of *Intercontinental Press* on the UFT strike the following:

"This was no ordinary strike action, but a struggle involving complex issues that pitted the overwhelmingly white membership of the UFT against the Black and Puerto Rican communities in the country's biggest city. The key question was who shall run the ghetto schools?"

Further in the article they stated that: "The Black community stiffened its struggle for local control of the schools. School decentralization in the Black ghettos is a step toward

(Continued On Page 18)

Join YS Fight Against Unemployment!

On June 22nd the Young Socialists will open their campaign against unemployment at 505 Sutter Avenue in East New York and Brownsville.

In the past three days hundreds of youth have crowded in front of the various employment centers waiting to register for jobs. In cities like Detroit and New York the unemployment is as high as 50%. In Boston it is over 30%.

It is under these attacks by the government that the Young Socialists is taking forward a fight against the Democrats and Republicans. The two existing political parties are responsible for the cut-backs, layoffs and the whole unemployment situation. The political fight against the government has to be taken forward through the construction of a labor party. The Young Socialists demonstration will demand employment for all workers and youth and a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and the building of a labor party.

The Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council has called for the building of a third party with its core being the trade unions. The rest of the labor movement must take forward this demand. The youth must take the lead now in the fight to construct a labor party. It is these trade unions that the youth must turn towards.

At the AFL-CIO Young Unionists Action League first annual convention it was the Young Socialists who led the fight for a labor party. At one workshop supporters of the YS were able to get a vote on the labor party despite the bureaucratic tactics and the opposition of the Young Workers Liberation League.

This campaign against unemployment will continue all summer through demonstrations and other activities across the country. We urge you to join the YS and take up this fight.

Cops Witchhunt Former Black Panther

BY A YS REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT—The Bridgeport police have resumed their five-year campaign to convict Lawrence Townsend, 33, a former leader of the Black Panther Party. A 23 state alarm has been issued to hunt down Townsend who is charged with the shooting of two Black policemen on May 30 after reportedly being arrested for disorderly conduct.

The police are determined to put the young militant behind bars, after having failed to get a major conviction against him in other framed up cases.

WITCH-HUNT

The witch-hunt against Townsend reveals a vicious campaign by the police since 1969. In a 1971 trial, Townsend testified that he had been harassed from the time he began attending meetings and rallies of the BPP in 1969.

FIRED

He said he was constantly fol-

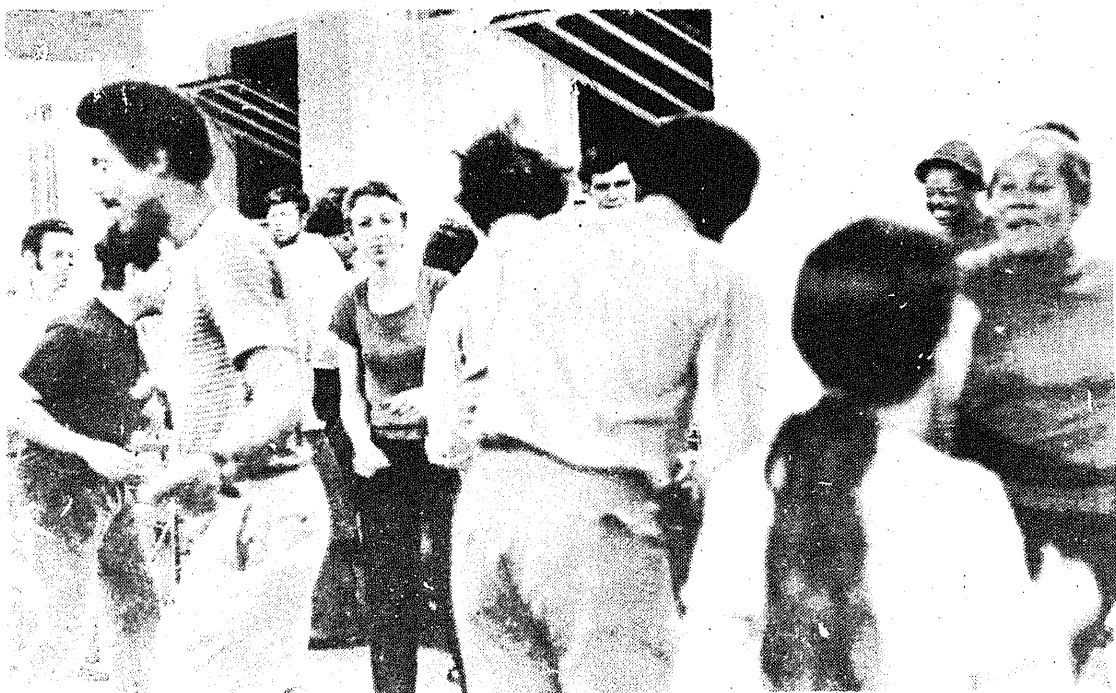
lowed, and that in May 1970, bullets were fired through a bedroom window in his third floor apartment. During this period, he was fired from Remington Arms Company when he began bringing in the Panther paper and speaking out against working conditions in the plant.

One year later the hysterical manhunt against Townsend continues. Bridgeport's Mayor Pannuzio has offered a reward for the capture of Townsend. City officials are calling for more police in the East End ghetto where the shooting occurred.

The arrests of several people in this area the night the incident took place, and the search for Townsend throughout the East End reveal that the witch-hunt against Townsend is being used to prepare for more repression against the youth this summer.

POLITICS

City officials and the police fear the turn of youth to socialist politics and to the strength of the working class as the answer to the intolerable conditions imposed on them by the government.



New York area YS held Smorgasbord and dance June 17th. More than \$200 was donated to Bulletin Fund Drive as youth tasted wide variety of food, from East Indian pastry and baklava to eggplant parmigiana.

Priests And Politicians Dominate Stage At Angela Davis Rally

BY
A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—On Friday, June 16th, nearly 3,000 people, mostly youth, attended the Angela Davis Rally here. The rally was held in McCormick Place in the center of Chicago. The crowd came despite the poor publicity campaign by the Communist Party.

The reactionary character of the Communist Party was exposed by having the meeting open with a prayer by Rev. Reddick who is in charge of Operation PUSH. In the middle of the prayer, there was a plea for God to free all political prisoners!

The whole bankruptcy of Stalinism is based on pleas for justice from capitalist poli-

icians. These politicians are the same people responsible for the jailing of Angela and for the death of George Jackson.

It was the working class that freed Angela Davis and it is the working class that the C.P. wants to erase from its history.

The speakers were Rev. C. T. Vivian of SCLC, Thomas Todd, a lawyer and Executive Director of PUSH, and Jim Holland from Mayor Hatcher's office, which expresses the reactionary methods of the CP.

'I Waste My Time Looking For Jobs' - Palo Alto Youth

BY A YS REPORTER

EAST PALO ALTO—Last week the East Palo Alto Municipal Council voted to bring five more police onto streets here as students leave local high schools for summer vacation.

"There aren't any jobs," Bernie Brown, 17, told the Young Socialist. "I looked all over. There's not a thing. I waste my time looking."

MINIMUM

The few jobs available pay the minimum and offer no future. A girl at Ravenswood High School, for instance, said she "might

work in a hamburger stand. Where else can you go?"

The youth employment program in Sequoia District has 11 offices. The Young Socialist interviewed Mr. Ray Harringer, the head of Ravenswood Youth Employment Center, located in an area of the heaviest concentration of unemployed youth. Harringer stated that his office

had placed over 200. There were a few technical spots with pay up to two dollars an hour.

Stanford Youth Opportunity Program also pays two dollars. SYOP received 1,000 applications for its 200 slots before closing its doors to applications last week. Most jobs are maintenance for \$1.65. The office will remain open until June 30, trying for a target of 500 placements.

In 1968, Ravenswood was the center of the first job fair, out of which 1,100 youth went to work.

Since then, the program has lost 200 jobs per year.

Harringer said that: "Between '68 and '69 we lost 75 at Lockheed, and we've lost 55 at Varian each summer." Fairchild used to hire and no longer does.

REFUSES

Mid-Peninsula Businessmen's Leadership Council, made up of business magnates like David Packard, set up the first job fair. Today, because youth employment is no longer profitable, these men refuse to provide sufficient jobs. Instead, they turn the youth over to the Sheriff's Office.

At Ravenswood, one youth stated that: "We have to unite with older workers. That's the only way to get power."

The Young Socialist urges all youth in East Palo Alto to build this summer's campaign for "Jobs for All," to join the fight for the labor party, and to join the Young Socialists.

DIFFERENT

Angela Davis herself did not speak until two hours after the rally had begun. Finally, when she spoke, what came out was a lot different from what the CP had tried to create with all the middle class and capitalist elements on the stage.

Angela Davis said that as the capitalist class is threatened it must strike back to maintain its law and order. She also said that "Things are different now. The white working class is not as easily duped about communism now. They are honestly interested in learning what it means."

"We confronted the government with the refusal to accept its repression. We are the creators of that victory... We must learn to seize the time, to gather up this power that we have." But the fight for communism means today the fight against the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League.

Government Axes Harlem Prep

BY FRANK CHURCH

NEW YORK—Harlem "Prep" which is a semi-private school for minority youth, is threatened with being closed down through withdrawal of government funds. The Administration has decided that the only way to stay open is by charging the students \$200 a year to attend. Last year it cost the students nothing to attend.

Harlem "Prep" and other schools like it were set up as a concession to workers and youth after the tremendous explosion in the ghetto areas in the sixties. At the same time the capitalists have sought to use these schools to perpetuate illusions that capitalism can be reformed and work for the youth who have faced the most terrible conditions created by capitalism.

The school which has always only been open to a small number of youth, can only become smaller, as the youth and their families will find it next to impossible to pay the fee.

The decision of the government to withdraw funds is part of the attack on the educational system and the youth as they seek to completely turn the youth out on the streets.

DISPUTES TEAR APART YOUNG LORDS ASSEMBLY

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

The Young Lords Party's Assembly held this weekend could not even get enough agreement to call the resolutions presented to a vote. This comes on the heels of a number of expulsions and splits which have erupted within the ranks. Much of the discussion occurred over the question of the expulsion and on other topics such as the national question and the workers' struggles.

The inability to reach agreement on the expulsion reveals that there is opposition to the entire political line of the YLP. On the national question the differences were whether to concentrate on Puerto Rico or the United States. On the workers' struggle the question raised was whether to fight for higher wages or control of the factories. It is precisely the movement of the working class which is now tearing up the nationalists. But because the politics of the YLP stands completely opposed to the interests of the working class they must now attempt to heap slander upon the only revolutionary current in existence—Trotskyism.

CRISIS

The crisis within the ranks of the YLP and the attacks upon Trotskyism can only be under-

stood by looking back on their history. The YLP that claims it is "socialist" is in a crisis today because it refused to study the history of the Marxist movement and the fundamental struggle in the 1930's between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

COMMUNIST PARTY

Today while the Communist Party calls for reforms as the main objective, the nationalists in the YLP use the same pragmatic thinking by entering into free breakfast programs and organizing squatters' struggles because they proceed with what they think will work for the moment. This is why the Stalinist CP and the nationalists could work together so well and why the Stalinists encouraged nationalism.

All of these questions were raised by the Workers League. They were raised particularly

over the question of the verbal slanders and physical attacks on members of the Workers League by MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia) now called the PSP (Puerto Rican Socialist Party).

MPI

The relationship of the MPI and Stalinism was revealed at a meeting held January 22, 1971, in San Juan, Puerto Rico between MPI, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, and the Communist Party USA. In an article appearing in the March 8, 1971 issue of the Bulletin Juan Farinas wrote on the meaning of the conference stating:

"The reason why the MPI, which is a nationalist organization, can have a joint conference and issue a joint statement with the Stalinist Communist Party is that, despite all the recent talk of 'socialism' and turning the MPI into a 'Leninist revolutionary vanguard,' it has never fundamentally broken from its nationalist and middle class past."

The MPI's hatred of the revolutionary movement took the form of physical attacks upon the Workers League and the history of Trotskyism. Slanders that

were created during the frame-up trials of the 1930's by Stalin were revived by MPI as they called the Workers League "CIA agents" and "counter-revolutionary." In reality it was MPI who entered onto the road of betraying the Puerto Rican working class.

The YLP at that time raised questions about MPI's perspective which is to line up with the ruling class in Puerto Rico. This can be seen in the article appearing in the March 19th, 1971, issue of Palante in which David Perez, then Field Marshall of the YLP, wrote:

"To be poor means that somebody, somewhere is rich. Who are these rich people? Since PR is a colony of amerikkka, they must be the same rich people as the ones in amerikkka, like Rockefeller and Hughes. Not only that, but there are rich Puerto Ricans, stepping on poor Puerto Ricans for control of the island."

STATEHOOD

On the point that independence does not mean the end of the exploitation of the Puerto Rican working class he wrote:

"Well, all of those things,

statehood and commonwealth and independence are political systems. They have to be based on an economic system and they are—capitalism."

TROTSKYISM

But when it came down to condemning the MPI's attack on the Workers League, the YLP refused to take sides. When the Workers League warned that the YLP had to confront the question of Trotskyism and Stalinism it refused. Confronting this question would have meant a break with nationalism. Only after MPI delivered an attack against them did the YLP react yet it condemned the MPI from a completely unprincipled position, saying that MPI should not openly show the divisions within the national movement.

Today the YLP is feeling the results of its unprincipled history. Today both MPI and the YLP agree on the most fundamental point in the history of Marxism, that is they stand with Stalinism against Trotskyism. They stand with counter-revolution against revolution. Only the Young Socialists enriched with the history of the Marxist movement can and is leading youth in the fight against capitalism.

Young Socialist

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

ILA Must Break The Board!

Two weeks ago Nixon's Pay Board rejected the appeal by the International Longshoremen's Association to restore the cut made in the ILA wage settlement. At the same time the Board made clear that even the piddling second year 40 cent an hour increase will be denied if the ILA did not implement the new work rules by July 1st.

Behind the Pay Board's action against the ILA lies the capitalist world economic crisis. This is what is forcing the government to solve the crisis at the expense of the working class—its wages, jobs, and conditions.

This confrontation with the government cannot be avoided. The ranks of the ILA must demand strike action on July 1st to defeat this Board. All of the conditions for smashing this Board are here as millions of workers face the axe of the Pay Board and given the lead are willing to fight.

The call last week by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council for the building of a third party whose core will be the unions shows the real strength of the labor movement and means the unions must now take the offensive.

It is clear that Nixon's strategy is to use the collaboration of the trade union leaders to force through an acceptance of the ILA cut and prepare the way to take on the contracts of the miners and the steelworkers and the millions of other workers whose second year contracts now go under the axe of the Pay Board.

The leaders of the ILA are telling the ranks that they cannot fight the Pay Board. At the same time they are holding off a decision until the Price Commission rules on rate hikes for the stevedore bosses.

Not satisfied with what they have already obtained from the Pay Board the shipping bosses are claiming that to even meet the piddling increase they must be exempted from the controls. This means that the shipping bosses are fully prepared to demand a further cut from the dockers' wages.

The refusal of these leaders to take on the Pay Board now creates a dangerous situation for the entire labor movement. There is no room for the time worn maneuvers of the bureaucracy—the livelihood of millions of union members is at stake. The rank and file of the ILA must call a halt to the criminal policies of their leadership and refuse, like the longshoremen in Montreal, to accept the dictates of the employers and their Pay Board.

A strike by the ILA will bring out the entire labor movement into general strike action against this Pay Board.

A strike by the ILA against the Pay Board will bring the entire labor movement to the breaking point with the Democrats and Republicans and create the conditions for the building of a labor party to defeat all of the attacks of the government.

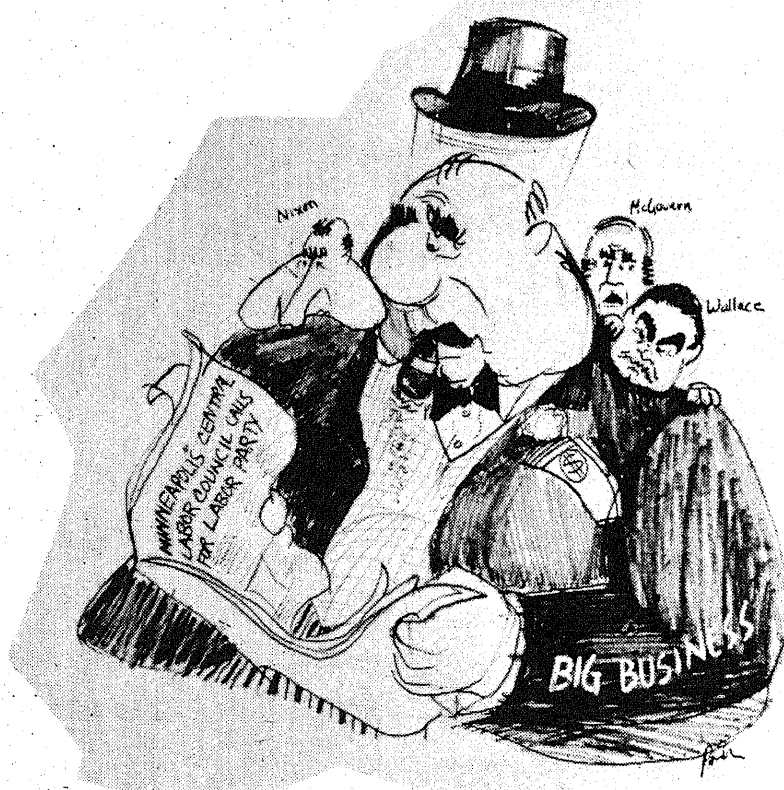
A Great Achievement

We asked for \$40,000 in the Spring Bulletin Expansion Drive and we got \$43,254.13. This is a tremendous achievement.

We say thanks, thanks, thanks, to the members of the Workers League, the Young Socialists and all of our supporters who have given so unselfishly to build the Bulletin.

Your magnificent work has now provided the basis for expanding and making the Bulletin the weapon for thousands of workers and youth in the fight against this government. It expresses the power of the principled fight for Marxism and the strength of the American working class.

In particular we would like to thank the Connecticut branch of the Workers League and the Young Socialists that gave \$500 over their pledge and the anonymous donor who sent \$300 in the last week of the drive.



"What's wrong with the parties we got now?!!!"

What we think

CP Revives The Old Slanders

American imperialism and the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy are being driven into desperate alliance under the blows of the world economic crisis and the offensive of the working class. The Moscow summit, the treacherous silence that greeted the massive bombing of North Vietnam and President Podgorny's current effort to compel Hanoi to accept a capitalist puppet government in the South are the most open expressions of the Kremlin's solidarity with imperialism.

The Soviet Stalinists are now praising Nixon, and thereby indicating that they would like to see the butcher of the Vietnamese workers to serve another term as President. "There is no doubt that the results of the Moscow talks are on the credit side, as it were, of the Republican Party," declared a Moscow radio commentator last week. "The positive trends in the activities of Washington's influential circles are irreversible," added the broadcaster.

In order to cover the reactionary maneuvers, the Stalinists are dredging up the old slanders against Trotskyism. A steady stream of articles in this vein appear in Soviet periodicals. And the American Communist Party is playing a central role in this slander campaign in the Daily World, printing a number of articles directed against the Workers League.

The June 10 issue of the Daily World includes a crude slander job by Robert Phillipoff entitled "Trotskyites vs. the People." He declares: "...The ultra-left sects who try to lay claim to the proud name of revolutionaries" are not concerned with ending the war in Vietnam.

In typical Stalinist fashion, Phillipoff attempts to construct an amalgam of factions embracing all sorts of middle class and adventurist tendencies and pass them off as Trotskyist. Referring to the May 20-22 demonstrations in Washington, he writes that "many of them, openly and behind the scenes—promoted police provocations which had a disrupting effect..."

Trotskyism has nothing to do with adventurism. To set the record straight, it is the Stalinists themselves who have actually collaborated with Abbie Hoffman and similar elements on the basis of common agreement to keep the fundamental political questions out of the anti-war movement. It is in fact the CP-backed People's Coalition for Peace and Justice that bases itself on such adventures.

But one thing is absolutely clear: and that is that the Workers League is the real target of the attack in this article.

While Phillipoff begins the article with an attack on the SWP, the rest of it is devoted to the recent gathering of the Stalinist-dominated Trade

Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD).

Phillipoff writes that: "...the Trotskyites and others succeeded in disrupting the work of the Conference with their continuous condemnations of the anti-war politicians such as Rep. Bella Abzug because they belong to the Democratic Party, and their insistence that the overthrow of capitalism be placed in the forefront of the agenda."

What was it that "disrupted" and actually terrified the Stalinist leaders of the TUAD? It was the proposal for the immediate building of an independent labor party put forward by the Workers League and the Workers League alone. This demand, which comes at a time when trade unions are forced by events to consider the question of a political party based on the working class, threatens the entire Stalinist strategy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism and their deals with the rulers of U.S. imperialism.

The Communist Party knows how powerful the question of the labor party is. It is not unaware of the fact that the question and the call for a labor party was heard on the floor of the UAW Convention in April. And since Phillipoff wrote his article, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council has declared itself in favor of a labor party.

From the attack on the Workers League's participation in the TUAD Conference Phillipoff then quotes from Trotsky's Permanent Revolution which asserts:

"The struggle against war is decided not by pressure upon the government but only by the revolutionary struggle for power."

This is the position of the Workers League. This was also the position of Lenin who vehemently rejected the conception that an imperialist government could be pressured into accepting peace. When Stalin wrote in Pravda in 1917 that the way to end Russian participation in World War I "is bringing pressure to bear on the Provisional Government with the demand that the government proclaim its readiness to begin immediate negotiations for peace," Lenin replied: "To turn to this government with a proposal of concluding peace is equivalent to preaching morality to the keeper of a brothel."

It is the Stalinists who reject Lenin, as does the SWP which the CP would like to call Trotskyist in order to construct their slanderous amalgam. The CP and the SWP have stood together in the leadership of the anti-war "coalition" to pressure the government.

Commenting on the Permanent Revolution, Phillipoff writes:

"As practiced by the Trotskyites,

this boils down to: No matter what the level of class consciousness is, just talk about the world revolution and the need for the armed seizure of power by the workers. Don't struggle for democratic reforms even though this is a hallmark of Leninism and is stressed in the Communist Manifesto. Above all, serve imperialism by fanatical criticism of the Communist Party, USA and of the Soviet Union."

The Workers League does not begin with the "level" of workers' consciousness at any given time, but with the objective tasks posed to the working class. It fights to develop revolutionary consciousness. This was the method of Marx and Lenin.

Nothing is more disgraceful than Phillipoff's attempt to portray Lenin as a reformist. More than fifty years ago, at the Third Congress of the Third International, the "Theses on Tactics" clearly presented Leninist policy:

"The Communist Parties do not put forward any minimum program to strengthen and improve the tottering structure of capitalism...In the place of the minimum program of the reformists and the centrists the Communist International puts the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for a system of demands which in their totality disintegrate the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, represent stages in the struggle for proletarian dictatorship, and each of which expresses in itself the need of the broadest masses, even if the masses themselves are not yet consciously in favor of the proletarian dictatorship."

The CP accuses the Workers League of an "abstract" fight against war which actually serves imperialism. Meanwhile, they "concretely" aid Nixon's re-election campaign and fight against the building of a labor party, even as millions of workers search for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

As for the Stalinist slanders that the Trotskyists "serve imperialism," they are viciously trying to cover the criminal role they are playing today. Who was it that wined and dined Nixon in Moscow while the butcher was stepping up the murder in Vietnam?

Where does the U.S. Communist Party stand on Moscow's virtual endorsement of Nixon for a second term in the White House? Can the Daily World dare to inform its readers and explain to them why Sihanouk and Hanoi are moved to denounce Kremlin diplomacy? Can they explain to their own members and supporters why they hysterically denounce the fight for a labor party when the call for it is now beginning to be heard from wide layers of the labor movement?



Manifesto: The Case For A Labor Party

The 1972 elections are being held at a most critical time in the history of American labor. It is now that all the gains made by this great movement of American labor are being threatened by Nixon and the large corporations he represents.

Only if American labor breaks with the two parties controlled by big business and constructs its own labor party based on the trade unions can these gains be defended.

INFLATION continues unchecked eating up the pay checks of workers and driving workers' actual standard of living down. At the same time, the Pay Board slashes wages won by union workers while profits soar to unheard of heights and corporation presidents give themselves salary hikes of 100 percent or more.

UNEMPLOYMENT remains at six percent, while reaching as high as 50 percent for sections of minority youth. Hundreds of thousands of factory workers, with years of seniority, are being laid off and plants are being closed down wiping out the future for older workers, while

youth do not even have a chance to work. At the same time, the unemployed are being used by the bosses to break the conditions of employed workers.

SPEED-UP is being openly encouraged by the government itself and a drive for speed-up is being led by the largest corporations of the country like General Motors. The bosses are seeking to break union conditions in the plants, by forcing workers beyond the point of human endurance, while increasing profits and pushing more workers out of work as fewer workers sweat to do the work. This is the meaning of the statement of Joseph Godfrey of General Motors: "If we can occupy a man for 60 minutes, we've got that right."

LAWS AGAINST THE UNIONS are being prepared in Congress. Taft-Hartley is already on the books. Now a new law is being written which would outlaw strikes in the transportation industry and force compulsory arbitration. At the same time, the National Labor Relations Board and all the courts in the land are being used to invalidate contracts, jail union leaders, fire striking workers and take away all the basic rights the unions have won.

CONDITIONS OF LIFE are in decay everywhere. The schools are falling apart and few can learn anything in the schools where working class youth must go. Housing in the cities is in complete decay with whole sections of cities deserted and boarded up as workers are crowded into the remaining tenements. Health services costs

have skyrocketed and clinic service is deteriorating to 19th century conditions. Dope is spreading like a plague among the youth while crime skyrockets. "Law and order" is brought to bear against those who protest the conditions of life and not against the real criminals. Taxes have reached impossible heights for small wage earners and home owners while the big corporations do not even pay taxes.

RACISM is openly encouraged by the government itself which seeks to undermine the Supreme Court and Constitution on the busing issue. Wallace emerges as a racist demagogue seeking to break the labor movement with his campaign, while the "liberals" in the Democratic Party like Humphrey chase along behind him.

WAR continues in Southeast Asia and Nixon moves closer and closer to World War Three in his desperation before the forward movement of the workers and peasants. The American working people are still dying in Vietnam, and are still forced to carry a heavy tax burden for a war they never wanted nor declared, while the large corporations make billions off of defense contracts and use the war to protect their interests not ours in Asia. When Nixon bombs the homes of workers in Hanoi and Haiphong, when his bombs hit dikes which cause flooding and drowning of the poor peasants—this must serve as a warning to all American workers. Nixon will do the same here if not stopped.

Nixon is determined to destroy every-

thing that stands in the way of the profits of the large corporations he represents. The offensive of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and now the determination of American workers organized in the trade unions to defend conditions won through difficult struggle stand in his way.

At the same time, the corporations encourage the Wallace movement to the right of Nixon. Wallace is backed by fascist elements and the Ku Klux Klan. His state of Alabama has an anti-union "right-to-work" law. Wallace aims through racism to split the working class and openly destroy the unions. The trade union leadership refuses to seriously fight Wallace. Wallace can only be answered with the construction of a labor party!

AUGUST 15th DECISIONS

On August 15th, 1971 President Nixon made a series of decisions affecting the future of every worker in the United States and every other part of the world. He spoke, not for himself or even his party, but for the large corporations and the profit system to which they are dedicated.

First, Nixon removed the gold backing of the dollar, transforming the hoards of dollars held abroad into so many pieces of paper. He did this for the simple reason that the United States no longer possessed the gold to back up these dollars.

This means that capitalism as a world system is now bankrupt and can only be preserved if the working class is forced



Page 9: Workers League-Young Socialists demonstration last April 22nd during antiwar rallies. Above, Hospital Worker Union Local 1199 brought out over 20,000 workers in New York demonstration last week. Inserts: upper left, May Day rally in 1886 for 8-hour day. Lower right, Flint sit-down strikes to organize UAW in auto plants.

back into destitution. The bosses must now seek to increase the amount that workers produce while reducing wages to a pittance.

In 1944 in Bretton Woods the present world monetary system was established. It was based on other countries accepting American dollars as if they were gold. The United States guaranteed in return that the price of gold would stay at \$35 an ounce and it would honor all dollars held abroad with gold. On this basis the whole postwar boom was constructed and along with it an inflationary trend. This allowed the capitalists to amass great profits, while at the same time compromising with the working class which also made modest gains in its standard of living.

Bretton Woods was a concession to the strength of the working class. It is this strength which now throws capitalism into its biggest crisis.

Now that the United States will no longer honor dollars held abroad, the whole world monetary system is threatened with collapse and a world trade recession or depression is imminent. More than this, it means that the period of compromise with the working class is over. In every country the capitalists must now take on the working class seeking to break its class organizations and force down its living conditions so that the profit system can be preserved. It is this system and

these profits which is all that matters to the corporation heads. What happens to the working man is not their concern. It never has been.

Second, and flowing from this first decision, Nixon imposed a surcharge on foreign goods and took other steps to push as much of the burden of capitalism's crisis onto Europe. This means that Nixon and Connally are driving the rulers of Europe—the men who sent troops against workers in Malaya, in Aden, in Indochina, in Algeria, in Ireland—to turn now against the workers in Europe.

Some in the labor movement, including the AFL-CIO top leadership and the leadership of many individual unions, are seeking to line the working class up with Nixon in these attacks on other countries. They reason that the way to save American jobs is to have even higher import restrictions than Nixon so far has advocated. They say let the workers in Canada, who are in the same international unions, and in England, Germany, Japan and France suffer so that American jobs can be saved.

Such policies only weaken American workers at a time when they face their bitterest battles by separating them from their class brothers in other lands. The American working class faces an international enemy: that is, international conglomerates with vast wealth whose re-

sources span the globe. The working class must unite on an international front to

What is big business planning for American workers? Read the recent statements of GMAD boss Joseph Godfrey:

"Within reason and without endangering their health, if we can occupy a man for 60 minutes, we've got that right."

"Some workers are unsuited for assembly work, and they should get out. . . they complain, and yet if we closed Lordstown and then reopened it we would get 50,000 applications."

"Workers aren't motivated anymore. . . all these high benefit plans take desire away."

"In my judgement, our division doesn't compare with the Japanese in productivity. . . If our productivity were as good or our wage rates were the same, they couldn't compete with us. Their average hourly wage is \$1.24. . ."

"People in our plants don't work hard. Elbows and hands don't fly. It's not a Charlie Chaplin movie. We want steady and full work. We want them to keep their minds on the job."

fight back against these giants. In actual fact, it has been the heroic battles of the workers and peasants in Vietnam that have weakened Nixon to the point that he holds back from the kind of attacks against American workers he would like to carry out.

At the same time, it is the great strength of the American working class, particularly expressed last year in steel and auto which played an important role in forcing Nixon to make his August 15th decisions as well as in holding him back from what he would like to do in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Third, Nixon set up the Pay Board for the purpose of robbing American workers of their living standards, of holding down wages, while prices continued to soar and profits reached all-time highs. At the same time, Nixon, Agnew and Connally, in speech after speech, goad on big business to step up its ruthless speed-up to sweat every penny of profit possible out of American workers.

The full significance of the Pay Board can only be understood if we realize that it is aimed at destroying the one strength the American working class has—its trade unions. American workers do not have their own party as do workers in other countries. American workers do not have a strong shop stewards movement as they have in England. But American workers

have constructed powerful trade unions incorporating all workers in a factory in one union, and in many cases all workers in these industries in one union. Workers in these unions, through struggle, win certain wages, pensions and working conditions, written up in a contract.

This contract, of course, contains all kinds of clauses and concessions, written into it through the betrayals of the union bureaucracy which hamper and tie down the workers in the plants. But the contract is also the result of the power of the working class spelling out certain wage levels and conditions.

Now the Pay Board rips up these contracts imposing its own wage levels and other conditions. If the Pay Board is allowed to proceed unchallenged, it will have in one blow wiped out the great strength of the labor movement. What good are unions if contracts won through struggle can be thrown in the wastebasket at the whim of a handful of men called a Pay Board? What protection does the working man now have against the profit-hungry bosses ever after more work, lower pay, less jobs?

THE LESSONS OF LABOR'S HISTORY

In order to understand the full significance of the situation American workers now face, and what must be done in this situation, we must look at the history which

created the labor movement of today. The labor movement was built through struggle, not through compromise. It was built by militants and revolutionaries, not bureaucrats and lawyers. It came into being in an explosive way, through a great leap, not through a gradual addition to the old conservative craft unions led by the fore-runners of George Meany.

The modern labor movement was born in the great national railway strike of 1877. The strike began virtually leaderless, in response to pay cuts, swept the country and almost became a general strike. In Pittsburgh the workers defeated the militia and the city was run for several days by workers. Then the army intervened and bloodily suppressed the workers there and throughout the country. It was after this strike that the government built National Guard armories in every major city—not to protect the nation from an external enemy—but to protect the robber barons of industry from an internal enemy: the working man.

In 1886, the year in which May Day was born, the country was swept by agitation for the eight hour day. In New York City, the first labor party was constructed and Henry George received 67,000 votes to Tammany Hall's 90,000 even with Tammany counting the votes! The heart of the struggle was in Chicago where the labor movement was led by revolutionaries who

held anarchist views. The movement was broken through a witch-hunting campaign against anarchism following a bombing. Four labor leaders, the Haymarket martyrs, were hung for this act even though no evidence was produced then or since to connect them with the act.

In 1892, Eugene V. Debs led another national railway strike. This time court injunctions were used to break the strike and Debs was thrown in jail. While in jail, he came to the realization that workers could not be defended just through unions but that a party was needed to fight to replace the profit system with socialism so that the great productive power of this country could be run and utilized for the working class and not the bosses.

In 1912, revolutionaries of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) led a strike of 20,000 textile workers, who spoke over 15 languages, in Lawrence, Mass. When the IWW sought to take the workers' children to homes in other cities so they would not have to face starvation, the police moved in to club women and children. The workers stayed firm and the strike was won.

In 1919, William Z. Foster, a revolutionary who later joined the Communist Party, led a national steel strike which was defeated through the betrayals of the AFL which claimed to support it.

When, in 1937, auto workers in Flint,

Michigan sat down in a General Motors plant, their action was based on 60 years of struggle for industrial unionism. These workers were led by socialists and communists and through their militant sit-ins, the basis was laid for the building of the CIO almost overnight. With the growth of the CIO, the AFL was forced also to organize on a mass scale industrial workers and the 20 million strong labor movement we now know was built. It was the strength of this movement which created the standard of living of the postwar period for all workers, union and non-union.

Nothing was given to American workers. The trade unions were constructed through bitter struggle facing time and again the troops of the government itself, which did the bidding of the big corporations every time. The trade unions were not built by the methods of the present leaders. Samuel Gompers lived off of American workers. He did not build the mass trade unions. These were built by revolutionaries.

It took a sharp break from the old trade unionism to create industrial unions—not just an increase in the old unions of the AFL. These unions must now be broken if the profit hungry bosses are to defend their system. These unions can only be defended in a new leap—not by just more of the old methods, more unionism, more so-

lidity, pressure on the existing leadership. What is required to bring this about is the construction of a new leadership in the unions.

THE 1972 ELECTIONS

Every attack on labor today is fundamentally political in origin and must be answered politically. Inflation and unemployment are the products of governmental economic decisions and the economic system defended by the government. The government openly encourages speed-up and in fact insists upon it as a precondition to wage increases. Government policy stands behind the decay in housing, the schools, health and social welfare, while it is the government which levies unfair taxes on the working man and is deeply implicated in crime and corruption. Now the government uses the Pay Board to take away from the trade unions what is won by union action on the industrial front.

There can and must be strike action against the Pay Board. The trade unions cannot accept its decisions and remain trade unions. Such strikes will be political in character aimed at the policy of the government, and in fact against its "law." It requires a fight at the same time to begin the construction of our alternative go-

For all his demagogic claims to be a "friend of the working man," Wallace has always been a tool of the most reactionary sections of big business.

In Alabama, where George Wallace has been governor for eight of the last 10 years, workers face the most difficult conditions:

- Alabama has a "right-to-work" law to prevent union organizing.
- Industrial super-profits are fed by the low wages in Alabama, where there is no minimum wage law and where the annual per capita income (\$2,853) is less than that in 48 other states.
- Alabamian workers pay about the highest taxes (\$70 million in sales taxes have been added since 1963) in the entire country, while corporations pay next to nothing.
- Racism is continually fanned to divide the working class and split the trade union movement.
- Arid behind George Wallace stands the
 - John Birch Society
 - Ku Klux Klan
 - American Nazi Party
 - Multi-millionaire corporation heads who are infamous for their brutal dealing with their own employees.

Wallace is out to destroy all the gains of American workers. Only the power of workers organized politically in a labor party can stop him.

vernment, our party to replace their parties so that the laws of the land will be in the interests of the working people and not to defend their exploitation and destruction.

What is required now is that the American trade unions break decisively with the two parties of the capitalist class, the Democrats and Republicans, and construct a new party, a labor party dedicated to the interests of all workers in this country and throughout the world. The working class is the vast majority in this country. Only a handful of individuals, no more than 60 families, control the great corporations and through this control dominate both parties and the country. This can be tolerated no longer. A labor party must be built and must be built NOW!

The crisis in the Democratic Party is not a matter of a search for a personality. It is not difficult to find a man with more personal appeal than Tricky Dick Nixon! The difficulty lies in its very character as a capitalist party based on compromise with the working class. Now that compromise is giving way to sharper class struggles, this party is beginning to break up, to pull apart.

There is no wing of the Democratic Party which has a policy fundamentally different from that of Nixon. This is because Nixon's policies are those of a class, the capitalist owners of industry, and the Democratic Party also bases itself on that

class.

It was the Democratic Party which first proposed a Pay Board and the Democratic Party still stands for compulsory arbitration. When Nixon instituted the Pay Board, all sections of the Democratic Party supported him. When the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers walked off the Board, not one candidate of the Democratic Party supported this action. When it comes to the working class, all these politicians stick with their class, the class of corporation presidents, bankers and profiteers.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

We propose that the American trade union movement call a Congress of Labor to consider the critical situation now facing the American working class. We urge that this congress be open not only to all trade unions—the AFL-CIO, UAW, Teamsters and independent unions—But to representatives of the students, the minorities, the unemployed and unorganized, welfare clients, small farmers, and all working class political tendencies. The purpose of such a congress is to formulate a policy and a program to confront the new situation the working class faces and take appropriate action so that this program can go forward.

We propose to such a congress, as we do to all sections of the labor movement, the immediate formation of a new party of labor based on and financed by the trade unions, open to all sections of the working class and fighting for every working man, all the youth and unemployed. We propose that such a party fight on the basis of the following program.

PROGRAM

NO LAWS AGAINST UNIONS:

There must be an immediate end to the Pay Board, the Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and other anti-labor laws, the state "right-to-work" laws, all restrictions on the right to strike for government employees or anyone else, and all the repressive court and other restrictions on unions and on minority peoples and youth.

WAGES: The trade unions cannot stand by and let the government through the Pay Board take away labor's past gains in wages and living conditions. We demand straight wage increases which not only make up for past inflation but improve incomes of workers. There must be no strings attached, no productivity deals, no speed-up. We must protect these gains from erosion by inflation with a full escalator clause in every contract.

JOBS: We must institute a policy of full employment based on a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. It was American workers who fought for and achieved the eight hour day. Now we must make the 30 hour week the law of the land so that everyone may work and benefit from the productive capacity of the country. There must be real job training for youth and unemployment benefits to all without cutoffs.

PEACE: We call for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops, planes, ships and materiel from Vietnam, Southeast Asia and all countries of the world. We propose to replace a policy of imperialism with a policy of support to workers and peasants of other lands in their battles for a better life and to replace a policy of economic domination by United States big businessmen with a policy of economic cooperation in the development of the underdeveloped nations. Only such a policy can bring peace to the world.

LIVING CONDITIONS: Billions must be devoted to providing for quality education for all, including higher education. The slums must be torn down and the cities rebuilt with high quality public housing available to all who want it. Socialized medicine must be instituted to take profit out of sickness and provide complete medical care to all from birth to death.

TAXES: War profits must be taxed 100 percent along with all incomes over \$25,000. All existing loopholes must be removed so that these taxes are actually levied. Present regressive sales taxes and income taxes on incomes below \$10,000 must be abolished. Taxes on small home owners and small businesses must like-

wise be abolished and property taxes levied against the large corporations and banks.

RACISM: All discrimination in pay, hiring, upgrading and training must be abolished. Schools and housing must be completely integrated. Only under conditions of full employment, ample inexpensive housing and expanded educational budgets will it be possible to actually integrate the schools and society. Only when the ghettos are abolished will racism be ended.

NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY: The attacks on the labor movement, the cutbacks in school funds, in housing, in all the social benefits, are now taking place because the capitalist system can no longer provide a decent living to workers and necessary social services to the families of workers. War is being conducted in Vietnam and threatened elsewhere for the same reason. The United States has the productive power to provide everything outlined in this program today. The potential development of this productive power is unlimited. What must be done now is to place these industries in the hands of the working people through nationalization under workers' control, so that the economy can be planned to meet the needs of all the people. There is no solution to any problem now facing American workers outside of creating its own party, creating through this party its own government, and this government taking over basic industry and administering this industry through the democratic control of the workers in the factories, in the interests of all of humanity.

HOW TO BEGIN

We must begin this battle to convene a Congress of Labor and to construct a labor party right now in the midst of the 1972 elections. It is now that all workers are forced to turn to political questions. It is now that the future of labor is threatened by the Pay Board. It is now that Nixon is driving ever closer to world war over Vietnam.

The Socialist Workers Party is running Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in a number of states against the candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties. We urge all workers and youth to vote for these candidates as a step in the struggle to build a labor party.

Most important, we can begin the fight to construct an independent party of the working class during this election. The basis for its construction in this period can be laid so that the working class does not have to go into another election with only the parties of the bosses to choose between. This we must do.

We call on the labor movement to hold such a congress and construct such a party but do not rely on the present labor bureaucracies to carry out such a task. What is required is a break from all the compromises with capitalism which has created a labor bureaucracy far removed from the ranks. This bureaucracy lives more like bosses than workers. The labor bureaucracy will resist such a break to the end.

We must therefore construct a new leadership in the trade unions fighting to carry out this task. As a first step in this, we are calling on all trade unionists who favor a labor party to come together to form an organization in the trade unions to fight for such a party.

The Communist Party will fight this development to the end. It was the Communist Party, which had a tremendous influence in the CIO, which acted to prevent the formation of a labor party in the 1930's and again in the 1945-47 postwar strike wave period. The Communist Party supports the bureaucracies in the Soviet countries and their policies of compromise with capitalism. They still stand on the basis of Stalinism. They support the liberal section of the Democratic Party and the so-called "progressive" trade union bureaucrats like Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers, and Leon Davis, President of the Drug and Hospital Workers, Local 1199. A new leadership in the trade unions and a labor party will only be built through a bitter struggle against Stalinism and the Communist Party.

The Socialist Workers Party first exposed these policies of Stalinism in the 1930's in their support of Trotsky! It was

Trotsky who carried forward Marx's and Lenin's policy of the political independence of the working class into the new period when a bureaucracy grew up in the Soviet Union opposed to these policies.

The Socialist Workers Party fought in the past for a labor party but today they have subordinated this to middle class movements and liberalism. They ignore the labor movement, and organize protest movements with the liberal politicians proposing that these movements pressure these liberals into better policies.

They call for the formation of a Black party and a Chicano party. All such parties not only divide the working class when it needs to be united but unite sections of the working class with capitalism. The only way forward for oppressed minorities in the United States is through the construction of a party of all the working class, dedicated to socialist policies and an end to all racial and national discrimination.

It is the Workers League together with the Young Socialists which takes forward the struggle for a labor party and for a so-

While Nixon's Pay Board slashes the wages of millions of workers and actually forces them to hand their salaries back over to their bosses, the giant corporations are drunk with record profits.

- Profits ran at an annual pace of \$52.3 billion during the first three months of 1972, setting an all-time record.

- Chrysler Corporation reported first quarter profits of \$36 million, a record 231 percent increase in profits over the first three months of 1971.

- Republic Steel boasted profits of 22 percent.

- IBM reported a 22 percent jump in profits.

- General Electric's profits increased 13 percent.

- Corporation executives have taken advantage of these thumping profits to give themselves hefty wage increases.

- General Motor's President Ed Cole received a 121.1 percent boost to \$497,534.

- Dow Chemical President Charles Branch awarded himself a 196.2 percent raise to \$305,089.

- Henry Ford II, worried about the rise in the cost of living, signed in for a 37.8 percent increase to \$689,000. The president of his corporation, Lee A. Iacocca, was upped 48.4 percent to \$675,000.

- I.T.T. President Harold S. Geenen now receives a salary of \$812,000, or about \$15,600 per week.

These are the men who ordered the Democrats and Republicans to establish the Pay Board that has held pay increases for trade unionists down to an average of 4.2 percent.

cialist America. In this struggle, the young workers and students have a critically important role to play fighting for the political development of the working class as a whole. The Workers League brings into a common movement on the basis of socialism the trade unionists, the young workers, the students, the minority peoples. It is this movement which will be critical in bringing forward the development of the working class in this new period.

JOIN US NOW!

Defend the trade unions from government attack!

Fight for the trade unions to call a Congress of Labor!

Beat back Wallace!

Defeat the two parties of big business!

Build a labor party dedicated to socialist policies!

Vote for Jenness and Pulley in 1972!

(Continued From Page 1)

For thousands of Alabama workers, the housing conditions are abominable. Squalid shacks without heating, broken stoves, cracked floors, crumbling walls, rotting furniture and inadequate lighting line one another on the outskirts of Birmingham.

Old men sit quietly on the porches in rough and tattered clothes, exhausted by a day of grueling work and a life full of hardships and insults. Men in their forties look broken by age. "If there were two like Wallace, we'd be back to slavery," one of them told this reporter. He earns \$64 for a 40 hour week. A mother living in a primitive box-like dwelling supports herself and six children by working 54 hours a week—for \$49.

"Alabama's about the hardest state to live in that I've ever seen," stated one worker in his twenties. "You don't get paid nothing. The cost of living is high."

George Wallace, governor of Alabama for eight of the last ten years, has used all his power to maintain these conditions, and now is seeking national power because the employers would like to make Alabama the model for the rest of the country.

CONDITIONS

These conditions are what capitalism holds in store for the entire working class, and Wallace—endorsed by every labor hating outfit in this country, from the Ku Klux Klan to the American Nazis—is the man big business has chosen to carry its program out.

In order to defend itself, the working class cannot turn to those who accept as the highest law the right of business to make profits in whatever way it can. That law has created the conditions in Alabama, and it is defended not only by George Wallace, but also by the Democrats and Republicans. That is why there is not one leading candidate in either party—from McGovern to Nixon—who has not voiced the hope that Wallace will make himself heard in the coming campaign.

The working people must build their own political party—a party that starts with the needs of all those who work for a living. Only a labor party can fight unemployment, wage cuts, and speedups because it will base itself not on the corporations but on the working people. It will put forward not demagoguery but real answers to the problems that the great majority of people face.

Wallace's demagoguery only serves to hide his true intentions. All his talk about serving the "little man" is a crude falsehood; because he believes that big business can do whatever it pleases and crush anyone who gets in its way.

CORRUPTION

This is shown with full force in Alabama, where government and big business corruption has exploded into the open. The closest Wallace aides are under indictment. Others continue to peddle their influence to executives greedy for profits. Wallace's brother, Gerald, has become a rich man over the past few years. The building of highways has become a bonanza for state officials and corporations.

Corruption and capitalism are inseparable. The entire system is built on the right of a small number of men to provide for their own interests by exploiting millions. Under conditions of crisis, the bubble of corporate



Exclusive Bulletin photos by Bruce McKay show poverty level imposed on Alabama workers by Wallace.

Where Wallace Really Stands

legality bursts like an abscess as even the laws set up by big business itself are thrown aside in the frenzy to make money.

George Wallace has tolerated open swindling within the highest circles of Alabama because he himself, the representative of capitalism in decay, defends the right of the bosses to enrich themselves by any means necessary. And he allows it with total disdain for the poverty-stricken people of his state. Only last September, just as the corruption was being exposed in the newspapers, it was revealed that there was not enough money in the treasury to meet the upcoming paychecks of state employees.

Let's take a look at the way George Wallace, the stern advocate of "law and order," governed the state of Alabama.

His brother was the first to profit by Wallace's political success. Just two months after George Wallace became governor in 1963, Gerald Wallace incorporated the Dallas Asphalt Company, in which he had one-quarter interest. Alabama suddenly became very interested in the conditions of its highways. Between March 1963 and 1969,

the company sold \$2.9 million worth of asphalt plant mix. Owing to his special connections, Gerald Wallace got a good price—about \$3.39 more per ton than the average price paid by the highway department for the same asphalt from other companies.

Describing Gerald's fortunes, the *Montgomery Advertiser* wrote last year: "His holdings stretch over the entire state of Alabama, including land development corporations, an investment company which recently purchased a bank in Dothan and many similar business affiliations. A list of his business associates reads like a Who's Who of top Wallace backers."

GRAFT

The highway department has been the special agency of graft. New roadways crisscross the state, passing right by the impoverished shacks in which large hungry families live. The roads were not built to benefit the population, but in order to hand out lucrative contracts to tycoons who paid off Wallace's friends in return.

For example, an engineering

firm called Rader and Associates obtained two contracts on the interstate highways, for \$265,000 and \$122,900. This firm won the Governor's ear by paying Wallace crony Clemon T. Fitzpatrick \$13,250 to plead its case.

When Dixie Engineering Company of Mobile learned that Alabama was preparing to hand out contracts for Interstate 10, it decided to win the favor of McDowell Lee, who had been Wallace's campaign manager for Southern Alabama in 1962. This friendship was worth \$5,000 for Lee and \$500,000 for Dixie Engineering.

This firm has been able to do very good business with the Wallace Administration for another reason. It has always financed the political careers of right-wing forces to defend its empire against the working class. Dixie started supporting Wallace in 1958 with \$15,000. More recently, it hired Robert Shelton, imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, as a public relations man.

The banks have prospered in Alabama under George Wallace, especially those in his home town of Clio. Nearly \$2 million in

state funds are being kept in the small banks in that town. Half of it is in a bank that pays no interest. This means that the state funds are valuable only to the bank, for it can reinvest the money to make more without having to pay anything in cash for its use.

BRIBERY

During the past year, top officials in the Wallace Administration as well as the Governor's leading financial backers have been indicted on charges of tax evasion and bribery. Among them is Elton B. Stevens, a right-wing businessman who owns an enormous textbook company, who has been identified as a power behind the Alabama political scene. He was indicted for trying to write off a \$25,000 contribution to Wallace as a business expense.

Earl Goodwin, a top Wallace advisor and owner of Bush-hog Manufacturing Company, was indicted for attempting to mask a large contribution to the campaign of Lurleen Wallace in 1966.

Former State Finance Director Seymore Trammell, the closest political associate of Wallace who was his chief strategist in the 1968 presidential campaign, was indicted for income tax evasion. He was also charged with having accepted a \$6,000 bribe from a construction firm that wanted a favorable contract.

Edward L. Roberts of Gadson, head of a large construction firm, was indicted for bribing Trammell.

Another Wallace appointee, State Docks Director Houston Feaster, was indicted for income tax evasion and for taking bribes.

As for the road-building double dealing, Highway Director Guerry Pruett resigned last March, declaring "I no longer desire to be associated with this administration in any capacity." What prompted this action was not his conscience, but Wallace's demand that he contribute to the 1972 campaign. Pruett did not make it clear whether he was expected to use state funds.

"LOOTERS"

Not long ago, Wallace declared that "looters" in ghetto rebellions should be shot down. But in Alabama, no one is shooting the looters in the state government who are making fortunes by plundering the state whose revenues are squeezed out of the taxes paid by workers. The truth is that Wallace's "law and order" is the law of the corporations which exist only to increase the wealth of their owners. That is why the "right-to-work" law in Alabama is rigorously enforced; that is why the highway patrol is used to harass union organizers; that is why police dogs were set on Black workers demanding their civil rights. Wallace's law is meant to perpetuate poverty for the sake of big business.

The far right and the most ruthless section of the capitalist class in Alabama support Wallace and have thrived under his Administration. Now, driven by the economic crisis and the movement of the working class, these forces on a national scale are turning to Wallace. Their aim is to break the trade unions and reduce the working class to virtual slavery.

Wallace who stands on the program of business can be defeated only by workers mobilized around a program in the interests of labor. This is why the construction of a labor party in 1972 must begin now.

V. Barat Books

THE COMMISSARIAT OF ENLIGHTENMENT: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky October 1917-1921. By Sheila Fitzpatrick. Cambridge at the University Press. 1970.

This book concerns the policies and workings of the Soviet Commissariat of Education (Narkompros), established after the Bolshevik Revolution in October, 1917.

Almost 400 pages long, the work does not go much beyond 1921, the period of forced retreat known as NEP (New Economic Policy). The author, who had direct access to Narkompros' archives in Moscow, intends a companion volume to include the years 1921-1929.

Narkompros' main task, she shows, was to administer the vast country's primary and secondary school system. It also had charge of the universities, Academy of Sciences, scientific research institutes, theaters, public libraries, museums and art collections.

From the outset Narkompros faced enormous problems. The upheaval and dislocations caused by three years of capitalist war under the Czar had bankrupted the nation even before the October Revolution. Immediately afterwards imperialism incited and supported three additional years of counter-revolutionary civil war (1918-1921) with a consequent breakdown of transport that brought wholesale famine and death throughout the country.

Thus the new Soviet Government (including, of course, Narkompros) was compelled to begin functioning under conditions of near chaos and the direst poverty.

The four years covered are among the most exciting and inspiring periods in the cultural history of the world. Yet this hardly comes through the study. The reader must wade through a good deal of the book's scholarly minutiae to cull what is essential. The effort, though, is worthwhile.

Furthermore, the well-documented polemics involving Narkompros (before it was finally strangled by Stalin in the late twenties) are of much more than academic interest today. Indeed, the theoretical seeds of that revisionism that later led to the counter-revolutionary theory of "Socialism in One Country" were already implanted—and, yes, already vigorously opposed—even in those early controversies involving such seemingly "unpolitical" issues as education and culture.

The key figure in these debates was the first Commissar of Education, Anatoly V. Lunacharsky. This remarkable man and "poet of the revolution" was not only a professional revolutionary all his life, but a playwright, talented and prolific art critic, and an orator second only to Trotsky.

Descended from the minor nobility, Lunacharsky had already as a high school lad in Kiev thrown in his lot with the revolutionary working class and never once stopped to look back.

In the principled split of 1903 he unreservedly supported the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks. However, after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution a deep reaction set in and it rent Lenin's Party too.

Philosophical concepts from the arsenal of "modern" positivism, but completely alien to dialectical materialism, were propagated by men who had defended Marxism in the 1903 struggle. Bogdanov, as well as Lunacharsky, were eager to "up-date" socialism.

In his famous *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* of 1908 Lenin showed how the capitulation of these men to bourgeois philosophy, to be sure under the guise of "science", opened the door to religious idealism. Lunacharsky became an avowed secular "Godseeker". Lenin saw in their



Lunacharsky (center) stands in front of Red Army "agit-train". The soldiers presented him with fur coat.

theoretical deficiency the real explanation for their ultraleftism, for both men condemned "legal activity," that is, participation by Marxists in the Czar's reactionary Duma, as unpardonable violations of principles.

While Lenin broke off all political relations with the Godseeker after 1908, he continued to treat Lunacharsky with the kind of amiable tolerance that Marx always felt for the German poet, Heine.

After the February Revolution in 1917 Trotsky, leader of *Mezhrayontsy* in Petrograd, successfully prevailed on Lunacharsky, a member of the group, to rejoin the Bolsheviks that summer. The indefatigable future Commissar of Education then threw himself into speaking before and winning over to the Bolsheviks audiences of thousands: workers, soldiers, and sailors who in October stormed the Winter Palace.

Lunacharsky's slender book, *Revolutionary Silhouettes*, written "when we were still living in its very crucible" furnishes today one of the most perceptive insights into the principle leaders of the October Revolution: Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and others. Since Stalin played no leading role in October, no sketch of him appeared.

Stalin, to be sure, never forgave him this "slight" and forbade its publication in the Soviet Union. Though Lunacharsky maintained an unheroic aloofness from the principled struggle waged by the Left Opposition to Stalin's disenfranchisement of the Soviet working class, he was finally forced by the Kremlin tyrant to resign his post in 1929.

His death four years later spared him the fate and horror of the Moscow Trials, where in 1935-36, the legal lynchings of Lenin's closest comrades occurred.

The appointment of Lunacharsky as Commissar of Education in October, 1917, was at the recommendation of Lenin himself. The Bolshevik leader saw in Lunacharsky an absolutely fair and enlightened person, qualities he considered indispensable for this office. Indeed, Lenin often said: "In matters of culture nothing is as harmful and pernicious as hate, arrogance and fanaticism. In these matters great care and tolerance must be exercised."

In this respect at least the Narkompros Commissar never let Lenin or the Bolsheviks down. As an administrator the poet was inefficient to the point of incompetence. The Party was forced to bail him out by placing at his disposal men with far more talent in organizational matters.

The incredible hostility of virtually the entire academic and scientific community to the Bolsheviks after October is cited by Miss Fitzpatrick as one of the most serious problems the new Commissar had to face. This hostility, always politically motivated, at times took ludicrous forms:

"There was a political antagonism between Moscow University and Narkompros which no fortuitous coincidence of educational principles could have removed. The liberal majority did not simply disagree with the minority of Communists but persecuted them, encouraged students to boycott their lectures, removed the chalk from their classrooms and their classes from the timetable, and even lodged complaints against them with Narkompros. University positions were offered to distinguished anti-Communists like Peter Struve, who had not previously been members of the university. The professors fought not only for university autonomy, but to maintain a centre of anti-Communist enlightenment, as they saw it." (pp. 74-5)

The attitude of the art world was hardly different: "...almost all its members—writers, actors, artists and musicians—were determined to boycott the new government." (p. 110) In "Red" Petrograd itself Conductor Albert Coates threatened to "immediately put down my baton and stop conducting if the People's Commissar Lunacharsky enters the Mariinsky theatre during a performance." (p. 118)

Nonetheless Lunacharsky's literary and artistic reputation (well known and respected even among most of the reactionary intelligentsia) in conjunction with what Trotsky called his "compliant softness" were invaluable assets for the head of Narkompros. Of all the government personages he was in the best position to refute the slander depicting the Bolsheviks as cultural vandals.

Lunacharsky saw in the education of the masses the only basis for a viable development of Soviet democracy. This required the immediate and urgent elimination of illiteracy, especially rampant in the country side. How was he to implement such a policy?

His very first declaration upon assuming office in October placed the axis for overcoming the problem on the initiative of the toilers themselves, urging them to shape and control democratically their own education and culture:

"The State Education Commission is certainly not a central power directing educational institutions. On the contrary, all school affairs must be handed over to the organs of local self-government. The independent action of...workers', soldiers' and peasants' cultural-educational organizations must achieve full autonomy, both in relation to the central government and to the municipal centres..." (p. 26)

During his dozen years as educational Commissar he never deviated from this goal. As the Civil War continued, however, there was increasing resistance to the idea of popular initiative. It came not only from within Narkompros but equally

from other governmental bodies. Lenin's wife Krupskaya, a devoted member of Narkompros and one of the most avid proponents of educational soviets, untiringly supported Lunacharsky's aim:

"We are not afraid to organize a revolution. Let us not be afraid of the people, let us not be afraid that they will elect the wrong sort of representatives, bring in the priests. We want the people to direct the country and be their own masters... We are always thinking in old terms, that if we do not spare ourselves and work day and night in the people's cause, that is enough. But it is nothing. Our job is to help the people in fact to take their fate into their own hands." (p. 28)

CIVIL WAR

A far more devastating enemy of local initiative than paternalism from above was the generalized want. With each month of the Civil War it grew grimmer. A merciless slashing of the educational budget could not be avoided. The campaign against adult illiteracy, upon which, after the education of the youth, the Bolsheviks placed the highest priority, was drastically crippled. Krupskaya wrote: "In the provinces, the restriction of credits led to an almost epidemic closing of clubs, schools and reading-rooms—as if the wind had blown them away." (p. 253)

By the autumn of 1921 Narkompros owed teachers so many millions of roubles in salaries that it became unrealistic to hope to find the money to pay them for some time to come.

Besides teachers, broad sections of the general population suffered starvation and actual famine as a direct result of the imperialist promoted Civil War. To save the lives of starving children the Bolsheviks were forced in November, 1921, to take the unprecedented step of evacuating hundreds of them to a hostile, capitalist Czechoslovakia through the Red Cross, despite the "distressing reports of their indoctrination by Russian emigre teachers." This was reported in an *Izvestiya* article by Lunacharsky himself under the title "Wrangelites are educating our children."

The practical collapse of free public education afforded the so-called "Red" merchants (tradesmen who began to prosper with the establishment of NEP) the chance to band together to finance schools and hire teachers through a direct payment of fees.

Such practice, of course, gave an even greater cultural advantage to the children of the rich. The Bolsheviks were particularly chagrined at a state of affairs where children of toilers could not receive a guaranteed free education. Indeed the right to such an education had been established as an inviolable principle for all youth.

As early as August, 1918, a govern-

mental decree had assured youth the right to admission even to the highest educational institutions, including the universities. These were to be open "to any person, regardless of citizenship or sex, who has attained the age of 16." Besides the abolition of all university fees, the decree eliminated entrance exams and educational requirements for university attendance.

Of more immediate concern at the moment to Lenin and his comrades than the disappointment in not being able to fulfill the hope of universal, free education was the threat to the very social basis of the Soviet state. It was a consequence of the creeping financial control of schools by those with money. Through the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois hold of the purse strings, teachers (and other public officials who came to depend on private disbursement for their services) necessarily came under the political influence of anti-Soviet benefactors.

At the nadir of the young government's fiscal fortunes in October, 1921, Lunacharsky in desperation warned against allowing any more fee payments after a set date. He threatened that "if, after that prohibition, I personally come to know of such a thing, I will immediately start criminal proceedings against the guilty persons." (p. 277)

Alarmed at the danger posed to the rule of the working class by governmental officials becoming beholden to private interests, Lenin with all the vehemence he could summon appealed to the Second All-Russian Congress in October, 1921, to turn their faces to the one force that could combat that threat:

"The time when it was necessary to draw the political outlines of great tasks has passed, and the time has come when we have to put them into practice. Now we have cultural tasks ahead of us, the tasks of digesting political experience which must and will be put into practice. It is either the ruin of all the political conquests of Soviet power, or the establishment of an economic fundament beneath us. . . We must fight illiteracy, but literacy alone is not enough. What is also necessary is the kind of culture which teaches us how to fight red-tape and bribery. . .

"We—and let us hope, you too—are conducting propaganda against barbarism and such evils as bribery, but political education is not exhausted by such propaganda. It needs to show people. . . how they—as ordinary citizens, more politically educated than others. . . can not only curse all kinds of red-tape (that is common with us) but how in fact they can overcome it." (pp. 251-2)

Yet, the very poverty of the nation forced the government into a retreat and school fees were finally introduced as an unavoidable but temporary expedient.

From its inception one of the sharpest controversies within Narkompros and at the governmental and Party summits concerned the nature of secondary education.

As discerning followers of Marx and Engels most of the older Bolsheviks recognized the "polytechnical" principle as axiomatic, that is the need for the working class to be educated as "whole" men, not one-sided specialists. It was not at all a matter of depreciating the qualified worker. His specialty, however, must not be achieved at the sacrifice of his scientific, social, and cultural development. Even physical culture, as among the ancient Greeks, was considered a necessary attribute of the harmonious individual.

That there was such acrimonious debate was, again, the result of the cruel economic problems facing the government. The immediate need to get some kind of production underway, it was argued by many (especially by those most directly under pressure to fire up the bankrupt economy) did not allow for a leisurely educative experience. The advocates of this view fought to reduce the starting age for specialization from 17 to 14 years.

Once again Krupskaya joined Lunacharsky on an issue: she reminded the supporters of a lower age limit "that professional-technical education at any depth requires a certain general educational preparation on the part of the student: students must be properly literate, know at least elementary mathematics, and have a more or less basic knowledge of history and geography." (p.

66)

Lenin was furious that it had come up in Party discussion at all. He added that to debate the issue was "for a Communist, directly inadmissible", since the principle of polytechnical education was an integral part of the Bolshevik program.

As in the case of introducing school fees, the government was forced by circumstances into compromising its policy of polytechnical education in 1921, reducing the age for specialization from 17 to 15 years. Miss Fitzpatrick reports that the polytechnical principle "was not repudiated until 1929, when Lunacharsky resigned from Narkompros after being defeated on the issue by the Politburo



Lunacharsky (left) and Lenin are shown at unveiling of monument to "Liberated Labor." under Stalin. . ." (p. 288)

The author reveals that it was at Lenin's initiative that Narkompros granted virtual autonomy to departments carrying on scientific research. The Academy of Sciences, even with its many anti-Communist professors, functioned for all practical purposes as an independent body.

Miss Fitzpatrick points out, further, that a Lysenko scandal of the Stalin era was inconceivable under Lunacharsky. But she misses the essence of the difference. Far more is involved than tolerance by the government under Lenin of science (and art) as against persecution later under Stalin.

The victory of October with its profound spirit of scientific inquiry and liberation shattered the medieval and obscurantist atmosphere that under the Czars had pervaded all life. Science, which had previously existed as an alien force in isolation from society, was enthusiastically welcomed by the government and given every encouragement to expand its work and influence at all levels. The tremendous gains of this period gave a powerful impetus to and enriched scientific thought the world over. The book is sadly deficient in its recognition of this aspect of Soviet activity.

The author's treatment of Narkompros' achievements in the field of innovative education is far more complete. Despite the general poverty, its bold experiments in the kindergartens, children's colonies, and elementary schools amazed and won the acclaim of educators throughout the world, including the American John Dewey.

Even in the midst of the Civil War, Krupskaya (and Lenin when he could spare an hour or two) visited the kindergartens and children's colonies. They would come away with the feeling that here at least were "corners full of joy, full

of the morning light portending future socialism; light grains of the future for which we struggle against the twilight, cruelly battle-colored backdrop of our suffering land." (p. 50)

Miss Fitzpatrick reports at some length on one of the most politically explosive issues of the time: the proper attitude of Communists to literature and art. Differences of opinion on this divided the Politburo of the Party.

It will be recalled that Lunacharsky was favored to head Narkompros in great measure because of his deep respect for and his own embodiment of all that was best in Europe's cultural heritage. But he was also fond of riding his own hobbyhorse: so-

the October Revolution. The great poet Mayakovsky was the outstanding figure to emerge from the group.

Nor could Lunacharsky accede to their demands for preferential or monopoly status among the artists.

In answer to them and other self-proclaimed proletarian artists clamoring for special privileges, Krupskaya wrote:

"Only the reader can determine the significance of a writer. That is how it must be. The new life will probably give birth to new writers, a new and vitally infectious trend in literature. . . All organizations must have the right to find their own identity, the right to choose whatever literary trend they like. It is also necessary to think how to give the broad masses the chance to show their attitude to proposed literary works before the size of the edition is determined. And we need other means to decide the minimum standard of literary achievement which would give each writer the right to publish his works, even if only in an edition of 1,000. . ." (p. 137)

Lenin was as forceful and alert in opposing the whole idea of proletarian culture as Trotsky. His criticism of Proletkult (an organization set up to promote "proletarian art and culture") was unambiguous and inflexible. He repeatedly attacked its assumptions, seeing in it an arena of activity for:

"...Escapees from the bourgeois intelligentsia, who often looked on the newly-created workers' and peasants' educational institutions as the most convenient field for their own personal fantasies in the sphere of philosophy or culture. . . and smuggled in something supernatural and foolish under the guise of pure proletarian art and proletarian culture." (p. 106)

So alarmed was Lenin at the persistent efforts to promote Proletkult ideas that, in 1920, he had his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (the 1908 polemic directed principally at Bogdanov) republished as a fresh repudiation of the philosopher.

In the Politburo Lenin fought tenaciously for the adoption of a resolution rejecting "as theoretically incorrect and practically harmful all attempts to think up its own special culture. . ." (p. 179)

BUKHARIN

Bukharin (the editor of *Pravda*) defended the concepts of the Proletkult with such vehemence that the question could not be resolved at this Politburo session.

The matter was referred to a Politburo commission for the preparation of a theoretical statement. Headed by Zinoviev (Bukharin was not a member) the body issued its report as a letter addressed to the Party's Central Committee. It was published in *Pravda* on December 1, 1920.

Condemned unconditionally were futurism as well as proletarian culture and "supporters of idealist philosophy hostile to Marxism and. . . mere idlers, renegades from the ranks of bourgeois publicists and philosophers. . ." (p. 186)

The significance of the polemics concerning proletarian art are completely lost on Miss Fitzpatrick. She sees in them little more than passionate expressions of differing views on art.

Yet Lenin condemned Bogdanov's aesthetic concepts because of their political ramifications. The workers' state had to defend its existence from the bourgeoisie as adamantly on its philosophic as on its military front.

TROTSKY

Neither was Trotsky in his *Literature and Revolution* (written in 1924) writing a tract aimed at impressing middle class academicians with the ability of Marxists to analyze cultural trends. It was a salvo fired at those like Bukharin and Stalin, who, beneath their servile flattering of the working class with nonsense about proletarian culture and "Socialism in One Country" were setting anti-Marxist time bombs to torpedo the base of workers' democracy from within.

Though the meaning of these and other controversies are scarcely evaluated or understood by the author, because she lacks the compass and sensitivity of a Marxist, her work, especially with its documentation is most valuable.

Whatever her intent, the book is a compelling verification of the October Revolution as a source of creativity never before witnessed by man.

called "proletarian culture," whose theoretical fountain-head was Bogdanov.

Lunacharsky espoused this view only "as a means of heightening the class awareness of the proletariat and promoting a spirit of militant enthusiasm for the achievement of class aims." (p. 8) He refused to see any theoretical dangers in such a position.

The idea that the proletariat had any specific or unique cultural contributions (outside the revolutionary-political one) for mankind was decisively condemned by scientific socialists from Marx's time on. In his book on this question, *Literature and Revolution*, Trotsky showed the absurdity of this belief:

"It is fundamentally incorrect to contrast bourgeois culture and bourgeois art with proletarian culture and proletarian art. The latter will never exist, because the proletarian regime is temporary and transient. The historic significance and the moral grandeur of the proletarian revolution consists in the fact that it is laying the foundations of a culture which is above classes and which will be the first culture that is truly human." (p. 14 in *Lit and Revol* by L.D.)

The artistic tendency most caught up in promoting the concept of proletarian art was futurism. In post-October Russia this movement was based on the abrasive and tendentious belief that since all past culture came from previous ruling classes, none of it was worth preserving. Its proponents energetically insisted that only what was new and was based on the revolutionary, collectivist spirit of the proletariat deserved support of a workers' state.

Lunacharsky to his credit could never agree with such views despite his sympathy for the futurists. They were, after all, the only Russian artistic tendency that wholeheartedly welcomed and defended

New Wave Of Rebellion In Southern Africa

BY C. WOODS & P. MARTIN

All of Southern Africa is in turmoil as workers and peasants strike hammer blows against feudalism, apartheid, colonialism, and imperialism. In Burundi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, and South Africa itself the ruling class stands in mortal fear as wave after wave of workers' and peasants' revolts crash against the oppressors.

The recent strike of miners, fishermen, and farm laborers in Namibia (South West Africa) against the contract labor system and slave wages has triggered a response in South African universities. It was this strike by one of the most oppressed sections of South Africa's work force which first revealed the crisis convulsing the apartheid system. Eight workers who were singled out as strike leaders were brought to trial in Windhoek, Namibia and after a lengthy court hearing were found guilty of inciting their comrades to strike. They were fined and given suspended jail sentences.

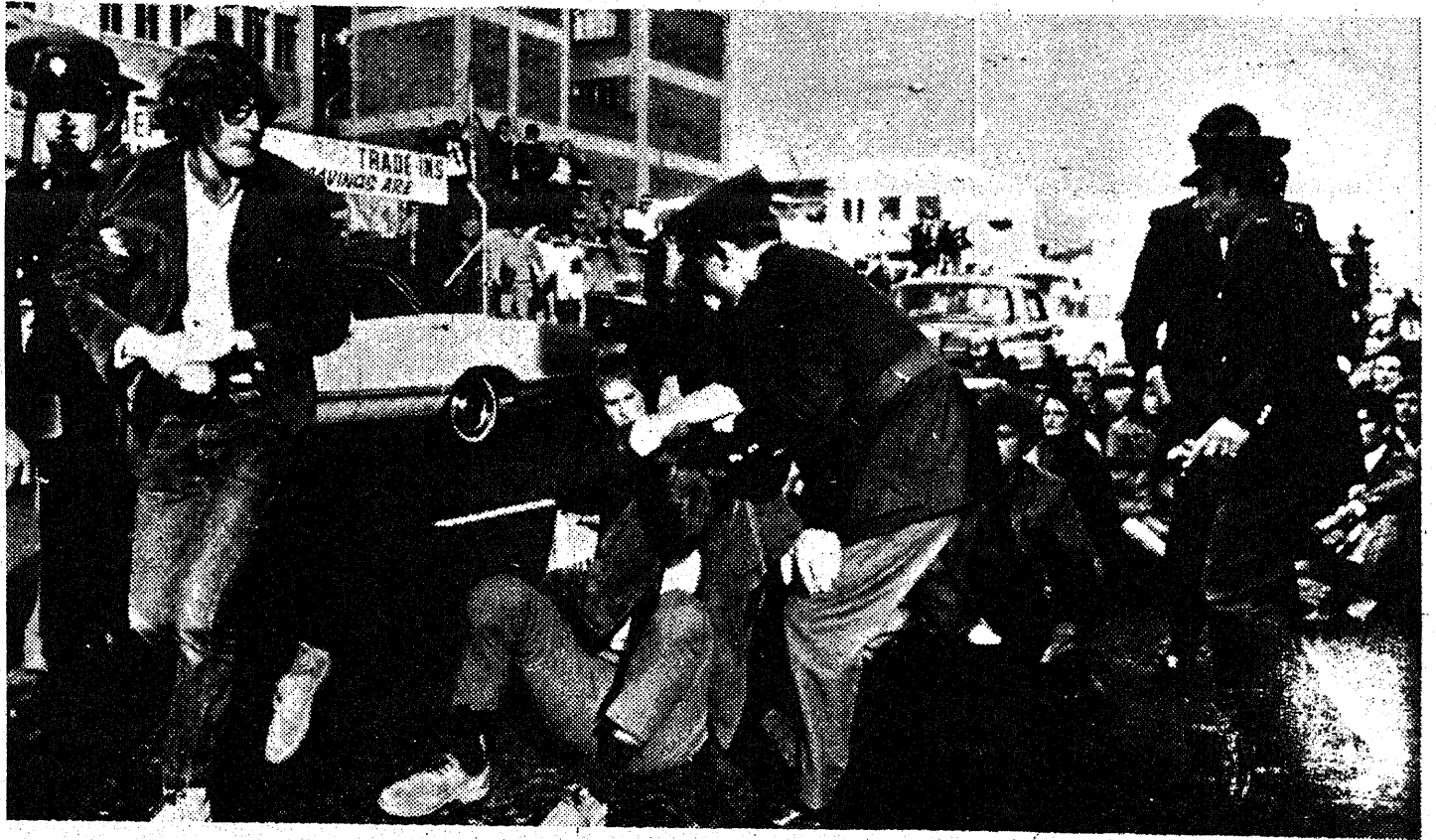
STUDENTS

The student movement which grew in the wake of the events in Namibia, and workers' strikes in South Africa as well, is a major threat to the apartheid regime which can only survive by the most strict police methods. This system is falling apart, and the South African government correctly fears this upsurge of student militancy which threatens to line up with the struggles of Black workers. Demonstrations by Afrikaan youth against apartheid and repression of Blacks have taken place on campuses throughout South Africa. These demonstrations have been viciously broken up with severe beatings and arrests.

The Vorster regime has clamped a month long ban on protest meetings and processions in every university center. The ban came as students planned marches and meetings against the brutal police attacks on youths in Cape Town. Students in Johannesburg defied the ban and were met by the rubber truncheons of the police. Many youths have been arrested and later released. But at Rhodes University in Grahamstown over 100 students and faculty were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The South African army and police forces are being beefed-up in anticipation of the continued struggles of workers, peasants and students. Africans, coloreds and Asians are being sent to Namibia in a propaganda effort to prove that African "terrorists" are killing Africans.

Imperialism in its penetration of the African continent has long fostered "tribalism" and intertribal feuds to implement its divide and rule policies. The imperialists' stranglehold on the workers and peasants has led to the crippling of social and economic development in



Top, Angola liberation forces make their way through jungle. Above, Afrikaans students have launched protests on South African campuses against apartheid repression.

Africa in order to extract and export super profits from the land and blood of its people.

BURUNDI

The insurrections of workers and peasants in Burundi against the old feudal aristocracy were beaten back mercilessly by imperialism's military puppets under the guise of national unity. The capitalist press is eager to portray events in Burundi as another example of African savagery and its inability to rule itself.

In both the *Washington Post's* and the *New York Times's* lengthy articles of June 11th on the events in Burundi, an effort was made to label the insurgents as terrorists and outside agitators inspired by the late Pierre Mulele of the Congo (Zaire). For the workers and peasants of Burundi the name of Mulele recalls past struggles against imperialism; for it was Mulele and Gizenga who led the struggle against the Belgian backed Tsombe for the secession of Katanga.

Mulele was in fact murdered in 1969 by the Congo regime after a Brussels bankers' meeting which demanded "law and order" as a condition for further loans

and which specifically wanted the Mulele group out of the way. All the talk of terrorists and tribal wars is simply a smoke-screen behind which the military dictatorship and the capitalist press hide the real struggle against feudalism and imperialism.

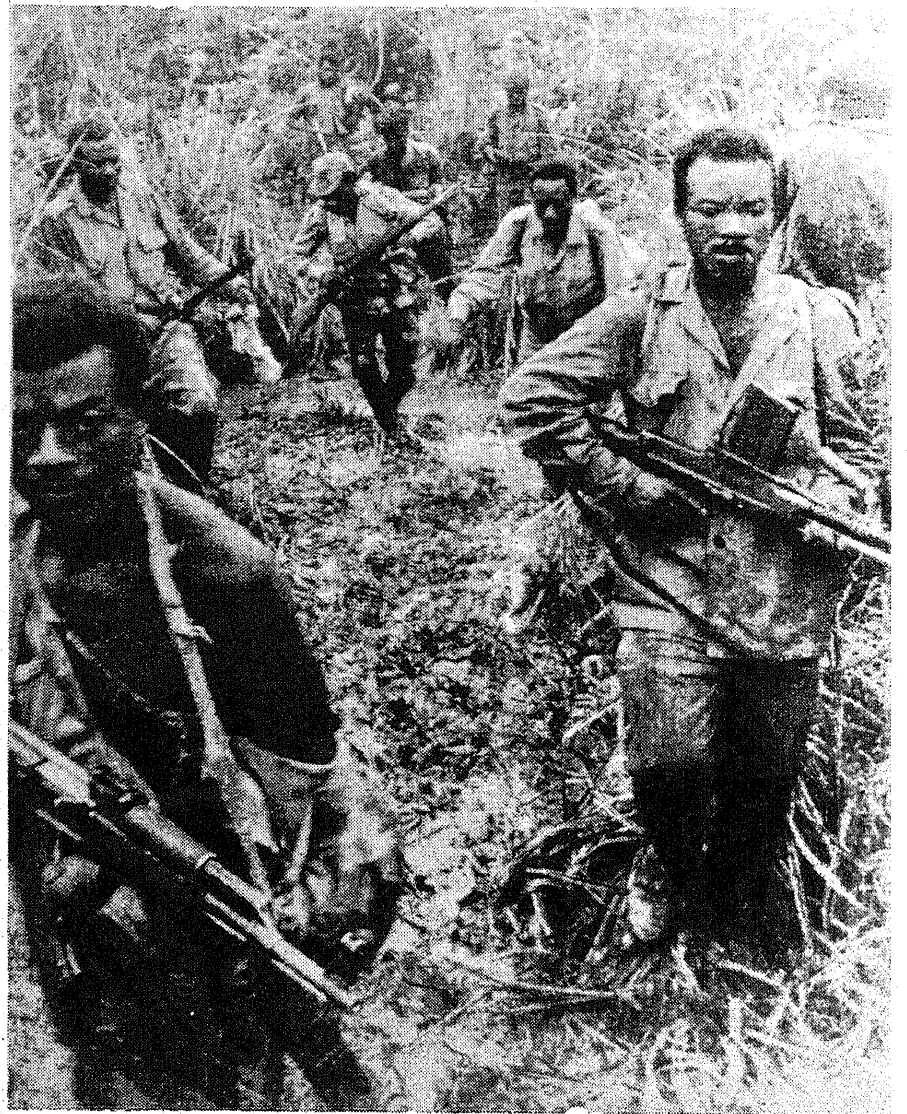
The petty-bourgeois nationalist states have not been left untouched by the deepening crisis of capitalism. In Zambia and Tanzania the government has banned strikes in an attempt to discipline the workers. With cries of "national unity" the petty-bourgeois regimes try to head off the growing militancy of their workers. Since 1964, however, Zambia has had 1,378 wildcat strikes and Tanzania's workers have repeatedly resisted the government's pleas to follow the "chain of command" to settle grievances.

While repressing the workers and peasants in their own countries, Nyerere of Tanzania and Kaunda of Zambia pay lip service to the heroic struggles of workers and peasants in Angola, Mozambique, Guine-Bissau, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and South Africa. Support in the form of material aid, asylum and office space is given to representatives of

Liberation Fronts from these countries. These Liberation Fronts are led by bourgeois-nationalists who try to lead the most militant workers and peasants of their respective countries into guerrilla warfare against imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid.

The Pabloite revisionists along with the Stalinists try to divert the revolutionary action of workers by linking the workers to the national bourgeoisie, creating a loyal opposition to be smashed at a later date. Only through the building of Trotskyist parties on the basis of the Permanent Revolution can the workers steel themselves against the fate that the bourgeois-nationalists have in store for them.

Entombed in the Wankie Colliery, in Central Rhodesia, lie the bodies of 428 miners, victims of a ruthless and relentless drive for profits. The workers and peasants will unite across all of Southern Africa to seal the profits of capitalism as the Number Two pit was sealed over the bodies of their brothers. Only Trotskyist parties under the banner of the Fourth International leading the workers and peasants will defeat the imperialist powers that have so long exploited the peoples of this land.



DA And Guards Fabricate Case Against Tombs 7

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

NEW YORK—The trial of three members of the Tombs Seven has entered its fifth week. The inmates now on trial are Ricardo DeLeon, Curtis Brown, and Nathaniel Ragsdale.

The other four, Herbert Blyden, Stanley King, Louis Cabrera and Franklin Meyer are still awaiting separate trials. These seven inmates are charged with 76 counts of attempted murder, kidnaping and coercion.

The charges stem from the October 2-5, 1970 rebellion at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men, commonly referred to as the Tombs.

Several hundred inmates came forward to show their complete hatred of the inhuman conditions there, and of the system that creates them. Out of hundreds of men, seven were picked out to stand trial, which exposes the fraudulent nature of the charges.

Because of the political nature of the case, every single inmate involved in the fight against the oppressive conditions of the Tombs would have to be put on trial. It is like putting the entire working class on trial because they fight against the attacks of the capitalist system.

The prosecution, in order to pin

the defendants down as the "leaders of the rebellion," are basing their case around the question of identification of the men. They have brought in the guards who were held hostage to testify that the defendants were the ones who gave the "commands" to the other inmates.

The evidence, however, presents the opposite picture. One witness, Officer Harsner, stated that it was "through a newspaper picture that he knew what Blyden looked like." The fraud of the prosecution's case becomes clear around this line of questioning. The evidence revealed that the guards did not know who the defendants were during the time of the incident.

Every single prosecution witness that has been brought in to testify has had discussion concerning their stories with the District Attorney Fine. Testimonies from the Grand Jury were gone over by the witnesses and Mr. Fine before appearing in court so that the stories would be consistent.

The testimony at all points has

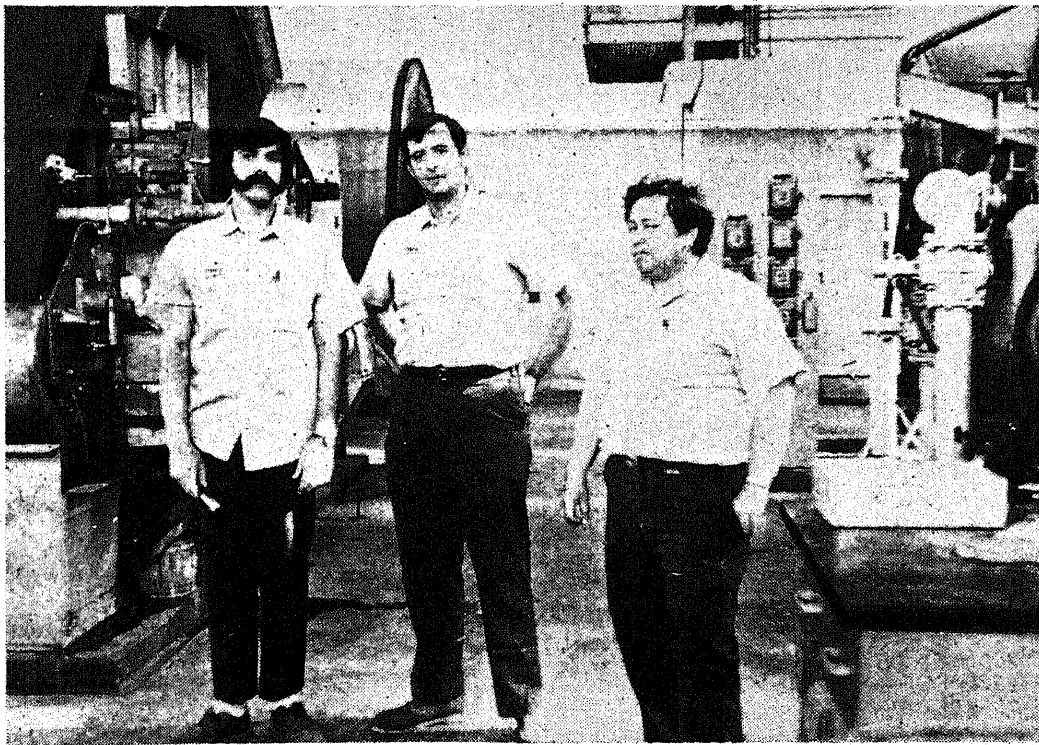
revealed the complete frame-up of the state.

The defense's case is based on Section 3505, which states that: "Such conduct is necessary as an emergency measure to avoid imminent public or private injury which is about to occur by reason of a situation occasioned or developed through no fault of actor...."

It is this very law that the capitalist press is now launching a campaign against. The June 18th New York Times ran an entire spread on the case in which the writer completely denounced the validity of the law. Thus, the defense cannot base its case on the legality of the laws of the ruling class. The Tombs Seven case cannot be separated from the jailing of trade unionists and the witch-hunt against all working class militants which is now being conducted by the government.

The only defense for the Tombs Seven lies in its being rooted in the working class. It is only through the mobilization of the working class that they, and all political prisoners, can be freed.

Democrat Indicts St. Paul Workers



The Democratic Administration of St. Paul is seeking an indictment against the sanitationmen of the International Union of Operating Engineers under the Minnesota anti-pollution law after a sick-call job action staged by the union. The workers took the action after their paid holidays had been cancelled and the city refused to budge from its three cents an hour pay increase proposal. "Liberal" St. Paul Mayor Larry Cohen, who just took office, is trying to create a witch-hunt atmosphere against the workers. "What do we do with murderers," he declared on television. "We throw them into prison! And these sewer men are just as much criminals."

Strike Shuts Anheuser-Busch

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—One thousand workers, members of the Brewers and Maltsters Union Local 6, walked off the job last Tuesday in protest over the attrition agreement, bringing work at the whole brewery to a halt.

Anheuser-Busch, the largest brewery in the world, is in the process of installing a new multi-million dollar, highly automated draft beer handling facility. Included in the conditions

covered by the 1970 union contract was an oral attrition agreement, allowing for the company to cut the labor force by not filling vacancies as men quit or retire.

But in 1972, this agreement does not reduce the work force fast enough for Busch, and so the company must now tear up this contract.

August Busch, Jr. was well prepared for this struggle. Even before the workers had walked out, he had obtained a temporary injunction against the action.

On Wednesday, the courts ordered the union officials to show cause why they should not be held in contempt. The judge threatened the officials with jail and the union with fines of \$100,000 a day.

JUDGE

It took the union bureaucrats over 24 hours to get their members back to work. Now the judge has declared any industrial action illegal and stated that if the attrition dispute is not settled within 20 days, it must be submitted to binding arbitration.

Editor's Notebook Mission Impossible

In the pre-dawn hours on Sunday a well paid and organized raid was conducted at the headquarters of the National Committee of the Democratic Party in the heart of Washington, D.C.

This was no small time operation but was planned and executed by leading former CIA planners with direct ties to the Nixon Administration. The five men who broke into the offices included Bernard L. Barker, born in Cuba, who is an "affluent" real estate man in Florida and has links to the Republican Party. Barker was the man who planned the CIA invasion of the Bay of Pigs during the Kennedy Administration.

A second man arrested is James McCord, a former CIA agent who is presently employed by the Republican National Committee and the Committee for the Re-election of the President headed by former Attorney General John Mitchell.

All five men were caught with sophisticated eavesdropping devices and photographic equipment which they were seeking to install in the headquarters of the Democratic Party. Two weeks ago a meeting was held with the raiders and E. Howard Hunt. Hunt is a former consultant to a top White House official and before that was a top official of the CIA.

Nixon's press secretary in Key Biscayne, Florida said after the raid: "I'm not going to comment from the White House on a third-rate burglary attempt."

But there appears to be no doubt who is behind this "third rate burglary attempt." McCord was employed by the Committee for the Re-election of the President headed by Mitchell. This Committee was able to collect 10 million dollars from donors for Nixon's campaign by April 7th before the law went into effect that forces disclosure of the names of political donors.

It is also no accident that the suspects were staying in Washington at the Watergate Hotel where some of the \$6,300 in brand new \$100 bills was found. The Watergate houses John Mitchell as well as other leading figures in the Republican Administration.

Mitchell who claimed he was "dismayed" at these developments said that "There is no place in our campaign or in the electoral process for this type of activity."

The point is that there are more fundamental moves taking place behind the facade of "electoral process"—these are the moves towards Bonapartist dictatorship.

Mitchell in fact with his aid Kliendienst have been the masterminds of these preparations.

If the Democratic Party headquarters, the party of big business, is being raided, then what is it that is being prepared for the unions and for the working class movement.

These are the preparations for a new stage in the war against the working class as those anonymous donors in the big corporations behind Nixon's campaign seek to go beyond the so-called "democratic process" to try to destroy the working class.

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Contractors Threaten Minnesota Lock-Out

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS, June 19—More construction sites ground to a halt in Minnesota as a strike sparked by iron workers and cement masons locals entered its third week. Residential construction is slated to be hit today by a bricklayers strike.

Sporadic lockouts by contractors on some St. Paul sites have already occurred. Leaders of the Associated General Contractors (AGC) have been threatening a statewide lockout of 100,000 building tradesmen throughout the strike.

"The older men can make it working only two days or so a week but the younger men can't. I have five children to raise. I need the overtime," a young apprentice carpenter stated outside a meeting at the Minneapolis Labor Temple. It is precisely on questions of overtime, conditions and work rules that the AGC wants the axe to drop.

The national union leaders, collaborating with Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, have found it impossible to achieve the wage gains of the type made in the past 10 years. But not satisfied with these concessions, the contractors want to go all the way and essentially run the sites on a non-union or company union basis like the Christian Labor Association.

The arrogance of the AGC typified by the chief negotiator William Gary was spelled out by a striking iron worker at the University Towers site. He said: "We had no choice but to strike. They (the AGC) weren't even interested enough to read our demands before saying no. We submitted 16 and in 10 minutes they returned them with a no. That wasn't even long enough to read them."

Virtually every striker interviewed saw the hand of the Christian Labor Association in this situation. As the strike spreads and lengthens in duration, there is every possibility that CLA contractors will be brought into the Twin Cities and Duluth to try and operate non-union sites.

In fact, contractors are demanding the right to run the sites open shop, get rid of hiring halls and give the green light to bringing as many scabs as the CLA can recruit onto the jobs and thus destroy all conditions.

With the full backing of the government's attacks, the AGC is out for blood. Smashing the AGC offensive means fighting back politically.

Construction workers must force their leaders to follow last week's resolution of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council for the formation of a third party, a labor party.

Construction workers must force their leaders to follow last week's resolution of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council for the formation of a third party, a labor party.

MINNEAPOLIS LABOR COUNCIL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

state-wide lockout by the time this appears in print. Sanitation workers in St. Paul face criminal and civil suits in retaliation for a one-day sick call, itself a desperate attempt to break deadlocked negotiations.

Teachers throughout the state face school boards determined to use the excuse of the economic crisis and the surplus of unemployed teachers to deprive the workers of the increment increase won more than a decade ago. And pensioned former employees of Minneapolis-Moline face the actual loss of two-thirds to three-fourths of their pensions as White Motor Corporation, parent company of Moline, utilizes the recent Supreme Court pension decisions.

It is this sharpness of the struggle that creates the objective necessity for labor to break with the betrayers of labor, a necessity that the CLUC bureaucrats are responding to.

As one delegate who has been in the CLUC for 19 years put it, Humphrey and the other politicians have held back labor long

enough. "Humphrey," he said, "has been an albatross around the neck of labor all these years."

The same worker strongly supported the actions of the CLUC, and sought to bring the lessons of history to bear on this struggle, as the following interview indicates:

"I asked Froehlig (CLUC Financial Secretary-Treasurer) if this was an empty threat to pressure the Democrats. He assured me that it's for real! I feel it's really been needed for a long time. We are historically behind times as compared to Europe. In every major capitalist country the working class has gone the way of a labor party. It is a historic necessity in the U.S.

"The time is really ripe now. The time was never better. We have to take advantage of the contradictions within the Democratic Party... It can't last. Labor has to battle on class issues. On jobs, employment, security.

"We're making contact now with the Labor Party in Canada (the New Democratic Party) for help. We feel the time is ripe and

Minneapolis has to start the ball rolling. Minneapolis, Minnesota has to do it. Because of our history. And because of the problems we face. Run-away plants, pressures of all kinds. It's the only answer."

An older electrician outside the Minneapolis Labor Temple told us: "I agree with the action, it should have happened a long time ago. It was criminal to fuse with the Democrats in the first place."

As this worker and others are concluding, a labor party is the only way forward for the working class. And, in the attempt to deal with this crisis, conscious workers will go back to the lessons of the 1930's, to the kind of struggle under Trotskyist leadership that made Minneapolis a union town. They will also go back to the lessons of the Farmer-Labor Party and its co-optation into the Democratic Party by its Stalinist misleaders.

The ranks of the labor movement in Minnesota and throughout the U.S. must take this forward by building a labor party now!

BROWNSVILLE . . .

(Continued From Page 6)

the exercise of self-determination. At a minimum it means placing millions of dollars in funds raised from the ghettos through taxation into the hands of Black representatives to build, equip, staff and maintain ghetto schools."

Today we see what a total fraud these statements are because of the concrete developments. The Black working class does not have any power in determining the course of education even though there is community control.

Decentralization did not even meet what the revisionists expected at a minimum. The so-called Black representatives did not "build, equip, staff and maintain ghetto schools."

In 1968 we fought the revisionists theoretically on the role of the state. In the *Bulletin* of December 30, 1968 we wrote: "Our whole point from the beginning of this decentralization hoax has been just that...that it is a hoax. The bourgeois state cannot and will not grant real powers to the Negro people. But it can and is granting just enough

ILLUSION of power to pit the Negro masses against the workers in the educational system."

The current events in Brownsville prove that we were correct in opposing community control. Under community control, the Black workers are unable to defend decent education or their jobs. They wind up tied down to the very politicians who slashed the budget and created unemployment.

Once again we are seeing a group forming against the unions. A leaflet directed at the para-professional was circulated during one of the meetings. It stated: "You are being used by the do-nothing UFT to save 150 teacher positions!"

This is the real meaning of community control. It exists solely as a weapon against the union. The para-professionals must unite with the UFT in a fight to save decent education and jobs.

The Democrats and Republicans have good reason to hesitate in announcing these cuts. The militancy of the workers and youth in Brownsville has been seen many times but each time it has failed.

This is the lesson that must be understood: rioting over these attacks will result in nothing. The only solution is through the unity of the workers and students in Brownsville with the UFT and District 37 against the capitalist parties through the construction of a labor party.

HOSPITAL . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

didn't take it any further, nothing was done."

After discussion the meeting unanimously passed the following resolution:

1. The fight for the full 15 percent and the other contract demands must not be conceded.
2. We must never accept compulsory arbitration. We must prepare to defy the Pay Board and rally the support of millions of workers to defeat Nixon's union busting.
3. We recognize these attacks as political attacks and we will fight for the immediate building of a labor party to answer unemployment, wage controls and inflation.
4. Support to the workers at NYU and Bronx; immediate union-wide action unless the suspensions are revoked.

The Rank and File Committee urges hospital workers to fight for these demands in the chapter meetings that will take place in every hospital in the coming weeks.

LABOR FOR PEACE . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

will, as they are now attempting to do, all rights that the American working class has won through its unions, will be thrown out the window.

Just as the imperialist war in Indochina, in defense of corporate profits, has been conceived, initiated, extended and escalated JOINTLY by both the Democratic and Republican parties under Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, so Nixon's wage freeze and union-busting program is a joint effort by these parties against the working class.

FUNDAMENTAL

The creation of labor's own party, a labor party is the fundamental question facing the Labor for Peace Conference.

The question of the labor party was raised on the floor of the UAW convention itself by a number of delegates. Concerning plant shutdowns and loss of pensions, the bankrupt policy of supporting the Democrats and depending on Congress to help men who have lost their pensions was pointed out.

One delegate said: "We have to tell these men, 'Sorry, write your Senator and Congressman.' That's like telling a terminal

cancer patient he has one more day."

A delegate from Local 997 in Newton Iowa stated: "I'm not at all convinced that this indictment of the Nixon Administration is the whole story. The American labor movement in 1968 was torn apart and opened the door for the Wallaceites.

"What is it that George Wallace is telling the American people? We have to honestly face the fact and truth that many working people believe in what Wallace is saying.

LOADED

"Who supported the wage-price freeze? Who gave Nixon the tools? The Democrats. They loaded the shotgun when they passed the Economic Stabilization Act of 1972. What this convention ought to be telling the Democrats is that they carry out our program or we move out of that party just like we moved out of the AFL-CIO."

In addition, Pete Kelly, United National Caucus candidate for Secretary-Treasurer, who opposed the Woodcock slate, spoke out saying: "We support a labor party in Canada and by God, we ought to fight for one here."

Since the UAW convention,

there have been further movements toward the formation of a labor party. In Portland, Oregon, the Portland Federation of Teachers ran a slate of three candidates against the Democrats and Republicans for the School Board and got a large vote. The campaign was endorsed by the COPE of the Multnomah County Labor Council which unanimously endorsed the candidates.

In May, Local 1164 of AFSCME in Minneapolis passed a resolution which stated: "AFSCME 1164 demands that AFSCME International immediately call a conference of labor to construct a labor party through which labor can fight politically for the interests of the working class."

LABOR PARTY

On June 10th, the youth movement of the Connecticut AFL-CIO held a convention at which the keynote speaker, IUE District 2 Regional Director Peter DiCicco stated: "If the differences between the Democrats and Republicans continue to diminish, we will be forced to form a labor party."

At one of the conference workshops, a motion for the labor party was put forward by the Workers League and passed, eight to two. This motion was defeated by a 15-9 margin at the full session, largely because of the opposition of the Communist Party and its youth group (YWLL).

The CP is determined to block all movement for a labor party as it tries to maintain the rotting body of the Democratic Party through support to George McGovern.

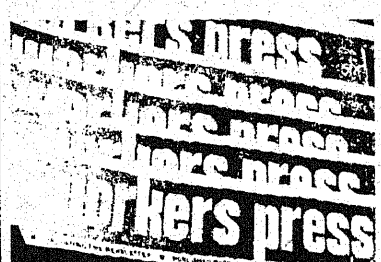
This past week, the movement for formation of a labor party took a big step forward when the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council voted for the initiation of a labor party before the 1972 elections.

At every point, the policy of the leadership of the major unions, even in the cases of those leaders who most strongly oppose the war, has been to refuse to break with the Democratic Party.

COMMUNIST PARTY

But it is the Communist Party, and its newspaper the *Daily World*, which most consciously fights to maintain the alliance of

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West Coast News



Inlandboatmen's Union rank and file organized mass picket line against Portland's Waterways, Inc.

**Layoff Threat
In Aerospace
Industry**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Massive layoffs have hit the aerospace industry in Southern California. Since 1968, the level of employment has dropped 30 percent from 353,000, and outlook is for further sharp declines in jobs.

McDonnell Douglas in Long Beach is stopping production of DC-8's in September, and this will cause heavy layoffs even though production has started on the DC-10. Employment stands at 26,000, down from a peak of 35,000.

ECONOMISTS

Economists in Los Angeles who have surveyed the situation speak of a "general winding down" and point to a decline in commercial orders, the phasing out of the large Apollo Program and the lack of sufficient federal contracts to support the industry at its current level.

Northrop Corporation in Hawthorne, a subcontractor for 747's, is down from a peak of seven and one half planes per month to three-quarters of a plane per month. Lockheed's Burbank production of S3A's plans reductions in the work force.

DECLINE

It is significant that the aerospace industry has shown an overall decline of three percent in sales over the first quarter of 1971. At the same time, profits have risen by 24 percent. This is because of vicious cost cutting and speed-up and the prospect is for more of the same.

At Boeing this is reflected most clearly. With a decline in sales of 14 percent, profits have

dropped only three-percent over the first quarter of 1971. Boeing, concentrated in the Seattle area, is a warning for Southern California.

A Boeing manager, John E. Steiner tells how it is done. "We found for example that a man was at his place of work only 26 percent of the time. He was going around to get tools, to get parts, to get approvals from some modification engineer, to do anything but build airplanes."

REARRANGING

By rearranging tool locations and putting similar work at neighboring plants, Steiner claims to have increased the "actual work time" to about 70 percent. Even GMAD's Godfrey can learn from him.

The UAW and IAM bureaucracy has completely accepted this attack. Indeed some union officials have even taken to using the language of the management speed-up experts to explain the loss of jobs by the so-called "learning curve." Management uses this term to refer to the process of eliminating jobs as more and more efficient measures are brought in.

CRITICAL

The situation is now so critical in Southern California that the fate of the industry is said to depend upon one or two upcoming contracts, most notably the B-1 bomber.

It is no accident that a good portion of the debate in the Humphrey-McGovern California campaign was devoted to demagogic appeals to aerospace workers with McGovern promising better layoff pay and Humphrey promising jobs that are not there.

Research and Development funds are being cut to the bone and the Air Force is demanding new efficiencies to lower the costs on bids. There is no question of aerospace ever regaining its 1960's level of activity. The future is one of deepening crisis.

SCHRADE

Paul Schrade of the UAW was booted out largely as an expression of his refusal to take up this fight. Now Whipple, who replaced him as UAW Western Regional Director, joins Schrade in the McGovern delegation to the Democratic Party convention throwing his support behind the man who promises more layoffs.

The only way forward in aerospace is through the nationalization of the industry under workers control with a program of massive rehiring through the shorter work week. This can only be accomplished through the construction of a labor party to take on the employers and their government.

**Construction Ranks
Stop Pay Cut With
One Day Strike**

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND, June 13—A one day strike of over 500 Local 701 operating engineers that shut Oregon and southwest Washington construction sites has shaken the federal wage freeze apparatus.

The strike was called when the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee instructed the employers to cut a third year contract raise due on June 1 from 75¢ to 33¢. The CISC responded to the strike with panic and rescinded the cut on the same day.

Daniel C. Ellis, staff counsel of the Oregon-Columbia chapter of the Associated General Contractors told the Bulletin: "We're convinced, I'm convinced as an attorney, that it was a totally illegal strike, a strike against the CISC."

The AGC wanted to get an injunction based on the fact that the strike was an attempt to force the employers to an illegal act relating to wages and prices.

FEARED

Ellis revealed that he was given the run around by the Pay Board and was even sent to the NLRB. They asked him to get a private injunction because they feared that the strike could spread to other unions if they stepped in directly.

The CISC immediately informed the operating engineers in Washington, D.C. that it was incorrectly informed and that the decision would be reconsidered on June 28.

Russ Joy, Financial Secretary of Local 701 told the Bulletin: "We were just trying to get the peoples' attention and it worked." He explained that the union had a three-year contract for \$1.90 in wages and fringes.

They had accepted only 45¢ the first year to allow the contractors to get out of a slump. The second raise of 70¢ was paid on June 1, 1971 and the third raise was cut.

Joy explained: "Our members work 6 million man hours a year. That means if the CISC cuts the increase to 33¢ the contractors will get the difference. That will amount to about \$21-22 million on contracts already bid on."

He pointed out that, while wages may appear high, the average man got only 1127 hours last year. "That doesn't figure out to much when you consider he often is away from home and either must pay transportation or maintain two homes."

Attorney Ellis complained that the union "told us that the 42¢ that the CISC approved was a \$21-22 million windfall to the contractors and that they would strike for a nickel if a nickel was cut."

PUSHED

A Local 701 member at the Fremont Bridge site told the Bulletin: "Nixon has pushed the working man as far down as he's going to go. The Pay Board was set up to take money out of the working man's pocket. The strike was completely legal and that wage increase was approved two years ago."

When asked what the union will do if the CISC again attempts to cut the pay he said: "We'll shut the whole state down." As for the other unions, he said: "When one goes out the rest will follow."

It is just this anger with government attacks and the con-

fidence in the strength of the labor movement that the government fears. The operating engineers have given a lead to the entire labor movement.



Over 500 Operating Engineers of Local 701 in Portland (Fremont Bridge site, above) held one-day strike against Pay Board.

West Coast News

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Editorial

What's Behind The CP Vote In Los Angeles

William C. Taylor, Chairman of the Southern California Communist Party, running for supervisor in Los Angeles' Second Supervisorial District received over 50,000 votes and nearly 15 percent of the total vote cast.

The election proved a great deal more than the Communist Party wished to prove and it is running very hard to cover up its real meaning. The elections are non-partisan and the program outlined for Taylor in the April 29 Peoples World was completely reformist.

Taylor ran on a platform stressing the need for minority supervisors and for a change in the size of the board to "increase the accessibility" of the supervisors. He emphasized welfare and tax reform, opposed increased sales and property taxes, and demanded higher industrial and commercial taxes.

Taylor's appeal was to middle class Blacks and to organizations such as the reformist Women for Legislative Action which not only endorsed Taylor but McGovern as well.

The incumbent Kenneth Hahn sent out a mailing to every voter warning them that his opponent was a Communist Party official. The result of such red-baiting was to actually give the Communist Party a vote of 22 percent in one Black district and 16 percent in the integrated Inglewood district.

The Communist Party has been campaigning furiously to build support for the McGovern movement and to bring the working class behind the liberal Democrats. The purpose of the Taylor campaign, like that of Hall and Tyner, is to build up support for these policies while using the cover of an independent campaign.

The Los Angeles workers who voted in large numbers for Taylor however were not seeking to support the liberal Democrats but were voting to demand an alternative to the bankrupt capitalist parties.

What the election expressed is the enormous potential for the construction of a labor party to unite the working class in a complete break from the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Stalinists seek to interpret the election as a move in the direction of so-called progressive politics. In reality, it is a sign of the class explosions and independent class political action to come.



Auto workers of UAW Local 560 at Milpitas Ford plant struck over 39 health and safety grievances.

2900 Ford Workers Strike Against Plant Conditions

BY BARRY GREY

MILPITAS, June 16—The campaign of the auto bosses across the country to extract super profits by imposing inhuman work conditions has produced a new explosion, this time at Ford.

At 12:01 last Wednesday, 2900 members of UAW Local 560 at the Ford assembly plant in Milpitas walked out over 39 health and safety grievances, thus joining with the wave of strikes in General Motors Assembly Division which have swept Lordstown and Norwood, and threatens to break out in St. Louis.

This is the first "local issues" strike in Ford's California history. Health and safety standards here have deteriorated to the breaking point.

Ford has not only refused to correct violations of the standards set in the last contract, but has reduced the number of cleanup and maintenance crews by 50 percent in the last year.

According to Local 560 President Matt Mora, rats inhabit the chassis pits and stagnant pools of water breed mosquitos inside the plant. Ventilation in the painting booths and welding stations is so bad, workers are barely able to breathe. Slick, greasy floors have resulted in numerous injuries.

For months the union had negotiated with Ford over the grievances, while the anger in the ranks was reaching the boiling point. On April 30, the ranks demanded action and voted by 89 percent to strike.

On June 7th, the union issued a strike notice for the following Wednesday at 12:01 a.m. Truck line workers walked off the job at 12:01 sharp, despite an attempt by the local leadership to extend the negotiations.

As one truck line worker stated: "The leadership didn't want us to go out, but when they saw we were serious, they had to back us."

At a mass meeting held on Wednesday afternoon, Building Chairman Aguilero was booed down by the ranks when he told them not to be upset if some contractors went into the plant. He immediately changed his tune and pledged that no contractors would be let through the pickets.

Many workers interviewed by Bulletin reporters expressed a lack of confidence in the local leadership. In particular, they feared that the company would use the strike to implement changeover with the connivance of the bureaucrats.

When asked about the conditions in the plant, one younger worker told the Bulletin that there has been speed-up on the truck line. "Some jobs you don't

have a minute to breathe."

On top of the sub-human health conditions, the company refuses to grant the 40 hours per year sick leave which is guaranteed in the contract.

The company employs one doctor for the 4000 employees at the plant, and he simply carries out the orders of the bosses. One worker told of a man who went to the doctor complaining of heart pains. The doctor sent him back to the line and he collapsed and died from a heart attack. "He died on the line, and they dragged him away without even stopping the line."

There is no doubt that Ford is geared for a long strike. Overtime has been as high as 60 hours a week in recent months. In the face of this, the local leadership's soft policy of allowing salaried employees through the lines is very dangerous.

On Thursday President Mora accused the company of having supervisors to do clean-up work in violation of the contract.

When asked by the Bulletin if Local 560 would fight to link up this strike with the struggles breaking out in auto nationally against the same conditions, Building Chairman Aguilero stated, incredibly, that a national shutdown would weaken the strike.

This is the opposite of the truth. The strike at Milpitas is one reflection of a rebellion brewing throughout auto against the bosses' calculated attempt to destroy working conditions and job security. The full power of the UAW can and must be mobilized to shut down the entire industry.

Only in this way can a sellout like that forced upon the Lordstown workers be avoided.

As one worker told the Bulletin: "We're working in a furnace here. But it's not just here. GM, Dodge, they all have to be called out."

State Plots New Soledad Frame-up

BY FRED CLAYTON

SAN FRANCISCO—In the wake of the Angela Davis trial, new evidence of attempted frame-ups has been uncovered.

The S.F. Bay Guardian has published documents and photographs showing how a Soledad prisoner was forced to act as a "human bugging device" in an attempt to entrap Soledad psychiatrist Dr. Frank Rundle, who was considered a radical by state officials.

Dr. Rundle ran afoul of Soledad officials when he refused to

release confidential files on a prisoner accused of killing a guard. He was fired for insubordination. State officials, having heard of his radical sympathies and his recent testimony against Soledad prison conditions, decided he would make an excellent victim.

Rundle's former assistant and friend, a prisoner named Tony

Pewitt was scheduled for parole. He was told he would be denied parole on a triviality unless he cooperated.

He was forced to go to Rundle's house with a bugging device and a radio transmitter taped to his body. He was to entrap Rundle into political conversation.

The state was attempting to link Rundle with the Communist Party and the killing of Soledad guards. Pewitt was told by an official: "I believe that Rundle is involved with the CP and the radicals...and I want you to get the evidence."

Pewitt slipped Rundle a note in his house which warned him of the bugging. Rundle took pictures of the bugging equipment and obtained witnesses, while maintaining harmless conversation.

Although the Attorney General was not able to indict Rundle before the frame-up was exposed, this incident must serve as a warning that the government will go to any lengths to tighten its repression by finding imaginary conspiracies.

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