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Labor Party Wins Big Vote At TUAD

BY LUCY ST. JOHN
CHICAGO, July 2—The Trade Unionists For Action and Democracy (TUAD) held its second national conference here this weekend attended by some 282 delegates and 103 observers. The meeting was called as an "Emergency Election Conference" to discuss labor's role in the 1972 elections.

The dominant tendency at this conference was trade unionists who are influenced by the politics of the American Communist Party. Their perspective is that the rank and file of the unions should support McGovern in the 1972 elections and should mobilize in Miami at the Democratic Convention to put pressure on the candidates.

It was the crisis of the CP and its policies today, in the face of the tremendous movement of the working class, that were exposed at this conference.

This was reflected in the attendance at the conference itself. The first national conference of TUAD held in 1970 brought over 800 delegates. Today, in a new period dominated by the crisis of capitalism and the movement of the working class, the TUAD could not mobilize rank and file workers.

RESOLUTION

Over 40 delegates at this conference submitted a resolution to the conference supported by the Workers League calling on the TUAD to demand that "the American labor movement—the AFL-CIO, UAW, Teamsters and all other independent unions immediately call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of launching an independent labor party for the 1972 election." This resolution was put in the context of the attacks by both the Democratic and Republican parties on the wages, jobs and working conditions of American workers, and in the context of the call put forward by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council and the President of the United Electrical Workers Albert Fitz-

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AS MONETARY CRISIS DEEPENS

PAY BOARD PLANS CUT WAGES TO 2.5%

See Editorial Page 8



20,000 construction workers marched in Boston against state's building cuts and unemployment. See story on page 3.

Hospital Delegates Rebel Against Contract

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Leon Davis, President of Local 1199 called off the hospital workers strike scheduled for Thursday, July 6th.

The strike which had been planned to protect the rights of 1199 members in the city hospitals when they are transferred into District Council 37, was cancelled because Davis feared the tremendous

opposition of the hospital workers to the 7½ percent wage settlement negotiated the week before.

In every step of this contract fight, Davis has backed down before the government, at the ex-

pense of the basic needs of hospital workers. This retreat will be Lindsay's cue to proceed with massive layoffs and attacks on both city and private hospitals.

The 1199 membership must now fight for a citywide meeting to reject the settlement and prepare for strike action.

Angry delegates of Local 1199 crowded to the microphone at last Friday's delegates meeting to denounce the settlement agreed to by the leadership.

Speaker after speaker was cheered and applauded as they called for a strike for the full 15 percent increase and for the right of 1199 members in the city hospitals to stay in the union. It quickly became clear that the recommendation of the union presi-

dent, Leon Davis, had absolutely no support.

The settlement proposed by a three-man panel of arbitrators, headed by Democrat Basil Patterson, reduced the union's demand to 7.5 percent the first year, and another 7.5 percent the second year; a 37.5 hour week beginning in the second year and four weeks vacation after six years. The original demand was 15 percent in one year, four weeks vacation after one year, and a 35 hour week.

The most vicious part of the agreement concerned the affiliation members who work in city hospitals. The Health and Hospitals Corporation, which has taken over these hospitals, seeks to force the 1199 workers into the city union, District Council 37, under terms in which their seniority and job security would be

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WAGE



Member of the SSEU rank and file Committee for a New Leadership from New York speaks for the resolution which called on unions to build labor party, at Chicago TUAD conference last week.

Leaders Of Ontario Labor Party Force Through Expulsion Vote

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

ORILLIA, Ontario—The Ontario Provincial Council of the New Democratic Party held its latest convention here the weekend of June 24-25.

Three hundred to four hundred delegates were expected but close to 1,000 attended at various points of the convention. The disputes that erupted in the course of the conference were probably the most explosive since the founding of the NDP in 1961.

These disputes centered around the question of the Waffle, a left caucus within the NDP. Founded in 1969, the Waffle members sought to "force the NDP back to basic Socialism" through a series of reformist demands based on the middle class: Canadian independence, Women's Liberation, self-determination for Quebec, etc.

During the past two years, this caucus has become the center of the growing opposition of trade unionists and youth against the right-wing, which is headed by David Lewis federally and his son Stephen in Ontario.

In the last period, workers across the country have been turning to the NDP to answer the escalating attacks by the Liberal Government on the unions.

POLITICAL

Bill 19 and the jailing of the Common Front union leaders pushed political questions to the fore at the last conference of the Canadian Labor Congress where delegates called for the bringing down of the Liberals in Ottawa and their replacement with the NDP. In Manitoba, where the NDP is in power, laws guaranteeing the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike, are being forced on to the agenda by the working class.

In New Brunswick, the Waffle caucus won a majority last year when it called for nationalization of industry. James Laxer, a leader of the Ontario and federal Waffle caucus won one third of the vote at the last NDP federal convention in April 1971.

The NDP is acquiring support from large sectors of the working

class, and has a good chance of taking the federal election.

It is precisely this movement which Stephen Lewis and the right-wing bureaucrats feared and sought to cut off with the Riverdale riding motion which was submitted to the Ontario Provincial Council in Orillia. It states that the Waffle is a party within a party and that it should therefore be dissolved.

The resolution was rammed through with a vote of 217-88 in favor of expelling the Waffle. But it was clear that Lewis and his cohorts did not launch this resolution with a great deal of confidence. Lewis stated: "The stakes are high both for myself as leader and for the party."

An auto worker representing the St. Catherines UAW local pointed out that 90 percent of the delegates had been "hand-picked by the bureaucrats who couldn't tolerate any opposition." This worker received resounding applause for this statement. He continued:

"Yesterday you purged one section of the left—the Waffle. Today you have to purge the other left section—the youth—and pretty soon there won't be any party left!" He also pointed to himself as being one of the few democratically elected delegates there. He said the bureaucrats purged the left so that there would only be one direction to go, that is, to the right.

OPPOSITION

Facing this kind of opposition, Stephen Lewis expressed the hostility of Social Democracy for the working class: "This difficulty (Waffle) is one which has plagued me for many months. I can't go into the federal elections with the Waffle hanging around my neck!"

This hostility toward the working class is backed up by David Lewis who stated to the Canadian Labor Congress that the unions were being "extra-

vagant" by making demands which went beyond the "socially acceptable" limits. Thus, the Lewis clique is forced to take the side of Trudeau in this crisis as compromise is no longer possible.

In Stephen Lewis' address to the council on party policy, he spent much time discussing the construction of a second Toronto airport. The burning questions of unemployment, speed-up and job security were entirely passed over.

It is around these class issues that Lewis must be taken up and exposed. His real treachery in the eyes of Canadian workers is his refusal to fight Trudeau.

But the Waffle members adapted to Lewis from the beginning by trying to fight reformism with more reformism. They stated that their only hope for survival inside the NDP lay in settling for a compromise. Not only was there no compromise with the Waffle, but the bureaucracy then turned on the youth movement of the NDP—the New Democratic Youth.

As the crisis of Canadian capitalism sharpens, these youth are turning toward the working class, and toward theory. They have been holding study sessions on subjects such as "the history of Social Democracy" in a

Cloud Seeding Floods Dikes In N. Vietnam

BY A CORRESPONDENT

In addition to systematically bombing the dikes that protect millions of North Vietnamese from the waters of the Red River, the American air force is seeding the clouds in order to provoke massive rain falls and abnormal flooding that could wipe the damaged dikes away.

This information, first reported by Hanoi and now confirmed by the New York Times, proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the imperialist criminals are trying to annihilate the entire population of the North.

"Due to its stubborn and warlike nature," Hanoi warned last week, "the Nixon clique will show itself to be more cruel." In preparation for saturation bombing of all the residential areas of

Hanoi, major evacuations of all except those required for vital production have been ordered.

ROADS

The New York Times reported that the United States has been seeding the clouds over Vietnam since 1963. Meteorological warfare was first devised as a means of discouraging anti-Diem protest demonstrations in the South with sudden cloud burst. It was then expanded for such military purposes as wiping out roads.

Last year, abnormal floods were reported in North Vietnam, and it is clear that the seeding is presently related to the bombing of the dikes.

Military spokesmen boasted to the Times that the seeding methods have been refined so as to make it possible for the resulting rains to have a high acid content. Acid rain damages vital crops as well as industrial equipment.

Although extensive evidence confirms the deliberate bombing of dikes, Nixon continues to deny that anything of the sort is being done. When asked in last weeks press conference about the reports of eyewitnesses and leading European correspondents, Nixon replied: "We have checked those reports. They have proved to be inaccurate."

HOSPITALS

With each passing week, the American bombing increases in ferocity. Hospitals and industrial plants in the center of Hanoi are the latest prime targets of 2,000 pound bombs. A clinic for patients suffering from leprosy was struck last week, killing several patients and forcing the survivors into the streets.

Hanoi called on the population last week to work "for the defense of the dikes, the preservation of human lives and the safeguard of the fruits of our work. The furious acts of the aggressors have led him to an impasse; his final defeat is inevitable."

Chou, Bandaranaike Unite Against Workers

A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, was greeted in Peking June 27 by Premier Chou-En-lai. After a most friendly conversation, both leaders expressed their desire to turn the Indian Ocean into a "zone of peace."

Meanwhile Sri Lanka itself has been turning into something opposite of a zone of peace. Several days prior to Mrs. Bandaranaike's conference with Chou, the chairman of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe, was formally expelled from Bandaranaike's coalition along with three other CP representatives. With them went the bulk of the Stalinist dominated trade unions.

At issue is a new constitution and a Criminal Justice Commissions Bill that turn Sri Lanka

into a Bonapartist state which Wickramasinghe voted against. Wickramasinghe's expulsion was supported by a wing of the CP around Peter Keuneman, the revisionist LSSP and Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Now Chou has added his seal of approval to this deadly line up against the working class.

CRUSH

In April 1971, the Chinese Stalinists sent arms and munitions to the Ceylon regime to crush the armed rising of the youth of the

JVP (People's Liberation Front). When the main task of the Ceylonese masses is to force the CP and LSSP traitors to break from Bandaranaike's conspiracy against the working class, the Maoists come down on the opposite side.

Sri Lanka continues in a state of turmoil as Bandaranaike's "socialist" government sends in police against strikers who are battling skyrocketing inflation combined with severe shortages and black markets on many items.

Construction Ranks Storm State House In Boston Chanting 'We Want Jobs'

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON, June 28—Over twenty thousand construction workers marched on the State House today demanding jobs.

Thousands of workers, representing the painters, bricklayers, sheetmetal workers, laborers, iron workers, electricians and other trades, massed at Government Center at 11 AM, shutting down \$600 million worth of construction at sites throughout Boston and sur-

rounding cities.

A figure labeled "UNEMPLOYMENT" was hung in effigy and hoisted up on a huge crane, which led off the march along a route lined by MDC, Boston, State and Capital police.

Chanting and shouting "We want jobs," the confident and exuberant marchers swept up to the State House, swarming

through police lines and climbing over fences. All doors to the State House were locked as the marchers began to demand to see the Governor. "We want Sargeant, where's Sarge?"

PROTEST

The march was organized to protest the slashing of state construction of the Park Plaza renewal project and Route 128. These cuts mean the loss of thousands of construction jobs.

This takes place in a situation, as one iron worker told the Bulletin, where there have been over 400 applications for apprenticeships, and only ten young workers have been placed, because of the lack of work.

When Gov. Sargeant appeared he was greeted by hissing, shouting, and flying hardhats.

"Just give me three minutes," the Governor began, and as he was shouted down. "Please, just give me two minutes." When he finally spoke, he had nothing to say about the unemployment threat facing construction workers.

This demonstration, the largest in Boston's labor history, followed only days after 50,000 construction workers marched in Pennsylvania against attacks on



Boston construction workers marched against state's job cuts.

Devaluation Throws Bankers Into Panic

BY DAVID NORTH

The de facto devaluation of the British pound opened a new stage in the international monetary crisis. Contrary to what the capitalist press is saying, the devaluation is not just a British problem.

Ever since the August 15th decision by Nixon to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold, the contradiction between paper and gold has created a situation in which no one knows the value of any currency in the entire world.

Times declared flatly that: "Despite the early alarms, the British float seems unlikely to have any great effect on other currency exchange rates or on world trade, or to effect business activity here or abroad."

CRISIS

But the U.S. capitalist class cannot hide the true crisis. Already, the devaluation has forced another run on the dollar, revealing the critical weakness of the American currency — and, therefore, the precariousness of world trade that has been tied to the dollar since 1944.

There is talk in every country, in the wake of the pound devaluation, for an international floating of all the currencies. This would create a condition of world-wide monetary anarchy in which trade relations would collapse.

The statements of the Times are tied to an effort to prove that a boom is in progress, even though unemployment has not decreased and is not expected to.

DEFICIT

This phony claim to a boom is also exposed by the more significant and standard measurements. First of all, the balance of trade continues to run heavily against the United States. During the month of May, this country ran a trade deficit of \$550 million.

As for industrial growth, steel production continued to decline.

The development of the international economic crisis is now assuming so rapid a tempo that the capitalists will be forced almost immediately to issue a new list of battle plans. American workers now face grave challenges.

The economic crisis poses to American workers with the greatest urgency the immediate break with the parties of capitalism. A labor party must be built that will prepare the working class to fight for socialism as the only alternative to the capitalist crisis.

All the capitalist nations now stand on the brink of devastating trade war. Britain's unilateral decision to float the pound demonstrates that all international agreements on monetary reform are being tossed out the window as the capitalists of every nation pursue a policy of "every man for himself!"

Japan has now assumed the status of the most vulnerable industrial power in the world. Panic selling broke out on the Tokyo stock exchange last week as rumors spread that a new revaluation of the yen is imminent. Japan's balance of trade has already deteriorated due to the last revaluation forced upon it by the United States.

Although Japan insists that it will defend the current alignments, a revaluation cannot be avoided. On Thursday, the dollar fell to its lowest point in Japan, buying 301.10 yen.

REPERCUSSIONS

A collapse of the Japanese economy would have devastating repercussions throughout the world but especially in the Pacific area and U.S. West Coast.

The other ailing child of the Bretton Woods agreements, West Germany, has attempted to stave off a dangerous round of revaluation by massive purchases of dollars. But the Brandt government announced by the end of the week that it would seek to stop the inflow of dollars into West Germany.

In the United States, which is actually the eye of the hurricane, every effort is being made by both the government and the capitalist press to dismiss the devaluation. The New York

the union.

PRESSURE

Representatives of the unions came out of a meeting with Sargeant stating: "We're not completely satisfied, but we're encouraged." In the face of the whole movement of the working class, the bureaucracy is trying to turn this massive mobilization of workers into a pres-

sure campaign against the Republicans and in support of Democratic Mayor Kevin White.

As one construction worker interviewed at the rally said in response to the Bulletin headline on the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council call for a labor party: "Sure, we know they're all anti-labor, the whole bunch of them. It's time we showed them that we've got some power too."

New Attacks Face ILA Ranks As Work Rules Take Effect

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—New work rules have gone into effect this week covering New York members of the International Longshoremen's Association.

These work rules are the direct result of the capitulation of both the ILA bureaucracy and the Bridges leadership on the West Coast to Nixon's Pay Board. The Pay Board ordered implementation of the work rule changes as the condition for approval of the second year 5.7 percent wage increase, after having slashed the first year increase.

These rules are the first step to clearing out up to 90% of the men presently employed on the docks in the port of New York.

Under the new rules, job categories that formerly spelled out precisely what kind of work men could be assigned to are consolidated into two categories—"general longshore" and "hold." The right to job assignment based on seniority is thus thrown out the window.

PDO

Furthermore, under the Prior Day Ordering System, men will be debited if they don't show up for work if they are sick. Men can be sent to any borough or to New Jersey at the whim of the bosses without being paid for travel time, and pier lists may be overloaded so that there can be no overtime.

The Manhattan docks are dead

and the Brooklyn and New Jersey docks are oversupplied with men. The hard-hit upper Manhattan local of the ILA pins its hopes for survival not on a revival of longshore work but on jobs in a West Side convention complex which is supposed to be built in the docks area sometime in the future.

SCOTTO

Last week a new container facility was opened up in Brooklyn with much hoopla from ILA local 1814 leader Anthony Scotto. Scotto hailed the facility as the beginning of the answer to the unemployment problem on the New York docks. The facility was supposed to provide 500 jobs.

Not only were these jobs shifted from New Jersey to the detriment of those men in the first place, but now it turns out there are only 150 jobs at the facility, not 500. No matter which way Scotto and Gleason try to slice it, there are thousands and thousands of men on the guarantee who the employers are planning to get rid of and break the GAI altogether.

MEANS

"We took the work rule changes in exchange for the pay increase," said one Local 791

member in Manhattan to the Bulletin, "and then the Pay Board kept the work rules and cut the wages. This is what you call democracy. What this means to me is that we've got to get rid of Nixon and the rest of them."

The ILA leadership is being very closed-mouthed about when meetings for the membership to ratify the wage agreement will be called. What both they and the bosses fear is that the ranks will seize the opportunity to take the offensive against the employers schemes by voting down the Pay Board cuts and bring back the whole contract for consideration again.

STRIKE

This would form the basis to fight for strike action with the West Coast men who have faced continual attacks on their guarantee since their contract was ratified as well as the Montreal and Hawaii dockers who are fighting the shippers' attacks on their right to a living.

Such action will immediately rally massive support from the rest of labor against Nixon and the Pay Board, who are out to destroy all rights and conditions of the entire trade union movement.

Pittsburgh Steelworkers Official Says Meany And Abel Betray Fight Against Nixon

BY HAL LEWIS

ALBUQUERQUE, Pa.—The United Steelworkers Local 1211 in the Jones & Laughlin plant here has been hard hit by the new productivity drive instituted by the steel bosses.

In May this local voted to have the no-strike clause removed from the USWA contract. Secretary-Treasurer George of the local told the *Bulletin* about the resolution and condemned the policies of the leadership of the USWA and of Meany.

"The annual District 20 conference held on May 18-19 passed a resolution demanding that the union locals be given back the right to strike over major issues. Of course we don't know what will happen when they start bargaining for the next contract. The demand could be dropped like it was last time.

SECURITY

"Right now the main issue in this area is job security. A year and a half ago our plant employed 11,800. They're down to 9,000 now and they will be cutting down to 8,500 in the near future.

"The company is cutting down to the bone, even running short-handed. The productivity clause in the contract has been a major difficulty for us.

"The Internationals are more worried about their institutions than they are about meeting the workers' needs. You see what I mean. The only way to fight for job security is to fight against the system. Unions wouldn't be needed under a different system, so the big leaders of the International want to preserve the present system.

"The unions have failed their membership on political education. Meany and the rest of the leadership have taken no initiative at all in the past.

AFL

"The AFL believes in working within the system. Industrial unions would be more inclined to build a labor party. However, I don't think you'll get one in the near future. The public is too anti-labor right now.

"Labor could put up with Humphrey, but it isn't buying McGovern. If labor is left out in the cold, something is going to happen. Meany is losing his hold

on the labor movement. Economic issues mean a lot this election.

George: The Canadians think differently from the way we do. Look, if labor gets shunted at the Democratic Convention this summer, then you will have a chance.

"We need a different philosophy among labor leaders. They are going to have to change politically, settle their differences, and stand together. You can't get the unions to stand together on anything these days.

"It's gotten to the point where if you held an election at our plant over union representation or the closed shop, you would be lucky to get 50 percent of the vote. The ranks are dissatisfied. They think they could get more from the unions.

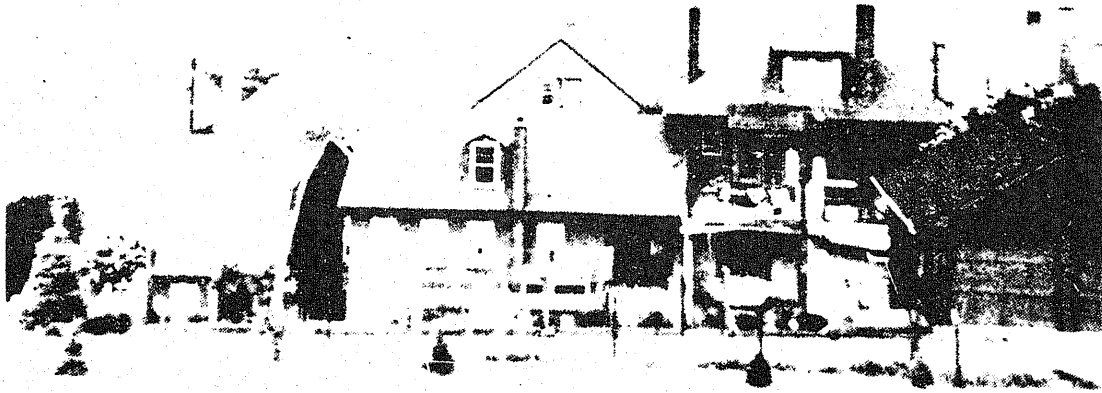
RANKS

"The ranks want more from the unions, but the unions have accomplished as much as they can under capitalism. To get any more, they will have to change the system. To defend what they have they will have to change the system. The postwar boom is over.

"They extended it as far as they could. But now, to keep their system working, they will have to take away every gain the labor movement has made, and more. That is the meaning of the wages control and Pay Board. The economy is a mess. Nixon is blaming it on the unions and the big labor leaders have retreated.

"The system is falling apart. People are fed up with both parties. They don't know what Wallace really represents and they want to show their dissent with the way things are going.

"This system isn't for the working man. The unions tried to work for the working man within the system. That can't be done. And in order to work for the working man, the unions are going to have to change. The unions are going to have to face this problem sooner or later. They are trying not to face it right now. Only the greed of big business can force them to make that change."



Bethlehem Steel's modern, job-cutting basic oxygen furnace looms over workers' homes in Bethlehem, Pa.

Steel Mill Innovations Prepare Mass Layoffs

BY ED BELINO

BETHLEHEM—The articles that currently saturate newspapers like the *Wall Street Journal* about the technological innovations that the steel industry has unveiled must be seen by every steelworker as the sharpest warning of the attacks now being prepared by the steel barons.

Behind all the talk in the articles about the steel industry's response to the pollution problem and its reputation as a "technological laggard" looms the crisis and decay of the capitalist system which now threatens sections of basic industry with virtual collapse.

The insolubility of the international monetary situation and the breakup of postwar trade agreements among nations are having a devastating effect particularly in basic steel.

The profits of the steel barons continue to fall as the impossibility of expansion into new markets coupled with the relative backwardness of production technique as compared with West German and Japanese facilities now forces the industry to attempt to inflict a decisive defeat upon the United Steelworkers Union.

DESTRUCTION

This means the destruction of tens of thousands of jobs and the eradication of the standard of living that steelworkers have been able to attain. The massive layoffs that followed the 1971 settlement and now the cutbacks in incentive pay are just the beginning, for the steel owners must now alter completely the process of steel production from the coke ovens to the rolling mills.

This is the meaning of the feverish and expensive experimentation that has taken place over the last decade. A statement in the *Wall Street Journal* reveals the extent of the resources employed:

"The layoffs aren't because of automation. They took the jobs of three other workers and gave them all to one. The company and the union get together and give us a little raise. That's nothing when they take away the greatest thing—the cost of living clause."

One of the men said: "Hatcher's for Hatcher, like any other political figure. He'll do what he has to stay in office. What can you do about that?"

The *Bulletin* asked his opinion of a labor party to represent the

"In the decade since the industry last opened its doors to the press, however, the steel concerns have spent more than 17 billion on capital improvements—much of which has come in streams within the last year or two. One company, Bethlehem, spent one billion since the mid 1960's to open one of the largest most modern steel operations in the world at Burn's Harbor, Indiana."

CENTRAL

Central to the rebuilding strategy of the steel companies is the complete and rapid phasing out of some of the major steps in the steel producing process. Foremost among their plans is the replacement of the blast furnace in the preparation of the iron ore for the steel ovens.

A new process, direct reduction, is waiting in the wings. Already, Armco Steel Co.'s Houston works is putting on the finishing touches on the process which involves the removal of oxygen from iron ore pellets by a treatment using hot gases. The level of purity attained by direct reduction will render the blast furnace unnecessary.

The development of the basic oxygen furnace and its widespread installation in the industry was an important weapon in weakening the steel union through unemployment. As much as 50 percent of domestic steel currently produced comes from such facilities.

Now the plan is to step up the installation of the BOF and the new Q-BOP, a process imported from West Germany. For example, at the Bethlehem Steel facility at Bethlehem, Penn-

sylvania a second BOF is planned for 1973, while U.S. Steel is installing the Q-BOP furnaces at Birmingham, Alabama, a new mill, and at Gary, Indiana. In particular, this poses great dangers for the steelworkers at Gary, whose jobs are now clearly threatened.

The widespread introduction of these processes in basic steel is the spearhead behind which the steel bosses hope to destroy jobs and increase productivity.

Joseph Godfrey, the chairman of GMAD seeks to drive the wage rate of auto workers down to the level of wages in other countries as the only way to protect and enhance the profits of the auto barons. Likewise, in steel, as expressed smugly by one company president:

"Sure we were a little slow. But our new technology is just now beginning to pay off and the disparity in wage rates between U.S. and foreign producers is narrowing. In a few years, if all trade barriers are down, we should be able to compete not only at home but in foreign markets as well."

Above all, his confidence rests on the assistance rendered by Abel and the steel union bureaucracy. Up until now, the Abel leadership has completely cooperated with the layoffs. Abel can only cry out against the "multi-national" monopolies, while in the same breath call for increased cooperation with their owners.

Now is the time for all trade unions to unite politically against these attacks. Steelworkers seeking a way forward must look to the Minneapolis unions who voted to construct a third party with labor as its core for the 1972 elections.

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Gary Steel Ranks Back Labor Party Call

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER
GARY, INDIANA, June 25—Gary steelworkers responded enthusiastically to the call for a labor party issued by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council last week.

LABOR PARTY

In speaking of the labor party, one disabled steelworker summed up the sentiment expressed by most workers the

Bulletin spoke to. He said: "If you mean a party for the working man, I'm all for it. I'm always for that poor man who wants a dollar, and if it means sticking my neck out I guess I can do it."

It was emphasized many times that the union bureaucracy was the main obstacle workers faced. The steelworkers told of the problems in the local. "Last contract you could see everything was for the company. You'd read it and it was for the worker, but you'd read further and it turned it right around.

IUE Delegates Accuse Leaders Of Refusal To Act On Plant Closures

BY MARY GREGORY

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 1—Delegates of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers met here for a five day convention this week.

The question at the center of the convention was what course the IUE should take in the coming presidential elections. The IUE leadership cancelled the speech of David Lewis of the Canadian NDP, substituting instead George McGovern and ramming through support for McGovern.

This convention was held less than one week after UE President Fitzgerald, meeting in Boston with UE, IUE and Teamster members, put forward the call for a labor party.

ATTACKED

On Tuesday, George Meany spoke to the delegates. Meany's speech attacked "those liberals who can't bother about these so-called 'unimportant' things (export of American jobs), when they have important things to talk about such as abortion and legalizing marriage between boys and boys and also girls and girls."

This attacks centered on Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party. The refusal of the Democratic Party of Minnesota

Newark Teachers Go To Jail

BY

BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Fifteen members of the Newark Teachers Union, including NTU president Carol Graves, were jailed on June 28 for three month terms stemming from the 1971 teachers strike.

Over 300 trade unionists from different parts of New Jersey demonstrated that morning against the jailings.

The Newark Teachers Union has been hit hard in the last two years by the attempts of the city administration to make teachers and other public employees pay for Newark's financial crisis.

Over 200 teachers have already served time in jail in the last year on charges of contempt of court because they struck in both 1970 and 1971 despite a "permanent court injunction" issued in 1970 which makes their strikes illegal.

Since the last teachers strike, Mayor Gibson has gone ahead with his new budget which means that about 700 city employees will lose their jobs permanently.

The city and state governments have tried to use these vicious attacks on the NTU—besides the jailings, over \$250,000 in fines have been taken from the union and teachers—as a means of intimidating the trade union movement.

to confront the issues facing the American workers was instrumental in the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council's call for the construction of a third party whose core would be labor for the 1972 elections.

Meany insisted that this was "the best system yet," and his attacks on the Republicans could just as well be applied to the Democrats.

"Presidents come and go, and candidates come and go; political parties have their ups and downs, sometimes they can't contain their suicidal impulses, but the labor movement does not come and go, swing left and right, bounce up or down. We're not a pendulum, we're not a yoyo, we're a little too healthy for suicidal impulses."

FOUGHT

It was this "healthy" element which fought to be heard at the convention. This was seen on the floor by delegates who challenged the International leadership on its lack of leadership during plant closure battles. The workers charged that discussion at the convention was limited and bureaucratically controlled.

It was seen in the tremendous response of many delegates to the Bulletin containing the Workers League's statement on the labor party. It was seen in the anger of many Fedders strikers.

"We need the money they're donating at the convention, sure, but that's not enough. It seems to me like they want to keep delegates from talking about how we can beat the bosses at Fedders" said a rank and file worker.

The IUE has lost 400,000 jobs the last five years to "runaway companies" pulling up stakes here and relocating in foreign countries. In answer to this attack by the employers on the right of workers to a job, the IUE leadership has refused to consider the fight started in Minneapolis and by UE President Fitzgerald for labor's own party.

Board Cuts Raise Of Philly Clerks

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA—"It's getting so this government can do anything they damn well please. The company raised their prices when our contract was signed, now we're not getting our raise and they're making out like bandits.

"The Meatcutters Union got a raise and the Board just took it away. The companies just do what they please."

These were the statements of a member of the Retail Clerks Union Local 1357 which has just been hit by the Pay Board.

On January 16th, the contract, providing a 17 percent wage increase for seven Philadelphia and Camden locals of the Retail Clerks Union, was signed. The Board has just cut the pay raise 67 percent to its 5.5 percent guidelines.



IUE leaders rammed through support to Democratic candidate McGovern at their national convention.

Connecticut Job Fair Robs Benefits Of Unemployed

BY BILL VAN

HARTFORD—The Connecticut State Labor Department introduced a new weapon in its war on unemployed workers in the state last week.

Cynically designated as a "Job Fair," the state required every jobless worker collecting compensation in Bristol, a town in central Connecticut which had the highest known unemployment rate in the country last year, to report to the National Guard Armory for interviews and investigations into the records of each individual. The penalty for not attending the so-called "Job Fair" was disqualification for unemployment benefits.

The announcements for the "Job Fair" promised to unite Bristol's unemployed with prospective employers but with the massive layoffs in virtually all of the area's industries it is not clear which of the latter chose to attend.

The "Job Fair" will make the rounds of all of Connecticut's cities. It functions as part of the state government's program for depriving the unemployed of

their right to compensation. Over the last month, Governor Meskill and State Labor Commissioner Fusari have led a mounting campaign centered around the rigid enforcement for the first time of a three year old State Unemployment Compensation Law.

The methods of enforcement have included the setting up of a toll free telephone number which anyone in the state may call if they believe their neighbor is cheating on his compensation. Meskill has strongly encouraged cooperation with this police state tactic saying that he saw nothing wrong with the measure and that it was just a way in which Connecticut citizens can help their government.

Beyond this, the State Labor Department has requested that all state employers cooperate with a reporting system on unemployed job applicants. Fusari boasts of having already booted hundreds of those who had refused job offers off of the roles through this system.

Pilots' Strike Halts Flights On Northwest

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS — Northwest Airlines has suspended virtually all flights since July 1st as a result of strike action by 1600 members of the Airline Pilots Association. Only a scattering of flights are planned in the near future using supervisory personnel.

Pilots picketing the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport indicated that the main issue is benefits, which they are way behind on compared to other airlines. "We'll still be behind, even if we get what we want," said one picket.

He added that pilots flying DC-9's on smaller lines such as Allegheny get better pay and benefits than the Northwest pilots flying 727's.

As is common with all labor disputes on Northwest Airlines, pilots have come up against the notorious company President Donald Nora who has been working for years to get rid of unions on this airline.

In the 1970 clerks' strike, five months in duration, the leaders of the pilots refused until the last moment to honor the picket lines.

Had they done so the clerks' strike would have been over in a few days. As a result, there are still some 350 Northwest pilots laid off since 1970, as well as 200 machinists and hundreds of clerks. With the aid of the stalling procedures of the Railway Labor Act, the pilots have been without a contract for over a year.

the Cost of Living Council to protest the Pay Board to be fairer." When asked about the fight for a labor party he said that: "At this point a labor party is not practical."

This was in sharp contrast to the feelings of the ranks. One union member said: "You can't protest the Pay Board. How many years have they been protesting the war? The government does what they want anyway. I like the idea of a labor party. The Democratic Party leaders do what benefits them."

This attack came two weeks after the Pay Board's decision to take back the pay raise that was already in the pockets of Philadelphia meatcutters.

Before the Board's decision, 250 members of the local went to Washington to voice their opposition in one of the first demonstrations in Washington against the Board. The hostility to the Pay Board expressed by this action comes into complete conflict with the plans of Wendell Young, President of 1357. He said: "We plan to appeal to

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Chicago Conference Prepares Labor Party Campaign

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

CHICAGO, July 2—Over 80 workers and youth attended a conference here on "The Case for a Labor Party" sponsored by the Young Socialists.

Those who attended voted unanimously to open a campaign for the labor party that will prepare the way for a conference on the labor party in the fall.

The conference was a major step forward for the Young Socialists for it brought out the critical role that the YS must play in the fight for the labor party. It is only through the construction of a mass youth movement trained as Marxists that it will be possible to penetrate the working class as a whole and bring about a break by the trade unions with the Democrats.

The Young Socialists will fight around the unions and all sections of the working class to build support for the Workers League's

Thousands Seek Jobs In Boston

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON—Last week the Massachusetts Department of Employment announced that it had received over 40,000 applications from youth seeking summer jobs.

At the same time, the head of the department then announced that there were "at least 600 to 700 job openings" for youth in the Boston area.

To the tens of thousands of youth who have absolutely no prospect for a job this summer, he added, "But attitude is important. You have to show them that you're going to give a good day's work for a good day's pay."

The "good day's pay" he is talking about ranges from \$1.65 an hour (less than \$50 a week take home for 40 hours work) to virtual slaves wages at piecework picking berries and harvesting tobacco in the Western part of the state.

CONDITIONS

It is in these conditions that two weeks ago the State Supreme Court announced the decision that purse snatching is now a crime punishable by life in prison. This is how the capitalists and their government intend to deal with the youth who are thrown out onto the streets in the millions by this decaying system.

But the mobilization of over 20,000 construction workers workers here last week demanding jobs shows the way forward for the youth. The strength of the trade unions must be organized in defense of the working class and the youth in a political party of labor which can fight these attacks.

The construction of the Young Socialists is central now to give leadership in the fight for the labor party.

manifesto on the labor party. At the same time, it will press ahead with its fight against unemployment and demand that the unions use their strength to defend the right of every youth to a decent job.

PURPOSE

Explaining the purpose of the Young Socialists, Kiki Mendez, YS National Treasurer, stated: "It is significant to understand the period in which we're holding this meeting. It is a period in which the whole labor movement is under attack by the government. The Pay Board is taking away increases and Nixon's courts are passing anti-union laws.

"On December 18th the Young Socialists adopted a program calling for the construction of a labor party. The building of a labor party is a theoretical question which will require a Marxist understanding.

"Youth, who feel the attacks hardest, are looking for a way to fight back. This is why they are the first to turn toward Marxism. It is this type of leadership that will bring about the fight in the working class for a labor party.

"At the Young Unionist Action League in Connecticut, it was the Young Socialists who fought for a labor party and were able to win the vote at one of the workshops. It is this fight that the YS must continue. The YS must be constructed as a mass movement to fight for the labor party."

FIGHT

Louis Ladson, chairman of the Midwest Young Socialists, discussed the reasons why youth

KERS



Chicago Young Socialists meeting this weekend discussed the fight for a labor party.

must fight for a labor party. He said that in Minneapolis, like everywhere else in the country, it is becoming impossible for the youth to find work. Among minority youth, he pointed out, unemployment is as high as 50 percent.

For all workers in the city, Ladson said that unemployment stands above the national average at 6.1 percent.

"For the first time in the history of Minneapolis, gangs are forming. There is no future for youth under capitalism. It's only a deadend," Ladson said.

Tommie Pierson, a young auto worker and member of UAW Local 25, described the condi-

tions in the plants:

"I worked at GM for eight years. The first thing I learned was that you had to do what your boss said or get fired. Now GMAD is introducing speed-ups and workers are getting laid off.

"Both political parties support whatever the corporations do. Workers need their own political party. We must build a labor party now."

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, stated that the necessity of a labor party is posed by the objective conditions of the crisis.

"To understand why the labor party is coming up so often, we must begin with the understand-

ing of what period we are in. We are in a period where every situation the working class faces is a political one.

"If you want a job, you run up against the government which is taking away jobs. If you want decent housing, you run up against a government which is cutting down on construction.

FORCED

"The world capitalist system is in crisis. It cannot produce goods and make a profit. Now the capitalists must attack the working class because out of labor they can get profits. This means they will be forced to

(Continued On Page 18)

Angela Calls For Overthrow Of System

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK—On Thursday, June 30th, over 15,000 people attended Madison Square Garden to hear Angela Davis speak.

Angela Davis was greeted with a standing ovation and loud cheers. There were cheers and applause when she spoke about overthrowing capitalism. She said: "We are contending with a whole class of profit-hungry rulers—a class we will ultimately have to overthrow."

She went on to say: "We are going to have to begin talking about socialism if we are looking for alternatives to this system."

The tremendous applause for this statement shows the change in the objective situation today.

This came on the eve of big clashes between the working class and the government. The hospital workers were preparing to strike against the Pay Board. At the same time, sections of the working class are calling for a labor party, as the alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

It is because of the movement of the working class that for the first time in many years thousands applauded the call for socialism.

Angela Davis spent most of her speech criticizing the judiciary system. She noted that her freedom was the beginning of struggle against the government.

VICTORY

She stated: "Now is the time for us to teach the rulers of this country a few lessons—that thousands and thousands of us are here not to praise them or celebrate the court system, but to tell them that this victory we are celebrating is one we ourselves won and is just a small taste of what they can expect from us from now on."

The victory of Angela Davis means the government will have to use more extreme attacks on militants and the working class. The only way the working class can be defended is by constructing a labor party.



15,000 people gathered at Madison Square Garden to hear Angela Davis.

British YS Rally Unions To Defeat Government

BY A YS CORRESPONDENT

The British Young Socialists held their first regional "Right-to-Work" march in Scotland last week in the shadow of the greatest political and economic crisis in recent history.

Just as the Young Socialists were beginning their march from the city of Dundee to Glasgow, the Tory government announced the devaluation of the pound. This action threatens British workers with massive unemployment and the destruction of their living standards.

Unemployment in Scotland, particularly among the youth, is already at a high level. During the past year, as a result of Tory policies, workers in every section of industry have been thrown out of work. It is becoming impossible for youth to find any jobs.

The regional "Right-to-Work" marches show the critical role to be played by the youth in the construction of the revolutionary Trotskyist party. In taking up the fight of unemployed youth for the right to have a decent job, the YS is conducting a political fight to defend the basic rights of the entire working class.

As the attempt of the Tories to jail three militant dockers three weeks ago proved, workers face a government determined to crush their unions in order to create an army of helpless unemployed.

In every working class community through which the marches pass, the Young Socialists will be rallying the working class for a political fight to force the Tories to resign and

to replace them with a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies.

The YS marchers will call for the construction of Councils of Action to mobilize workers for the political fight against the government.

As the march from Dundee began on June 24, it immediately became apparent that the fight of the Young Socialists has tremendous support within the working class. This is because thousands of workers are looking for leadership in the fight against the Tories at a time when the reformist and bureaucratic leadership of the Labour Party and trade unions have cynically betrayed every battle.

During the earlier national "Right-to-Work" marches of the YS in February and March, the labor bureaucrats actually forbid workers to give the YS any support. But in every town, the rank-and-file defied their leadership because they saw that the YS was prepared to fight the Tories while the bureaucrats did nothing.

Held in the heat of the miners strike, the YS national "Right-to-Work" marchers raised the call for the political defeat of the government. They warned that no settlement that leaves the Tories in power can solve any of the fundamental problems facing the working class.

While a big wage increase would show the great power of

Young Socialist



British Young Socialists leave Dundee, Scotland in YS Campaign's first regional Right-to-Work march.

the working class, if the Tories were left in office they would prepare a vicious counter-attack against the trade unions.

The correctness and crystal clarity of the perspective carried throughout the country in the national "Right-to-Work" marches have long since been confirmed. While granting a large settlement, the Tories have survived to fight back. Since February, the Industrial Relations Act has been brought to bear against the working class.

The leader of the regional Dundee to Glasgow march, John Barrie, described the differences between these marches and the national marches: "The whole political situation has been transformed since we set off from Glasgow for London in February.

"Only last week we had the National Industrial Relations

Court threatening the dockers with imprisonment. The whole future of the trade union movement is in danger and therefore all the rights it protects, like the right to work, are in danger as well.

"So this march is not just against unemployment, but also to defend all the basic rights of the working class."

In the town of Cupar, a day's hike from Dundee, the YS marchers received an enthusiastic welcome. One workers' organization put up the money for their dinner and breakfast.

ADMIRE

A trade unionist joined the march for a while, and said: "I admire the youth very much. They are showing that they will not just sit around and talk about this terrible problem of un-

employment. I hope people take notice."

Further down the road, in Glenrothes, coal miners gave the YS free use of their social club. It was during the critical miners strike that the YS national marchers fought to unite the entire working class behind the miners in a struggle to throw the Tories out.

"It's very encouraging to see them (the YS) making their protest known in this way," said miner Jim Woods, secretary of the social club. "Of course we back them. We would never have won our strike if it had not have been for other sections of the working class, and we won't forget that."

A shop steward of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers organized a collection for the marchers. He explained: "We supported this march because every worker I'm sure thinks it is a disgrace that youth like the marchers should have to go so far because they have been denied a right which is the most basic the working class possesses — the right to a decent, well-paid job.

"That's why we back the aim of the march to get the Tories out — this is the feeling of any worker with any sense."

EXPRESSION

By giving conscious expression to the desires of millions of British workers, the YS is able to lead them into action against the Tories on the basis of socialist principles and create the conditions for the transformation of the Socialist Labor League into the mass revolutionary party of the working class.

The historic successes of the British Young Socialists confirm Trotsky's assertion that: "Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution."

The experiences of our British comrades are of great importance to the Young Socialists in this country. Only a revolutionary youth movement, educated in Marxist theory, can penetrate the working class and bring it forward politically in the fight to construct a labor party.

Job Corps Sends Youth On Hopeless Quest

BY KIKI MENDEZ

BROOKLYN—The fraud of the poverty employment program has been sharply exposed with the current situation facing unemployed youth.

The politicians have recently cut the budget for the summer programs. The cuts in the program leave more youth unemployed this year than last year.

The bitterness of the youth over unemployment was revealed this Monday when the youth in the Williamsburg area marched to City Hall to protest against these conditions.

In East New York, the youth have been looking for jobs at Neighborhood Youth Corps. During the past two weeks, the Neighborhood Youth Corps office at 505 Sutter Avenue in East New York, which claims to have 2,000 jobs available, has so far only distributed 1,800.

The Young Socialists asked one youth to describe the situation for the past two weeks. He said: "The unemployment this year is terrible. Every place they send you to ends up sending you to another place.

"505 sent me to Council for a Better East New York (CBENY) then CBENY sent me to Youth



Youth line up at Brownsville's Seth Low Community Center to apply for small number of available jobs.

Action on Blake Avenue. Youth Action sent me back to CBENY. This is what they are doing to everyone looking for a job."

DIFFERENCE

In a discussion with one youth concerning the difference between 505 this year and last year, he said: "I see a big difference in 505 this year from last year. Last year they were hiring more people than this last year. I think they have not hired anyone this year.

This year they are hiring people at the Post Office and other unionized places. This comes at a time when the government is trying to crush the unions and using the youth corps workers against the unionized workers.

In response to this, one youth said: "I know they are trying to get the workers as well as the youth. What should be done is to get the youth in the same union. That way, the workers can save their jobs and the youth can receive some jobs. I would rather

be under a union salary than a youth corps payroll.

The increase in unemployment has also created the conditions for the rise of gangs. These gangs have viciously attacked the workers and youth in the neighborhood.

The fight against unemployment in the East New York-Brownsville area can only be taken forward through the construction of the Young Socialists to fight for the building of the labor party.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Pay Board Prepares To Lower Guidelines

Nixon's Pay Board is preparing a big new attack on American workers. Not satisfied with the 5.5 percent guidelines, the Pay Board is getting ready to push them down even further to the area of 2.5 percent.

Pay Board Chairman George Boldt stated last week: "When we fashioned the current guidelines we were primarily concerned with the Board's immediate survival. But now we're starting to think about the long-term applicability of the Board's present standards."

This is a threat that every worker must take seriously. Boldt is the puppet of the government and big corporations that are determined to press ahead with the attacks. With the sudden devaluation of the British pound, the menace of trade war and bankruptcy stares every capitalist country straight in the face.

The approaching collapse of the world monetary system is creating the conditions for civil war in Europe and a tremendous increase in unemployment in this country. The corporations are determined to make the working class pay for this crisis.

Under the new conditions, even the vicious 5.5 percent guidelines are hopelessly inadequate to deal with the economic crisis. Even lowering the guidelines to 2.5 percent would be but a temporary stage in the government's overall strategy to smash the trade unions.

George Boldt's statement reveals the outlines of the strategy. He plainly admits that the original guidelines were a way for the government to get its foot in the door. And because the trade union leadership allowed Nixon to get that far, he is encouraged to push harder.

Nixon is now getting his Pay Board ready to "review" the second year contract provisions of the coal miners and steel workers. The government has earmarked the workers of both industries for big cuts.

The trade union leadership's criminal refusal to fight the Pay Board has opened the way to new attacks. Because Meany, Woodcock, and their brother bureaucrats have bowed before every Pay Board decision, Nixon now thinks he can dig the knife deeper into the working class.

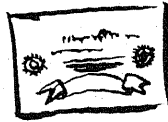
The Pay Board must be stopped. This requires general strike action against the Pay Board. The massive demonstrations of trade unions during the past month in Norristown, Boston, and New York show that workers not only have the strength to destroy the Board, but also that they are prepared to do it.

The labor movement must at the same time prepare its own alternative to the Pay Board and the policies of big business by building its own labor party based on the trade unions to fight for programs in the interests of the working class.

Bay Area Sets Pace In Summer Sub Drive

We have now completed the second week of the Bulletin 5,000 Summer Subscription Drive receiving a total of 289 subs. While this is up from last week, it is still well below the 400 average needed to meet our goal on time. We now have a grand total of 1546 subs.

The Bay Area continues to lead the way having 255 subs. The Minnesota branches have made only a small beginning while in New York Chelsea, Bushwick, Lower East Side, Upper West Side and Bronx branches continue to lag behind. There must be a sharp change in the situation by the report in next week's Bulletin.



"I keep having nightmares that I'm being smothered under a huge hard hat!"

What we think

Labor Committee And The TUAD

The central fight at last weekend's TUAD conference in Chicago was the struggle for the labor party, a struggle led by the Workers League and Young Socialists against the Stalinist leadership of the conference.

At a time when the Nixon government is stepping up the attacks on the trade union movement, the Labor Committee sets up a picket line whose class content is an attack on the unions. This is the meaning of the denunciation of the conference for "locking out the unemployed" and of those who entered it as "racist scabs."

This is the role of centrism today which attempts to sidetrack and trap the militancy of workers and youth who, in moving into struggle against capitalism, are revolted by the opportunism and support for the Democratic Party by the Stalinists.

These groups all begin subjectively as middle class propaganda groups cut off from the working class and hostile to the struggle for Marxist theory developed in the Trotskyist movement in order to change reality, to construct a leadership that can bring the working class to power and establish socialism.

These groups do not proceed on the basis of principle. That is why they are fully capable of Stalinophobia and adventurist confrontations with the Stalinists one day, and eagerly seeking out alliances with the Stalinists against Trotskyism on the next. This is sharply expressed by the IS group which blocs with the Stalinists against the struggle for political independence in the trade unions at the same time that it holds that the Soviet Union is "imperialist."

Emerging as an amalgam of elements out of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Progressive Labor Party on the basis of hostility to the building of any kind of revolutionary party, the Labor Committee has moved to a more and more open hostility to the unions. Like Progressive Labor, Students for a Democratic Society and the "new left," they reject the unions as the central and decisive section of the working class, advocating instead, the formation of "strike support coalitions" which attempt to bring together as equal constituencies, the unions, the unemployed, the welfare recipients, the students, the "ethnic minorities" and the "socialists."

The Labor Committee sees only the defeat and the "panicky rout" of the trade unions following "an unbroken chain of defeats for the U.S. labor movement" over the past nine months (Resolution to TUAD conference, June 19-23 New Solidarity).

Thus, according to Labor Committee Nixon and the ruling class have already succeeded in their strategic goal of restoring the rate of profit, of putting value back into the dollar by destroying the unions!

The sharp attacks on the working class through the Pay Board which are only a prelude to a far more vicious attack aimed at the smashing of unions altogether, is seen by Labor Committee as already having destroyed all the gains of the CIO achieved through the battles of the 1930's and 1940's. Thus, as Labor Committee sees things, Nixon and the Congress with a stroke of the pen have brought the union movement to the point it was at in the "period of 1925-1932" before the organization of mass industrial unions.

At a point where the demand for the labor party has barely begun to gather force in the labor movement and where the massive demonstrations of Pennsylvania construction workers against unemployment, scabbing, "law and order" and the state governments foreshadow even more massive strikes and political struggles by the unions, the Labor Committee writes off the working class entirely, seeing only "the wholesale liquidation of trade union memberships" and deepening "demoralization and passivity" in the unions.

Instead of the construction of a Marxist leadership in the working class through a battle against the labor bureaucracy and Stalinism within the unions, Labor Committee poses a period of reform of the system in which the "strike support coalitions" will "lead an effective defense of workers and allied popular layers"

Labor Committee sees only weakness and defeat of the unions. They state that the "trade union form itself is inadequate to defend workers rights and conditions" and propose another form of popular front, in essence the same as the PL-SDS Worker-Student alliance or center-left coalition as an alternative to the unions.

But it is precisely the power of the unions, the rights and conditions of the working class which the capitalists now must seek to take away through the smashing of the unions, that poses a leap beyond the limits of simple trade unionism, and raises the question of the struggle for power and socialism through the construction of the labor party.

The forcing up of the working class against the "inadequacy of the 'trade union form'," up against the limits of the unions as institutions within capi-

talism, can only take place however on the basis of the workers' struggle to defend those unions. This is now taking place on a massive scale.

Like other centrist tendencies which have emerged from the Socialist Workers Party, the Labor Committee completely turns its back on the history and traditions of the Trotskyist movement. The article by L. Marcus in the June 19-23 New Solidarity entitled "Socialist Workers Party—Death of a Working Class Organization" sees in the history of the SWP only a one-sided degeneration of the SWP leadership under Cannon, stemming back to Cannon's origins in the leadership of the American Communist Party. According to Marcus, the weakness of the SWP and Cannon, both in the CP and in the SWP afterwards was Cannon's "left-centrist adaptation to backward trade union militants which corresponds with his continuing admiration for the centrist Zinoviev."

Cannon and the SWP leadership are denounced for having, from the very inception of the Communist Party, a "phillistine social prejudice" against "intellectuals" such as Fraina, B.J. Field, and Marcus, "characteristic of an organization of trade union oriented centrists." Just as he writes off the American working class with the stroke of a pen, Marcus writes off 50 years of the communist movement, obliterating the very development of the SWP as a working class Trotskyist Party which could only have made this development through the sharpest theoretical struggles against Stalinism in 1928, against Shachtman and Burnham in 1940 and against Pabloism in 1953. While noting the "brilliance" of Trotsky, these dates mean nothing to Marcus who begins from the point of view of a "Marxist" intellectual heading a group opposed to the actual struggle to construct a party in the real material world which can overthrow capitalism.

But revolutionary theory only develops in the struggle to construct a Marxist Party based on the development of rank and file workers in the trade unions as revolutionary leaders of the working class. The Labor Committee, rejecting this struggle, imagines itself "independent." But they are being moved by class forces. The "theory" of the Labor Committee is nothing but the warmed over ashes of revisionism of the past 125 years designed to justify an abandonment of the struggle for socialism. Their practice reflects the class pressure of capitalism in the form of a middle class frenzy against the working class and the Trotskyist movement.

The visits of U.S. President Nixon to Peking and Moscow were the occasion for the beginning of a new phase in the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism.

Ever since the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1920's, Stalinism has been the main prop of imperialism. Unable to survive through any inherent strength, this historically doomed system has depended for its continued existence, since World War I, on the reformist and Stalinist leadership of the working class.

In the years since 1945, the relative strength of the American imperialists in relation to the other capitalist powers, together with international Stalinism, has enabled the capitalist system to contain the working class in the advanced capitalist countries through Keynesian policies of controlled concessions on living standards.

Now, however, the breakdown of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement, the collapse of agreed currency parities, and the complete undermining of the gold basis of dollar supremacy, have ended all that. The capitalist world has entered a state of trade war and threatened slump.

The imperialists are perfectly conscious of the fact that their survival, in these changed conditions, depends upon being able to effect quickly a transformation of the form of political rule, so that mass unemployment and drastically cut living standards can be imposed on the working class.

Their problem is that, wherever they turn in an attempt to administer the necessary defeats on the working class—and they cannot proceed without such defeats—they meet a brick wall of resistance.

Not only are the workers of the advanced countries confident and unscarred by defeat since the 1930's, but the momentum of the colonial revolution refuses to slow down. The Vietnamese people have inflicted an ignominious defeat on the imperialist ground forces, and the masses of Bangla Desh have given notice of the revolutionary potential burning just under the surface of all South East Asia.

The imperialists want to secure this eastern flank in order to deal with the European and American workers. And to achieve this, they have turned once again to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Already the Stalinist bureaucracy did the dirty work for imperialism in the Geneva agreements of 1954; Peking as well as Moscow was responsible for this sell-out of the Vietnamese victory over the French colonialists.

In the years of warfare that followed, a trickle of military aid, to preserve the credibility of the bureaucracy and to preserve a diplomatic bargaining counter, was linked with an international policy of never mobilizing the working class to support the Vietnamese revolution. Instead, peace and protest movements were encouraged, with the slavish help of the Pabloite revisionists.

But now, in 1972, new depths of treachery were plumbed. After the Chinese Stalinists had shown the way with their support of the reactionary Pakistan regime against Bangla Desh, and of the repressions in Ceylon, now came the Moscow Stalinists to show they would not be outdone.

While they were welcoming and banqueting Nixon, U.S. warships were blockading North Vietnam, and electronically programmed bombing raids were pulverizing the northern towns in unprecedented murder raids. This savagery continued right through the Moscow talks, with barely a rebuke from any Moscow organ.

We learn now that, at the time of the subsequent mission of Podgorny to North Vietnam, the U.S. bombing was confined to the towns in those parts which he did not visit, and Hanoi was spared!

When Podgorny told reporters that he

had "got what he wanted," he expressed all the rotten cynicism of the bureaucrat who exacts what he wants from the working class by virtue of the brutal pressure of the imperialists.

Peking adds its contribution by prohibiting the passage of arms from the USSR to Vietnam. This "left" gesture is actually Peking's deal with Nixon, the follow-up to Bangla Desh.

POLITICAL STABILITY

The services of the bureaucracy are not confined to Vietnam. The bourgeoisie's search for political stability, which they will, if successful, build on the bones of millions of workers, must be assisted above all in Europe and the United States. In exchange for Nixon's agreement on Strategic Arms Limitation and the conclusion of a European Security Pact, the bureaucracy will guarantee to do all in its power, using the Communist Parties, to keep the working class from achieving political independence and fighting to bring down the capitalist governments.

Moscow Radio has indicated unmistakably the results of the recent Moscow talks for the U.S. itself, which must be seen in connection with Podgorny's visit to Hanoi and Kissinger's trip to Peking. According to the bureaucracy's mouthpiece, Valentin Zorin, the Moscow talks are "on the credit side of the Republican Party" and this "may affect the outcome" of the

presidential election.

Nixon's opponents, says Zorin, will exploit "what they think to be the weakest points in the activities of the Republican Administration, namely the continuation of the war in Vietnam and the deterioration of the country's economic position."

Moscow, however, knows better: Nixon's agreements with the Stalinist bureaucracy are the answer to the aspirations for world peace.

This is not just idle comment. It means full co-operation between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Republican administration. Zorin proceeds to give the justification for this:

"The positive trends in the activities of Washington's ruling circles are irreversible, they do not depend on the results of the election campaign and on whether the Republican leader will stay in the White House or whether a nominee of the Democrats will replace him...American ruling circles are becoming increasingly aware of the realities of the world today."

The message is unmistakable: the ruling class of the United States can be relied on, "irreversibly," to peacefully co-exist with the USSR.

Thus, the Stalinist bureaucracy consciously disarms the working class at a time when the imperialists have made a turn precisely towards the most savage

repressions against their "own" working classes in every country. Whereas, since World War II, the Stalinists have peddled the dangerous illusion that the winning of economic concessions could continue for ever without challenging the state power of the capitalists, now they are called upon to actually collaborate in the capitalists' preparations for Bonapartism and ultraright regimes.

The turn of the Chinese Stalinists to U.S. imperialist during the Bangla Desh struggle had already opened the eyes of millions to the fact that the bureaucracy placed its own relations with imperialism far above the interests of the masses, and would collaborate in mass repressions.

Today in Ceylon, the Stalinist followers of both Moscow and Peking support the taking on of Bonapartist powers by the bourgeois state (the Criminal Justice Act and the new Constitution).

In West Germany, the Stalinists, in the name of defending the Brand coalition and its "Ostpolitik" from right-wing attacks, refuses any opposition to the setting up of new repressive state machinery for attacks on the working class.

This trend towards more repressive state forms, through Bonapartism towards fascism, once the working class can be defeated on the streets, is a necessity for the imperialists, and the Stalinists will not oppose them.

In Britain, the working class has the opportunity, if its strength were mobilized, to force the Tory government to resign, through the experience of exposing a Labour government, making rapid strides towards power.

The Stalinists are the main opponents of such a perspective. They are not oblivious to the promise by Brezhnev that the bureaucracy could revise its attitude to the Common Market.

Entry into the Common Market is the basic counter-revolutionary strategy of the British imperialists, to provide the only conditions under which they can take on the British working class. But for the Stalinists, this imperialist strategy will be accepted once it can appear to be fitted in with the Kremlin's search for a European Security Pact.

In this way, those workers who follow the Communist Parties become the instrument of the Kremlin bureaucracy's overriding desire to prevent the revolution in the advanced countries and the political revolution against themselves in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

NEW VICTORIES

There is yet another aspect to this treachery. Having collaborated with the imperialists in the defeat of the working class in the capitalist countries, the Stalinist bureaucracy would then find itself faced with an imperialism thirsting for war with the USSR and China!

Only the strength of the working masses throughout the world, and the possibility of new revolutionary victories, can effectively defend the conquests made in the October Revolution of 1917 and in the years after 1945 in Eastern Europe and China.

The International Committee calls upon all its sections, and upon the working class everywhere, to expose and defeat the latest policies of the Stalinists.

We are no longer in the period of defeats in the 1930's upon which Stalinism flourished. The great task is to build a leadership which can mobilize the masses in political independence from the bourgeoisie and from its bureaucratic agents.

So sharply are the political issues posed to the working class by the imperialist crisis that an unprecedented opportunity arises for the Trotskyist movement to win working class leadership from the counter-revolutionary Stalinists and reformists.

Fight the Stalinist-imperialist conspiracy to strangle the Vietnamese revolution! Victory to the NLF! Expose Stalinism and reformism in the struggle to mobilize the masses against the Bonapartist plans of the imperialists in every capitalist country!

Carry forward the fight against the revisionists and renegades from Trotskyism in the "United Secretariat" who collaborate with Stalinism and try to liquidate the Trotskyist movement.

Build the independent revolutionary leadership, parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

Statement Of The International Committee



Chou En-lai welcomes Kissinger to Peking to prepare for Nixon visit.

Defeat Stalinist Conspiracy



Nixon held talks with Stalinists in the White House before his Moscow trip.

The Proclamation of a ceasefire by the IRA Provisionals is the culminating point in the betrayal of the Ulster workers by the middle-class representatives of nationalism and republicanism in Ulster.

Despite the heroism and self-sacrifice of hundreds and thousands of Catholic workers, their struggle in defense of democratic rights and against imperialism has been consciously betrayed.

The International Committee warns all sections of the Irish working class to place absolutely no confidence in the secret and public negotiations being conducted between Whitelaw, representative of British imperialism, and the Republican and reformist leaderships in Ireland.

Ulster workers were among the very first to experience the destruction of democratic rights and death by shooting, which the capitalist classes of Europe have in store for their subjects as the only solution to their international economic crisis.

In 1969 the build-up of 16,000 British troops began, under the Labour government of Harold Wilson. Foremost in the 1968-1969 demonstrations of Catholic youth and workers were the radicals, Liberals, Stalinists, revisionists and protesters of all kinds. Together with the Republicans they had channelled the pent-up feelings of hundreds of thousands of oppressed working men and women into the blind alley of the "civil rights" movement.

The "People's Democracy" group, built around students at Queen's University (Belfast), became the focus for members and sympathizers of the International Socialism (state capitalists) and New Left groups. From it emerged Bernadette Devlin.

It took only a few months for the British imperialists to act on their understanding that not "civil rights" but civil war was at stake. After the sending of troops came eventually internment without trial, torture, martial law, shooting on sight.

Now, nearly three years later, every one of these "civil rights" enthusiasts is a supporter of direct rule.

They have acquiesced to the imposition of a Bonapartist administration which balances between the army and the nationalist opposition. This regime is completely reactionary and is not a whit different in its class aims from the regime of Brian Faulkner.

They go further. They are all involved in plans to help Whitelaw impose a "permanent" settlement for the Tory government. Having called up the forces of the working class, thinking to turn the pressure on and off like a tap, in the manner of all radical protestors, they recoil in horror from the real strength of the working class.

It is this strength, in Britain as well as in Ireland, which has forced the Tories into an insoluble crisis.

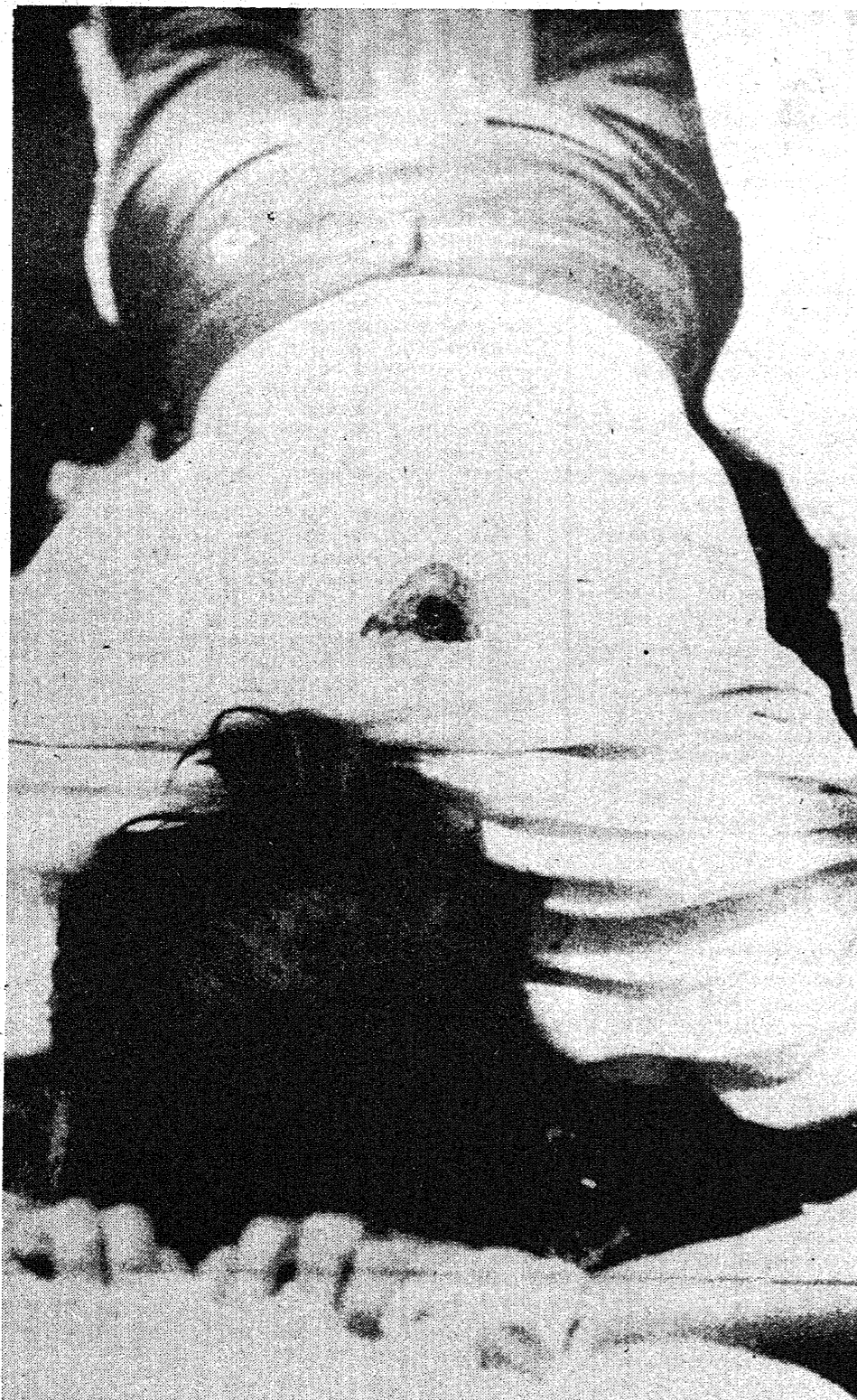
Now these "leaders" revert to the traditional role of the centrist. Themselves running in fear from the struggle, they blame their own cowardice on the working class.

They make heartfelt speeches about the desire of the masses for peace, right at the time when the first requirement is a lead which will enable the fighting strength of the masses to go through to victory!

In the South, workers in the trade unions are moving into a big struggle against the National Wage Agreement proposed by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and are condemning the way in which the Irish Labour Party betrayed the fight against the Common Market. These are important steps for the political independence of the working class.

Far from retreating, the working class is pressing forward.

Bernadette Devlin, who once, for a few short weeks, made some very principled statements against British imperialist policy and called for the bringing down of the Tory government, has now added her voice to the pathetic middle-class wailing for "peace" with Whitelaw. She was



Left, one of 13 workers who were killed by British troops in Northern Ireland on Bloody Sunday. Center, British soldiers beat up Irish youth. Right, Bernadette Devlin, MP who has joined middle class wails and support of "truce."



Ulster: International Committee Statement

among those who asked the IRA for a seven-day ceasefire to facilitate talks with Whitelaw. She speaks along the line of the International Socialism revisionists.

Together with Miss Devlin goes the "Official" IRA. And the "Provisional" leaders are making their own overtures to Whitelaw, this time through the intermediary of the well-behaved Social Democratic Labour Party of Fitt and Hume. These same gentlemen, no doubt preening and grooming themselves for office under Whitelaw, are acting the part of a future government by holding consultative talks with the executive of the ruling Fianna Fail party (the "green" Tories) in the South.

The IC condemns in particular the thoroughly opportunist and craven role of the revisionists of the International Marxist Group and its theoretical inspirer, the Unified Secretariat in Paris.

It is not an accident that these revisionists have not issued a declaration on where they stand in relation to direct rule and the capitulation of the IRA to Whitelaw.

It is because for over three years they have actively collaborated and given rhetorical cover to the reactionary and opportunist ideology of the Republican petty bourgeoisie.

Their struggle against Marxist theory and the revolutionary party finds its most malignant and clearest expression in Ulster. Under the slogan of "Solidarity with and Victory to the IRA" these opportunists paved the political road for confusing countless numbers of Irish Catholic youth and alienating those Protestant workers who were sceptical of Unionism and hostile to the Orange Order.

By bowing to the spontaneous struggle

of the Catholic workers, by glorifying individual terror and consistently opposing every attempt to criticize the false theories and Utopian bourgeois policies of the nationalists, this group has branded itself as a conscious participant in this betrayal.

At the same time, its members refused to link the struggle of the Irish workers to the anti-capitalist struggle in Britain. They refused at all times to call for a campaign to force the Tories to resign and for its replacement with a Labour government pledged to fight for socialist policies.

This policy—or lack of it—led them consciously to play down the danger of direct rule. And when it arrived they ignored its sinister political implications for the Irish workers.

The abolition of Stormont was the touchstone of Tory policy in Ulster. Stormont was a political anachronism and a serious embarrassment to Westminster in its search for an agreement with the Catholic petty bourgeoisie in the North.

The longer it remained the greater was the danger of the democratic struggle for votes and equality being transcended by demands affecting British and native capitalist property.

It was in British imperialism's interest to abolish Stormont and to alternately use and repress the Republicans. The following extract from the Irish Sunday Press reveals with absolute clarity the cynical game of the imperialists and, by implication, the bankruptcy of the Republicans and their revisionist supporters.

"Indeed since the involvement of the British army in Northern Ireland since 1969 there have been innumerable con-

tacts between the establishment and the IRA. At first, these were frequent and most informal between army officers and Provo leaders—indeed it was a British army intelligence officer who inspired the original bombing campaign. This was in a conversation with perhaps the most successful IRA leader in the North, Mr. Billy Kelly.

"Right up to February 1971, Provisional leaders and army officers were meeting on a regular basis and they discussed ways and means of curbing rioting and generally cooling the situation.

"Even the anti-terrorist campaigner, Brigadier Kitson, sought contact with the Provisionals, though, in fact, no such contact was arranged as far as is known at this stage. (Sunday Press, June 25, 1972. Vincent Browne's article 'Heath's part in final move for ceasefire'.")

ONLY THE Socialist Labour League and the International Committee opposed direct rule from a class standpoint. We based our analysis on the scientific and historically verified theory of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution whose central idea is that the petty bourgeoisie is nowhere capable of leading the democratic revolution to victory because a victorious democratic revolution can only be conceived in the form of the dictatorship of the working class.

Between the dictatorship of the working class and the dictatorship of the capitalists there can be no intermediate political power. The struggle for this dictatorship is the struggle for the Marxist party.

Ulster—and the consequences of direct rule—have once again shown that no other class and no other party can substitute

itself for the proletariat and that any attempt to do so must result in defeat and the re-imposition of capitalist rule. Stormont has gone, but imperialism remains. Those who stand with the Republican policy must fall with it.

It was in no way accidental that in 1969 the revisionists of International Socialism and their democratic friends in Ireland, including the Stalinists under Miss Betty Sinclair, welcomed the British troops as protectors of the Catholic workers.

Events like Bloody Sunday made the revisionists shamefacedly wonder if they had made a "mistake." But now they have returned to what was undoubtedly their real position—reformists with n the service of British imperialism.

That they stand together with the Republicans should come as no surprise. These nationalists long ago accepted the Stalinist demand that the British troops be returned...to their barracks!

Only the International Committee and its sections came out unequivocally against the intervention of British troops in Ireland from the very first minute. Against every other tendency we asserted that this was a basic question of principle: the forces of the capitalist state were there to enforce the protection of property and bourgeois order, and on no account could they act in the interests of the working class.

And when direct rule was imposed, and all the revisionists and opportunists were caught in the trap of regarding the removal of Stormont as a progressive step, the International Committee, in its statement of March 25, came out in sharp condemnation, saying:

"Support for direct rule has an inexorable and sinister logic. If the Tory govern-

ment decides to suppress the Protestant workers with the same means that were used in Derry by the Paras, what will the Republicans, Nationalists, revisionists and Stalinists do then?"

And: "What the imperialists could not preserve with baton, bullet, CS gas and noise machines they now hope to keep by a negotiated political solution, conducted under the mantle of "direct rule." Under the convenient subterfuge of replacing the hated Stormont regime, the Heath-Wilson gang are preparing an even more sinister attack against Irish workers' rights, through a coalition of Republican and Orange capitalists, backed by the armed forces of the South and Britain.

"Partition will stay, sectarian divisions will be exacerbated and the hated system of low wages, unemployment and speed-up will continue—if direct rule is effected."

The Republicans, Stalinists and revisionists are working might and main to bring into full operation this Tory strategy. Since March, the Ulster Vanguard movement of William Craig, drilling tens of thousands of armed men, has been built up under the noses of the authorities as a bludgeon to soften up the "civil rights" opposition.

This is a gross betrayal of the workers of Ireland by men who have asked for their allegiance. The Protestant workers, victims of a 50-year confidence trick by the Tory Unionists, now feel themselves exposed to the full force of the effects of the economic crisis. The questions of security which they were always told (lyingly) could be solved by loyalty to Britain through Stormont now appear to them insoluble. They are angry and frustrated, and temporarily they lash out in the reac-

tionary direction opened up for them by Craig.

The great crime of the Devlins, the official IRA, the Stalinists, the IMG, the IS group and others, is that instead of placing before the Catholic and Protestant workers the prospect of a united political struggle with the British workers to end the Tory government and implement socialist programs through the election of a Labour government, they turn over at this critical stage to help the Tories out of their crisis.

The unbroken resistance of the British workers, and the definite possibility of forcing the Tory government in Britain to resign, is the greatest asset of the workers of Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic once again. "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity!"

It is absolutely typical of the anti-revolutionary politics of the IS and IMG styled friends of the Irish workers that they do not raise the bringing down of the British Tory government as the first task in solidarity with the working class of Ireland. Instead, they collaborate to the hilt with the Stalinists in their protest campaigns.

As our March 25 statement insisted, "By separating the struggle against internment and democratic rights from the struggle against the Tory government, these reformists act as a political rear-guard for imperialism."

It is absolutely criminal for these reformists and Republicans to sell Whitelaw as the representative of a future democracy in Ireland. He is quite the opposite!

British Toryism's complaint about Stormont was not its lack of democracy but its inability to preserve capitalist law and

order. Without the ending of Toryism through mass political struggle of the working class, then the future, in Britain as well as Ireland, is Bonapartist dictatorship.

That the "democratic capitalism" should be peddled in Northern Ireland of all places, where this Bonapartism is already well on the way, speaks volumes for the extent of the degeneration of the revisionists.

The trade union leaders in Ireland, North and South, and the Social Democrats in the Republic, should not go unmentioned. Not a word comes out of the trade union leaders against the reactionary demagoguery of the Vanguard spokesmen such as Hull.

These unions should be fighting with their English comrades against the National Industrial Relations Court, against unemployment and for the resignation of the Tories. A consistent campaign on these real problems affecting the life of every Protestant and Catholic worker would soon begin to change the situation.

Meanwhile, Corish of the Irish Labour Party (in the South) excels himself by approaching the reactionary Fine Gael party with proposals for a coalition to replace the Lynch government.

The Irish section of the International Committee has rightly called for a massive rejection of this proposal by all trade unionists in the Republic.

There are conclusions of international significance from the political record of revisionism in Ireland. Centrist politics which congenitally waver between revolutionary Marxism and outright opportunism, becomes an open support for the policies of imperialism in a period such as this.

The retreat of the Republicans and revisionists along the line is no cause for pessimism. Only by rejecting and going beyond these false leaderships and their supporters can the working class go forward. The conflict between the objective struggles and requirements of the working class, on the one hand, and the bankruptcy of nationalism and reformism on the other, provides the necessary conditions for development of revolutionary consciousness.

There is absolutely no substitute for the building of Marxist parties of the Fourth International, waging a constant battle against every variety of revisionism and centrism, exposing at every turn their subordination to the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, which only prepares them to directly serve the imperialist enemy.

In the British working class movement, effective solidarity can be brought to the Irish workers by fighting for the mobilization of the trade unions and all those fighting Tory policies into Councils of Action, with the aim of making the Tories resign and returning a Labour government, and demanding this government withdraw all troops.

In Ireland, North and South, the revolutionary leadership will only be trained and built in a fight for a program which unites the working class to strike mighty blows together with those being struck by the workers in Britain.

The fall of Heath will enormously facilitate the fall of all those who help him to maintain imperialism in Ireland, from Lynch and Cosgrave to Whitelaw, Faulkner and Craig. And this same struggle will defeat and foil the opportunist conspiracy of the Republicans, the Stalinists and the revisionists.

As nationalism more and more shows its true colors in collaboration with the imperialists, so the alternative leadership, built through a struggle for Marxism and against nationalism and idealism, can and must be built.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on all class-conscious militants in Ireland, North and South, to build on the invaluable lessons of the last four years' struggle, to continue the fight for Marxist principles against revisionism, to reject the bankrupt and treacherous reformist and nationalist leaderships, to heed one of the calls to suspend the struggle and give time to the enemy, and to build the revolutionary Marxist leadership in Ireland, the Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

BY ED SMITH

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's long pilgrimage throughout Eastern Europe is currently reaching its climax. The Cuban leader is now in the midst of a two week visit to the Soviet Union.

Castro's recent partiality to extended tours abroad has its roots in Cuba's chronic economic crisis. Castro has attempted to resolve these problems by his relations with the Stalinist bureaucracy. These problems are not diminishing but becoming greater than ever.

One thing Castro will certainly discuss with the Kremlin Stalinists is Cuba's massive imbalance of trade with Russia. Soviet economic aid has been estimated at \$500 million a year, with an additional \$250 million in military and other assistance.

In addition, much of Cuba's exports to the Soviet Union in actuality take on the aspect of direct aid. Most of Russia's massive purchases of Cuban sugar, for example, are refined and immediately re-exported abroad.

STRATEGY

Moscow's strategy of stabilizing relations with capitalism means Castro must continue in step with the policies of peaceful coexistence. The alternative is to be thrown to the economic wolves. It is this reality Castro cannot escape from no matter how many foreign journeys he makes.

At every point at his 10 month journey throughout the colonial and workers' states, Castro has been at pains to build up the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Janos Kadar, the butcher of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, was described as "that very calm, intelligent, cultured man," while CP leader Edward Gierak of Poland was told:

"You, Comrade Gierak, are known in our country for your efforts to invigorate the revolutionary process. We know of your worker's background, of the scores of years you spent as an honored militant and a loyal member of the Polish Communist Party."



Castro meets Hungarian Stalinist leader Janos Kadar.

At this point Castroism is nothing more than a loyal lackey of Stalinist bureaucracy. On his eastern European visit, Castro endorsed the bureaucracy's call for a counter-revolutionary European Security conference. When asked in Budapest about the Latin American revolution's prospects, Castro replied:

"The influence of imperialism is still

very strong, and for the time being we cannot entertain hopes for the proximity of the liberation of the Latin American peoples. The signs indicate this will be a longer range process." He added, "We support the political movements which safeguard national interests in the face of imperialism."

Castro's policies are in this period a for-

mula for the betrayal of the Latin American revolution. In return for Soviet subsidies to keep his regime afloat, Castro falls in with the Stalinist policies. This can mean defeat for millions of workers and peasants if this unholy alliance is not broken up.

"There is no other head of government in Latin America who could safely leave his country for such a long period without fear of what he would find when he got back home," one Polish paper proclaimed when Castro visited that country. But Castro knows full well such prospects depend entirely on how much he is able to tie himself into the counter-revolutionary Soviet plans for Latin America.

SCALED DOWN

Reporting on even Castro's favorite guerrilla adventurers in Latin America like the Tupamaros of Uruguay and the ERP of Argentina has been sharply scaled down in recent weeks as Castro drew nearer to his meeting with his Kremlin mentors.

Papers like Granma still carry ritualized denunciations of Nixon and American aggression in Vietnam. And as late as April 18, Castro's brother Raul advised a visiting group of Soviet technicians:

"During the last few years Yankee imperialism has been reaping a bitter harvest of constant defeats in a general sense all over the world, and, as a result of the inevitable law of history, we know what its final fate will be.

"However, these examples demonstrate that the Paper Tiger still has long claws and that, while those who underestimate it make a serious mistake, those who flirt with it make an even greater one."

Raul Castro must have been biting his tongue during President Nixon's recent visit and agreements with the Russians. But Castro's friendly bearhugs and greetings to the Kremlin bureaucrats on his recent arrival in Moscow indicate such "mistakes" are easily forgiven.

In fact it has been reported, by Jack Anderson among others, that Castro has been attempting to set up his own personal summit with Nixon.

The great movement forward of the working class that has torn Castroism apart in Latin America must soon make its appearance in Cuba itself. It is for this contingency that Castro must mend his fences with Stalinism as preparation for an eventual accommodation with imperialism.

French CP Forms Popular Front

BY MELODY FARROW

The declaration of an alliance between the French Communist Party and the French Socialist Party based on "a common program of government" for the 1973 legislative elections opens up tremendous dangers for the French working class.

The coalition is an attempt to recreate the Popular Front which took power in 1936 and which consciously blocked the working class from taking power and enabled the capitalists to restabilize their system.

In the present alliance, the Communist Party has made major compromises with the reactionary leader of the Socialist Party, Francois Mitterand.

CONCESSIONS

Firstly, the agreement states that: "If the parties in power are refused the confidence of the country, they would give up power and take their place within the opposition."

Secondly, the Communist Party has agreed that if the government is in a minority, the Assembly will be dissolved if it refuses to give confidence to a new governing group. Formally the CP had

demanding that the Assembly be dissolved and new elections be held if a government does not have a majority.

This agreement is a total slavish acceptance of parliamentary rule. The Communist Party sees power, not in the revolutionary mobilization of the working class but in votes in an Assembly.

These agreements are designed to keep the Communist Party from dominating the government and to preserve the position of the right-wing capitalist parties.

The Communist Party made further concessions on the critical issue of nationalizations. It dropped its demand for 25 major nationalizations and has agreed to total or partial control of only 13 companies.

NATIONALIZATIONS

The first category includes nationalizations of entire branches of the economy: natural resources, armaments, nuclear power, pharmaceutical companies, space and aerospace industries. All financial and banking institutions are to be nationalized.

The second category provides for the nationalization of most of the major chemical and electronics industries. This includes ITT and Honeywell.

The third category includes "financial participation" leading up to majority participation by the government in steel, gas, air transport, shipping and highway construction. In all three categories, stock holders will be compensated.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party are demanding a minimum salary of 1,000 francs a month, retirement at the

age of 60 and a 40 hour week.

In the area of foreign policy, the two parties do not call for the withdrawal of French forces from the imperialist NATO alliance, and call for the "liberation" of the Common Market from capitalism by "democratizing" its institutions.

TAILORED

This agreement is specifically tailored to leave the door open to the capitalist party, the Radicals. Mitterand stated: "Our proposals are addressed to all the radicals. If only a part of them agree with it, we cannot reject them, they will be welcome."

The leader of the Radical Party, Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a staunch anti-communist, has denounced the agreement, in particular the program of nationalizations, and has vowed to defeat the Gaullists and the CP in the elections.

It is only the hatred of the workers in the CP for the Radicals that has so far prevented any alliance between the two.

But as the French working class moves into revolutionary struggles, the leadership of the CP will open its arms to the Radicals and give up any vestige of a socialist program as it did in the 1930's.

In 1934, the Socialist and Communist Party formed a Peoples Front after armed fascists took to the streets and brought about a Bonapartist government headed by Doumergue.

It was the Radical Party, led by a man named Daladier, which was in power at the time and completely capitulated to the offensive of the fascists. They handed over power to Doumergue without a whimper.

In the elections of May, 1936, when the Socialists and Communists were brought to power, they invited the very same Radicals into the government and gave them key cabinet positions.

The Popular Front of 1936 faced with a mounting strike wave by the working class put forward timid economic demands on wages, collective bargaining and other reforms at the very moment that the workers were prepared to seize power.

The Popular Front was formed in 1936 as it is today for the purpose of creating a safety valve for the workers while all the power of the capitalists remain unchallenged. It is being revived today because the fight for power is on the agenda throughout Europe.

The working class needs its own government but it must be a government which is prepared to ruthlessly expropriate all the property of the capitalist class and establish socialism.

EXPOSE

The Trotskyist movement must be built in France today through a fight to expose the Communist Party by demanding that it form a government on the basis of a socialist program. It must be forced to break with all those parties who reject this.

Since 1936, the French workers have learned through bitter experience, especially in the 1968 general strike, that the Stalinist leadership of the CP cannot be trusted to fight. A consistent struggle to expose the CP today can take forward the construction of a Trotskyist movement on a mass scale.

Film Lou Belkin

THE TRIAL OF THE CATONSVILLE NINE. Director, G. Thompson, producer, G. Peck, editor, A. Stelle, photography, H.E. Wexler.

"We committed this deed out of peace and decency and unity and love of God," exclaimed Father Phillip Berrigan as he described the events leading up to his and eight others' arrest

The Moral Outrage Of Middle Class Idealists

for burning draft records in Catonsville, Maryland in 1968. The *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine*, originally written as a play by Daniel Berrigan, has been adapted for the screen. Yet in spite of the difficulties in filming a theatrical event, the movie reveals the crisis of middle class radicalism which is torn apart precisely because it is incapable of coming to grips with the crisis within imperialism philosophically. Because it is rooted in subjective idealism, it not only flounders but misleads youth and workers by re-enforcing all of their illusions about capitalism.

ostensibly evoke sympathy and returns to the chorus, to handshakes, pats on the backs and compassionate gestures. The deadly seriousness of the trial itself is reduced almost to mannerism. And the basic format is underscored by the completely idealist and panegyristic character of the statements made, which are merely descriptions of "a barbaric system—soulless and corrupt" (D. Berrigan) and drenched in mysticism.

SPIRITUAL

Berrigan describes the very burning of the draft records as "a spiritual act" to symbolically counterpose the burning of records as "a way of preventing death, death by napalm, death by bombs." And for Berrigan it is not capitalism itself which is responsible for imperialist war, but "the individual greed of money hungry people and their voices in Congress and the Pentagon." Everything is reduced to a few corrupt politicians and capitalists and a few "unthinking, thick-skinned church prelates." The whole point is that Berrigan and the others argue from a moralistic point of view. They refuse to see their case as part of any political attack by the government against the working class but as "martyrs whose very conviction will justify our act." And at the end, when the guilty verdict is rendered, and after a brief sequence in which the judge wrestles with his conscience, the defendants praise and bless the blue-ribbon jury and the judge in their wisdom!

The Berrigans, Dan and Phil, were arrested along with seven other Catholic "activists" (as they call themselves) for burning draft records. All nine defendants are shown in that simulated grainy pseudo-newsreel footage, slightly tinted, removing the records, running down the stairs, throwing the records into a heap and setting it ablaze. The cops come, identify each by name and arrest them.

The courtroom resembles a stage set, the players move about not in a trial setting, but as players in an Aristotelian tragedy, and in effect the ensemble playing has about it the quality of the chorus itself, with each protagonist stepping forth reciting his lines, all of which

Unquestionably Marxists must defend the Berrigans but this defense must be rooted in the struggle of the working class. The film, while it once again points out the mockery and fraudulence of bourgeois justice, exposes the viewer to the political and philosophical bankruptcy of middle-class radicalism.



Daniel and Philip Berrigan.

A New Revolution With Jesus Freaks And Hippies

WITHOUT MARX OR JESUS. By Jean Francois Revel. American Edition 1971, 261 pages. Doubleday.

Jean Francois Revel's book is a good example of the efforts of middle class commentators trying desperately to make sense of the developing class struggle. All sorts of events and trends are seized upon for their meaning, but only to deny any implication that what is threatened is the security of the privileged layers of society. The method of reportage in *Without Marx or Jesus* is that of capitalist journalism, and Revel's political ineptness and complete confusion are blatant.

The premise of the book is that the current conditions in the United States make it the probable center for a new world revolution. But not because America lies at the center of the crisis in international capital. Nixon's nation, he claims, is characterized by its undeniable democratic nature; the freedom to dissent, the freedom to disseminate ideas and information, the inherent justice of our courts, and so forth.

All of these claims should draw an interesting response from the thousands of class prisoners in U.S. jails. Yet these virtues, questionable as they are, form the basis for Revel's conclusion.

In Revel's analysis, he repeats the worn out attacks on the Marxist movement. "The events of October 1917 in Russia were not the beginning, and cannot become the model, of world wide socialist

revolution." Instead, he lumps Martin Luther King, hippies, and the Jesus freaks into a new bag for revolution. His talk of "economic equality" and the "abolition of social classes" is very unconvincing.

CRUDE

"Neither Lenin, if had lived, nor Trotsky, had he remained in power would have acted any differently than Stalin." This is the type of crude, ahistorical speculation with which we must deal in this volume.

The hostility to the method of Lenin and Trotsky is accompanied by a hostility to the working class itself. "The white working class, on the whole, is conservative; the business world favors reform; the federal government, for the past 20 years, has been on the side of Blacks and against local racism." Revel's absurdity knows no boundaries.

He labels the people who produce all of the world's wealth "conservative" because he does not want to have the rug pulled from under his own "progressive" middle class. He fears the movement of the working class internationally, and simply writes it off as not happening.

In reality, Revel expresses a fear of revolution, which is the worst of alternatives because of what it means to the privileges of the bourgeoisie. But the working class is fighting for its survival. Of the attacks on the international working class, Revel has nothing to say.

His attempt to make sense out of the world through superficial observation has resulted in a book that is hopelessly dated less than a year after the release of the American edition. Several reviewers believed the book would stir up controversy immediately after publication.

But *Without Marx or Jesus* already gathers dust on bookshelves throughout the land. The book represents one of a thousand such useless commentaries on society. As a study in comparative analysis (France vs. America), it sheds virtually no light.

Gary Rawls Books



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 final part of a series on where Wallace really stands.

George Wallace represents the greatest danger faced by American workers today. Backed by the most right-wing and labor-hating sections of big business, his program is the destruction of the trade unions and the smashing of the living standards and rights of the working class.

Within his movement can be found incipient fascist formations that will soon emerge as actual shock troops against workers and their organizations.

In spite of all his demagogic claims about being a friend of the working class, Wallace is its greatest enemy. In Alabama, where he has had ample time to show where he really stands in relation to the labor movement, Wallace has ruled in the interests of the bankers and industrialists. He has whipped up racism to weaken and head off trade unionism; he has enforced the "right-to-work" laws of the state; he has allowed elements like the Ku Klux Klan to harass union organizers and trample on the rights of workers. And he has helped big business plunder the state by ignoring the shameless corruption in which Wallace's aides and closest supporters participate.

But what has Wallace had to offer the workers of Alabama? The answer is nothing but low wages, high taxes, inadequate education, miserable housing, and all the suffering that goes with poverty.

CRISIS

However, not even the wretched conditions in Alabama tell the full story about George Wallace. He is not just another Dixiecrat who is a bit more to the right than the other Democrats.

The national campaign of George Wallace is one of the products of the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. Wallace is the up-and-coming spokesman of the corporations in a period when their owners cannot give an inch to the working class. The break-up of the Democratic Party represents the end of the era of class compromise that was built on the basis of a boom financed by paper dollars.

Big business is turning to George Wallace with the demand that he impose upon American workers a program even more vicious than the one he has fought for in Alabama. It is with Wallace at the helm that business is making the first moves toward the establishment of a dictatorial regime that would break the back of the labor movement.

Faced with this serious threat, every worker must now look for a way to fight and defeat George Wallace.

LABOR PARTY

It is the position of the Workers League that this fight requires nothing less than a break with the Democrats and the immediate construction of a Labor Party for the 1972 elections.

The building of a labor party based on the trade unions is the only way workers can fight politically for a socialist program that is in their interests, rather than in those of the corporations. As long as the working class remains tied to the Democrats, it cannot fight the Pay Board, unemployment, speed-ups and the government's strikebreaking. For these policies are required by the corporations—and it is the corporations that control the Democrats.

BUREAUCRACY

The leadership of the trade unions does not see things this way. Living splendidly with high salaries, the labor bureaucrats do not want to break with the Democrats and the corporations. It is for this reason that the trade union bureaucrats have been completely unable to stop George Wallace.

In primary after primary this year, Wallace has racked up enormous vote totals, and in a number of states actually won. He consistently out-poled the candidates endorsed by the labor bureaucrats—Muskie, Humphrey and McGovern. In Michigan, the back porch of the United Auto Workers, Wallace came out on top. He spent several hours in Pennsylvania, and nearly beat Hubert Humphrey, whom the Abel leadership of the Steelworkers has supported.

Much of Wallace's support came from the working class itself; but the responsibility for this dangerous disorientation lies not with the ranks but with the bureaucrats. Disgusted with the bankrupt Democrats who can provide no alternative to Nixon and the steady attacks on their standard of living, workers voted for Wallace whose demagogic attacks on the corporations and high taxes mask his own bitterly anti-labor positions.

It has been the leadership of the trade union movement—the Meanys and the Woodcocks—that has refused to mobilize the working class politically against the attacks of the government and against Wallace. Basing their politics on the ability of the capitalists to make concessions to the workers, the bureaucrats are totally paralyzed by the new situations. They know full well that Wallace is out to destroy the unions, but they will not do what it takes to stop him—build a labor party—unless the ranks force them.

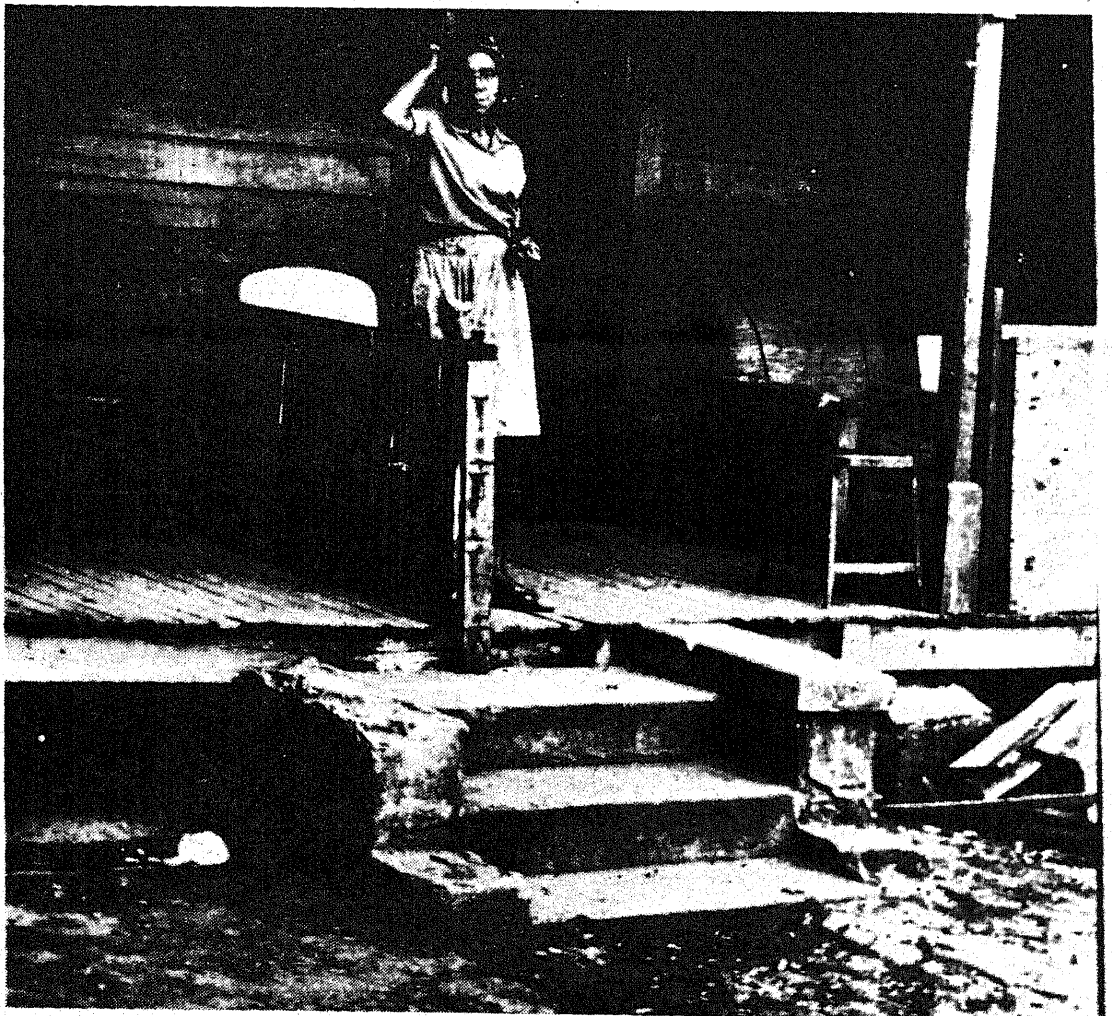
ALABAMA AFL-CIO

Before we review the treacherous role of the labor leadership in the primaries, it would be worthwhile to examine how the labor bureaucracy of the Alabama AFL-CIO has dealt with Wallace. In Wallace's home state, the State Labor Council leadership is somewhat proud of its longstanding "opposition" to Wallace.

To be sure, the Labor Council was forced into its position by the fact that Wallace advocated



How American Labor Must Fight Wallace



union-busting and used his highway patrol to carry out the assignment. It was often unsafe for a union organizer to drive on the highways of Alabama. Barney Weeks, president of the state AFL-CIO, was harassed by state troopers.

In 1970, when Wallace sought to regain the governorship from Albert Brewer (who had entered the office upon the death of Lurleen Wallace in 1968), the state AFL-CIO began a massive publicity campaign against Wallace. Leaflets were circulated throughout Alabama that advertised the Wallace record and demonstrated that he is anti-labor. By comparison to what the entire AFL-CIO is doing in 1972 to stop Wallace, the efforts of the Alabama union leadership appear formidable.

But, in fact, the Alabama bureaucrats—like George Meany today—could not fight Wallace and defeat him, because the alternative they proposed was no

one other than Albert Brewer. This man shared enough of Wallace's views to have been Lurleen Wallace's lieutenant governor!

Although the Alabama Democratic Party is controlled by white supremacists and the most reactionary sections of big business, the labor movement is tied to it. When this reporter walked into the headquarters of the State Labor Council in Birmingham, he saw Democratic Party literature lying in the reception room for distribution. One of the men who had the endorsement of the AFL-CIO stressed in his brochure (entitled "Now Is The Time For Action") his close relations with Wallace.

The "progressive" bureaucrats of Alabama explain that they are far to the left of the ranks, and that, we were constantly told, is the reason why Wallace had stymied the attempts of the labor leadership. One bureaucrat who advanced this argument with

considerable vehemence is the president of the UAW aerospace local that has lost one-third of its membership during the past 18 months through layoffs.

He told the Bulletin that in 1970 he told his local's members that the UAW in Alabama was supporting Brewer over Wallace. "One of the men tried to speak in favor of Wallace," he explained, "and I ruled him out of order."

What this self-satisfied bureaucrat could not understand was that in Alabama, a Wallace cannot be fought with a Brewer. When Wallace, sensing the danger of defeat, made race the central theme of his campaign and warned that Black workers would steal the jobs of white workers, the bureaucracy could not deal with the question of racism and unemployment in a manner that would expose Wallace. It could not point out that under the Democrats and Republicans there was no way to stop unemployment, because



Where Wallace Really Stands

both parties served only the corporations.

It should be noted that when the discussion with this UAW president shifted to the question of job cuts in his plant, he said that nothing could be done about those cuts because the corporation has been losing money. This year he is supporting Hubert Humphrey, and does not think there is any need for a labor party.

Since 1970, whatever fight that the state AFL-CIO had taken up against Wallace has been abandoned. During the past year, in preparation for his campaign for the presidential nomination, Wallace has been more tactful to the trade union bureaucracy while not shifting one inch on his hostility to the rank-and-file. "We're getting along now," said one labor leader in Alabama who asked not to be identified, "and I don't want anything to mess that up."

This same bureaucrat, who is

now following a policy of peaceful coexistence, admitted that if Wallace were president: "There would be some sort of fascist-like set-up in this country."

Alabama only reflects on a small scale the total collapse of resistance by the national AFL-CIO and other major unions to Wallace. The labor bureaucracy has stood by as if paralyzed as Wallace swept through state after state.

It would not be an exaggeration to state that the leadership of the labor movement does not have any sort of strategy to defeat Wallace. Its criminal complacency has left American workers exposed to the most dangerous attacks.

This year, the AFL-CIO has not even taken the elemental step of exposing the Wallace record. Two page-long memos from COPE, the educational department of the AFL-CIO, is about the extent of the anti-Wallace campaign. The bureaucrats have

also released a film on Wallace that supposedly "proves" that the Alabama Governor "spoiled" Humphrey's chances for the presidency in 1968. Considering how the rank-and-file feel about Humphrey and the Democrats in general, this film is not going to make a big impression upon anyone.

The inability of the bureaucracy to defend the ranks was exposed most clearly in Michigan. Wallace entered the state and openly attacked the leadership of the UAW, suggesting that the ranks would do better for themselves if they quit the union. Woodcock, president of the UAW, could not even reply to this attack except with a clumsy jest about being skilled at selling out the ranks.

At the UAW Convention, which took place a little more than a week before the Michigan primary, a rank-and-file opposition exposed the role of the Woodcock leadership in abetting the

rise of Wallace. Pete Kelly, co-chairman of the United National Caucus who called for a labor party at the Convention, said in his nominating speech for an opponent of Woodcock:

"There is a strange air of unreality about this convention. There is a gap between the shops and the convention which is symbolized by a problem that has never even been raised at this convention, that is, that a great many UAW members are going to vote for a man that is openly anti-labor, George Wallace.

"This arises from the same reasons that working people are disgusted with the war, inflation, unemployment. They are disgusted with the Democratic and Republican parties. We don't have the alternative that the Canadian workers have—of their own party and that is what we need."

The most damning evidence against the bureaucracy was the vote total in the Michigan primary. The UAW supported McGovern and Humphrey, and the votes of the two Democrats combined did not equal that of Wallace.

From the inability to stop Wallace flowed the next tactic of the bureaucracy: complete capitulation and support to Wallace. Two weeks after Wallace won the Michigan primary, the Black president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, Tom Turner, openly proposed in a public press conference that Wallace be nominated as the Democratic Party vice-presidential candidate on a ticket led by Hubert Humphrey.

Turner added that:

"If Senator McGovern should be the Presidential nominee out of the convention, the only way I could see of McGovern winning is to have a guy such as George Wallace as his running mate, which could go on to defeat Richard Nixon. And that's the name of the game—defeating Richard Nixon in November."

For the flabby trade union bureaucrats who do nothing but live off the dues of the rank-and-file, the Wallace campaign is only part of an election year "game."

But for the working class, the momentous developments are deadly serious business. The Wallace candidacy is a blow aimed at the life of every worker in this country. Wallace is not to be trifled with.

All the bureaucracy's talk about being ahead of the ranks in their understanding of Wallace is nothing but rubbish designed to justify its own refusal to break with the Democrats.

This is a period when great changes are taking place in the thinking of the working class. Only in the past few weeks we have seen powerful examples of the new way in which American workers are moving against the capitalists. Within a period of two weeks in June, 20,000 hospital workers demonstrated in New York against the attacks on the working conditions, 50,000 construction workers and trade unionists in all sections of industry marched in the midst of a hurricane to fight union-busting in Pennsylvania and 20,000 construction workers massed in Boston against unemployment.

The working class is not merely frustrated with the Democrats, but it is looking for a way forward. It is prepared to fight the attacks on the unions and defend all its hard-won gains. The American working class is about the most combative in the world. It has fought and won battles against powerful corporations even under the most unfavorable conditions. In the

midst of the depression, with millions unemployed, American workers constructed almost overnight the CIO.

It is these developments in the working class that pose with great urgency the question of a new leadership. The trade union bureaucracy plays the role today of seeking to hold the ranks back, to keep them submissive to the corporations—even at the expense of destroying the unions. This is the meaning of the bureaucracy's hostility to the labor party and the collapse before Wallace.

Last February, in an interview with U.S. News and World Report, George Meany said that American workers would never have their own party. He said:

"And if we set up our own political party, we'd be telling this country that we're ready to run the Government, and I don't think we're ready—I don't think we're qualified to run the Government. I don't think any special interest group is qualified to run the Government. I don't think General Motors should run the Government, and I don't think the AFL-CIO should run the Government."

Meany is talking nonsense when he says that GM is not running the country along with the rest of the monopolies. But he is correct when he says that the building of a labor party would mean that the working class is raising the question of taking power in its own interests and putting forward an alternative to the bankruptcy and destruction of capitalism.

The building of a labor party would not only clarify the real political questions facing the working class, but it would also give workers a real chance to do something about them. Wallace's solution to the crisis of capitalism is the impoverishment of the working class. The solution that would be put forward by a labor party pledged to socialist policies would be the nationalization of the industries in the hands of the working class in order to develop in a progressive manner the productive resources of society.

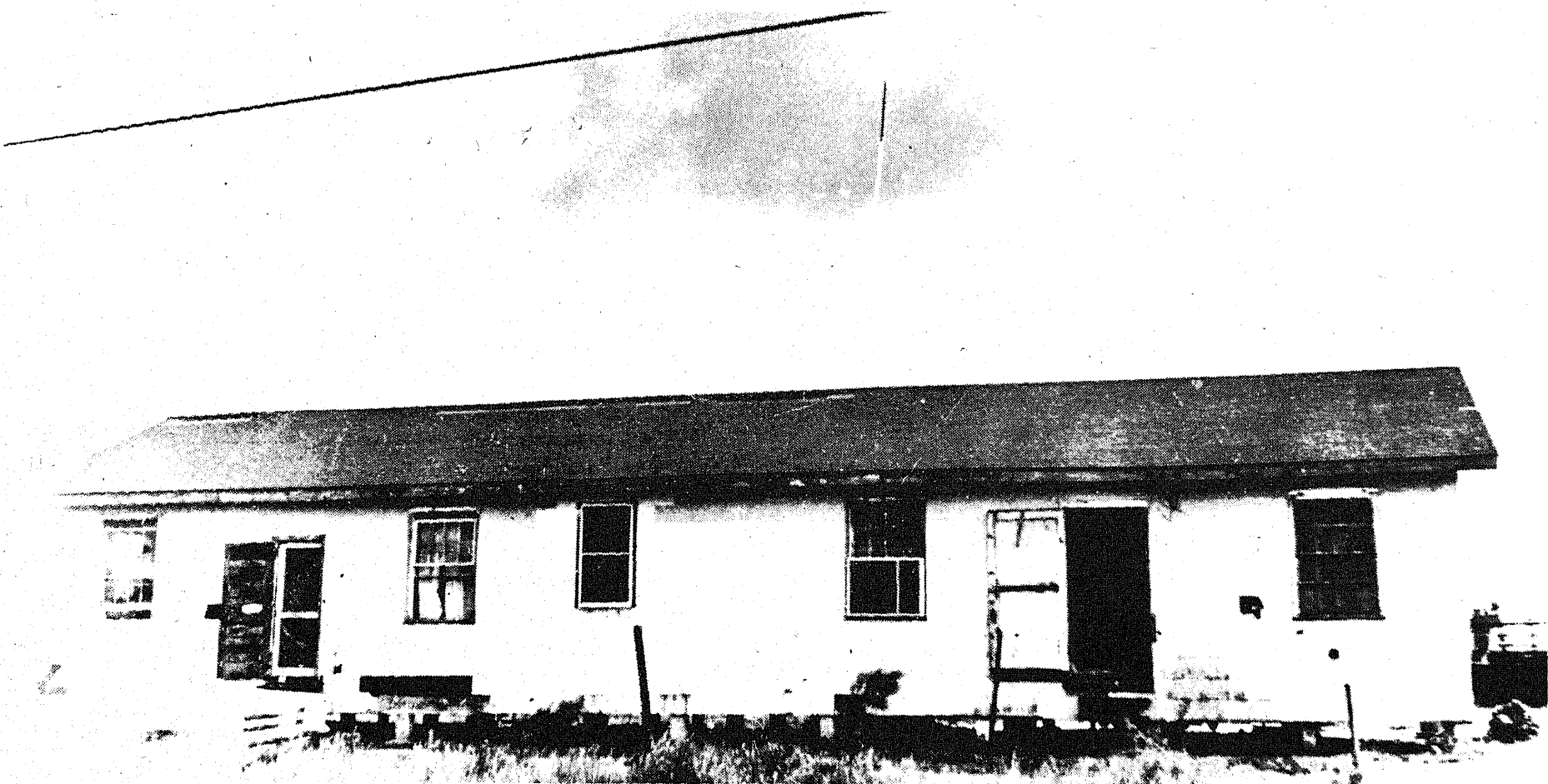
In the past, all the great historic advances made by the working class have come about not merely through the spontaneous movement of the working class, but through the conscious direction given to that movement by the intervention of socialists.

At every critical juncture, the working class has turned to the socialist movement to break beyond the limits that their traditional, conservative and bureaucratic leadership sought to impose. In the Pullman strike of 1892, in the steel strike of 1919, in the sit-down strikes of 1937-38 that forged the CIO, socialists stood in the forefront.

And in the fight for a labor party, the same holds true. The objective historical situation has created the conditions in which a break by the working class with the politicians of big business is not only necessary but also possible. The growth of the Wallace movement has shown all the dangers of further delay. But it requires the struggle of the Marxist movement to build a leadership in the unions and among the youth that can actually force a break to take place and make that new labor party fight for socialism.

It is the struggle for the labor party that the Workers League is leading, and it is through this struggle that the decisive answer to the politics of George Wallace and the corporations will be given.

Florida Growers Revive Slave System



Farmworkers are forced to work as virtual slaves for growers in Florida and live in inhuman conditions.

BY B. McKAY

TAMPA—With the recent indictments of crew leaders and foremen at two Florida labor camps for violating the anti-slavery provision of the U.S. Constitution, the brutal exploitation and inhuman living conditions faced by most farm workers were all too briefly exposed.

Near Ruskin, 20 miles south of here, crew leader Walter Taylor Jr. and five of his foremen were arrested June 13 by the FBI on an indictment charging them with holding workers in bondage. In Putnam County near Jacksonville, crew leader Willie Charles Simmons was arrested on a similar indictment returned by a federal Grand Jury investigating migrant labor conditions in Florida.

This investigation is not part of a government campaign to alleviate the conditions of virtual slavery faced by nearly all farm workers here. On the contrary, it is merely designed to provide a few sacrificial offerings to hide the continued widespread existence of such conditions.

TARGETS

It is not the growers—increasingly dominated by the conglomerate giants of finance capital—who were the targets of these indictments but rather the crew leaders and camp foremen: the paymasters and drill sergeants.

The crew leaders hire workers, contract with various growers as they criss-cross the country in search of work, then pay their workers part of whatever is paid

them by the growers.

The grower simply pays the crew leader the piece rate wages earned by his workers and ends up in the comfortable position of having no legal responsibility for the workers, although he may provide quarters on his own property for the crew leader to set up a camp for the workers and their families.

The crew leader is responsible for providing food and housing and other necessities, as well as transportation for his workers, and this comes out of their wages. Inflated prices are often charged for food, liquor and cigarettes by the crew leader so he can keep a larger share of his workers' wages for himself, and many workers are told they actually are in debt to the "boss man" as a device to keep them tied to his crew.

SUPER-EXPLOITATION

This degrading system is not a product of individual crew leaders but of the capitalist system which uses the migrant labor system to support conditions of super-exploitation unheard of since the sweat shops of the 19th century.

The crew leader himself enjoys a standard of living only slightly higher than that of his workers and is forced by the system to wrestle as much as possible away from them in order to maintain it. He becomes the slave driver of the capitalists and is often driven to trickery and physical brutality to keep as many workers as possible under his command.

John Bryant was one of Walter Taylor's workers for eight months as his crew of 40 workers followed the crops through Virginia, South Carolina and Flo-

"I was a slave. I'd like to cry to myself some of those nights, especially after getting a beating," he said. "I didn't have any decent clothes. Couldn't leave the camp. If you managed to get away, he found you. It was just like being a slave."

He says he tried to escape six times but was caught each time and beaten to a pulp: "When he hit you, you hit the ground. One time he hit me with a tree limb. I ran. Then he got my friend Tramp and beat him with a 2 inch iron pipe."

PRICE

Bryant had paid a high price to the capitalist class even before joining Taylor's crew, having lost his hand several years ago in a factory accident. This puts him at a tremendous disadvantage now in a system where the worth of a man's labor is measured by how fast he picks.

He says that when he was with Taylor's crew, he was paid three dollars a week and given two bottles of cheap wine, as workers in most camps are, to dull their minds when they aren't working. Taylor also allotted each worker two packs of cigarette butts per week at 75¢ a pack.

Bryant now works in a camp where he is free from the physical violence he formerly suffered under and he now makes \$70-80 per week, but while he seems to be satisfied, it is only because he has become accustomed to a way of life which seems to swallow you whole and offers no escape.

INHUMAN

Bryant, in fact, like most farm workers, still faces inhuman living conditions and a future which is indeed a dead end.

He is no exception, and most farm workers face similar conditions, whether they live in a migrant camp, a grower's camp or in a rural ghetto. Not only is their wage actually far below the official minimum—Bryant works 60-80 hours for his \$70-80 but is paid only for the time actually spent picking tomatoes—but housing is almost always a travesty of building codes and frequently lacks water, electricity

or sanitary facilities.

Many migrant camps are makeshift affairs, with a busload of workers and their families packed into whatever shelter is available. And on the road, the rickety buses themselves more often than not serve as their only living quarters.

This Bulletin reporter saw one camp in the Ruskin area, not Taylor's Sun City School camp, but another untouched by the forces of "law and order"—where about 40 migrant tomato pickers and their families were crowded together in a ramshackle building about 10 by 30 feet which appeared to have originally served as a produce storage shed.

A grower supervised as they moved in a few old mattresses. Belongings were scattered among trash, and there was obviously no running water or electricity, and only a makeshift outhouse.

Our entry was blocked by a tall barbed wire fence and a gate almost obscured by the two huge "No Trespassing" signs on each side, as well as by the grower and crew leader who were not anxious to have the workers talk to anyone, much less let any outsider view the inside of the camp.

Father Antonio Diaz, a Catholic priest in Ruskin who has been waging a one man battle against conditions in the migrant camps, told the Bulletin in an interview that the Taylor camp was no different than many others:

"There are camps that are worse, much worse. None of them meet even the most minimal health standards. No sanitation. Nothing. I go to the Health Department about these all the time, but no action. They won't lift a finger to do anything about the problem. None of these places operate according to state regulations, but they are still open, because the growers have power."

Diaz said his only reaction to the arrests was surprise that anything at all had been done. His own efforts to alleviate conditions faced by migrants in the area have won him little but the enmity of the growers and nu-

merous threats on his life.

"They hate me. They hate me with a vengeance," he said. "They fight every improvement. They treat the migrants like cattle, and they don't want that changed. I've been here for six years, and yet not one person has offered to help. They're afraid. I'm told there is a price on my head."

The growers increasingly fear the movement of farm workers and are prepared to crush anything which threatens to upset the system which allows them to reap superprofits from the misery of farm workers.

Union organizers face harassment, threats and physical violence from the growers themselves, as well as crew leaders who fear an end to their role in the system. And the growers are preparing to bring the full weight of the government against the union with "right to work" laws, anti-strike laws, anti-boycott laws, injunctions, jailings and ultimately, that "armed body of men" which comprises the basis of the capitalist state.

Under cover of programs and promises to raise the living standards of a small minority of farm workers, the growers are preparing to drive their living standard even lower to compete with rising imports of fruits and vegetables.

Fifty to 75 percent of the tomato pickers in the Ruskin area, as well as other areas of the state, for example, face the complete loss of their livelihoods in the immediate future due to the development of an inexpensive semi-harvester for tomatoes.

"With the help of the machine, 12 to 14 men can harvest 30 tons of tomatoes daily, a task that normally requires 30 to 40 workers," according to a University of Florida news release which cynically tells growers they must "cope with rising foreign competition."

The brutality suffered by John Bryant, the conditions faced by almost all farm workers, serve really as a warning for the entire working class, for they provide a glimpse of what the capitalist class has in store for all workers.



Women from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 125 raised money at Conn. AFL-CIO Convention to help their strike. They have been on strike in El Paso, Texas since May 1st.

Conn. AFL-CIO Leaders Cut Labor Party Debate

BY SHEILA BREHM

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Connecticut is “an economic disaster area” charged John Driscoll, President of the State Labor Council AFL-CIO at last week’s convention. He said the state and national policies of the government have created a situation for organized labor that is “beyond comprehension.”

The many plant closures and cutbacks have pushed Connecticut’s unemployment rate up to the second highest in the country. There are an estimated 180,000 people unemployed, according to Driscoll.

Faced with these nearly intolerable conditions for thousands of Connecticut workers, the AFL-CIO convention was moved up three months to “gear up its efforts” for the national election in November.

“DUMP NIXON”

The strategy of the top AFL-CIO leaders was most clearly expressed by William Winpisinger, vice-president of the IAM and a former member of the Pay Board.

In his keynote address, he stated:

“Dumping Nixon is the main target. And I don’t care who the Democrats nominate—they can nominate the devil and I’ll vote for him.”

INTENTION

The intention of the convention leaders was to whip up support for the Democratic Party, and leave the door wide open for Wallace. Who else is the “devil” but Wallace. This candidate, that poses the gravest danger to the union movement, was virtually not even mentioned during the entire three day convention.

No reference was made to any of the Democratic contenders in particular, in an attempt to avoid a clash between the few delegates wearing Wallace buttons, and to cover over the growing hatred for the Democratic Party itself, that was expressed by several delegates outside the convention hall. An IAM delegate said:

CRISIS

“Sure I’d be for a labor party. We don’t want Nixon, and that McGovern couldn’t carry out those reforms even if he wanted

to—and he probably knows it.”

Reflecting the crisis in the labor leadership, Driscoll, one of the seven labor delegates to the Democratic National Convention, did not state which candidate he was supporting, nor did the convention discuss or endorse any candidate.

LABOR PARTY

Although this crisis was being averted, and on the surface all seemed to be going well, the hornet’s nest was nearly opened up when Tim Craine, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and a delegate from Local 933 of the New Haven Federation of Teachers, called on the convention to launch a labor party as an amendment to the COPE resolution. The thrust of the COPE resolution was to mobilize union support for candidates in either party most sympathetic to labor.

The convention leaders were visibly shaken by Craine’s amendment and Joseph Bober, Secretary-Treasurer, immediately took the floor to say:

“I am opposed to an independent labor party. We must work within the system. I would en-

courage no one to think of a labor party. (emphasis added—SB)

FAVORABLE

It was precisely because many of the delegates, unlike last year, were favorable to the labor party, that Bober pleaded with them not to think about it. Discussion was cut off after a delegate from Yale’s Local 35, Hotel, Bar and Restaurant Workers said:

“I think we should support either the Democrats or Republicans—or if it becomes necessary—independent people, run independently. As long as they show they’re going to do something for the people of America, not just for the rich and industry men.”

CRITICAL

It was at this critical point in the convention when all the central issues facing labor were raised that Craine dropped the fight for the labor party and did not even demand a vote on his amendment that had been seconded. Thus the COPE resolution was allowed to be steamrolled through.

Tim Wohlforth Speaks At New Haven Meeting

BY KATHY STOWE

NEW HAVEN—On Wednesday evening, June 28, the Workers League held a meeting here around the fight for a labor party.

The meeting took place at the same time as the Connecticut State Convention of the AFL-CIO, as part of the campaign the Workers League is now launching to fight for the construction of a labor party for the 1972 elections.

DISCUSSION

What was central in both the two speakers’ presentations and the discussion that followed was a struggle for an understanding of the objective movement of the working class in this period and the necessity of building a new leadership within that move-

ment.

Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the Bulletin spoke on the St. Louis Labor for Peace Conference. Fried brought out the struggle for leadership posed in that conference through the conflict between the militancy of the ranks and the attempts of the union bureaucracy to channel it into support for labor-hater McGovern.

CP

In this the bureaucracy was fully supported by the Stalinist

Editor’s Notebook

Good Move, Spassky

It is about time that Bobby Fischer got his due—thanks to Boris Spassky, the Soviet chess champion. When Fischer refused to show up personally for the drawing of lots for the beginning of the World Championship chess match in Iceland, his insults had gone too far.

Spassky refused to take part in the lot drawing and issued a statement condemning Fischer’s conduct as an insult to himself and the Soviet Union.

Fischer’s welcome had been worn very thin. Because of his protests, the world championship was moved thousands of miles and postponed many a time. The match was finally scheduled to begin on

Sunday but Fischer refused to show unless the purse was upped. When a British millionaire doubled it to \$250,000, Fischer went to Iceland and went to sleep in a hotel claiming his “biological clock was not adjusted.”

This is not the first experience with Fischer’s spoiled brat antics: On numerous occasions he has refused to play because the lighting was not right, or the table too highly polished.

It appears that Fischer, despite his great talents, has taken on all the attributes of the ruling class of the country he represents—all its arrogance; money-grubbing and “individualism.”

A Memo From ITT

International Telephone and Telegraph, one of the world’s largest conglomerates which controls a bit of everything all over the globe, is angry at Nixon for dragging his feet on Chile. And unless the CIA is allowed to overthrow President Allende very soon, last year’s \$400,000 will be the last birthday present Nixon ever gets from ITT.

Information has come to light that shows that ITT has been insisting for the last two years that the United States engineer a right-wing coup in Chile. Back in 1970, 10 days before the inauguration of Allende, William R. Merriam, an ITT vice president, informed Henry Kissinger that “the present moment is a most expedient time to strengthen and reappraise U.S. policy in Latin America.”

Kissinger, in reply, assured ITT that “it is very helpful to have your thoughts and recommendations, and we shall certainly take them into account.”

A year passed and ITT’s Chilean Telephone Company was expropriated. Merriam was livid with rage and he dashed a memo out to Peter G. Peterson, Nixon’s adviser on international economic affairs. He outlined an 18 point plan that would make sure that Allende “does not get through the crucial next six months.”

Dated October 1, 1971, Merriam’s “Dear Pete” letter declared: “We believe the United States Government should take every action which will bring President

Allende’s regime to the realization that his Marxist methods are incompatible with international practices, and inform him that he is to be held responsible for action against U.S. private enterprise.”

Apparently, from the information contained in the memo, ITT had already laid the groundwork for a coup. Merriam happily noted that in Chile “there is a beginning of concern on the part of the military,” and added that “there are also signs of anxiety within the Chilean navy, which traditionally is quite an elite group.”

Merriam then proposed a strategy for Nixon in a section of the memo entitled “Action.”

Along with deliberate economic sabotage, ITT suggested that the United States: 1) “Discuss with the CIA how it can assist in the six-month squeeze. 2) “Get to reliable sources within the Chilean military.”

Nixon went along with ITT’s suggestion to deprive Chile of international credit from the Export-Import Bank, the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank. As for the other plans for a coup, the government is still waiting for the most favorable moment.

There is nothing unusual about the ITT memo, except for the fact that clumsy record keeping has made it possible for the working class to have a tiny peek into the manner the corporations and the government go about defending the so-called “Free World.”

American Communist Party and all centrist currents within the workers movement. The Workers League alone was in the forefront of the conscious struggle for the building of that labor party which all these tendencies oppose.

LABOR PARTY

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, spoke of the recent developments in the trade unions and the necessity for the formation of a labor party to defend all the rights and gains of the American working class at this point. He called for the coming forward of the American working class politically as an answer to the attacks of the government on

the unions.

Discussion followed, focusing on the bankruptcy of nationalism and all leadership that, through utilizing the philosophy of the employers, base themselves on acceptance of capitalism and its divisions and thus defense for its continuation. Wohlforth brought out the essence of the Workers League’s fight for the labor party when he stated that any political route outside the revolutionary party and the fight for Marxism could lead nowhere but to support the enemy class.

The fight to bring a socialist consciousness and leadership into the new movement of the working class was the center of the meeting and of the Workers League fight for the labor party.

LABOR PARTY WINS BIG VOTE AT TUAD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

gerald, for the formation of a labor party.

It was the question of the labor party, despite every attempt of the TUAD organizers to prevent it from coming to the floor, that was thrust to the fore of this conference and dominated everything.

The centrists led by the Labor Committee sought to divert the struggle away from this question and thus bail out the Stalinists. At the beginning of the conference, members of the Labor Committee were excluded from the conference because they were not trade unionists and because they were on a list of those the TUAD said had disrupted TUAD activities in the past. Those who had been excluded in the morning set up a picket line outside the conference.

Those members of the Labor Committee who were admitted as delegates to the conference only verified the disruptive charges of the organizers by storming the stage in the morning session. After numerous scuffles, they were removed from the meeting and joined the others on the picket line. Their actions reflected Labor Committee's middle class and anti-communist position against the labor movement.

The TUAD organizers used the action of the Labor Committee as an excuse to attack the supporters of the fight for the labor party at this conference. In the morning before the conference began two delegates from the Social Service Employees Union

371 Committee for a New Leadership were excluded from the conference. Delegates in the discussion on the rules of the conference opposed this making it clear that the delegates from the CNL were being excluded because they were fighting for the labor party.

When the vote came on the general rules for the conference, they narrowly passed by a vote of 73-64. The chairman attempted to use the total number voting 137, as the figure for the vote in favor on the rules.

Throughout the conference the leadership sought to slander the delegates who fought for the labor party by linking them to the actions of the Labor Committee and amalgamated the Workers League and Trotskyism with these centrists.

On Sunday, after attending the sessions the day before, five delegates and the Labor Editor of the Bulletin, Dan Fried, were prevented from entering the conference. This attempt by the supporters of the CP to exclude these delegates failed. Trade unionists at the conference including Barbara Merrill, head of the Chicago SSEU, Jack Spiegel, official of the United Shoe Workers, Terry Harlacher of the New York SSEU-371 and Norman Roth, Local 6 of the UAW, although they did not agree with the politics of the delegates who had been excluded, fought for their right to attend the conference and be heard.

The TUAD leaders fought the demand for the labor party in two ways which itself revealed the crisis they confronted politically

at this conference. First, was the attempt to say that they agreed wholeheartedly with this demand, but that this was not the time. They claimed that the task before labor now was to support McGovern. This was expressed in the keynote speech by Fred Gaboury who said:

"Labor needs a political party which stands four square for the kind of program we are offering. We need a party which will work with all the oppressed and exploited groups.

"Only this type of party can represent the interests of the 95 percent of the people who are unrepresented by the Democratic and Republican parties, both of which are financed and run by the bosses.

"I sure wish we had such a party in the 1972 elections. But we don't, and it ain't gonna come overnight. We have seen too many aborted third parties come and go..."

What Gaboury proposed was to put pressure on McGovern to "prevent further McGovern retreats" and to keep him "honest."

The second line of attack was expressed in the remarks of Ernie DeMaio, Vice President of U.E. When he was asked from the floor during a panel discussion what he thought of UE head Fitzgerald's call for the labor party, DeMaio sought to discredit it by saying that Fitzgerald had been the head of the committee for Henry Wallace in the 1940's and that movement failed.

Using the failure of labor to create a party before, a result

really of the joint efforts of the CP and the labor bureaucracy, they say that this party cannot be created today.

Despite every attempt by the TUAD leadership and the CP supporters to separate the struggle against the attacks of the government on the unions, the struggle against racism and Wallace, the fight against the wage freeze and the war from the independent political struggle of labor and the formation of the labor party, this was brought to the very center of the conference as it had to be.

It is the crisis which has exploded since Nixon's August 15th decisions and the attacks by the government which followed it that makes every single struggle of American workers on wages, unemployment and conditions objectively political. This was consciously brought into the conference by the supporters of the Workers League and was the center of the conflict at this conference.

The conference organizers had made a decision to prevent the resolution on the labor party from being raised at the panels in the afternoon on racism and Wallace, the wage freeze and the war. While the leaders of the panels on racism and the wage freeze prevented the resolution from being raised, it was the center of all the discussion.

At the panel on the war, support for the labor party was so strong that the chairman was forced to call for a vote on it. The discussion at this panel opened by the presentation of a resolution calling for TUAD to adopt and implement the statement of purpose and organizational structure adopted at the Labor for Peace conference in St. Louis.

A delegate from the SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership read the resolution calling for the labor party. She was stopped midway but the chairman was forced to let her continue when she explained,

"The labor party has a direct relationship to the war. The fight against the war is a political question. It is a war of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The war cannot be ended by either of them. The keynote

speaker was wrong in urging trust in McGovern.

"War cannot be ended by pressure on Congress and the President of either party. The question of ending the war is the question of a break with the capitalist parties and labor forging a party based on the trade union movement. Such a break is underway with the call in Minneapolis for a labor party and now Albert Fitzgerald's call for such a party now."

In the heated discussion that followed, the entire panel was forced to turn around the question of the labor party. Many of those who spoke against the resolution, such as Jack Spiegel, declared themselves basically in favor of a labor party but counterposed the Labor for Peace Resolution and a one day work stoppage now.

When the vote was forced on the resolution for the labor party it was 16 for and 25 against with the CP's supporters bringing in people from other panels to vote it down.

During the report back on the panels and the discussion on these reports, this resolution was again put on the floor. In an attempt to keep the labor party out of the discussion, the chairman had to rule even the CP supporters' mention of it out of order. What was shown clearly was that all the issues facing labor could not be discussed outside of this political struggle.

After the resolution was initially presented under the report on the racism panel, the chairman prevented a vote on it by claiming that there had to be a second—even though he had not asked for it. When the resolution was again raised under the report from the end of the war panel, the TUAD leadership was forced to put it to a vote. The resolution received over 50 votes for to 70 against.

This reveals the tremendous potential for building the labor party today. As this conference makes clear, the labor party will only be built through the most bitter struggle against Stalinism in the labor movement. Only the Workers League is carrying forward this fight now to construct the labor party in 1972.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE . . .

(Continued From Page 6)

drive the youth back to the worst conditions of the 1930's. This is why everything is political.

"The working class cannot defend itself and survive without destroying the system. It must break from capitalism and actually put forward its own alternative through the construction of a socialist society.

"This means constructing a Marxist party that understands what must be done and can prepare the working class for taking power.

"This movement must be able to take the working class through a struggle, through an experience, in order to lead the socialist revolution.

"This is why the youth will play a central role. The Young Socialists must bring this socialist understanding into the working class through the fight for the labor party."

A discussion followed the reports. In response to a question about the activities of the YS in fighting for a labor party, a comrade stated that it is not only necessary for the YS to take the labor party manifesto into the trade unions, but that the YS must also organize youth around the most important questions facing them, particularly unemployment. The YS must demand that the unions take up this issue as it is the most critical one facing the working class.

It was also asked why the Workers League and the Young Socialists are the only organizations fighting in the interests of the working class.

"In breaking from Marxism," another comrade answered, "all other organizations have taken a class position. They represent the interests of the capitalists class within the working class.

"When the Stalinists in the

TUAD refuse to break from the Democrats, they are defending the privileges of the trade union bureaucracy and the interests of capitalism.

"The Workers League and Young Socialists are the only organizations that defend the history of Marxism and the Marxist movement."

"Will Meany be able to smother the labor party question?" asked another participant.

OBJECTIVE

"Because the labor party comes out of the objective situation," a comrade replied, "it cannot be simply smothered." He added that the crisis had already brought about a tremendous movement in the working class, as was shown by the declaration of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council for a labor party as well as by the massive demonstrations of workers in New York, Boston and Norristown.

"It is this movement that throws the bureaucracy into a crisis, and gives the socialist movement a great opportunity to take deep roots within the working class. Under these conditions, through the intervention of socialists, the labor party can develop quite rapidly."

A motion was then put forward by Kiki Mendez and passed for a National Conference on the labor party in 1972.

Other proposals were made for the expansion of the Bulletin up to 20,000 subscribers in the fall. This is of critical importance for the development of the work of the Young Socialists and Workers League.

A proposal was also approved to send a statement of solidarity to Juan Farinas at Danbury Penitentiary.

The meeting ended with the collection of over \$250 and with many new youth joining the YS.

1199 . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

completely destroyed.

The position of the Davis leadership has been that these workers had the right to remain in the union of their choice.

At the delegates meeting Davis announced that he "would be willing to lose them as 1199 members" but wanted guarantees that their rights would be respected within District Council 37.

Instead the Corporation has proposed that the 1500 clerical workers come in as provisional employees and that after a four or five month period they submit to a competitive exam. The goal is to eliminate 300 of these workers. It was these plans that forced Davis to announce the strike.

Many affiliation delegates explained that this reversal of policy would mean the immediate loss of many workers' jobs. They had originally been instructed by Davis not to sign any changeover papers issued by the Corporation. Now those who did not may not have a job as of July 1st.

Another delegate said: "The strike is the only weapon workers have. That is a principle. It is the only way we have ever got anything."

A delegate from Mt. Sinai hospital took the floor and said that her members were prepared to walk out independently of the leadership if necessary to win their demands.

As the line of delegates waiting to speak kept getting longer, Davis attempted to order them to sit down to close down the discussion. He was simply ignored.

POSTPONEMENT

Any postponement of the fight to destroy the Pay Board will only give Nixon time to strengthen it and prepare more repressive legislation against the unions. Davis's pious hope that the Pay Board "might drop dead or disappear" next year did not reassure the 1199 delegates.

The only way the Pay Board will be defeated is through the massive action of millions of workers. 1199 workers must demand that their leadership defy the Pay Board if it cuts their contract and fight to bring out the entire trade union movement in a united struggle to break it. They must demand that Davis withdraw his support from McGovern, and join the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council and UE President Fitzgerald for the construction of a labor party in 1972.

Bulletin Labor Series

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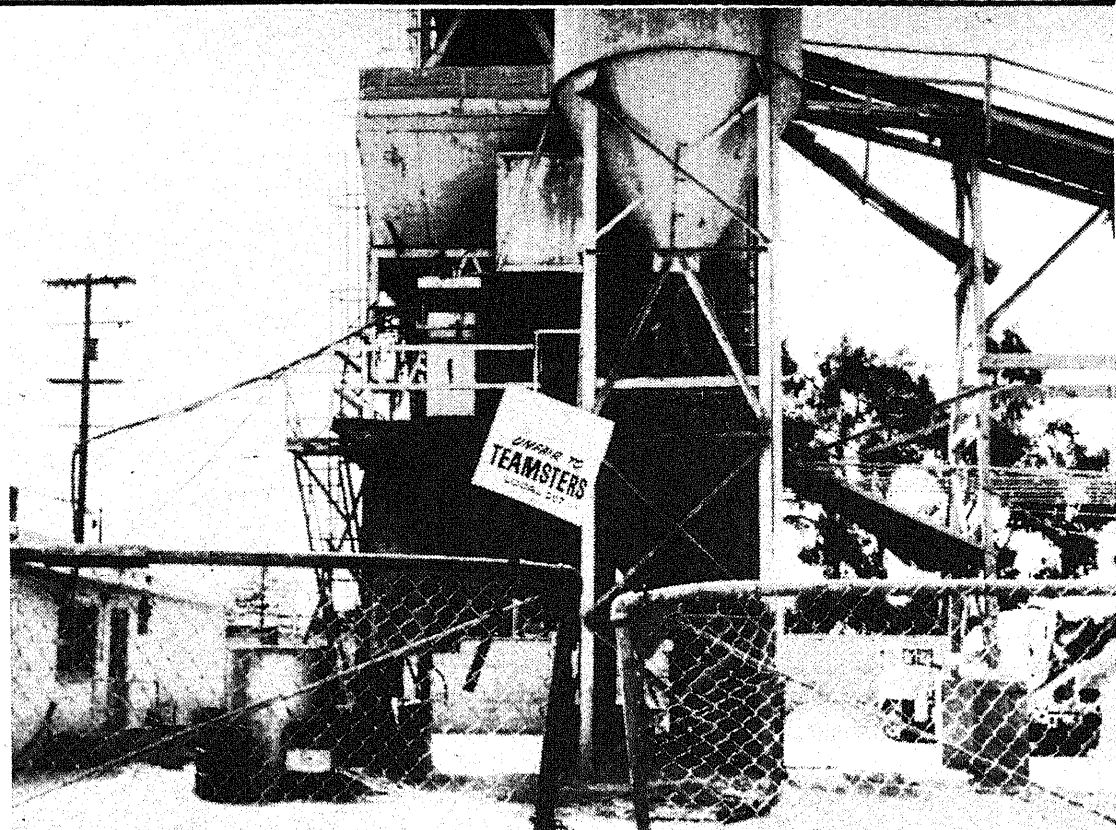
The Case For A Labor Party .25c

This pamphlet contains the basic statement of the Workers League on the fight for the labor party today and the program for that party to defeat all of the attacks by the government on the American working class. As we enter the 1972 elections with both the Democrats and Republicans making it clear that they stand with the big corporations, this pamphlet becomes the necessary weapon now for workers and youth in their fight to build the labor party now.



Order from:
Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

West Coast News



Clerical Strikers Spark United Fight In Contra Costa

BY TED BAKER

RICHMOND—Contra Costa County employees are engaged in strike action that threatens to bring in all of organized labor in the country.

Sparked by the unaffiliated United Clerical Employees (CUE), the strike now includes SEIU Locals 535 and 1 and has gotten support on the picket lines and money from the Firefighters Association and the Deputy Sheriffs Association.

SUPPORT

The strike has gained broad support from the rest of Contra Costa labor. On Friday, the Building Trade Council announced that construction throughout the county will be shut down on Monday.

The impact of the U.C. defeat in neighboring Alameda County runs deep among the striking workers. One 535 member said in relation to the building trades action: "We want to avoid what

happened at U.C.. We don't want this thing to drag on for ten weeks."

The County, well aware of the danger, has already attempted to defuse the building trade threat by announcing willingness to reopen negotiations. The strike has brought out nearly 2,000 clerical employees, hospital workers, drivers, laundry workers and social workers crippling the county.

It began as a rejection of a 3½% wage offer by CUE and has now escalated to a struggle for a contract and collective bargaining by all the unions.

SOLIDARITY

The growing awareness that this strike requires solidarity action from the rest of the labor movement marks a tremendous step forward. The ranks must fight to see to it that there is no retreat from this perspective.

Chaos Tears Apart La Raza

BY HAROLD DANFORD

LOS ANGELES, July 1—La Raza Unida Party first began in 1970. Its statewide convention held in Los Angeles was in a very different world from that of 1970.

The sharpening class struggle has thrown this middle class nationalist party into deep crisis at the very moment that it meets to launch a statewide organization. The resolutions to be brought before the convention were raised in a series of workshops.

It was in the critically important political strategy workshop that the crisis exploded. On no issue could the approximately 150 in attendance reach agreement. There was not even unanimity on what "La Raza" meant.

The resolutions themselves were purely tactical. Differences between state areas

broke out over every question and threatened to explode. The situation reached the point where participants openly attacked the convention itself.

A motion was put to abolish the committee that was to review the resolutions passed in the workshop. The leadership viciously attacked the proposers of this as "outsiders come to wreck the party." At this point a group of about twenty left to prepare their own resolutions.

Whatever resolutions are passed there is no unity in La Raza Unida. The class struggle has thrown it into chaos. The result is scepticism and disorientation. Many participants were no longer sure they could clarify differences with the Democratic Party and keep the Democrats out of the Barrio.

UNREAL

One speaker said that reality was "out there" and that the convention itself was unreal. Clearly whole sections felt that a nationalist party could no longer go forward and that they had no program around which people could

be mobilized.

The party had nothing to offer the working class, Spanish or otherwise. It dealt with none of the life and death issues of unemployment and union-busting that have already brought forward demands for a labor party from all across the country.

FORD . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

at Milpitas, with numerous cuts in different sections of the plant. Pickets have told *Bulletin* reporters of the elimination of jobs and the introduction of new machinery. For example, one striker told the *Bulletin* that several men have been cut out of the cushion department.

DEMAND

Up to this point Ford has been proceeding very cautiously, spreading the cutbacks around in order to make them as inconspicuous as possible. But the ranks must demand to know, if Ford is willing to go through an extended strike in order to defend their cuts in maintenance costs, how far are they planning to go in cutbacks and speedup on the line?

What the UAW leadership pretends to ignore is the fact that this brutal cost cutting drive in auto is the official policy of the U.S. government, backed up by the Democratic and Republican parties through the Pay Board and the courts.

One picket told the *Bulletin*: "The Pay Board is penalizing nobody but the working man. Right now the working man is breaking his back. He gets penalized everytime he tries to improve himself one iota. He feels nobody represents his interests at all."

"I say you got the right idea as far as someone who would truly represent the average guy in this country. Right. And a party, right. Because instead of being parties, the Democrats and Republicans are themselves more like Ford and General Motors."

The ranks of Local 560 must take up the lead of the rank and file caucus of Local 25 in St. Louis, which has pledged to build a new leadership in auto on the program of a national shutdown and the construction of a labor party.

Black Conferences Push Support For Democrats

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND, July 1—The Portland Black community was host to two separate conferences this weekend but the message was the same at both: survive and seek influence within the structure of capitalist politics.

The first Oregon Black Political Convention met with the stated aim of providing a platform that will "indicate the consensus of the Black people of Oregon to be presented to those persons who control the political process."

The chairman of the sponsoring group, the Oregon Black Caucus, is Dr. Lee Brown who leads the federally funded Law Enforcement Department at Portland State University and the treasurer is an attorney and local Democratic Party candidate.

What concerns these Black professionals is to "unify the 26,000 Blacks in Oregon" behind them as a base of personal power and influence to gain offices and privileges.

Behind idle talk about withholding the Black vote, they

come forward now to offer their services to the capitalist class in heading off the development of working class unity and independence.

The other meeting was the Black Community Survival Conference reflecting the politics of the Black Panther Party. This conference provided a forum for cultural nationalist students, preachers, Democratic Party politicians and Jarvis Tyner the vice presidential candidate of the CP.

Tyner was the one speaker to take up the wage freeze, unemployment and the war and received the most enthusiastic response. But his program went no farther than to call for a "people's movement" to dump Nixon. He said nothing about dumping the Democratic Party.

NBC Masks Reality Of Auto Workers Life

BY ALEX ROSSI

The vicious attacks on auto workers places the UAW at the very center of the fight to give a lead to the entire labor movement.

The explosive situation in auto now forces the ruling class to seek to prevent any qualitative development within the working class and youth by covering up the real content of the attacks on the labor movement.

This was the real meaning of "The Blue Collar Trap" nationally televised by NBC as a presentation of the lives, problems, and working attitudes of four workers at the Ford plant in Milpitas. They are all young workers who after five years of working on the assembly line have become "victims of monotony."

PROBLEMS

The four stories represent four different types of problems. The hippie youth who has problems arising from his anarchic views, hair, beard, and his parents refusal to accept him. Another auto worker and his wife have dreams of an independent life.

There is the ex-drug user who finds relief in the church but the moment this mysticism is over the real problems come back more sharply. And the Black worker, his companion and their baby, who cannot find a way out of the inhuman conditions of work and take off trying not to think about cars.

Despite a superficial relation between their lives and the conditions of work, the program consciously avoids presenting the problems of these and the 3,000 other auto

workers there as connected to their relationship to production. Instead, it presents them as within the workers' own minds which in turn affects their performance and productivity on the assembly line.

BREAKING

The conditions of work at Milpitas were at the breaking point: speed-up (51 cars per hour), no ventilation, rats and mosquitos going wild in the plant, one doctor for 4000 workers and as one worker put it, "paid by the company for what he doesn't do." When a worker visited him with chest pains he was sent back on the line where he died and the line was not even stopped.

These are the material conditions and the roots of the problem, not the psychological nonsense of "the blue collar trap." And to get out of the trap is not a psychological matter but a matter of the workers going beyond the limits of the system and taking control of the plants.

Most of the workers who saw the film were angry. "This is not what is going on," an older worker said. "I've worked here for 26 years and they didn't ask me what the conditions are like."

Another worker said: "I was foreman once and I know what the speed-up is like." One worker told us: "That film showed the good parts. It didn't show why we are on strike and made us look like a bunch of dummies for going out on strike."

Another said: "They didn't show the strike until the end. They didn't show the reasons for the strike."

West Coast News

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EDITORIAL

People's World Defends Labor Bureaucracy

Every step forward by the labor movement is now greeted with the greatest hostility and fear by the Communist Party. The Stalinist People's World has been thrown into a frenzy of outright lies, distortions and omissions in order to cover up and divert the independent movement of the working class.

Thus the defeat of the University of California Berkeley strike which involves acceptance of an indefinite freeze and destruction of construction ratings and wages is hailed by the PW as a defeat for union-busting.

The PW lines up with the Ron Dellums' and the "progressive" labor leaders who provided the pressure for the sellout precisely at the time that San Francisco strikers reject the settlement and call for a real fight to mobilize labor. While the Ford strike at Milpitas raises all the questions that are now leading to open class war at GM, the People's World is content to treat it as simply a protest against safety conditions.

Needless to say, the threat of a dock strike in Hawaii that could blow the West Coast docks situation sky high has never even received a mention. All of this, however, takes a back seat to the reporting of the St. Louis Labor for Peace conference which is hailed as "the strongest challenge yet to the pro-war policies of George Meany."

The fact that the very center of this conference was dominated by the fight for a labor party policy against the desperate maneuverings of the labor bureaucracy is not even reported. Instead the only mention of a political strategy for labor is Mrs. Martin Luther King's call for a labor endorsement for McGovern.

Even Business Week, mouthpiece of big business, is forced to conclude that this conference was dominated by the fight against the bankrupt perspectives of the labor bureaucracy and the Communist Party that defends it tooth and nail.

The People's World is even more blatant in its opportunism than its Daily World cousin on the East Coast. In its most open statement to date, the July 8 issue calls for an all-out fight to nominate McGovern on the first ballot at the Democratic Convention in order "to keep the South Dakota Senator's campaign from having to compromise to the right."

The fraudulent Hall-Tyner campaign is virtually scrapped in a statement that "the majority of young people, radicals and liberals are expected to be around working in McGovern's campaign and voting for him, if any compromise is made short of making Wallace his running mate."

If that is not clear enough, the leadership of the AFL-CIO is literally denounced as a force to the right of McGovern for its refusal to line up behind him. The obvious intent is to convince the trade union militants that a vote for labor hater McGovern is the way to fight the reactionary policies of George Meany.

The lead given by the Minneapolis Labor Council in calling for a fight for a third party based on labor is an indication of the tremendous potential for such a fight to be taken up in the labor movement on the West Coast.

The perspectives of the People's World are designed to defend the labor bureaucracy in its resistance to such a step.

U.C. Workers Reject Berkeley Settlement, Demand Labor Action

STEVE JOHNSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Striking construction and service workers at the San Francisco Medical Center today rejected the University of California Berkeley settlement and called for mass trade union action including a general strike if necessary to shut down the U.C. Medical Center.

The calls came after a stormy confrontation with Joe O'Sullivan, President of the San Francisco Building Trades Council and Jack Crowley of the San Francisco Labor Council.

O'Sullivan called the settlement "unacceptable" but refused to answer the strikers' demands for a new strategy. The University has weathered the 13 week strike by using scab tradesmen and bringing in supplies with state trucks and non-union trucking companies.

One striking worker called for "an end to union going to the University on their knees and expecting to get their demands."

Bob Georle, Business Agent of the Stationary Engineers then

demanded that: "Unless the unions are prepared to change the strategy I can only recommend that we accept the settlement and return to work."

DEMANDING

Immediately, striking workers began demanding that O'Sullivan call out his carpenters local and the rest of the unions in San Francisco to shut down the Medical Center.

O'Sullivan then attempted to adjourn the meeting but was met with shouts of opposition from the strikers that: "He wasn't going to shut them off again."

When the attempt at adjournment failed, worker after worker rose to call for mass labor solidarity and "A general shutdown to show the University that the unions will not be broken".

It was at this point that Morris Evanson of Painters Local 4 of San Francisco rose to call for a mass trade union support action on July 6 to shut down the university.

HOT SEAT

The labor bureaucracy is now on the hot seat. They face the anger of the U.C. strikers and in addition a number of contracts in S.F. which guarantee prevailing rates would be cancelled under the Berkeley formula meaning cuts for workers not directly involved in the strike.

Evanson and company must be forced to carry out their promises and mobilize massive labor action to shut down the hospital and smash U.C. union busting.

Milpitas Strikers Battle Ford Cost Cutting Plan

BY BARRY GREY

MILPITAS—With the wildcat by Local 51 in Detroit against Chrysler, the strike wave against the vicious cost cutting and productivity drive of the auto bosses is now hitting each of the big three.

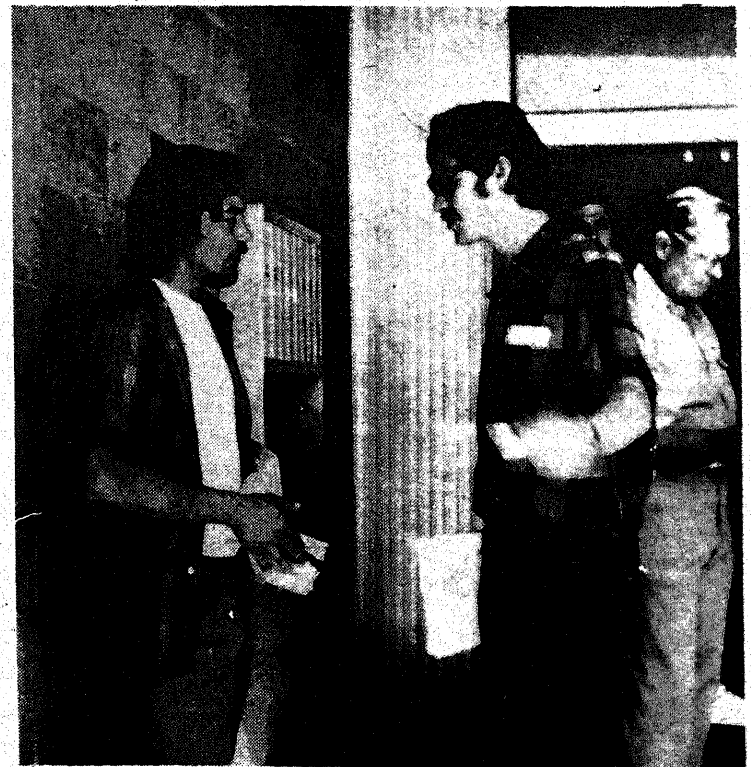
The strike at the Dodge Mound plant, over the very same issues as the three week old strike at Milpitas Ford, health and safety grievances which the company refuses to process, completely discredits the line of the Local 560 leadership that the strike here is purely a local matter.

To date, no negotiations have taken place. The local leadership continues to act as if Milpitas were on a different planet than Lordstown, Norwood, and now the Dodge Mound plant in Detroit.

In fact, they act to weaken the strike precisely at the point where Ford is beginning to hurt.

Ford dealerships in the Bay Area are screaming for Pintos, the company's hottest item. But the local leadership is obligingly allowing Ford to remove already sold stock from the lot.

What is behind these strikes is the desperate drive by the bosses to cut costs in order to compete



Bulletin reporter talks to Milpitas Ford worker about the strike.

with Europe and Japan. The Pinto is in direct competition with GM's Vega and the foreign models.

That is why Ford's cost cutting drive on non-productive costs like maintenance and upkeep, which has led to the complete deterioration of health and safety conditions in the Milpitas plant, is only the forerunner of the

visious techniques currently being implemented at Lordstown and throughout GMAD.

The recent floating of the pound and the rapid slide into full scale trade war with Europe and Japan, which must inevitably follow, means that Ford can hold off no longer.

The process has already begun

(Continued On Page 19)

Bulletin

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