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# Bulletin

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FIFTEEN CENTS

## Exclusive Interview

## USWA Head I.W. Abel Tells The Bulletin:

# "Maybe this convention will force us to have a labor party..."



I. W. Abel

BY DAVID NORTH

MIAMI BEACH—"I think we have just about reached the point to have a labor party," stated I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, in an exclusive interview with the *Bulletin* held Thursday morning.

"The Democrats take it for granted that we are going to come around and support them sooner or later," Abel told this reporter as we discussed the Democratic National Convention in his 12th floor suite in the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach.

"Who says we can't go somewhere else?" he asked.

Only hours earlier, speaking before several thousand delegates at the third evening session of the Convention, Abel brought the developing break between the labor movement and the Democratic Party into the open as he assailed the Democrats and their prospective presidential nominee, Senator George McGovern.

### ANTI-LABOR

"You may win the votes of the self-styled liberals, the anti-labor snobs, but that's not America," Abel told the delegates.

Abel addressed the Convention for just about three minutes; more than the one minute that the Democratic Party leadership had planned to give him.

"I told them that they were crazy if they thought I would just go up to the podium to take a bow," said Abel, explaining the events that led to the speech that stunned

the Convention. "I still didn't get to say all the things I planned to.

"I felt that something has to be said, and I tried to lay things on the line at the convention."

### SUPPORT

Throughout our interview, Abel was repeatedly interrupted by telephone calls from all across the

country expressing support for his denunciation of the Democrats.

I asked Abel if he thought the AFL-CIO would break all precedents and refrain from supporting the Democratic candidate.

"As of now, I would say that we will not support McGovern," he replied. "I am opposed to endorsing him."

Abel gave his reasons for suggesting that labor may bolt the Democrats and form its own party.

"Labor has been treated poorly at this convention. I am a member of the platform committee, and since the convention started, I have not been consulted about anything. That is, except when they started to talk about money.

"I don't think you can trust any of these politicians. Look, one of the delegates here used to be in the steelworkers union. When he ran for office as a Democrat, we supported him and helped him with funds. Now, except for when I get together with him and talk about old times, one wouldn't even know he had any connections with the labor movement. Sure, he has what we would consider a good voting record. But when the chips are

## Meany Comments On Labor Party

EXCLUSIVE TO THE BULLETIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Following a three hour meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, President George Meany announced to a press conference that: "The AFL-CIO will refrain from endorsing either candidate for the office of President of the United States."

He said that this decision of the Executive Council had passed by a vote of 27 to 3, with only A.F. Grofipron, President of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Paul Jennings, President of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees voting against.

Meany said that these "circumstances call rather for the maximum concentration of effort upon the election of Senators and Representatives whose records commend them to the working people of America." He said that the decision of

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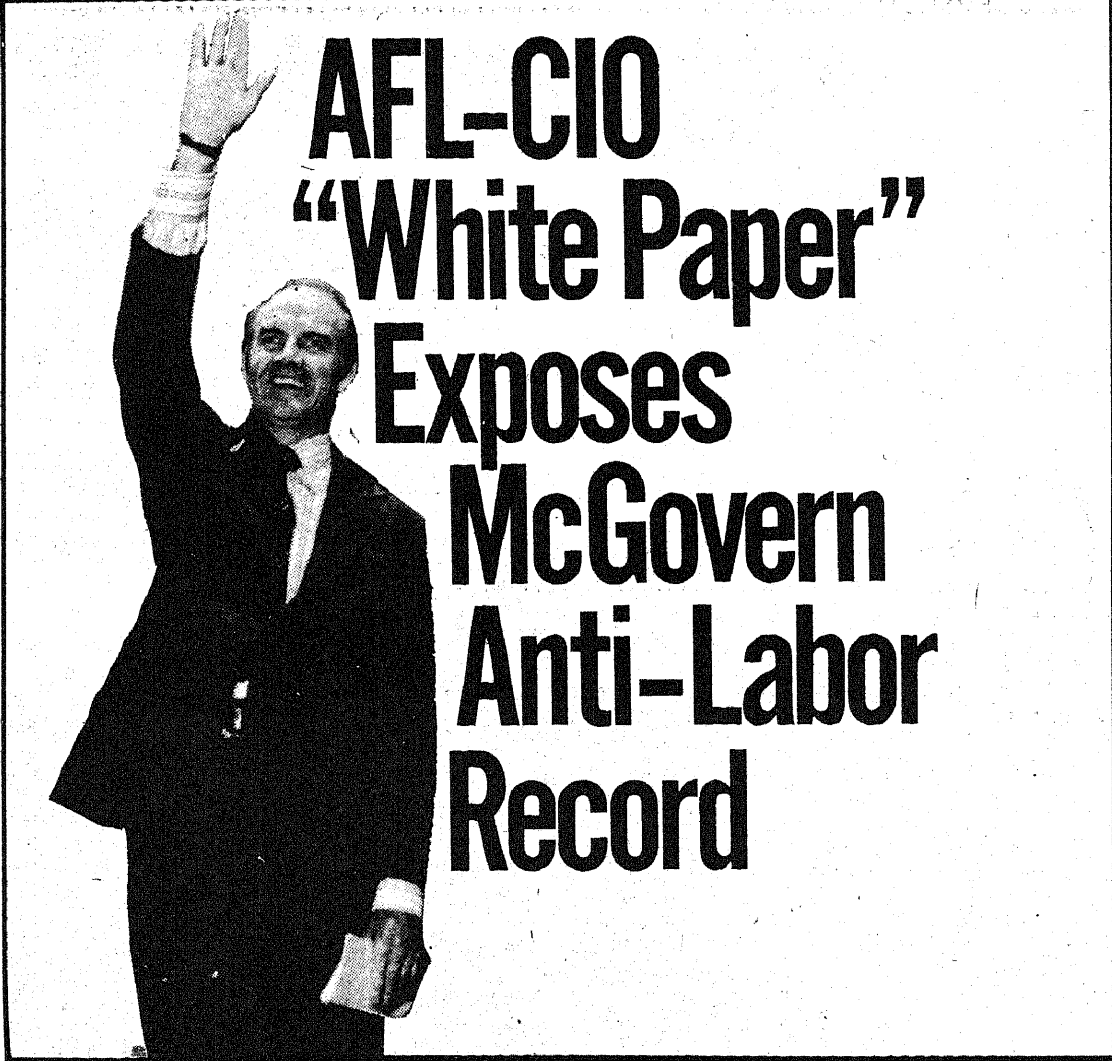
## What we think

### McGovern, The CP And 'New Politics'

The revolt at Miami Beach represented by the near break of the American labor leaders and the majority of trade union delegates there with the Democratic Party, poses more sharply than ever before in the history of the U.S. labor movement, the actual formation of a mass in-

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# AFL-CIO "White Paper" Exposes McGovern Anti-Labor Record

The material printed below, based on a "white paper" report on McGovern circulated by the leadership of the AFL-CIO at the Democratic National Convention, sheds considerable light on the anti-labor record of that phony "prairie populist"—George McGovern.

## LABOR ISSUES

Senator McGovern has adopted the "new populism" as a key campaign slogan. Yet the record shows that he has repeatedly voted wrong on legislation affecting working people and the trade union movement.

In 1959, McGovern voted for the Landrum-Griffin bill, which was opposed by organized labor. The overwhelming majority of non-Southern Democrats voted "no"—among them such Democrats from neighboring states as Senators Anderson and Metcalf of Montana and Senator Burdick of North Dakota, as well as four Democrats from Minnesota and five from Wisconsin.

In 1960, McGovern voted against

raising the Minimum Wage to \$1.15 and extending coverage to 1.4 million retail workers. He was one of only five non-Southern Democrats to vote "no."

In 1966, McGovern was one of only five Northern Democrats who voted to deny minimum wage coverage to some 1,000,000 workers in retail and service firms with gross sales of less than \$500,000 annually. McGovern also voted against raising the minimum wage

to \$1.55.

Also in 1966, McGovern voted against a Long (D-La.) amendment requiring states to provide eligible workers a minimum of 26 weeks of unemployment compensation coverage for 20 weeks of employment. Only five other Northern Democrats voted "no."

In the same year, McGovern was one of six Northern Democrats to vote for a Dirksen amendment to cut appropriations for the Departments of Labor and HEW.

In 1968, the man hailed as the candidate of the young, voted, along with Republicans and Southern Democrats, to table a Javits amendment which would have provided \$52.1 million in appropriations to the Labor Department for summer jobs.

McGovern and 14(b)...or the Case of Great Plains Wheat, Inc.

After the Democratic sweep in 1964, a bill was introduced to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The conservative forces

mounted a filibuster to prevent the repeal bill (H.R. 77) from coming to a vote in the Senate. On October 11, 1965, Mansfield moved to invoke cloture. McGovern voted against cloture—and the motion failed.

Two more cloture motions were made—on February 8 and 10, 1966. McGovern voted for cloture the first time, against it the second time—the only Senator to switch his vote. He explained that the first vote was to indicate his opposition to filibuster in general, while the second vote indicated his opposition to the repeal bill.

McGovern is quoted as saying: "It was a straight political decision. It was the only time in the United States Senate I voted against my conscience."

What was the politics of McGovern's decision to vote "against my conscience?"

In February, 1964, President Johnson sought to end a maritime union boycott of wheat shipments to the Soviet Union by pledging that fifty percent of such shipments would be carried in U.S. flag ships. This had been the original understanding when President Kennedy had approved the wheat program, but several giant wheat export companies sought to increase their profits by seeking a reduction in the 50 percent requirement.

The wheat companies continued to press for a reduction. On May 19, the companies' views were expressed in a memorandum from Great Plains Wheat, Inc. to the Special U.S. Maritime Advisory Committee. Meanwhile, Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers Union, had sent Senator McGovern a statement of the Union's position. Mr. Hall received a reply from Senator McGovern dated May 24. It was word for word, page after page, identical to the statement of Great Plains Wheat, Inc. Senator McGovern was clearly serving as a mouthpiece for an organization founded to promote foreign and domestic wheat sales.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

The 1957 Civil Rights Act was the first civil rights law to be enacted by Congress since the days of reconstruction. McGovern was absent on the votes leading to passage of this bill in the House.

In 1959, when the House passed the Rooney Amendment to the

Justice Department Appropriations bill (H.R. 8385) to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years and appropriate \$500,000 to it, McGovern was absent—and did not pair.

When the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was up for final House approval, McGovern was absent—and did not pair.

In 1960, McGovern voted against the McDonough Amendment (to the Housing bill) which would prohibit the Federal National Mortgage Association from purchasing housing where discrimination was involved.

One month later, McGovern voted against the Powell Amendment to the School Construction bill requiring that facilities built under the Act be open to all students without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or religion.

On June 15, 1964, Senator McGovern joined 22 other Senators—18 of them from Southern and Border states, in supporting a last ditch effort to emasculate the voting rights provisions of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. The McGovern supported amendment was defeated 62-23.

On May 13, 1968, Senator McGovern joined in supporting punitive legislation that sought to disqualify anyone convicted of participating in a riot from Federal employment for a period of six years. This legislation was a thinly veiled effort to punish Blacks who had participated in the disturbances that followed the King assassination.

The Atlanta Constitution of June 7, 1972, reported that McGovern offered two major concessions to the South in meetings at the Democratic governors' conference in Houston. One was to discourage frivolous challenges to delegations to the national convention. The other was a promise "to push for a change in the 1965 Voting Rights Act which requires Southern states including Georgia to submit state reapportionment plans to the Justice Department." (Portions of Georgia's 1972 plan were turned down.)

When McGovern's stands on these issues are combined with his votes on minimum wage, youth employment and other economic issues of concern to working people, the result is a record that this "liberal" is a bitter enemy of the labor movement.

## George McGovern Boasts Of His Anti-Labor Record

United States Senate  
Committee on Agriculture and Forestry  
Washington, D.C. 20510

May 20, 1970

Dear Mr. Gellhaus:

I appreciate knowing of your opposition to Section 222 of the President's Postal Reform Bill, H.R. 17070.

It has been my feeling that public employees should have the right to join a union, but that membership should not be a mandatory incident of their employment.

I have other serious questions about this legislation and I am glad to have your views on it.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,  
(signed) George McGovern

D.B. Gellhaus  
600 East 18  
Yankton, South Dakota  
57078

United States Senate  
Committee on Agriculture and Forestry  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Sept. 12, 1968

Dear Mr. Larson:

Thank you for your letter of September ninth, and for enclosing the materials on the right-to-work issue.

As you know from my vote in 1966, I favor retention of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. While I have not made a final judgment on the Federal Employees Freedom of Choice Act my inclination is to support it.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,  
(signed) George McGovern

Reed Larson, Executive  
Vice President  
National Right to Work  
Committee  
1900 L Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036



Philadelphia construction workers rallied last week against scab labor used on sites. McGovern has consistently defended "right-to-work" laws, which legalize use of scabs against unions.



# FOUR DAYS THAT SHOOK MIAMI BEACH



BY DAVID NORTH

MIAMI BEACH—When I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, rose to speak before the Democratic National Convention shortly before midnight last Wednesday, he brought into the open the development that had been boiling beneath all the events in Miami Beach.

His denunciation of George McGovern and the "new politics" revealed that the labor movement stands on the verge of a historic break with the Democrats and the establishment of its own party.

Not since the 1951 Convention of the UAW, when nearly a majority of the delegates voted to form a labor party in order to answer Truman's vicious attacks on the trade unions, has the working class stood closer to a clear break with the Democrats.

It is precisely this movement toward a labor party, expressed in a distorted manner by the trade union bureaucrats who attended the Miami Beach Convention, that the Stalinists and middle class centrists attack when they accuse George Meany and Abel of opposing McGovern from the "right."

## BLATANTLY

These groups blatantly line up with the "progressive" Democrats and the New York Times in rejoicing the emergence of McGovern's new coalition against the working class.

It is impossible to understand the character of the split that began to emerge at the Democratic National Convention without beginning with the period in which the Convention has been held and grasping the nature of the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party—as it emerged under Franklin Roosevelt—is essentially the capitalist party of liberal reforms, existing through concessions to the working class and a close relationship with the trade union bureaucracy.

In every period of crisis, that relationship has been threatened as the working class sought to establish its political independence from the Democratic Party. The very decline of capitalism, which first led to the very rapid construction of industrial unionism, has constantly posed the breakup of the New Deal coalition.

## MOVEMENT

Particularly in the late 1930's and 1940's, when the working class faced the government head-on in its battle for unions and against anti-union legislation, there was a tremendous movement for a labor party.

No reforms by the Democrats would have been sufficient to keep American workers tied to them. It has only been the treacherous role of the trade union bureaucracy

and the Stalinists that prevented the formation of a labor party.

The 1972 Democratic Convention met at a time when the old New Deal coalition was being torn apart in the face of the most powerful movement for an independent American labor party in history. This movement flows first of all from the enormous crisis of international capitalism.

It is no longer within the capacity of the corporations to make concessions to the labor movement. Every gain made by American workers must now come under attacks planned and supervised by the government.

## DOOMED

Nixon's August 15, 1971 decision to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold and the subsequent devaluation of the dollar closed forever the era of compromise between big business and the labor movement. Moreover, these economic developments doomed the Democratic Party—which has based its existence as a party of compromise upon convertibility of \$35 into an ounce of gold.

Secondly, the movement for the labor party flows from the unprecedented strength of the American working class as it meets the attacks of big business. From this power comes the ability of the labor movement to actually go onto the offensive and put forward its own alternative to deal with the crisis.

As the Democrats assembled in Miami Beach, already the conditions existed for an explosion. In the very first speech to the convention, Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence O'Brien came out and said that it would be futile to make any promises to the working class in this period, because none could be kept. Instead, he advised the Party to speak only of "austerity" and "sacrifice."

Neither during the opening session of the Convention nor during the sessions that followed, did the Democrats actually outline an economic program different from that of Richard Nixon. Not one candidate denounced the Pay Board, let alone proposed its suspension.

The total inability of the Democrats to meet any of the fundamental demands of workers received sharp expression in Miami Beach itself. The hundreds of Black workers who were brought to Resurrection City II by the Southern Christian Leadership Confer-

ence were brutally ignored by the Democrats.

Ralph Abernathy's demand that the Convention provide floor space for the SCLC inside the Hall was never seriously considered. As for the economic demands made by the SCLC and the National Welfare Rights Organization, they were either ignored or publicly denied.

Hours before his nomination, McGovern declared that he opposed a \$6500 annual minimum income. All the liberal delegates at the Convention heard the appeal for the \$6500 income—and voted it down.

## ASKEW

The blatantly anti-working class character of the Convention was revealed in an incident which received hardly any comment in the press. Florida Governor Reuben Askew delivered the keynote speech at the second session of the Convention. Askew was the darling of the Convention, and also the well-known favorite—besides Kennedy—for the vice presidential nomination under McGovern.

For about 30 minutes, Askew spoke with unrestrained demagoguery. While he called for the formation of a "coalition of protest" against poverty, 250 farm workers picketed outside the convention hall, carrying posters that denounced Askew's ties with the farm interests that have all but enslaved agricultural laborers. The farm workers soon advanced from chants simply against Askew to slogans attacking the Democrats as a whole.

By Wednesday morning, after two sessions of the Convention, members of the AFL-CIO were openly threatening to withhold its endorsement to the Democrats and rumors circulated—later confirmed—that I.W. Abel was discussing the prospects of a labor party.

## OPPOSITION

By Wednesday, it was already clear that the Democratic Convention was in the hands of McGovern, and that the labor leadership would have to go back to the ranks not only without any program to meet the needs of workers but with a candidate with a rotten anti-union record.

It was in the Pennsylvania delegation—which was composed of many trade unionists—that opposition to McGovern was strongest.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW and actively campaigning to become his vice president, appeared before the delegation. He called upon the trade unionists to forgive McGovern's support for the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley law.

"I don't know how it's done in other unions, but I know when we have a parti-

cular situation when the action of one individual would make no difference and his doing what is asked would cause unnecessary political problems, we say 'OK, since it makes no difference—accommodate to the political problem.'"

As Woodcock made this statement, angry muttering could be heard among the workers. "I don't think Woodcock is telling the truth totally on McGovern's great contribution to labor," one delegate told the Bulletin.

Far from playing the "progressive" role for which the Stalinists praise him, Woodcock emerged at the Convention as the most right-wing of all the labor bureaucrats there. Not only did he champion McGovern, but he proposed himself as a viable vice-presidential candidate in order to establish a new link between the working class and the politicians of big business.

Woodcock realized that the ranks have just about had it with the Democrats. Justifying Woodcock's obvious willingness to join the Democratic National ticket, his administrative assistant, E.J. Moran, told the Bulletin: "Without labor, the question of whether Nixon can be beat or not is very critical."

## REACTION

The reaction among trade unionists to Woodcock's unprecedented collaboration with the Democrats was tremendously hostile. "If Woodcock joins the ticket, this might just about force us to have a labor party," said one trade union delegate.

Although Abel's speech at the Convention ended with an endorsement of Sen. Henry Jackson, his denunciation of McGovern and the Democrats touched the fundamental issue: that the liberals are no less anti-labor than Nixon and have nothing to offer to the working class.

The Democratic Party is led by men like McGovern who, as Abel correctly stated, "tell us they're for the working people and then turn around and vote for right-to-work laws and against minimum wage programs."

As he concluded his speech, Abel declared: "Give us a candidate working people can endorse."

Such a candidate will not be found in the Democratic or Republican parties. It is not a question of personality but of program; and only a party based upon the trade unions and pledged to socialist policies can fight for a program in the interests of the working class.

It is absolutely necessary that the AFL-CIO answer the rich man's convention in Miami Beach by calling a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party for 1972. The labor party was discussed at Miami last week. Now it must be constructed and fought for.



## Interview With Norwood Shop Chairman

# We Won't Return To Old Conditions

The following is the final part of an interview with Jim Young, chairman of the Shop Committee, UAW Local 674 on June 22, 1972 at the Norwood, Ohio GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) plant. The UAW has been on strike at Norwood for some 13 weeks.

**Bulletin:** What do you expect at the next UAW Convention?

**Young:** I wouldn't be a bit surprised to see the next convention wide open top to bottom. It goes without saying that we here at Norwood are not the most favored people by the International leadership! You probably know that last year we were put on administration.

**Bulletin:** I didn't know that. That's like receivership?

**Young:** Yes. It arose over an incident that occurred after the merger of the two plants. They had a meeting for a vote on what they called a "Memorandum on Seniority" where the younger guys working in the plants would be laid off, the older guys would be recalled. At the same time it came up over the fact that the International Rep who serves in our plant had moved in and withdrawn all our '78' grievances and all our adjustment cases, or settled them short of what they should have been.

A bunch of guys had come prepared and cracked down with demands. Shortly thereafter we were called from Detroit and advised that by the action of the International Executive Board we'd be placed under administration. It lasted some two months or thereabouts.

Any officer in the local union can be removed from office during that period of time, and his office be declared vacant, and after the administratorship is lifted, they have elections for that office. The guy has been removed and he's eligible to run again, but I mean once you've been removed, what's your chance of running for reelection and getting the job back again? So, it's a tool of the International Union, there's no question about it.

Prior to our strike, I think in September, the Regional Director made a tour of the plant. In December, George Bluestone, the GM Director toured the plant and he cried when he saw that the conditions were completely inhuman, particularly in the old Chevrolet side. And this was expressed to the management. In fact, the Regional Director made the statement that while he'd been out to the piecework plant in Springfield, that the conditions in our plant were worse than they were in pre-union days in his plant! So I would think that under those conditions that they're going to have to give us support as far as our '78's' are concerned and the conditions that we're required to work under. Anyone that has not been in that plant actually wouldn't believe the conditions that exist there. You've talked to several of the pickets down here. Most of them, if not all, have told you what the

conditions were, and what they told you they haven't exaggerated one bit. I've been here since 1950, and I've never seen the conditions that we have now. When I hired in there, for the first two weeks when I was fresh out of the Navy, I lost 14 pounds the first few weeks. But the conditions today are much worse than they were then.

And how much further they had hopes of going before we went out on strike, I don't know. But this is the case where we didn't strike General Motors: General Motors struck us here. We had no other choice. If we'd continued to stay in that plant, I would guess that half our membership would have been fired by now, the way they were throwing them out. We had so many of them up already on a 30 day DLO deal, and after that the next step is discharge.

**Bulletin:** They were throwing guys out on the basis that a man would not do his job supposedly, or what?

**Young:** They were charging refusal or failure to do job assignments, in the majority of the cases. It would be the same difference if you gave the order to "Come here and pick up my house!"—I can't do it! So you would charge me with refusal to do my job assignment. You assigned me the job! I didn't do it, so you'd throw me out. This is about the same basis—it makes about as much sense as some of the assignments that these guys were given.

The first thing they had to do was get rid of the present committee. This is what they had to do in all the other GMAD plants when they took over. Once they get the present committee out everything else comes easy. Now the majority of the committee in the plant has been on the committee for a number of years. We know what the local agreements are, what the intent of the agreements were and what the applications have been. If they could get guys like myself, the committeeman-at-large, some of the committee that's been in the district for years and negotiated different job settlements, no doubt they'd be home free, and could do just about what they please at that point.

**Bulletin:** The strike ended its 11th week today. And of course the membership of the union wants to know what's going on. I was out here yesterday briefly, and the day before the strike I was down, when the men were rearing to go out. They said: "We don't know what's going on at Lordstown, but if there's any sellout there we're not going to do that here." Has the local had meetings? What is it doing to discuss the situation with the ranks?

**YOUNG:** Well, since they started this urban renewal program in Norwood, actually under the Constitution, we're supposed to have an educational class set up. But since they've started this urban renewal program they've torn down practically every place where we could have a meeting. With the exception of our own local union hall, and you know the size of that. We have to run our Pay Days there on Mondays and Tuesdays, get out pickets coming in and out of there every six

hours, going down for coffee and doughnuts. We can't rent the Cincinnati Gardens—that's 1,800 bucks for an afternoon session, and we just don't have that kind of money.

As far as knowing what the issues are, I'm sure that at least 95 percent of the people in the plant know what the issues are because they've been involved in it. If not being thrown out of the plant on disciplinary layoffs, if not by that, by management completely disregarding every agreement we had in the plant. Of course, you always have that five percent that couldn't care less what the issues are. No doubt guys are starting to hurt.

I know this and you know it. The company knows it. But while they're starting to hurt financially, they're also starting to get mad. They're getting mad at the management, not at the local union leadership. At least the ones I've talked to, they say: "What's the chances of getting a settlement?" I say: "Look, if a settlement is all you're interested in, we could've had a settlement before we came out of the plant. But you wouldn't have wanted it. As long as the conditions are like they were when we came out of that plant, we don't want to go back."

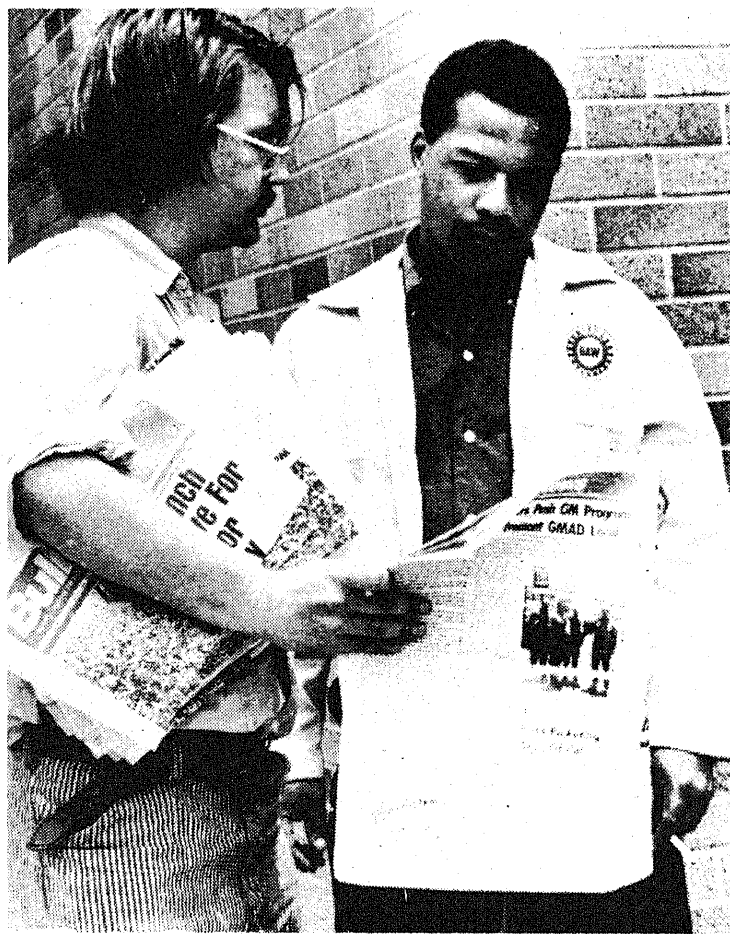
So this is the reaction I'm getting from the guys I get a chance to talk to, just going in and out and getting down to the hall about 7:30 in the morning before I go into the meeting and then spending some time there in the afternoons after we come out, talking to the pickets who're on the beat when we go in. But again you'll always have that five percent who'll want to go back regardless.

Most certainly, if things continue as they are, and I certainly don't see anything right now that would lead me to believe that they aren't going to continue as they are, if necessary we'll have to rent the Gardens to hold a mass membership meeting.

But again, this is actually the surprising thing. While all the guys will express concern over the fact that we're out on strike, or the fact that we're not making any progress, or whatever, you'd be surprised at the number of people that would attend a mass membership meeting. Even for a ratification meeting, for example. Why we've held ratification meetings where less than one third of the membership will attend.

**Bulletin:** I think the problem with all these things is that it takes a certain leadership and consciousness to bring this about. Because the tendency of the worker of course is to go about his business in the immediate situation he's in. Even on the level of the UAW this is true. Although more and more now workers are beginning to see beyond the immediate.

You take an issue like the Pay Board. It's no longer an issue of a guy saying: "Well, I don't have to worry because they just approved my contract." Or "I don't face it." It's getting to the point now where workers can see, and it's our experience in going to them and trying to point this out and fight for this understanding, that everything is involved. For the UAW, even if the auto



Bulletin reporter talks to striker outside Norwood GMAD plant.

agreement was approved, the Pay Board represents sort of a concentrated effort to take everything away, on the part of the government. So there's this natural hostility, even from workers who are not immediately involved. But even there, to go from that to coming out to a rally, or supporting a strike, or a city-wide strike, takes some kind of leadership to develop it.

Do you think your local could take up a campaign, mobilizing on whatever basis tactically, the membership for shutting down General Motors?

**Young:** Yes, I do. We've had I think two meetings with the Director of the General Motors department. In each of these two meetings he's made his position clear, and the position of the International Union for that matter. That's what they refer to as the "best of the two worlds," that they're not supporting us in the best of the two worlds.

When I say the best of the two worlds is you've got one demanding settlement on one side of the house and you got one on the other side and you'll go for the one that's the best, as far as the membership is concerned. He said that no local that's on GMAD has gotten the best of the two. And I contradicted him on several occasions. I told him that in Baltimore when they went GMAD, they got the best of the two. Yesterday I talked to the president of the Baltimore GMAD local down at the sub-council meeting along with the Chairman of the shop committee and he called the three International Reps over that ran our plant and said: "I want to tell you right here and now that when we merged we did get the best of the two worlds."

But this is one of the conflicts that's going on right now, where the International says: "We'll support you on your grievance, we'll support you on your work standards, but we won't support you on the best of the two worlds. Because nobody else has gotten them and you're not going to get them at Norwood." Well I know at least one other plant got them. And I can't see where one local union and one bargaining unit in one plant, where one member should be entitled to anything more than another member, because he works on a different side of the plant. If it's going to be settled that way, it's going to

be settled without me, because I'll have no part of it. I was elected to represent the entire membership, that's what I intend to do.

**Bulletin:** What Godfrey says is part of it: "These workers don't want to work, their minds are on other things, let's face it, American workers aren't that productive, look at what's going on in Japan where they're working for \$1.25 an hour." It's very clear what he's saying. You take that statement, and the statement that if they shut down Lordstown, that is, if they locked out the union and then opened it up for non-union, they'd get 50,000 applicants or something like that; what he is putting forward is a whole perspective of using mass unemployment, which is developing and which they intend to develop further, to completely drive down everything.

The corporations have to go much further, they have to really wipe out everything. So I think what's guaranteed to happen is tremendous explosions as the clash deepens. The workers will fight back. Even in the face of unemployment. But there'll also have to be a policy of the labor movement, a political policy for a labor party that could deal with this. The "right" that the corporations have by virtue of the capitalist system that they're part of, and the political structure, and everything else that protects them, to throw people out, anytime, on the basis of profits must be taken away. That has to be countered by the rights of the workers to nationalize these industries.

They shut down the Ballantine brewery in Newark. But the last shift, about 1,000 guys sat in. They sat in on that shift, which is the kind of thing that's going to be happening.

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# Longshoremen Set To Explode Against New Work Rules

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

The crisis on the docks that exploded on both the East Coast and West Coast in the past year is far from resolved. New explosions are ahead.

The signing of new contracts on the East Coast opened up the way for the implementation of new work rules aimed at wiping out the conditions and protection that the longshoremen have won in past contracts, in particular, the elimination of the guaranteed income.

In order to reap the full profits from the introduction of containerization, the shippers have launched a full scale war on the ILA, backed up by Nixon and Congress which has threatened special legislation outlawing dock strikes. The aim of these attacks is to eliminate upwards of 80 percent of the men from the docks and eventually to reduce the number of ports serving the East and Gulf Coasts to as few as

four or five.

The go-ahead for implementation of the new rules in New York was given when the Pay Board slashed the first year increase and demanded the implementation of the new rules by July 1 as the condition for the second year increase of 5.7 percent.

## NEW YORK

An explosive situation is developing in the Port of New York with the beginning of the implementation of the new work rules.

The union leadership under ILA President Gleason, Vice-President Anthony Scotto who is head of the Brooklyn Local and the local delegates are advising the men to cooperate with these rules.



Longshoremen talk angrily outside Manhattan hiring hall about introduction of new work rules.

There has been resistance to the new contract ever since the bringing in of the PDO (Prior Day Ordering) procedure. More recently, there has been resentment to the reduction of the number of job categories from seven to three, which according to Manhattan longshoremen is virtually a single category.

The men are up in arms over the most recent implementation of the new rules, the filling of "list jobs" which is to start August 1st. This is a procedure for forcing men to work on a permanent basis for a particular company, in a particular section of the port.

The purpose of the list proced-

ure—the separation of all men into two groups, "list men" and "GAI eligible men"—is to push the older men into retirement while driving the rest of the men off the GAI (2080 hours annually) thus saving millions in profits.

Since there are not many list positions to be filled in Manhattan and Brooklyn, most of the vacancies will be filled in Newark-Elizabeth, Port Jersey and Staten Island. This means that men from Brooklyn and Manhattan may be forced to accept list jobs as far away as Staten Island or Port Newark.

By this procedure, the shippers achieve portwide flexibility of labor based on the new cate-

gories which almost totally destroys seniority on choice of jobs.

Older men with higher seniority are faced now with the possibility of having to do work on a steady job that they have not done in years, or else to remain on the GAI and take their chances with being bounced around the port from job to job through the PDO system, and being provoked into drawing "debts," then double and triple debts until they are off the GAI.

This was explained by one young longshoreman from Manhattan: "The plan is to force the A card men to retire by pushing them around, such as forcing a 50 year old man who hasn't worked in the hold for 20 years, to take a hold job. They had hoped that most men eligible for early retirement would take it but they didn't because it's too hard to get by on that kind of money. But they will try to get the rest of them so disgusted that they leave."

## HOBOKEN

Longshoremen in Hoboken reacted angrily to the letter, and 14 men left the hiring hall to confront their union delegate.

"The men never voted for any of these new provisions," said one of the longshoremen. "If this goes through any of us can get kicked off the guarantee."

The delegate claimed that he had never seen the letter until the men came into the office, and added that they could not lose the guarantee. "If anything happens, I'll fight your appeal," he said. According to the delegate, an appeal would have a 50-50 chance of winning.

## LEADERSHIP

The union leadership can give absolutely no assurances that the men will not be knocked off the GAI because they in fact have collaborated with the employers through the last contract which opens the door to the destruction of the GAI.

Meanwhile, the addition of new container facilities in Port Elizabeth, Port Jersey, Staten Island and Brooklyn, combined with a deepening recession will make the elimination of jobs even more serious in the next few months.

This contract with its new rules cannot be accepted by the ILA rank and file, many of whom insist that it was never voted on legally to begin with. Furthermore, the ILA ranks have never voted on acceptance of the Pay Board cuts which opened up the way for the new rules.

## PAY BOARD ATTACK ENTERS 'PHASE III'

BY FRED MUELLER

As the 1972 election campaign begins, the U.S. working class faces an extremely critical situation. The capitalists and their government are attacking the labor movement from all sides.

The latest elements in the attack are the tightening of the Pay Board guidelines, the plans now being suggested to lower allowable pay hikes to 2.5 percent, and the stepped up campaign for productivity increases.

A whole new stage of the crisis was opened up 11 months ago with Nixon's declaration of war on the U.S. and international working class. Nixon announced the wage freeze at the same time as he cut the links between the dollar and gold, attempting in part to throw the crisis onto European capitalism.

The wage freeze and Pay Board were designed from the very first to smash the organized power of the working class. For this very reason the government proceeded cautiously at first, sizing up the situation, and securing the collaboration of the top union leaders in joining the Pay Board.

## DESIGNED

The approval of the miners' pay increase in one of the first actions of the Pay Board was only designed to tighten the noose around the neck of the unions and set the stage for greater and greater blows.

These blows began in earnest with the cutting of the aerospace settlement by nearly 50 percent, followed by vicious attacks on the West Coast and East Coast longshore settlements, negotiated after months of strike action.

The machinists and auto union leaders allowed the aerospace cut to go by with only a murmur of

protest. The ILWU and ILA officials accepted the pay cuts.

Each retreat by the union leaders has only encouraged the Nixon Administration. The deepening crisis forces the government to make new attacks.

The strength demonstrated by the working class in spite of their leaders' treachery likewise forces Nixon's hand. All the leaders except for Fitzsimmons were forced off the Pay Board by the resistance of the working class.

## ATTEMPTS

In spite of all their attempts, the employers and the government have not succeeded thus far in decisively defeating the unions, in destroying union wages and the ability of organized workers to resist all the attacks of the employers. That is why the Pay Board has in the last few weeks launched an orgy of wage cutting.

International Typographers Union (ITU) members in Connecticut, in a decision now in the courts, were ordered to pay back the increase they had been receiving for several months. Four thousand meatcutters in Philadelphia had an 11 percent boost which was agreed to in March cut down to seven percent in June. More than 200 other increases are under review by the Pay Board.

The most recent and most drastic of the wage cuts was the slashing of the 19 percent increase won by 13,000 retail clerks in Philadelphia down to 6.7 percent including fringe benefits.

On June 6 the Pay Board announced that as of June 30 only workers earning less than three

dollars an hour would be eligible for so-called catch-up increases (up to seven percent, instead of 5.5 percent). On June 8 the advance notice required from employers before putting increases greater than seven percent into effect was extended from 60 to 90 days.

## ARMED

The Board also announced that employers who filed late would be subject to penalties including fines, and any such raises would be held up for an additional 60 days. The government policy is clearly aimed at stiffening the backbone of any wayward employers who on their own are not resisting wage demands sufficiently.

This was the meaning of the recent speech of Cost of Living Council head Donald Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld, a close associate of Nixon who is in overall charge of both the Pay Board and the Price Commission, criticized those employers who exceed the Pay Board guidelines as "irresponsible," and pointed specifically at the meatcutters and retail clerks settlements which had recently been slashed.

Along the same lines, Pay Board head George Boldt has lately predicted tighter guidelines. Boldt's judgement of the first seven or eight months of the Pay Board is: "If to hit our target we have to lower the standards, we'll do that."

The Pay Board itself is not the only weapon in the hands of the employers. It is being used together with continuing unemployment, anti-union legislation and speed-up.

## PRODUCTIVITY

The speed-up campaign is assuming greater importance for big business and the government. The demands for increased productivity are now being made incessantly by every government

spokesman.

Recently C. Jackson Grayson of the Price Commission warned about a tremendous confrontation over wages, and insisted that the only way that wage controls could possibly be eased in the future would be through gigantic increases in productivity. The government now intends to use the Pay Board not just to cut wages but also to exact productivity increases by tying them to wages.

This is behind the report that the second year increase in the steelworkers' contract, amounting to eight to nine percent, may be allowed by the Pay Board, on the grounds of greatly increased productivity in the industry. Tremendous profit levels may make it possible to let this small increase go by.

At the same time as prices skyrocket, workers are told to tighten their belts. The capitalist anti-inflation policy is nothing but a desperate attempt to rescue profits by slashing living standards.

Whether Nixon or McGovern occupies the White House, the labor movement will be the object of brutal assaults aimed at restoring the competitive position of American capitalism and relieving pressure on the rate of profit.

Meanwhile the ruling class grooms Wallace and even more sinister forces, with super-patriotism, racism and anti-labor demagoguery which will be used to attempt to destroy the unions.

When Nixon and McGovern both praise Wallace and maneuver for his open support in the election, they announce their total dedication to the preservation of capitalism and the destruction of all the rights of the working class. The only answer to the more and more grave economic and political attacks is a labor party based on the unions.



# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## McGovern's Real Program Is More Unemployment

The campaign of George McGovern represents a great danger to the workers and youth of this country. The record of McGovern on issues facing the working class is testimony of the class hatred which this man holds towards the trade union movement and the youth.

George McGovern, just like all the Democrats and Republicans, supports the Pay Board which is holding down wages, cutting wage increases, taking money out of the pockets of workers while the big corporations are making record high profits.

He also voted for keeping the right-to-work clause in the Taft-Hartley Bill which is one of the biggest weapons for union-busting that the government and the employers hold. Under this law, the employers are not compelled to recognize unions while at the same time scabs have the complete protection of the state and are encouraged to break strikes.

As the election nears, McGovern has switched his stand on the Vietnamese War. Now he is for keeping a residual force in South East Asia. This means strengthening the hand of U.S. imperialism which will cause the death of many youth from the US and Vietnam so that the ruling class can establish new markets for profits.

On the question of unemployment, McGovern is completely contemptuous to the youth. When a bill to provide more summer jobs for the youth was before the Senate, McGovern voted against it, knowing that this would force more youth into the streets.

But these actions are not one of an evil man. They are the position of a ruling class which is bent on destroying the livelihood of millions of workers and youth so that their profits may be preserved. A ruling class which, because of the whole monetary crisis, must defeat the working class. McGovern's class is preparing for the American working class what it has attempted to do to the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

It is in this context that the role of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, which supports its policies, must be seen.

The CP and the YWLL are complete traitors of the working class as they continue more than ever to support McGovern. At the Democratic Party convention the Stalinists openly supported McGovern and attacked the labor movement for refusing to endorse him.

The powerful movement of the working class is behind the break between labor and the Democratic Party that took place at Miami. At that convention this was reflected in the growing hostility of the trade unions towards McGovern.

It is the Stalinists who are desperately trying to keep this movement tied to McGovern. The headlines of the Communist Party newspaper scream with lies like "Labor Rank and File Key to McGovern Victory."

It is McGovern and the entire Democratic and Republican Parties which continue to attack the living standards of workers and youth. Unemployment is the conscious plan of the ruling class to drive back and demoralize the working class and the two capitalist parties are implementing it.

There is no way out for the working class and youth outside of defeating capitalism.

But the youth, no matter how determined, cannot defeat capitalism by themselves. Only the organized working class has that power. What is needed is to bring a socialist understanding into the working class. This is where the youth can play a central role.

As revolutionaries, the youth must fight now to bring out the whole working class, to break it from capitalism. This can only be done through the fight for the political independence of the working class from the Democratic and Republican Parties and the building of a labor party based on socialist policies. It is through this struggle that an alternative leadership, a Marxist leadership, will be built in the working class.

The youth, through joining the Young Socialists, can give the lead to the older workers in this fight against capitalism. There is no other revolutionary movement. Only the Young Socialists are leading the fight for the labor party by campaigning and calling on every section of the working class to take up this demand.

It is this perspective that we will put forth at the coming National Peace Action Coalition conference on the West Coast. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party have attacked in their press the role of the Stalinists. We call on the YSA to join the Young Socialists in fighting against the plans of the Stalinists to tie the workers and youth to the Democratic Party. This means voting at this conference to demand that the labor movement call a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party for 1972.

## The Truth About The Long Branch Rebellion

BY KIKI MENDEZ

Last week a riot broke out between 250 youth and the police in Long Branch, New Jersey. The battle was over the youth staying in the streets after a curfew had been implemented.

For the past week, there have been many street fights between white and Puerto Rican youth. These clashes came over the unemployment, and lack of facilities in the town. As one youth told the Bulletin: "There is only one club in this town, we have been arguing with the Puerto Ricans over who can use the center."

Long Branch is a resort area where most of the finances come from tourist attractions. The crisis in capitalism has forced the tourist business to decline. This makes the chances of the youth getting a job hopeless.

It was the fights between the youth that the police used as an excuse to attack all the youth in the area. One girl told us that: "They do not care who they arrest because they threw everyone in jail, it didn't matter whether or not you had been in a street fight." She went on to say that: "My cousin was arrested for ordering a pizza that night."

When the police were arresting everyone in the area, the youth began to see that fighting among

themselves was not the solution to the unemployment. When the youth stopped fighting each other, the police took stronger action. As one youth said:

"We have no place to hang around, if we go bowling the police will arrest us. Now they will not allow us on the boardwalk; where else can we stay at."

All the facilities in the town are closed to the youths. They can not stay in groups of five without getting harassed by the police. This is what happened when white and Puerto Rican youth met to discuss the street fights.

The city has tried to make it seem as if the fight has stayed on the level of white youth fighting Puerto Ricans. One youth explained: "Puerto Ricans are treated the same way we are. Last night all of us were arrested without any charges."

On Tuesday night when several youths were holding a meeting, the police arrested most of the youths. One youth told the Young Socialists that: "We were having this meeting to see if we can unite to fight the cops. We were just talking about it when the

police arrested all of us. Five policemen took this one guy and beat him up so badly that his eye was coming out. The police just threw him in jail and refused to call a doctor."

Six of the youth arrested on Tuesday night were held on \$5,000 bail for being out in the street during the curfew. The government is doing nothing to change the conditions in Long Branch.

The youth have gone to the councilmen to ask for their help. As one youth said: "I have been trying to get a hold of one of the guys in charge of this area to see what they can do about the lack of facilities. We asked for a pool but we never got it."

The parents, along with the youth, are fed up with these harassments. One told us that the parents were supporting the youth against the police.

The attacks on the youth in Long Branch are an example of what the government has in store for the youth. The youth cannot fight the government by forming gangs because this only divides the youth on the basis of race or area.

The only way to fight back is by uniting the youth in the struggle to build a revolutionary movement against the government. This is the only way to unite the struggle of the youth and the working class against the government.



Young Socialist shows Bulletin to Long Branch youth. Cops have used riots among youth to suppress their right to hold meetings and protest conditions they face.





# "It's A Family Affair"

BY GIL GONZALEZ

BROOKLYN—On Saturday, the East New York Young Socialists held a block party to raise funds for the YS and the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. Over 200 workers and youth from the community of Ashford Street and Livonia Avenue participated and raised over \$75.

There was a large assortment of games and barbecued food, cakes, fried chicken, frankfurters, watermelons and salads which raised much of the money. Some of the food was prepared and donated by parents of the Young Socialists.

The "Hit Nixon" dart game was one of the more popular games at the party. But the main attraction was the magnificent sounds of the "Rare Experience" a soul band comprised of youth from the immediate area. Their arrangements of "Shaft" and "Soul Power" received tremendous enthusiasm from the youth.

### TASKS

At one point in the performance Gil Gonzalez, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, spoke to the audience on the government's attacks on the workers and youth and the tasks of the Young Socialists. He said:

"The Democratic Convention this

past week reflects on the one hand the deepness of the crisis of capitalism and at the same time the necessity for the working class to break from the Democratic and the Republican Parties and form their own party.

### POSED

"Today we have a situation where there are five million workers unemployed and conditions of housing and education are deteriorating by the day. What is posed to the big corporations is that, in order to preserve profits, they must throw the working class into conditions worse than the 1930's.

"It is because of these conditions that the construction of the labor party is on the agenda. Only the Young Socialists and the Workers League are carrying forward this fight."

Abby Rodriguez, Editor of the Young Socialist, spoke on the case of Juan Farinas and the building of the Young Socialists. Addressing the audience, he

said:

"The problem that we are facing of unemployment and slums is that of capitalism. It is this system that works only for a few rich families while the masses of workers and youth get nothing. What is needed is a socialist society to replace capitalism.

"Young people will have to lead the fight for socialism because today there is nothing for us under capitalism. The few summer jobs that have been given pay only \$40 a week while a pair of dungarees cost \$10. It is the youth by joining the Young Socialists that will lead the fight against capitalism by fighting for the unions to build a labor party.

### JUAN

"Juan Farinas has been in jail since March because he is a socialist and opposed to the war in Vietnam. For handing out a leaflet stating his political views, he was framed up the same way Angela Davis was. But the power of the working class freed Angela Davis and it is the working class who will free Juan Farinas."

A collection was taken and everyone was urged to purchase the Manifesto on the labor party.





# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Fitzsimmons-- Scab Of The Year

Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the Teamsters Union, has announced that he and the executive board of the union are endorsing Nixon in the 1972 elections.

There is not a trade unionist in this country who does not know that Nixon is the man who drew up plans for the big corporations to freeze wages with the Pay Board, to lay off millions of workers and create unemployment, and to speed-up the lines in the plants, and prepare anti-union laws. The ranks of the labor movement are determined on one thing come November 7th and that is to defeat Nixon.

Fitzsimmons, the only remaining labor leader on the Pay Board, has now become the number one scab of the year.

His decision comes in the wake of the split in Miami between the Democratic Party and the organized labor movement. What was exposed at the convention was the impossibility of mounting any campaign against Nixon with McGovern.

Meany and Abel's hostility to McGovern only reflects the hostility of the millions of workers who will not buy McGovern in 1972. They know that behind McGovern's talk about reforms is his refusal to say a single word about the real issues facing American workers. His anti-labor record is clear.

The only way that Nixon can be defeated is through the building of a labor party now. This is what was raised by I.W. Abel and other union presidents in the course of the convention.

Meany is now talking about neutrality in the presidential election and working to elect so-called friends of labor to Congress. His declaration of neutrality is a first in the history of the AFL-CIO and reflects the breakdown of labor's ties to the Democrats.

But neutrality means handing Congress and the Presidency over to Nixon. The question is not neutrality but throwing the whole lot of the Democrats and Republicans out.

All of the conditions have been created for this break. The unions have the power, the finances and the reason now for constructing this party. What are we waiting for?

Rank and file trade unionists must fight for resolutions in their locals now demanding that the unions call a congress of labor to build this party for 1972.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists will build a conference of trade unionists in the fall to carry this fight forward.

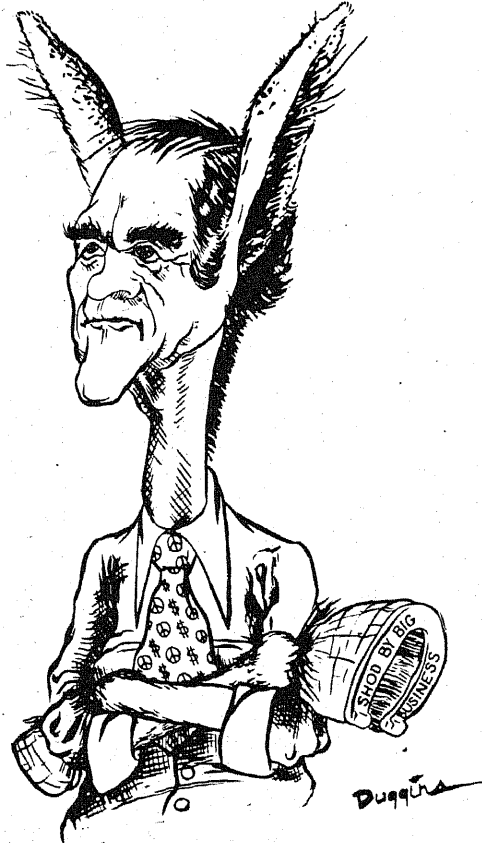
### Sub Drive Takes A Leap

This past week has shown the largest jump in subscription work since the campaign began. We have received 336 subs giving us a grand total of 2,272 so far in the drive. Our goal is 5,000 subs by September 15th.

The difficulty is that beginning next week most of the Workers League will be taking a two-week break for our annual summer school. This means that we should have reached the half way point in subscription work by now.

The following branches have reached this mark: New Haven, Bay Area, Portland, Boston, Ft. Greene, and East New York. Branches coming close to this mark include: Chicago, Hartford, Madison, St. Louis, Dayton, Upper West Side and the Bronx. The Minneapolis and Northfield branches have taken a real leap in sub work but because of a slow start this brings them to only the one-third point. The Philadelphia, State College, Bushwick and Chelsea branches have yet to really take the subscription work seriously.

We can definitely complete this subscription drive on time and in full if after the summer camp a fight is taken up in each branch to extend the circulation of our press on the basis of the political perspectives we have developed around the fight for the labor party.



## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)  
dependent labor party based on the trade unions.

In opposition to this development the Stalinist Communist Party comes forward with the most desperate, frenzied and pernicious campaign to hold back the movement for a labor party, to keep the unions under the foot of capitalism through subordination to the Democratic Party. Every effort of the Communist Party in Miami and in the pages of the Daily World has been made to hold together, to patch up, to keep in one piece, the exploding Democratic Party behind the candidacy of George McGovern.

The political and theoretical justification and basis for this effort flows from the more than 40 year history of Stalinism as the political expression of the Soviet bureaucracy which seeks to maintain its privileged position within the workers states on the basis of an alliance with world capitalism.

This policy, spelled out by Stalin and Dimitrov as the "Popular Front" and later, as "peaceful coexistence," and today as the "people's anti-monopoly coalition," is not based on Marxism at all, but rather begins with a liberal conception of reforming capitalism. This is spelled out in the Daily World Editorial of July 15 which says: "But while working for socialism, much can be done by fighting for improvements and far reaching changes, which will speed the socialist day. One such improvement is the \$6,500 guaranteed annual income for every family. It is an issue which can be won now by a powerful, politically independent coalition of people's organizations among which labor will play a leading role."

The coverage by the Daily World of the Democratic Convention makes clear the meaning of the editorial: Socialism is relegated to the distant future, while significant reforms are to be won now through McGovern and the Democratic Party which is not seen as a party of capitalism, but rather as a party responsive to the people's needs, through the exercise of pressure by this "coalition."

Thus the nomination of McGovern, a man whose record and philosophy fully embraces capitalism and who in turn is fully embraced by the "Eastern establishment" section of the ruling class represented by the New York Times, is seen as a means of "speed (ing) the socialist day."

Thus, Beulah Sanders, of the National Welfare Rights Organization is quoted as saying that "Senator McGovern has been responsive to the poor people's platform, which includes demands for \$6,500 per year guaranteed income for a family of four" at the same time as the Times, perhaps the strongest capitalist spokesman for wage controls and the Pay Board, sings McGovern's praises.

All the attacks of the Daily World on George Meany for his "hawk position on the war," on Meany, Abel and other leaders for their "unprincipled" opposition to McGovern is a smokescreen for the most odious, "unprincipled" alliance of the Communist Party with the "liberal" capitalists.

Daily World reporter S.W. Gerson can scarcely conceal his own "delirious joy" over the nomination of McGovern when he writes, in the July 14 Daily World: "Delirious was the joy Wednesday night after the McGovern nomination. John Galbraith, the tall gaunt Harvard professor and former ambassador to India, danced in the aisles with young Black and white delegates from Massachusetts to the music of 'Happy Days.'" Galbraith, a leading capitalist economist was the most ardent advocate of wage controls, and like McGovern, felt that Nixon's Phase I and Phase II programs were too late in coming.

The Communist Party is deliberately fostering the illusion that McGovern and the Democrats can or even have the slightest desire to carry out the "poor people's" program rather than the program of Galbraith and the Times of attacking the basic rights and conditions of the working class.

The opportunism of the Stalinists is exposed by the Daily World itself when it says on July 13, (despite the alleged "responsiveness" of McGovern on July 11 to the poor people's program) that during the convention debate on platform: "McGovern forces had passed the word to oppose the plan" for the \$6,500 guaranteed income, and that "McGovern has consistently opposed the demand of poor people's organizations for a guaranteed annual income..."

Even in the face of the clearest movement to the right by McGovern and his assurances to the ruling class, the Communist Party then lashes out at every movement by labor to break with the Democrats, at every opponent of McGovern in the labor movement as part of an alleged right wing plot to "disrupt the Democratic Convention" (indeed, it should, in our opinion be politically shattered). While Mr. Gerson cheers Shirley Chisholm (who earlier was denounced for supporting Humphrey) for calling for "unity" behind McGovern, Steelworkers' President I.W. Abel is denounced by Gerson in his July 14 article for "a thinly veiled attack on McGovern and the 'New Politics.'"

What Gerson does not care to report is the real content of Abel's speech or what lay behind it. In an exclusive interview with Abel in this issue of the Bulletin, Abel stated: "If you go into the bar downstairs, you will find millionaires who give money to the Democrats and the Republicans.

The Bulletin will not be published for the next two weeks

Many of the same people will be here in a couple of weeks for the Republican Convention....Maybe this Convention is the thing that will force us to have a labor party. I have been for one."

Daily World labor writer George Morris talks of an "explosion" taking place in the Democratic Party. But this explosion according to Morris is NOT the forcing up of the trade union movement to the point of a break with the Democrats, reflected in Abel's statements.

In fact Morris, in a thinly veiled attack on the Bulletin and Workers League, denounces "sectarians and 'r-r-revolutionary' phrasemongers who are blind to the realities taking place. They shout for an abortive 'labor party now' and denounce the pro-McGovern movement, 'seeing nothing new in it. But true Marxists and constructive progressives who work actively within the great new political stream are concerned far more with the millions in it than with those who now head it."

It is on the basis of such "realities" that Morris and the Communist Party have opposed formation of a labor party and backed the leaders of capitalism at the head of the Democratic Party from Roosevelt to Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1964 and Humphrey in 1968.

At the point when the coalition of labor with the capitalists within the Democratic Party that has existed since 1932 is breaking up, is falling apart at the seams, yes, is "exploding," Morris sees only a refurbished Democratic Party based on a coalition of youth, minorities, women, gays, and a "new type of politician" in alliance with the Galbraiths and the millionaires represented by the New York Times, all unified by McGovern.

The "explosion" that Morris sees is the ascendance of this McGovern coalition into which Morris wants to bring the labor movement. Morris' "theory" is that this "new politics" has changed the character of the Democratic Party from a party which "has served as one of the parties of the capitalist two-party system" (which Morris supported for all these years).

According to Morris, "there is something new in this Democratic Party convention and...it shows the emergence of a new force capable of DECISIVELY influencing the country's political course."

Talk about being "blind to realities"! The CP is very consciously blind to and opposed to the reality of the explosion of a massive movement for a labor party now emerging and can only lash out with desperate hatred of Trotskyism which takes the lead in the construction of the labor party and on this basis fights for a Marxist leadership in the unions that can abolish capitalism and set up a socialist society.





# IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM

AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY OUR HISTORY BY TIM WOHLFORTH

## THE THEORIES OF DAVID FENDER

BEFORE WE PROCEED further with our anonymous author it is best that we deal with David Fender who has clearly had his influence on him. In fact in some ways Fender is even more outspoken than our anonymous author in his attacks on the history of the Fourth International. On questions of method the two have complete agreement.

Fender was one of the young intellectuals who entered the YSA and SWP in the period of the anti-war movement and student upsurge of the middle 1960s. He then spent several years in Europe working closely, so he reports, with Peng, old time leader of the Chinese Trotskyists, formerly with the International Committee, and currently with the United Secretariat.

While in Europe he wrote a criticism of the SWP's anti-war activity for the 1969 SWP Convention. Upon his return he devoted himself to inactivity within the SWP only to emerge prior to the 1971 convention with a small group around him in Boston. He then launched a bitter attack on the newly developed opposition group within the SWP called the Pro-

letarian Orientation Tendency and formed his own faction called the Communist Tendency.

Fender writes in the founding document of this group:

"No, the opportunities for the Trotskyists have not been lacking. The Fourth International must now take full responsibility for its own failures to provide a valid alternative to the crisis in leadership which was the basis for the founding of the organization. The crisis in leadership for the proletariat during the last 30 years since the founding of the Fourth International has ultimately been the crisis of the leadership of the Fourth International itself.

"This crisis in leadership has resulted in the complete fragmentation of the world Trotskyist movement. After the death of Trotsky the international Trotskyist movement failed to develop a competent leadership which could command the confidence and respect of the international cadres. The inability of the different Trotskyist leaderships, especially the International leadership, to provide a consistent Trotskyist analysis and program resulted in a good many zigs and zags as events took them by surprise. In certain countries where the Trotskyist parties did manage to accumulate a certain number of cadres, in spite of their program—a natural occurrence under favorable objective conditions—these parties were ruined beyond recognition or washed away completely like sand castles after the first adverse wave. Such circumstances could not help but disorient even the best of comrades and raise protests from others. Alien class pressures ran rampant and each sharp turn produced both reaction and galloping runaways. Some comrades identified the disastrous politics with that of Trotskyism and began to question the

whole validity of Marxism itself. While other comrades were able to make telling criticisms of their political opponents, most of the time they too proved incapable of providing a Trotskyist analysis and program. In this whirlwind of mad-hatter politics, cliques and counter-cliques were common, and the heated internal debates ended almost invariably with organizational means being resorted to by one side or another. Bureaucratic expulsions and Simon-pure splits became the norm; until today the world 'Trotskyist' movement looks like an American junkyard containing every make and model of the last 30 years."

The tendency expressed by our anonymous author to break down the qualitative difference between the Fourth International and centrism is here carried one gigantic step further. Fender breaks down the distinction between the Fourth International and Stalinism and the Social Democracy. His position is that the Fourth International, which had "no lack of opportunities," is as much responsible for the crisis of leadership of the world

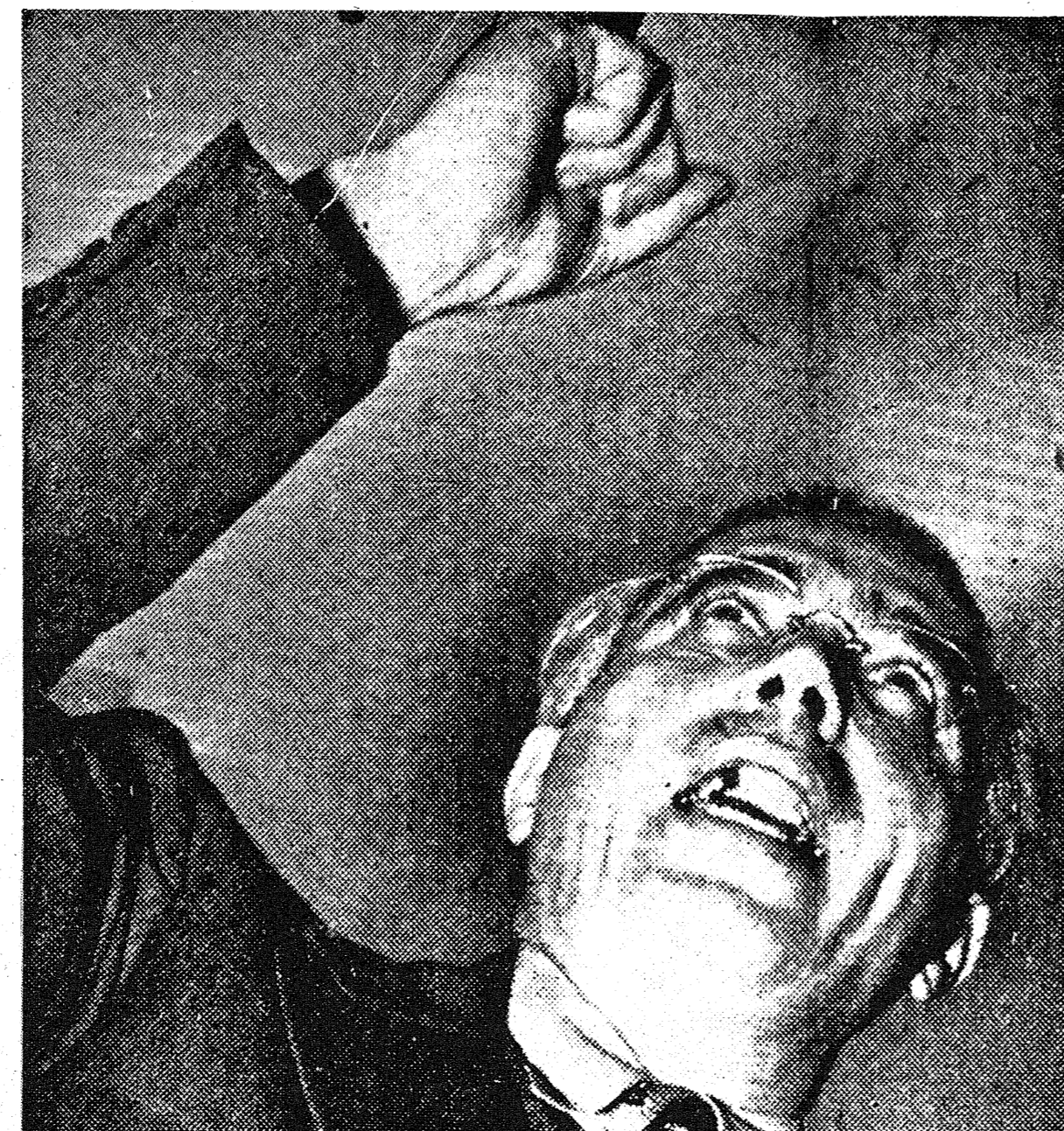
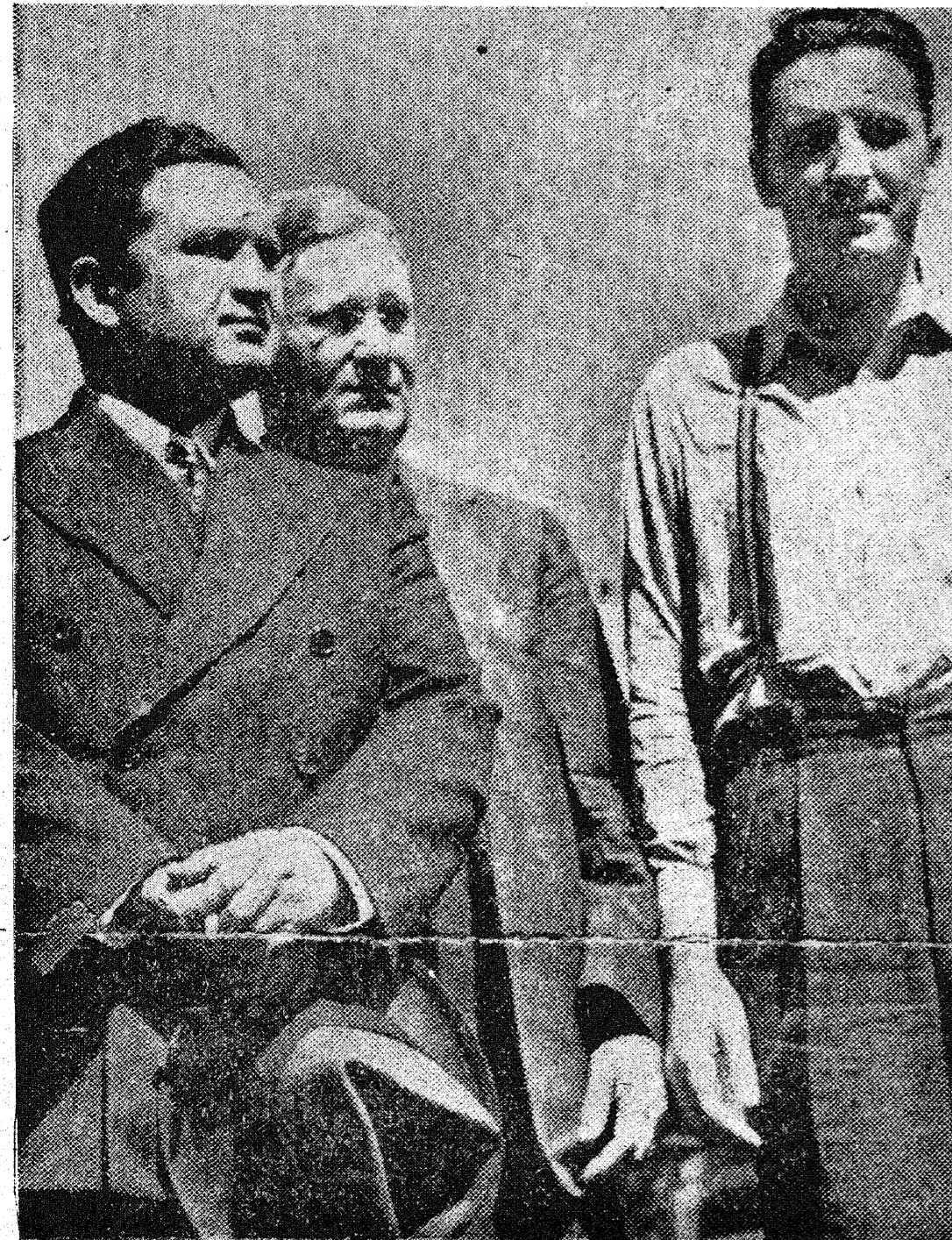
working class as the Stalinists and Social Democrats.

We do not view the question this way. We agree with the assessment made in the Transitional Program that the crisis of leadership has been brought about primarily by the degeneration of the Communist International. This created conditions where the mass Communist Parties not only could offer workers no real alternative to the traditional leadership of the social democracy but created great confusion theoretically in the workers movement which could not be cleared up with a snap of the fingers.

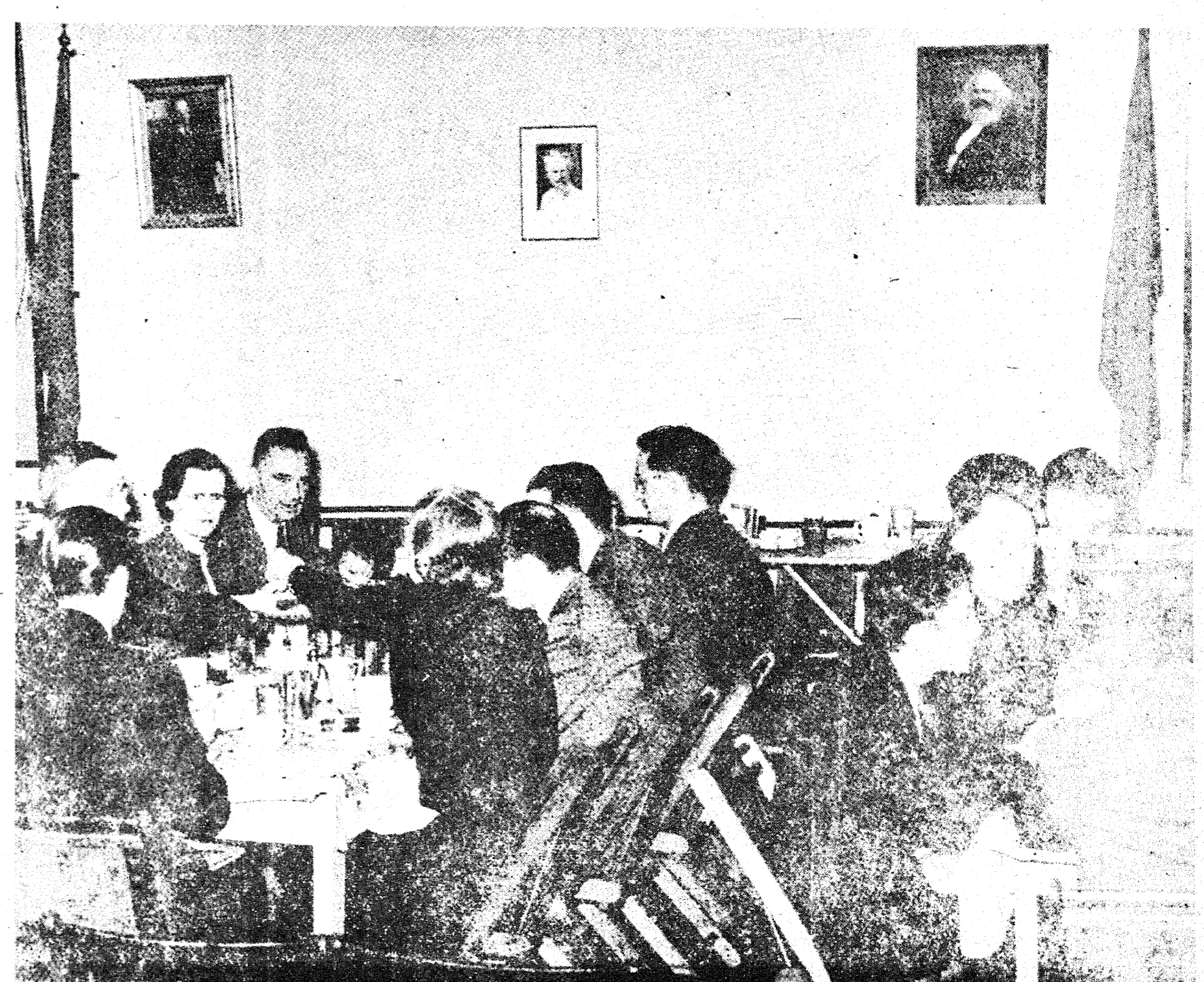
The question of the crisis of leadership is not a matter of opportunities here or there but of the fundamental task of actually breaking millions of workers from the leadership of Stalinist and social democratic parties. It is this task which has fallen to the Fourth International and only the Fourth International. The Fourth International is to be judged not by its progress or lack thereof in a numerical sense in this period or that but by what it does to resolve this crisis politically and theoretically in each country.

Trotskyism is not only an idea but an actual movement constructed through the struggle to mobilize masses to prepare the socialist revolution. James P. Cannon and the American Trotskyist movement played a critical role throughout the long and difficult history of the construction of the Fourth International. He stood up for Trotsky in 1928, stood with Trotsky against the Shachtmanite revisionists in 1940, and defended Trotskyism against Pablo in 1953. In this history the Minneapolis movement played a critical role. We dedicate this series in defense of the history of Trotskyism to the comrades of the Minneapolis movement. Through picture spreads in this and succeeding issues we hope to give a glimpse of the actual life of this movement which was more than the squabbles of "sectarians and centrists." In photo above 14 of the 18 Minneapolis Defendants who went to prison during World War II because they fought as revolutionists within the labor movement stand around a bust of Leon Trotsky. Standing left to right: Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, Edward Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting left to right: Max Goldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, V.R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson.





Trotskyism not only continued after the death of Trotsky but it stood up against the tremendous pressures of capitalism during World War II. Foremost in this was the battle of the Minneapolis 18 against Roosevelt's use of the Smith Act to suppress them. Above left: Felix Morrow, James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs on way to appear for indictment. Above center: Albert Goldman was a defendant and attorney for the other defendants. Above right: Defendants have their daily lunch in party headquarters during trial. The lunch was prepared by volunteers from the branch including a number of the wives of the defendants.



The Fourth International has had to carry out this work under generally unfavorable objective historical circumstances. The Fourth International was founded under conditions of fascism sweeping most of Europe and World War in the final steps of preparation. It was only the three immediate postwar years that could be considered favorable. In that period the betrayals of Stalinism of the mass movement led almost immediately to the restabilization of capitalism. Temporary though this restabilization was, it meant a long period in which the working class of the advanced countries struggled on a relatively low political level.

Fender seeks to maintain that the failure of the Fourth International in the years of 1946-47 to win the leadership of the masses from the Stalinists, turn the tide, and come to power, was a failure to be attributed to the weaknesses theoretically of the leadership of the Fourth International itself. These weaknesses in turn are seen as something which could have been overcome if only the right man with the right set of programmatic analyses had been at the helm!

That Fender can even pose the question this way reflects what Fender considers leadership to be. He goes on to speak of the failure of the Fourth International's leadership "to provide a consistent Trotskyist analysis and program..." But the construction of a movement is not a matter of consistency of analysis and program. It is the matter of the actual assembling and training of cadres around a basic strategy in the real life of the workers' movement. For Fender, just like our anonymous author, it is a matter of the perfection of the idea, not the dialectical development of a living movement.

So hostile does Fender become towards the Fourth International that he writes off its successes as "a natural occurrence under favorable objective conditions." While refusing to see the growth of the movement in that period as reflecting any real theoretical strength in Trotskyism, he proceeds to give excuses for those who then deserted the movement. "Some com-

rades identified the disastrous politics with that of Trotskyism and began to question the whole validity of Marxism itself." And even the best comrades "were disoriented." Fender can understand and sympathize with those who became anti-Marxists. After all, they were confused by the bad leaders. But he cannot understand why it is the Trotskyist movement as a whole had such great difficulties. It is all the fault of the Fourth International. There has been nothing but chaos and along came—Fender.

The actual internal struggle within the Trotskyist movement to develop a leadership after the death of Trotsky, to deepen the theoretical understanding of the cadres in the new period, to actually penetrate the workers' movement and prepare to overcome the crisis of leadership, all this is sneered at as "mad-hatter politics," "cliques and counter-cliques" and finally "an American junkyard." If this is the actual nature of the history of the Fourth International then why does Fender bother to write about it at all? Why, if our anonymous author agrees with Fender on this approach, does he write as well?

Clearly the purpose of their writings is to prove this to be the case. The history is studied not to bring forward a development of the Fourth International through the negation of the negation. The Fenders do not seek to discover how the Fourth International actually developed through a struggle against cliques, mad-hatters and anti-Marxists and in this way brought about a critically important development of Marxism. What they try to establish is that the Fourth International was nothing but madhatters, cliquists and anti-Marxists and therefore it isn't.

The position is: "The Fourth International is Dead! Long Live The Fourth International!" The Fourth International that lives is the idea in Fender's mind and that idea is whatever Fender wishes it to be. He thus studies history in order to free himself from its grip to do what he wishes to do. In the course of all this he reassembles its actual history according to his

own image. That is, he sees the Fourth International as having been—what HE IS!

In order to prove this thesis, Fender devotes the bulk of his article to a description of the development of the French Trotskyist movement during the war and the tendencies which existed within that movement to adapt to the bourgeois and Stalinist-dominated resistance movement on the national question. The French section of the Fourth International, for many years the largest in Europe, had from its origin many weaknesses which as Trotsky explained, reflected the peculiarities of France itself—the predominance of the petty bourgeoisie and the rationalist traditions.

At the same time, French Trotskyism existed in World War II under the most difficult circumstances—circumstances we might note somewhat more difficult than existed in Boston in the 1960s. France was occupied by the Nazis while the resistance movement was completely dominated by the powerful Stalinist party. Our comrades were forced into an underground existence hounded by both the Gestapo and the Stalinists. All the Trotskyists in continental Europe were completely cut off from the other international sections for a number of years. Many of the leading Trotskyists with considerable experience were captured and died in concentration camps.

Under these conditions what is truly amazing and to the credit of the real strength of these cadres was that they survived at all and fought to keep alive opposition to imperialist war in Europe itself actually issuing a paper in German to the German soldiers. Credit must be given particularly to the seamen members of the SWP who during the war sought to overcome the isolation of many sections of the Fourth International and to maintain some sort of contact despite great personal risk. Those comrades, like A. Leon, who died in concentration camps because of their wartime effort must also be noted. No, we will not go along with Fender and Comrade Anonymous and spit upon the history of these comrades.

Then we have a lengthy mention of the

The continuity of Trotskyism survived the war in Europe, a certain experience passed through and important theoretical capital accumulated through this experience which allowed for an important development of the Trotskyist movement in Europe in the immediate postwar years. The meaning of this became particularly clear in relation to England which Fender also discusses.

Fender has reached into history and retrieved as a political hero—Jock Haston, who headed the British section of the Fourth International in the period of the end of World War II up through the Second Congress of the FI in 1948. This was an important period for the Fourth International and without the struggle which took place in that period the continuity of the Fourth International would have been completely broken by the death of Trotsky and the World War. Thus the importance to Fender is to distort the accomplishments of this period as well.

The first mention of the Haston group is curious:

"Tony Cliff was sent to England by the International Secretariat to straighten out the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party) leadership who had been toying with the idea of state capitalism. The RCP leadership, however, ended up rejecting state capitalism and Tony Cliff ended up becoming one of its foremost advocates and leader of the state-capitalist faction in Britain."

What is curious is not so much where Tony Cliff ended up but that it reveals so much about the character of the Haston RCP leadership. The quote is actually in a section of Fender's article discussing the great petty bourgeois pressures upon the Trotskyist movement right after the war. One would think that the conclusion to be drawn would be that the Haston group represented an unstable petty bourgeois formation.

The next mention of the RCP is to its "sizable proletarian base." The same is also noted to be true of the French section and of the SWP in that period.

Then we have a lengthy mention of the

criticisms the Haston group made of what it considered the adaptation of the Fourth International leadership led by "Pablo and Healy" to Tito during his break with the Kremlin. Even at this point Fender must criticize Haston's own assessment of Yugoslavia which he notes was:

"An assessment similar to the Vern-Ryan tendency of the SWP that red army equals workers state."

The point here is that even when favorably mentioning criticisms that the Haston group made of the Fourth International leadership, Fender must also note that the actual theoretical position was, even in his own estimation, worse than that of the FI leadership.

However, the reference to "Pablo and Healy" begins to make clear why this long since liquidated tendency is being dug up and refurbished. After all, Haston opposed Pablo and Healy—and we might add, Cannon. Thus, perhaps we can lump them all in together to deny any principled character to the divisions which would later break out among them. Fender proceeds:

"As can be seen from above, the British section had a number of differences with the International. It was the first substantial section to clash with the new international leadership—a clash which started in 1945 and raged until 1949. The differences also encompassed the perspective for the British section itself. The International supported a small minority in the British section centered around Gerry Healy, who favored an entry tactic into the Labour Party. Healy, who became the International's man on the scene, was encouraged by both Cannon and Pablo. After this grouping declared itself a faction, Pablo managed to have it equally represented on the I. E. C. The minority, with status in the International essentially equal to the overwhelming majority of the British section, along with the open support of the International, threatened to carry out their line of entry regardless of the majority decision at the RCP Congress in 1947. The result was, of course, a split by the minority with the International giving the approving nod;

thereby in essence, recognizing the small entry faction as the official section. The majority of the party was by now demoralized and its cadres completely disillusioned with the International. Its total demise was only a matter of a short time."

Before we proceed further we must set the historical record straight. Fender is forced to distort this history in his efforts to defend Haston and to utilize this defense in order to attack the Fourth International and its achievements.

Haston was a self-proclaimed empiricist. His political evolution from sectarianism to opportunism of the most right wing sort must be understood as the political expression of this method and serve as a sharp warning to those who persist today with idealist attacks on dialectical materialism. His leadership was based upon clique ties drawing together individuals much in the manner of Martin Abern in the United States. (See *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky.)

The question of entry was first posed before the 1945 conference of the RCP. It was rejected overwhelmingly by the Haston leadership. Once again at the 1946 conference entry was rejected. At the August 1947 conference the minority, led by Gerry Healy, proposed that the matter be referred to the International Secretariat to work out a suitable compromise which would be acceptable to both the minority and majority.

This came before the International Executive Committee at the beginning of October 1947. An agreement was unanimously adopted, including Haston's vote, that there should be two groups in England, one working in the Labour Party and the majority outside. So much for the slanders that the International somehow forced any policies upon the majority of the RCP!

But there is even more to this. This arrangement continued until the spring of 1949 when Haston and the majority indicated they wanted to enter the Labour Party. The minority took steps to re-unify the two groups. This reunification was completed by August 1949, again with

Haston's complete agreement. Both the Central Committee and the Political Committee were divided among members of the groups with the majority in the hands of those who had been working in the Labour Party, the groups led by Gerry Healy. All this was done by agreement since it was generally accepted that those who had been in the Labour Party two years, because of this experience, should be in the leadership of the new movement. So the open RCP was dissolved, again on the basis of unanimous agreement.

In February 1950 the Labour Government, which had come to power in 1945, was almost defeated. A major discussion broke out on the Political Committee of the fused Trotskyist organization. Haston claimed that this represented a definitive defeat for the working class while the Healy group said it was a partial defeat and that the fighting capacity of the working class was still intact in its trade unions.

It was a week after this meeting that Haston wrote a letter of resignation from the Fourth International in which he rejected all its basic principles. During the three weeks that followed most of his leading group left proceeding to join the Labour Party and liquidate themselves into the politics of the right wing.

Clearly no one in the Fourth International drove Haston out or drove him to do anything. What drove him out was class pressures which he refused to fight standing as he did from the beginning on the basis of empiricism. Today he is the Educational Director of the right wing electrical union. Recently he appeared on television openly repudiating his Trotskyist past.

Fender also distorted the role of Tony Cliff in this history. The International did not send Tony Cliff to England in 1946. He went on his own for his own reasons. When he arrived in England in early October, 1946 he immediately joined the Haston group finding its clique atmosphere conducive to his own political way of life.

Cliff left the group before the reunification of 1949 and spent a year and a half out of politics. With the outbreak of the

Korean War a number of those who remained in the fused organization who had been supporters of Cliff denounced both sides in the war as "imperialist." They then took this position to the public, breaking party discipline, and were expelled. Cliff then came back and placed himself at the head of their group which became the nucleus of what is now the I.S.

Fender, of course, does not bother to inform us what his position is on the substantive questions in dispute within the British Trotskyist movement during this critical period in its development. Such people never concern themselves with questions of policy for the actual development of the Trotskyist movement in the working class. His only concern is to slander the leadership of the Fourth International for its absolutely correct efforts to bring about a development of Trotskyism in England by a necessary turn into the British Labour Party at a critical juncture in the struggles of the British working class.

Fender's purpose in this now becomes very clear. It was Gerry Healy who led the group within the British movement which fought Haston. The policies of this group were supported by the leadership of the Fourth International including James P. Cannon and Michel Pablo. It is well known that Cannon in particular had played an important role in encouraging the British Trotskyists to adopt a correct policy in relation to the Labour Party.

By championing Haston, Fender is able not only to distort an important period in the history of the movement but to link Healy, Cannon and Pablo together in order to obscure the political differences which were later to emerge between Healy and Cannon on the one side and Pablo on the other.

Not only that but the absolutely correct political and organizational decisions of the whole Fourth International at the time in relation to the problems of the British movement are transformed into the seeds of revisionism itself. All this is but preparation for the onslaught by all those who make up this idealist school against the 1953 split.



## SPARTACIST ON SHACHTMAN

JAMES ROBERTSON'S Spartacist group is another tendency which shares a common method with our anonymous author. Robertson was part of the original opposition tendency within the SWP which supported the positions of the International Committee and opposed the SWP leadership's merger with Pabloite revisionism. In 1962, Robertson broke with the International Committee over questions of tactics. He would not subordinate tactical considerations to his principled agreement on fundamentals with the International Committee.

In 1963, he was expelled from the SWP. He continued to proclaim political agreement with the International Committee. In 1966 he was therefore invited as an observer to the Third Conference of the International Committee. He put forward a position at that conference similar to that of Fender.

He viewed the Fourth International as broken into a number of tendencies each claiming to be the Fourth International and each containing some good elements and some bad. He saw his role as picking and choosing the good from the bad, sorting out the junk in the junkyard so that he could assemble his own international to suit his own purposes. He denied any continuity to the Fourth International, any development in its history. And so

he broke at that conference from any connection with the International Committee.

We have dealt at some length elsewhere with this tendency. What we wish to discuss here is their latest excursion into questions of the history of the movement. It falls to Robertson to seek to deny the qualitative character of the break between the SWP and Shachtman in 1940. As someone who was a member of the Shachtmanites for over a decade he is reasonably well equipped for the task.

In the course of a polemic against our position in defense of Bangla Desh, Spartacist wrote:

"In a polemic with the SWP in 1942 it fell to Max Shachtman's lot to place the general principle of support to self-determination struggle within a context of Leninist regard for concrete reality. The issue was China. Should socialists support China's war against Japanese imperialism on the grounds of self-determination for China, or had such support become merely, as Shachtman charged, backhanded assistance to U.S. imperialism which not merely assisted, but controlled the Chinese forces?"

What struck us then, as it does even more so now, was not only the particular issue involved on which Shachtman was as dead wrong as Robertson is today on Bangla Desh, but the method which seeks really to obscure and wipe out the definitive character and meaning of the 1940 split. Trotsky probed Shachtman's position on the Soviet-Finnish war to its methodological roots in Shachtman's abandonment of the dialectical method. Shachtman represented a petty bourgeois tendency which abandoned the Trotskyist position of defense of the Soviet Union giving in to the pressures of the ruling class because it persisted in a pragmatic method.

Are we here dealing with a tendency which has broken with Marxism by breaking with the Fourth International itself, which has bowed to class pressures and which has abandoned the very method upon which our principled program is developed and defended or are we dealing with a tendency which represents one mixture of good and bad positions as

compared to the Fourth International which represented another mixture of good and bad positions?

If there was any question about this at the beginning it was soon cleared up by Robertson when he wrote "War and the Workers League":

"...During the war years there was substantial agreement between the SWP and WP on the issues they faced, much to the confusion of militant workers and the radical public generally. This led to the two organizations holding unity negotiations in 1946 to consider whether sufficient agreement existed between them to establish a fused party. Further, during the years 1940-46 the Workers Party considered itself, and was considered by European Fourth International sections, as co-thinkers of the Fourth International."

Now we are told there was "substantial agreement between the SWP and WP on the issues they faced. . ." Was there agreement on the nature of the Soviet Union? No doubt Robertson did not consider that an issue to be faced even at a moment when German armies were advancing on Stalingrad. That unity negotiations took place in 1946 meant only that there were issues to be cleared up, issues which should have been fought out openly by the SWP in the preceding years. As the discussion revealed it did not mean there was agreement then or at any time between 1940 and 1946 on anything substantial.

That the Shachtmanites considered themselves part of the Fourth International cuts about as much ice as Robertson today considering himself a part of the Fourth International. The truth is that the Shachtman group walked out of the SWP and the Fourth International completely supported the SWP in the matter having no relations whatsoever with the Workers Party. Those "European sections" who considered it as a co-thinking section were no doubt the Haston group, which we have discussed.

Next we are told:

"Shortly after the WP's repudiation of Soviet defensism and its split from the SWP, James Burnham split with the WP majority to find his place in ultra-right

politics thereby lessening the internal pressure for a consistent anti-Marxist generalization."

Now we are supposed to be happy to learn that Shachtman had an inconsistent "anti-Marxist generalization."

And finally:

"In the long run, under the enormous pressure of U.S. imperialism, the Shachtmanites, left to their own devices, had to find themselves in the camp of that same imperialism. That happened, but not according to the Workers League's latest timetable—it took seventeen years from the split in 1940 before the reconciliation of the WP with the American social democracy took place. It is not inconceivable that the whole process of the WP's disintegration could have been reversed had reunification with the SWP taken place before the full pressure of the cold war atmosphere bore down on both organizations. Certainly between the years 1940-46 the WP was no literary exponent of world imperialism, as one would infer from the Bulletin, but rather a left centrist party whose members seriously desired a communist revolution. The disintegration and decay of the WP must be analyzed in the same way as the demise of the revolutionary SWP, as a process by which the SWP moved to a severe deformation as a revolutionary party by 1953, when the principle of internationalism was undercut, to rightward moving centrism as the SWP totally embraced Fidel Castro in 1961, to 1965, when they joined hands as reformists with the liberal imperialists in the anti-war popular front."

No, we do not agree that it took the Workers Party seventeen years to find itself in the camp of imperialism. It entered that camp when it broke from the Fourth International in 1940, attacking openly the Marxist method, refusing to defend the USSR during an imperialist war. The Workers Party subordinated itself to imperialism a long, long time before it formally dissolved into the Socialist Party and ended up supporting the Humphrey wing of the Democratic Party.

It was in the year 1946 that the Workers Party not only declared the Soviet Union to be imperialist but to be the main imperialist threat to the world! We recalled this was done in writing and thus can be considered literary expounding. We are not interested in Robertson's testimony as to the seriousness of the desire of Workers Party members for a communist revolution. We are more concerned with their dissertation of the state created by the only successful communist revolution. After all, Robertson is the man who told us that the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party was "Trotskyism with a pre-frontal lobotomy!"

To compare the demise of the Workers Party with the degeneration of the SWP leaves out one central qualitative difference. The Workers Party began as a centrist breakaway from Trotskyism and never was anything but centrist while the SWP has a rich Trotskyist history. The point of all this on Robertson's part is to deny the qualitative character of the break of the Workers Party from the Socialist Workers Party and thus to see the differences between the two as a quantitative matter. For Robertson the SWP has more pluses and less minuses than the Workers Party between 1940 and 1946 but not by many. This is why he can pose unification between the two in 1946 as something which could have really been achieved.

It is not accidental that Robertson writes on this question at this particular time. No doubt he has entertained these notions ever since the days he was in the Shachtmanite organization. He clearly never made a clean break of it by digging to the roots of Shachtmanism in its method.

He writes now at the same time as Fender and our Anonymous author because he must do everything he can to confuse and destroy the lessons of the history of the Fourth International now when that history can live through our struggle to develop a leadership in the working class itself. We will see how closely both Fender and our author parallel in method and purpose Robertson's efforts.

Continued Next Week

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## Where Wallace Really Stands

Order from Labor Publications, Inc., 135 W. 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011



# David North Books

# The Struggle To Build The UAW

**THE UAW IN PICTURES**, by Warner W. Pflug. Wayne State University Press, 1971. \$4.95

Pictures and text clash violently in this pictorial history of the United Auto Workers. The author's passionate devotion to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Walter Reuther's bureaucracy intrudes upon the fascinating pictures like hideous scars.

Warner Pflug, a teacher at Wayne State University, chose the pictures far better than he chose his words. He writes that "With the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 and the coming of the New Deal, auto workers saw a ray of hope. The labor movement obtained important legal support from the government, particularly in Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933."

According to Pflug, the UAW owes its existence to the generosity of Roosevelt. But the pictures in this volume tell a different—and truer—story.

The remarkable pictures of the great Flint sit-down strike, of the famous Battle of the

Overpass on May 26, 1937, of the massive rally in Detroit's Cadillac Square in support of the sit-downers show that the UAW was built in bloody battles against Roosevelt.

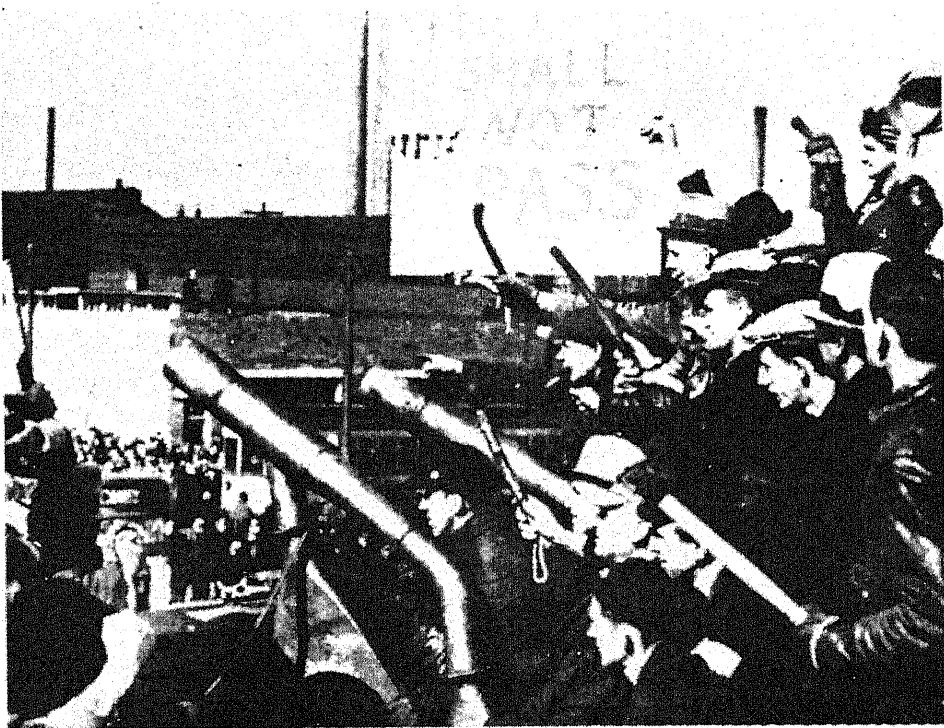
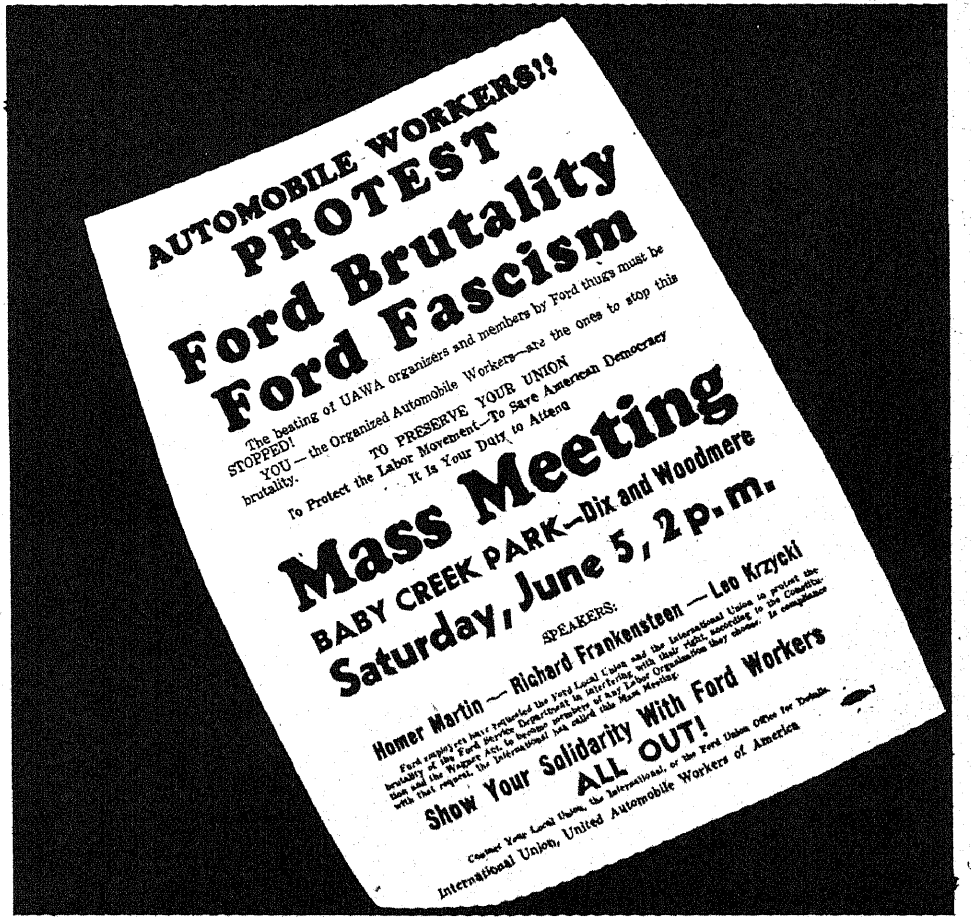
Again and again, Pflug exhibits a fantastic ability to put naked repression in the best possible light. Referring to Michigan Governor Frank Murphy's decision to send the state militia into Flint, Pflug claims that Murphy "made it emphatic, however, that the troops were there not to clear the factories, but to preserve law and order." In 1937, auto workers did not notice any difference.

Pflug continually sings hymns of praise to Walter Reuther, and notes with satisfaction the growth of a bureaucracy that has sought to stifle the militancy of the ranks.

"As the years have gone by, UAW conventions, as the supreme authority in the international union, have become more orderly in contrast to earlier years. . ."

The pictures taken in the 1950's and 1960's convey the increasing bulk of the complacent bureaucracy, grown fat on the dues of the UAW membership.

In spite of the text, the book is worthwhile for its pictures. Although he completely distorts history, Pflug did manage to find the picture archives that tell us something about how industrial unions came into existence in the United States, and how American workers will fight to defend the gains they won through these unions.



Top, leaflet distributed by UAW. Upper left, auto workers on sit-down strike show defiance of court injunction ordering them to leave plant. Upper right, trade unionists

demonstrate in Cadillac Square to defend 1937 sit-down strikes from injunctions. Bottom, pickets fight scabs going outside plant during strike against Ford.



The following article by Peter Jeffries was reprinted from the **Workers Press**, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League.

The decision of the Tory Government of Britain to "float" the pound represents a new and decisive stage in capitalism's economic and political crisis. It marks the opening of a period which could see the rapid disintegration of the world monetary and credit system.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party and reformists claim that the devaluation decision is purely a British question, the result of Tory "mismanagement". It is nothing of the sort. For it reflects and has already seriously intensified the international crisis of imperialism.

As many leaders of financial opinion have noted, it calls into question the entire structure of currencies and credit in the western world.

The decision to float has to be seen in the light of the Nixon measures of August 15 last year. What was the fundamental feature of these announcements? They marked the end of the Bretton Woods agreements which for 27 years, from 1944 onwards, had regulated the capitalist world's financial and trade system.

#### AUGUST 15TH

Last August, when the U.S. President announced that the link between gold and the dollar was broken, he was announcing in effect the opening of a period in which the struggle for world markets would intensify enormously and in which sections of European and Japanese capitalism would be plunged into insoluble crisis.

At their 1944 talks, the capitalists decided that in future two basic principles should regulate their dealings.

- All currencies should be linked to the dollar, which in turn should be linked to gold, at a fixed rate of exchange, \$35 to an ounce of gold.

- A system of "fixed parities" should be established between all the leading currencies. The value of each currency was established in terms of the dollar and could fluctuate only around narrow limits. Any change in the value of a currency had to be sanctioned by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which acted as "policeman" in the system.

The aim of these provisions—now gone forever—was to establish some degree of order and regulation in a system which in the 1930's had collapsed into anarchy.

But as we shall see, it was an aim which could never be realized. The contradictory laws of capitalism continued to operate and have now forcibly asserted themselves in the present crisis.

All those revisionists, like Mandel and the Pabloties, who spoke of a "new capitalism" wanted to deny the existence of these contradictions. Lacking all faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class of the big capitalist countries, they deserted Trotskyism and confined their attention to the campaign for "structural reforms."

#### WEAKNESS

But, despite what the revisionists said, far from being a reflection of their strength, the Bretton Woods arrangements indicated the profound weakness of the ruling class in the face of a confident and determined working class.

For what Bretton Woods implied was that capitalism would buy time through inflationary policies. And this has been the post-war pattern. In order to keep its system buoyant and maintain the level of employment, the capitalist class was forced to resort to the printing press.

Over the last 25 years, every major capitalist country, but particularly America, has accumulated vast budget deficits. These have pumped billions of dollars of purchasing power into the system, with no equivalent goods against which this paper money circulated.

Marxists have always recognized that inflation was an economic question, and not a technical matter. The decline in the purchasing power of the dollar and of every

leading currency has been a reflection of class forces. And if every banker is now demanding an end to inflation, he is recognizing that a fundamental shift in these relations must take place in favor of the employing class.

#### DEFICIT

The measures which the Nixon Administration was forced to take last August were the outcome of these inflationary pressures which had been operating since the end of the war.

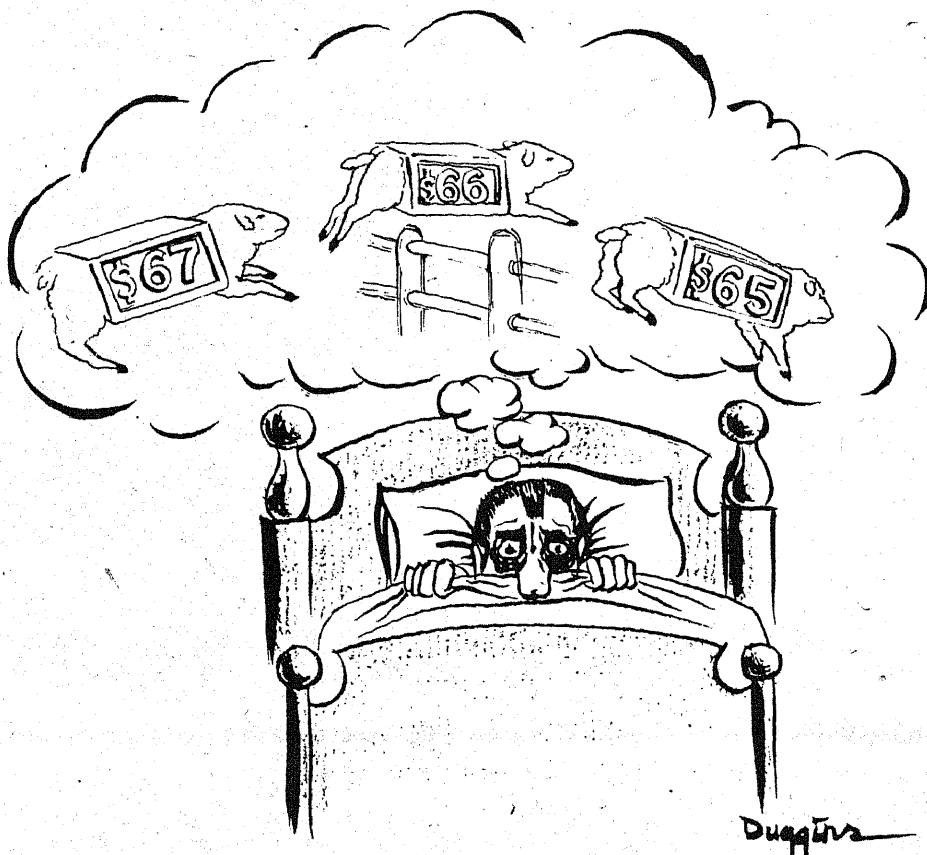
What form did they take? They appeared as a growing external deficit by the Ameri-

the result of pre-election Tory inflationary policies.

Immediately the pound was under pressure. The Americans realized that an attack on sterling would rapidly expose the dollar's growing vulnerability. For three years, to the end the U.S. tried desperately to support the pound. It was an indication of its fundamentally weakened position that its attempts were defeated. In November 1967, sterling was forced to devalue by 14 percent.

American fears were fully realized. Within a few weeks the dollar was at the center of the biggest monetary crisis since the war. Lacking all confidence in its value, specula-

# What's Behind the Dollar Crisis



The Golden Fleece

can economy with the rest of the capitalist world. And only last week it was announced that this deficit is expected to amount to over four billion dollars for the current year alone.

#### OUTFLOW

In the period to the end of the 1950's such deficits did not matter: they were supported by the vast American gold holding which in the early post-war period amounted to over \$30 billion.

Indeed, without the outflow of American money in the period—in the form of Marshall Aid and defense expenditures as well as considerable export of capital by the American corporations—large sectors of European capitalism would have collapsed after the war.

By about 1959 this situation began to change decisively. Due to expenditures on the Korean war and the large outflow of private capital, the volume of dollars in the hands of foreign governments began to outstrip America's seriously diminished gold reserves. It was from this point onwards that speculation against the dollar began to mount and it became a suspect currency.

The initial response of the American ruling class was to put the squeeze on the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as intensify the attacks on the American unions.

Under Kennedy, the aid program was slashed and some restrictions placed upon the export of capital. But despite the crisis even these limited measures produced in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, they were totally inadequate to meet the depth of the situation.

#### BRITAIN

The next stage in the crisis was centered on Britain. Coming to power in October, 1964, the Wilson government inherited an 800 million pound balance of payments deficit,

tors rushed for gold.

By March 1968 Washington was driven to suspend convertibility of the dollar. In future only "official" (government) holders of dollars would be allowed to exchange their holdings into gold at the established \$35 an ounce rate. This system was what became known as the "two-tier" gold system.

Washington also tried to slow up the crisis through the creation of Special Drawing Rights (SDR) issued by the International Monetary Fund and meant to be a substitute for the dollar.

But as the Americans knew fully well, such "remedies" were of an extremely short-run nature. Nothing had been resolved. Gold remained the basis of the system. When the next stage of the crisis reached its peak—in August 1971—it was to do so in a much sharper and more malignant form.

The monetary crisis has always been seen as merely a "technical" question by the revisionists. They have either ignored it, or suggested it could be resolved through the creation of some new means of exchange by the International Monetary Fund.

#### IC

Only the International Committee of the Fourth International has understood the real nature of this crisis and warned the working class of its real implications.

To understand the role of gold one must understand that capitalism is a system of production not for use, but for profit. The aim of capitalism is to accumulate surplus value, extracted from the labor of the working class; in order to take part in the process of capital accumulation, the capitalist must be able to convert the surplus value contained in his final commodities into some universally acceptable form.

The Ford Motor Corporation is not interested in producing cars. It is interested in the realization of the surplus values which its cars contain, back into the money form.

Historically, gold has filled the role as this money commodity, the only form in which surplus value can be realized. After the financial collapse of 1931 this role, however, was supplemented by that of the dollar. And since the war, firms and governments were willing to hold dollars instead of gold so long as they were confident that should the need arise, they could be re-converted into gold at some established and known rate.

#### DECLINE

So the general, historical, decline of the capitalist system is revealed in this crisis. When the national government in England broke the link between sterling and gold in 1931 the Americans were eventually, in 1943, able to assume their role. Under the 1943 gold-exchange standard the dollar was fixed in terms of gold at a fixed rate and from that point onwards the dollar was the world's leading currency, with sterling reduced to very much a subordinate position.

Today's crisis is quite different.

With the dollar in crisis, there is no currency which can possibly replace it, now or in the future.

The fact that the richest capitalist country in the world can no longer provide the basis for a stable world financial system—as Britain was able to during the 19th century—is a measure of the decline of a system which has sustained grave losses in the form of the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the loss of territory in East Europe after the last war.

With the dollar under considerable pressure, capitalism is rapidly reaching a point where there will be no suitable medium to carry out world trade, apart from gold.

And when one considers that over two-thirds of commercial transactions are at the moment conducted in terms other than gold, one gets a glimpse of the extent of the crisis which is rapidly maturing.

#### CONFIDENCE

Above all, the capitalist system relies upon confidence. Transactions are made and credits arranged on the basis of expectations about the future. That is why a currency crisis must also be a credit crisis.

All the leading multi-national enterprises conduct their business on the basis of long-term credits. With nearly every major currency threatening to "float" in retaliation against Barber's measures, the basis for any confidence in prices in the immediate future is quickly disappearing.

For example, it is now rumored that the Americans may soon have to convert with a two-tier dollar system. This would mean that there would be one value for holders of dollars now, with a new rate fixed for future holders. Not only would this mean that many holders of the billions of dollars now circulating in Europe would see the value of their assets—on which they have in many cases raised considerable loans—marked down overnight; the confidence of the capitalist class and its willingness to hold dollars in the future would be fundamentally shaken. This would have a disastrous effect on European exports to the U.S.A.

#### HIGHEST

It must be remembered that for Marxists, imperialism is finance capital. The main levers of power are in the hands of the banks and other financial institutions. That is why a monetary crisis, far from being a "technical" crisis, represents the highest point of the crisis. For it involves the future and stability of the European and American merchant banks.

But it is only in a crisis that the demand for gold becomes insatiable. During a period of boom, or expansion, the capitalists spurn gold, to hold their wealth in gold means that they are holding idle assets. It is only in a crisis, when there is a general lack of confidence, that gold becomes the only way in which wealth can be held, as against "profane" commodities.

March, 1968, the period of the general rush into gold, was a decisive turning point. It opened up a period in which it could no longer be merely the dollar which was in crisis but the entire currency system.

As we saw in the last article, this crisis was preceded by a sterling crisis.

Britain's forced devaluation, on the other hand, followed a gold crisis, reflected in Nixon's August 1971 measures. Here alone is the indication of the profound international nature of the crisis facing the Tory govern-



ment. The decision to float the pound was determined not merely by the lack of competitiveness of British industry, nor merely as a preparation for entry into Europe. It was a reflection of the lack of any confidence in the value of any currency in the world.

In another respect, the latest, 1972, crisis was also a negation of the 1967 sterling crisis. The Callaghan devaluation was carried through with the knowledge of the Americans and only, as we have said, after a long struggle on their part to preserve the old parity against the dollar. On this occasion, it is the Europeans, not the Americans, who fought against sterling devaluation and sacrificed their reserves in a vain attempt to prevent it.

#### DISARRAY

Here we also see a fundamental and new feature of the crisis. The Tory decision has now thrown the entire monetary arrangements of Europe into disarray.

After August 15 last year the Europeans spent weeks attempting to come to agreement about the ratios in which their currencies should exchange after the link between gold and the dollar was broken. And by June this year this agreement was shattered.

The efforts of the Common Market countries to create a united monetary front against the Americans lies almost in ruins. The stage is once more being set for a decisive confrontation between European capital and American imperialism.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s any European country in financial and economic difficulties had turned to the Americans. Now both the major currencies—sterling and the dollar—found themselves in crisis together.

No help for the Tories was forthcoming from the Americans. In fact, the root of the inflation in Britain is not only the strength of the working class and its determination to force up its wage levels, but the continuing

U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

And a series of bank crises would instantly reflect back on every major European industry which is entirely dependent upon these financial institutions.

So the Tory devaluation is unlike any other previous sterling devaluation. In no sense is it a question of giving British exports some temporary respite, as was the case as recently as the November 1967 devaluation.

Anybody who bases his politics on this conception is living in a world of illusions.

The devaluation was forced on Tory Prime Minister Heath by the incurable nature of the world economic crisis and the strength and determination of the working class to preserve and extend the gains which it has made over the last 25 years.

This crisis cannot be patched up. For the capitalist class "regulation" and "stability" in the financial system cannot mean a return to Bretton Woods. The Bretton Woods agreement is dead for all time.

Billions of dollars of paper are now circulating throughout Europe which nobody wants. This is the meaning of the West German and Swiss attempts to curb the entry of dollars into their economies. Order will only be restored if this mass of paper, claiming to represent value, is forcibly destroyed.

#### CHAOS

But such a destruction would mean chaos on every stock exchange and a crisis for every major monopolist and merchant banker.

Above all, however, it would mean an all-out immediate and vicious war against the working class.

Barber's measures have therefore posed revolutionary tasks immediately before the working class. It is either capitalist anarchy or socialism. This is the real, living, and urgent lesson which we must draw from the decision to float the pound.



John Maynard Keynes at 1944 Bretton Woods conference.

# Pompidou Forms Class War Cabinet

BY MELODY FARROW

On July 6th, President Georges Pompidou of France demanded the resignation of his Prime Minister, Chaban-Delmas, and formed a new government headed by Pierre Messmer, a traditional hard line supporter of the Gaullist party, the Union for the Defense of the Republic.

This sharp change, three years after the 1968 General Strike which forced De Gaulle to resign, is preparation for dictatorship and war against the working class.

President Pompidou spelled out the policy of his new cabinet at a meeting at Elysee Palace where he told the ministers that: "The institutions must be maintained with the greatest energy."

The new Prime Minister, Messmer, in his first televised address stated: "Thus we reject doctrines which tend towards the destruction of France and the disorders which surely lead to this."

#### CRISIS

The change in government, coming at the same time as the resignation of Finance Minister Schiller in Germany was precipitated by the deepening monetary crisis of capitalism.

Despite restrictions by the French government, the U.S. continues to flood European markets with huge amounts of dollars that are not backed up by gold. Inflation in France is higher than any other European country.

The U.S. seeks to solve its deficit in the balance of payments by forcing France to cut back exports. What the French government must now prepare for is a vicious trade war between Europe and the U.S. and between the Common Market countries.

The crisis has reached the stage where the franc is faced with collapse and may be devalued in the near future. The French ruling class is preparing to deal with this crisis by launching a vicious attack on the working class to halt and drive back its wages, to create more unemployment and back its policies up with a police state.

Marcelli, Minister of the Interior, made this clear in a speech attacking the formation of a "Popular Union" between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party for the 1973 elections. He hailed the role of

the national police and said:

"It must not only protect the population but the internal security of the Republican state as well. This vigilance, this perseverance will enable us to avoid being taken by surprise, for in periods of trouble...where even the most ancient institutions can no longer play their role, the State must stand straight and be a rampart to the population against the consequences of the disorders of the mind."

Marcelli sees the period ahead as one of civil war, in which institutions such as Parliament will be thrown out and replaced with open dictatorship.

Pierre Messmer has a long history of service to De Gaulle and imperialism that suit him perfectly to this task. Messmer began his Army career in the campaigns of the Foreign Legion in Africa and the Middle East.

In 1945 he parachuted into Indochina and was captured by the Viet Minh. After his escape, he was placed in charge of the administration of the African colonies. In 1959 he returned to the Army to join De Gaulle's brutal war against the liberation struggle in Algeria.

In 1969, he formed an organization called "Presence of Gaullism" which was dedicated to the Gaullist heritage of authoritarianism. This group maintains close ties with the military and the police.

#### DETERMINATION

Since 1968 the Pompidou regime has been in a state of crisis. It came to power only because the French Communist Party refused to carry forward the General Strike to the formation of a workers government. Despite this, the French workers retained their determination to fight.

In 1969, Chaban-Delmas declared: "For two years, you can consider that there will be no more strikes." This policy was a total failure as auto, steel workers and farmers went on strike and in some cases won impor-

tant wage concessions.

The strategy of Chaban-Delmas was to disarm the unions through the creation of contracts between the employers and the unions which were supposed to assure peaceful relations between the government and the working class. In reality these "contracts of progress" were an attempt to tie the unions to the state and to boost the interests of the industrialists.

At first the Communist Party led General Confederation of Workers (CGT) was the only union federation which refused to sign these agreements. They finally agreed only on the condition that the provision to prohibit the right to strike was removed. This did not prevent the French workers from pressing increasingly for strike action against speed-ups, and the soaring cost of living.

#### REPRESSION

The monetary crisis has forced Pompidou to bring this period to a close. The policy of the new regime will be to build up the state as an arm of repression against the working class and to intimidate the leadership of the Communist Party and Socialist Party into compromising the basic rights of the trade unions.

Valery Giscard D'Estaing told the Economic and Social Council that the first order of business for the regime would be to slow up the "excessive" rise in wages.

Shortly before the appointment of Messmer, Pompidou had pardoned Paul Touvier, a Nazi supporter during World War II. Between 1945 and 1949 Touvier was condemned three times by the courts in Lyon but he never went to jail.

Touvier was second in command in Lyons of a French fascist organization called the Militia. This group carried out the most brutal tortures and mass executions of thousands of Jews and resistance fighters in France.

The official pardon of a man like Touvier is Pompidou's sign to all the right-wing and fascist organizations in France to renew their activity openly against the working class.

At the same time, Pompidou has appointed a Gaullist as new director of the state owned radio and television network. Pompidou seeks to turn the network over to private enterprise and under the guise of

"reform," prevent news programs critical of the government.

The government fears the coalition formed between the Socialist and Communist Party. In April, the referendum on entry into the Common Market was defeated by a combination of "no" votes and abstentions by wide sections of the working class and small farmers.

Rather than expose the plans of the government for dictatorship, the Communist Party is nourishing the illusion that democracy and in the vague future socialism can be won peacefully. It attacked Pompidou for "scorning" Parliament because he did not bother to inform them that he was changing Prime Ministers.

The more Pompidou unleashes the forces of fascism and dictatorship the more the CP and Socialist Party will turn to the Radical Party for help in holding back the working class from revolution. This is the meaning of the statement of CP General Secretary George Marchais:

"We must create a wide gathering of all working class, democratic and national forces around it (the program of the Popular Front) no matter what their philosophical or religious convictions are who are opposed to the policy of the present regime and desire for deep democratic transformations..."

The Socialist Party is now deeply split on the issue of an alliance with the Radicals. The Directing Committee of the Party barely passed a proposal that will hand over 49 assembly seats to the Radical Party in the '73 elections. Some of these seats are in areas where the Socialist Party is far more powerful than the Radicals.

Both the Stalinists and the Socialist Party are opening the doors wide to a direct alliance with a section of the capitalist class. Their Popular Front is not a program for socialism but for begging concessions from capitalism.

One of the first actions of the CP after Messmer's appointment was to request a meeting with him to "negotiate" the demand for a monthly minimum wage of 1,000 francs and retirement at 60.

In the fall, after vacations end, the working class will be entering a period of massive strikes for higher wages. The tremendous upheavals that have swept Britain and Italy this past year will now hit France.



# HOW DIMITROV & THE POPULAR FRONT PAVED THE ROAD FOR FASCISM

BY ALAN BERENSON

In a recent issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, a major part of the magazine section was dedicated almost entirely to an extensive history of the life and career of Giorgi Dimitrov and the policy of the Popular Front.

This policy was initiated internationally at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 under Dimitrov's leadership. The article itself is written by William Weinstone, a veteran Stalinist, who was one of the founders of the American Communist Party in 1919.

The American CP very rarely dares to journey into its history in this fashion. Therefore, when it does, the occasion becomes doubly important.

Today as world capitalism finds itself in its greatest crisis, the Stalinist bureaucrats of Moscow and Peking compete by wining and dining the most infamous representatives of imperialism in attempts to recreate and go beyond the betrayals of the working class in the 1930's.

But there is a great difference between the 1930's and this period. The Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 took place in a period of great defeats for the working class, defeats for which Stalinism itself was responsible. Leon Trotsky fought to construct the Fourth International in a struggle against those defeats.

## OFFENSIVE

Today, the international working class enters into an offensive against capitalism with enormous strength and power accumulated since the end of World War II. It is for this period that the Fourth International has been prepared.

It is in this context that we must see the CP's re-examination of Giorgi Dimitrov. The editors of the *Daily World* go back over forty years to sing the praises of the man who presided over the liquidation of the Third International. This is not an historical exercise but the historical preparation for their attempt to once again put into practice the policy for which Dimitrov was the spokesman—the Popular Front—the policy of binding the working class politically to the parties of the capitalists.

Giorgi Dimitrov (1882-1949) was one of the founding members of the Bulgarian Communist Party. But after the defeat of the Bulgarian Revolution in 1923, Dimitrov emigrated to Germany. It was in Germany that Dimitrov first attained international fame when he stood trial as the main defendant in the Nazi inquest into the Reichstag Fire of 1933. The Nazi Party, shortly after taking power, set fire to the Reichstag themselves in an attempt to create a witch-hunt atmosphere through which they would be able to totally destroy the German Communist Party, and thus consolidate their own newly won power.

Communists throughout the country were rounded up and accused of arson and treason. Dimitrov, known as a leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was one of the Nazi's most prized catches.

Dimitrov was saved from execution only by the intervention of the Soviet government. It then used the prestige gained by Dimitrov as a famed political prisoner to place him at the head of the Comintern.

Weinstone devotes the major portion of his article to endless praise of Dimitrov for his conduct at his trial. Weinstone writes: "Dimitrov's bravery was that of a revolutionary fighter, a Communist, a quality which came from his revolutionary proletarian past..."

## BETRAYAL

No matter how personally brave during his trial, Dimitrov at no point separated himself from the policies of betrayal practiced by Stalinism which enabled the victory of German fascism in the first place. As Trotsky wrote at the time when predicting that Dimitrov would be made the head of the Comintern:

"The only reason for his sudden and unexpected advance was his bearing before the Nazi court. We all applauded it. But we mustn't exaggerate things. Dimitrov never fought for nor sought to express himself as a Marxist, a Bolshevik, in opposition to the Stalinist general line. He took part in all the scandalous policies of the epigones, in all its stages, and he bears full responsibility for them."

This was Dimitrov's political role in the 1930's. Weinstone uses, as did the Stalinist press of the period, Dimitrov's personal reputation in order to glorify his role as the major proponent and theoretician of the Popular Front which he advanced as a new international strategy at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The Seventh Congress took place in 1935 after an unprecedented delay of several years. As Trotsky explained at the time, what forced Stalin to convene the Comintern at all was the growing strength of the forces of the developing Fourth International and the decision of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy to institute the new strategy of the Popular Front.

## FASCISM

The Seventh Congress took place in the wake of the victory of German fascism in 1933—a victory due solely to the ultra-left policies consciously pursued by the Comintern. At the point where the unity of the entire German working class in both the Communist and Social Democratic parties was so critical in order to defeat Hitler, the Comintern and German CP refused to fight for a united front with the Social Democratic Party. They refused to fight for the only policies which could have won the German workers away from the Social Democracy and prepared the road to power. Thus, he German working class was split and Hitler came to power.

From the policy of the most extreme sectarianism, the Comintern in the Seventh Congress swung sharply in the other direction to a policy of open political collaboration between the international Communist parties and the parties of the bourgeoisie.

While both policies may appear as opposites, they were actually two sides of the same coin. In both cases, the Stalinist bureaucracy started only with the aim of preserving its own privileges through diplomatic maneuvers with the capitalist governments and refused to mobilize the workers in a struggle for power.

Weinstone describes Dimitrov's presentation of the Popular Front:

"Dimitrov placed the united front of the working class against fascism and war as the major task of the working class and all democratic forces. He creatively developed the Leninist concept of unity to include the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie and called for a People's Front, along with the united workers front...Moreover, he advocated the formation of an anti-fascist people's government to overthrow fascism...and to create favorable conditions for an advance to socialism."

## DISARMING

What the Popular Front actually meant was the disarming of the working class through coalitions with the capitalists. The "unity with the petty-bourgeoisie" of which Weinstone writes was in fact unity with the parties of the big bourgeoisie. The Popular Front was specifically imple-



Giorgi Dimitrov

mented to halt the development of international workers' revolution. The Popular Front was the medium through which the Stalinist bureaucracy bargained off the international working class as the price for alliance with English and French imperialism.

This international betrayal was accompanied by the Moscow Trials inside Russia. While halting revolutionary movements in Europe, the Stalinist bureaucracy proceeded within Russia to butcher all those who had led the October Revolution and to try to destroy the Trotskyists. The leaders of Lenin's Bolshevik Party were executed.

Trotsky said that the Seventh Congress was the "liquidation congress," meaning that in it all the principles upon which the Third International was originally founded by Lenin in 1920 were finally abandoned, and that this abandonment would lead, as it did in 1943, to the dissolution of the Comintern itself. It is all this which Weinstone seeks to cover over. The Popular Front is represented as a great victory. Weinstone writes:

"The bold proposals of the Comintern represented a tactical and strategic change of course which aroused the worldwide struggle against fascism and war. It prevented the victory of fascism in France (imposed but never solidified by Hitler during the occupation.) In the United States, it helped the united action of Communists and left unionists with moderate forces in the CIO that led the modern labor movement. In the early thirties it frustrated the plans of the most reactionary imperialists to oust the Roosevelt government and establish fascist rule in the country. In Spain, the People's Front struggle in 1936-1939 aroused the massive support of the democratic world and raised the consciousness and militancy in the fight against fascism to new heights."

## POPULAR FRONT

The exact opposite is true. In France, in 1935, French workers rose up in response to the developing fascist movement in revolutionary uprisings in Havre, Brest, and Toulon. The French CP answered this devastating offensive by forming a Popular Front coalition government with the Socialist Party and the Radical Party, which was a capitalist party. It was the latter which totally dominated the coalition. The Popular Front government was defined as necessary for a struggle of "all democratic forces" against fascism.

The CP employed such abstract phrases concerning "democratic forces" in an effort to obscure the real class nature of the Popular Front. Trotsky wrote at the time that the

most effective struggle of fascism was one which proceeded through the independent mobilization of the working class against capitalism. The CP followed the opposite course.

The Popular Front was instituted to stem the tide of the French workers' offensive. Leon Blum, the "socialist" head of the government, openly proclaimed that it was imperative that capitalism be maintained, that a struggle against it would only alienate the Radical Party and result not in revolution but fascism. As Trotsky explained, this was the same type of rhetoric employed by Kerensky in 1917 in warning that the destruction of the Provisional government would mean only the victory of Kornilov and the right wing.

The French CP entered into this treacherous alliance to give the bourgeoisie a breather which it desperately needed and skillfully used. The offensive of the French working class was smothered, as ordered by the Soviet bureaucracy in order to live up to its bargains with French imperialism. The general strikes in 1936 and 1937 were put down by this government. Five years later, Nazi armies marched into France. It was the policy of the Popular Front which paved the way for Hitler's parade through the center of Paris in 1940 and for the establishment of the Marshal Petain regime in France.

In the United States, the Popular Front found its expression through the open support of the American CP for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Following the construction of the CIO, the American working class moved towards the actual creation of its own political party—a labor party. It was the American CP which played a leading role in preventing the building of that party.

Why the CP specifically revives Dimitrov today is made clear in the concluding section of the article. Weinstone explains that far from being a policy only for the 1930's—Dimitrov also called for the implementation of the Popular Front—and "anti-monopoly coalitions" after the war.

The French CP, terrified by the show of strength of French workers in 1968 now runs desperately seeking to construct a new Popular Front. Similarly, in the United States, as the move for a labor party wins support among every section of the labor movement, including the highest section of bureaucracy, the CP calls for support to McGovern. It is the strength and power of the working class which now creates the greatest opportunity and also necessity for the development of a Trotskyist leadership which can consciously bring forward the lessons of the 1930's against Stalinism.



# Revolutionary Perspectives For Northern Ireland

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The working class of Ulster is threatened with a massacre by British imperialist troops acting in league with the right-wing Ulster Defense Association.

All the talk by the Tory regime and its representative in Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, about lasting peace in Ulster has been exposed as a calculated plot to smash the resistance of the Catholic workers of Ireland. To accomplish this, another 1,200 British soldiers were sent to Ulster recently.

British provocations forced the IRA Provisionals to end its two week truce on July 9, and it is the Tory government in London that bears full responsibility for the 36 deaths that have occurred during the past week.

Events have shown that the Tories used the truce only to establish a foothold for its troops in the Catholic ghetto and open the way for a bloodbath. The British imperialists viewed the truce as the fascist Mussolini viewed peace—as "only an interval between wars."

### DESTRUCTION

While the Catholic Church, Stalinists, reformists of the Irish Social Democrats, "Official" IRA, and middle class radicals hailed the truce in order to mislead Irish workers, Whitelaw worked hand-in-glove with the UDA to prepare the destruction of the Provisional IRA.

This cooperation was illustrated in the incident at Lenadon housing estate which precipitated the end of the truce. The UDA had driven working class families out of their homes and had prevented these families from moving into new apartments legally allotted to them.

When the IRA attempted to move the families into their new homes, the UDA disappeared and the British Army came in, put up barbed wire around the apart-

ments and fired gas at the families. Immediately afterwards the British Army invaded the Catholic districts like Andersontown in Belfast to "root out" the IRA.

No one at this stage should have any illusion that the British imperialists will treat the Irish workers any less brutally than the Kenya, Aden, Malaya, or other colonial peoples. What is being prepared in Ulster at this moment is nothing less than a full-scale pogrom.

### CUT OFF

On July 15, the British army attempted to completely cut off the Catholic areas of Bogside and Creggan in Derry by erecting a brick wall in the center of William Street, the main artery connecting the Catholic areas to the Derry shopping area. The army claimed this would keep "bombers" and "terrorists" from escaping to Catholic areas.

The construction of the wall was stopped following a sitdown on the site by Catholic women. But the next day fifteen foot high barricades were put up by the army to cut off the Bogside from the outside.

### DICTATORSHIP

Meanwhile, the UDA pawns of British imperialism have dropped their cover of calling for a restoration of the Stormont parliament and now they openly demand a military dictatorship. "We want military minds not political brains," say the UDA leaders who have been openly arming and drilling.

The UDA leaders have shown reporters complete dossiers on IRA leaders which will be used for "liquidation purposes" if the IRA does not surrender.

Under these circumstances of preparation for pogrom the Trotskyist movement while criticizing the policies of the IRA which led to truce, fully supports the disruption by the IRA of the truce. The Provisional IRA is the only force among the Republicans, revisionists and reformists who are standing up to the offensive of British imperialism against the Ulster workers.

### DEMAND

At the same time, the Socialist Labour League of England and the Irish Trotskyists have made the center of their campaign—as they have from the arrival of troops in Ulster in August 1969 in opposition to every other political tendency—the demand that all British troops be withdrawn from Ulster.

To accomplish this the Tory government must be thrown out of office and a Labour government elected, pledged to socialist policies. These must include withdrawal of all troops and the right of self-determination of Ireland. By overthrowing Toryism, the British workers can deal a decisive blow for the Ulster working class.

### EXPOSED

The renewed crisis in Ulster has above all exposed the traitorous policies of the Stalinists of the Communist Party, as well as the so-called "Marxist" Official Republicans, and centrists like Bernadette Devlin.

The British Communist Party's paper Morning Star set the tone. The Provos' decision to end the truce was "wrong and wholly to be regretted...it gives the ultras and men like ex-Prime Minister Faulkner excuses to oppose the introduction of genuine democratic measures, to step up demands for the use of force by the British troops against the IRA and to justify their own use of force."

The "Official" IRA said: "The resumption of offensive action will take the pressure off Mr. Whitelaw." Meanwhile Miss



Irish workers march in funeral procession for girl killed by British troops in earlier fighting. Now more massacres are being prepared by Tories.

Devlin complained that: "They could have gone on the defensive without breaking the truce."

From the beginning, the Socialist Labour League and the Irish Trotskyists adopted an opposite perspective. The August 16, 1969 issue of the Newsletter (the Trotskyists' newspaper which was the forerunner of the Workers Press) carried the headline, "Withdraw British Troops Now!"

"The role of the army is not to ensure 'peace' against 'extremists' but to impose military dictatorship. To act now against the intervention of the troops in Northern Ireland is the essential preparation for the coming struggle in the whole of Britain," stated the Newsletter of August 26, 1969.

### REVOLUTIONARY

Only the Newsletter probed to the potentially revolutionary situation that underlay the sending of the troops. The Republicans and revisionists saw only the splits in the working class, the attacks on the Catholic workers by the Paisleyites as the peaceful protest of the "civil rights" movement blew up. They

turned to the capitalist state for salvation.

But the fight back of the working class contained the possibility of turning the situation into its opposite. Defense committees were formed in the working class neighborhoods and in a number of areas these began to unite Catholic and Protestant workers against provocation.

In the Belfast shipyards and other factories, the Paisleyites were pushed aside and calls for united working class marches were issued. The troops were called in the day after Protestant working class youth moved into battles for the first time against the police.

The SLL called for the formation of working class defense guards and a general strike in Ulster for withdrawal of the troops.

The Trotskyist paper Workers Press warned on October 26, 1971, in a front page article, "Ulster stands on the brink of a 'Sharpeville' massacre." The Tories had already granted their Unionist friends internment of political prisoners and massive increases in British troops. But this would not be enough for the Tories.

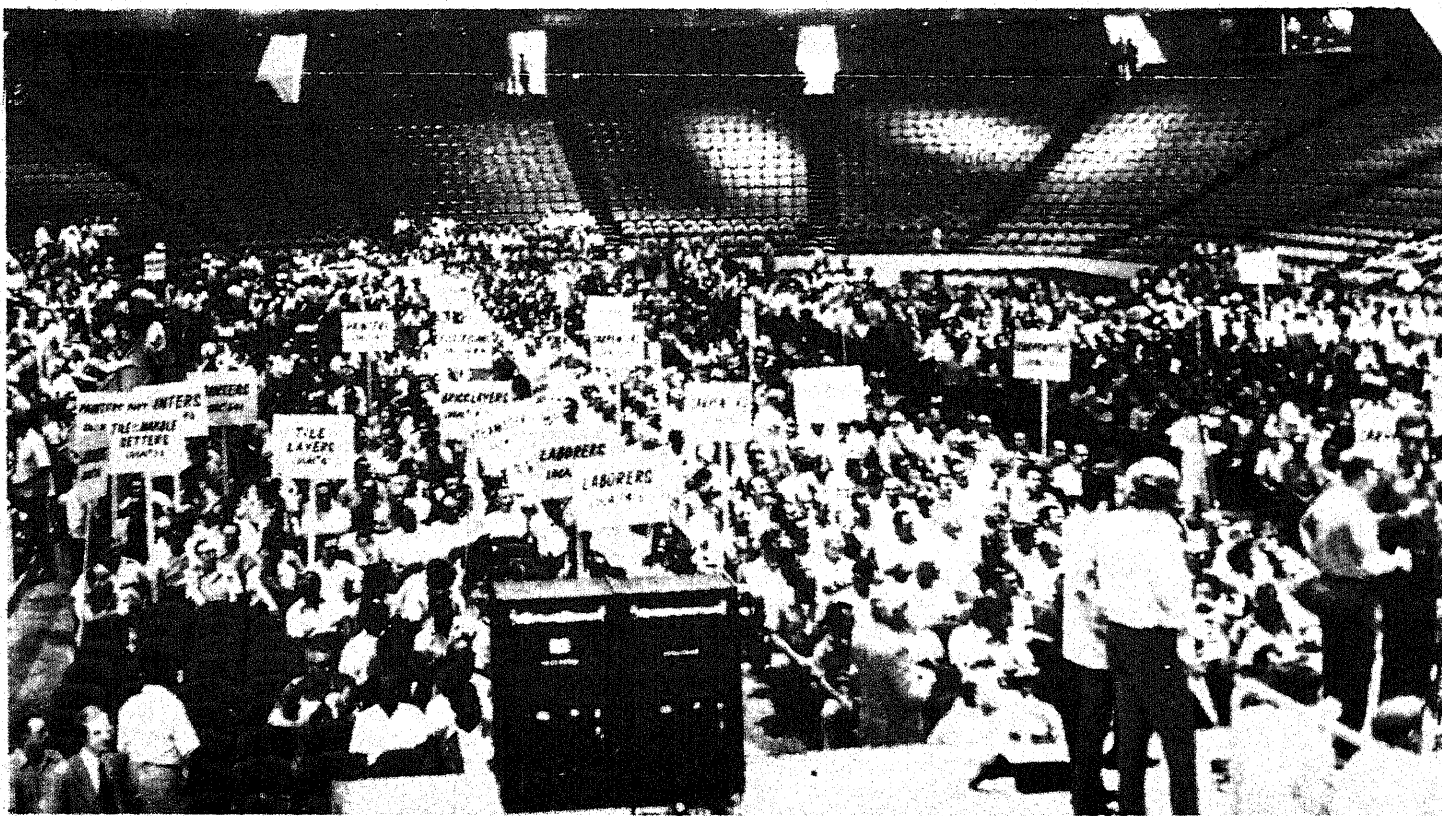
### STRENGTH

"The full strength of the working class movement should be mobilized to make the Tory government resign!" the Workers Press warned. "Otherwise Sharpeville in Ulster is on the way."

The warning of Workers Press became tragically true on Jan. 30, 1972. Thirteen Irish workers were gunned down on a peaceful demonstration on "Bloody Sunday" by British troops—the same British troops the Stalinists and revisionists had claimed were necessary to prevent a pogrom.

The next step for the Tories was to suspend the totally discredited regime of Unionist Prime Minister Faulkner. What the IRA and the reformists and Stalinists had been calling for was granted—direct Tory rule.

We support the Provos in the battle of defense against British imperialism. But at the same time the record shows that only the Trotskyist movement can lead the Ulster workers to victory in a common struggle with the British workers against capitalism in England and Ireland.



Construction workers held massive rally last week against use of non-union labor by companies.



## Editor's Notebook

### The Great Chase

The Labor Committee is one of those groups which builds its politics on the basis of middle class clique politics—that is not class struggle but conspiracies and intrigues whose outcome they believe will determine the fate of humanity. Normally we wouldn't bother with such matters but their latest intrigue would be fitting for the TV screens—comedy that is. Even Alfred Hitchcock would have a hard time beating the surprise ending to this one.

According to the Labor Committee's paper, their latest adventure into cops and robbers occurred on the Sunday morning of the recent conference of Trade Unionists For Action and Democracy, where they had set up a picket line:

"So few people had turned out

for the Sunday TUAD sessions that Labor Committee picket captains wondered whether the CP had removed the conference elsewhere to escape the embarrassment (!) of the picket line. Accordingly, mistaking the Wohlforth delegation for a joint Healyite-CP group, one picket captain hailed a passing cab and followed Wohlforth's group through six dollars worth of Chicago's South Side while Wohlforth & Company frantically (!) attempted to shake the tail (!)."

Needless to say the Labor Committee's Sherlock Holmes wasted six dollars as the Workers League's members were not trying to "shake the tail" but get to a Pancake House for breakfast before the conference began!

### Big Three

Overheard at the Democratic National Convention in Miami last week. As our reporter stepped from the press room in McGovern's headquarters at the Doral Hotel he saw the Three Fates—Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug—standing under the enormous gilded chandelier doing some heavy thinking. These three Women's Libbies are a sampling of some of the forces McGovern has gathered around him. No doubt they were thinking maybe one of them would be picked for Veep.



Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug

"We've got to talk to Bella about strategy"... And the heavens thundered, the ground shook and the waves of Miami parted.

As it was announced that Eagleton was the choice for Vice President, in all seriousness, Betty turned to Gloria with all the bloated self importance of the middle class snob, her voice intense and said:

### Kissinger Makes His Move

A new element has been added to the rocky world championship chess match in Iceland between Bobby Fischer of the U.S. and Boris Spassky of the Soviet Union.

After disrupting the proceedings on numerous occasions, Fischer refused to show up for the third game because he did not like the TV cameras in the room.

It is now being said that none other than Henry Kissinger made an 11th hour call to Fischer to urge him to play the third game for the sake of "America's Honor." It was Kissinger who masterminded the "ping pong" diplomacy of Nixon's trip to Peking and to Moscow. If Fischer loses now; they can claim it was a question of "diplomacy."

### Party Time

Unemployment and the wage freeze have made vacations for millions of workers' families very lean this summer. But the rich, those who run the big corporations which are robbing workers of their jobs and pay, are having a ball of it.

The latest thing is to pay a "party architect" to throw their parties. One of these party givers for the rich, Clive David, whose clients include the Kennedys and Mrs. Onassis, welcomes what he calls the growing amount of "leisure time." He said:

"There's a whole new area now with increasing leisure time. With the four-day week becoming increasingly accepted, there will be more and more parties, at home, in the backyard, on the terrace, on boats. The small parties

are just as much a challenge as big ones."

The cost of these backyard barbeques runs around \$20,000 to \$50,000 a price the rich are quite willing to pay to be entertained, to ease their minds after a rough day at the office.

David has even devised a party to ease the conscience of the exploiters and teach the children of the rich "their obligation to the less fortunate."

"Each child could be given a dime to put into a central pool and the winner of a game could be given a lollipop and the privilege of having his or her name put on the contribution of dimes that would go to a needy child for food or clothing."

That's really big of them.



Pennsylvania Young Socialists held statewide outing in Bethlehem last Saturday. Lecture and discussion centered on the history of the Fourth International.

### MEANY ON LABOR PARTY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

the Executive Council was based on "a trade union point of view and a trade union point of view only."

In response to a question from the Bulletin on whether the formation of a labor party had been discussed at the meeting, Meany replied that it had been mentioned and added:

"The position of labor over the years on the labor party has been very simple. That we didn't want to expend all of our energy running a labor party, trying to run the country, when we were able to bring workers of America, despite our dissatisfaction with conditions, a better condition than workers have in any other part of the world.

"But if we get to the point

when we can no longer bring those benefits to the workers of America under the present two party system, you can bet your life we will seriously consider a labor party."

Under pressure from reporters, he stated that he would not vote for either George McGovern or Richard Nixon, and Meany then added "I only wish Norman Thomas were alive."

### Abel's Speech To The Convention

BY DAVID NORTH

All but the labor delegates listened in stony silence as I.W. Abel denounced McGovern and the Democrats in the strongest terms heard from the leader of a major union since John L. Lewis broke with Roosevelt in 1940.

The three minute speech, delivered shortly before George McGovern won the presidential nomination, has received almost no mention in the capitalist press.

We reprint below the critical passages from Abel's speech:

"You may win the votes of the self-styled liberals, the anti-labor snobs, but that's not America.

"Tonight, I want to tell you something about tens of millions of ordinary working Americans. They are the real unsung heroes of America. Every day they struggle to make ends meet. They struggle to find decent homes in a wholesome neighborhood. They struggle to get a good education for their

children.

"They are the base and the root of the liberal victories in this quarter century. And they are sick and tired of being called racist and reactionary by slick Madison Avenue hucksters or by alleged liberals who couldn't get elected without them.

"And we are tired of the politicians who denounce big labor and labor bosses on Monday, and then come to us on Tuesday with their hands outstretched.

"We've heard a lot about hypocrisy at this convention, especially by those who call themselves the advocates of a 'new politics.'

"Well, let us end hypocrisy. Let us end the hypocrisy of candidates who tell us they are for the working

people and then turn around and vote for right-to-work laws and against minimum wage programs.

"Let's end the hypocrisy of candidates who say they're for working people and then serve as a mouthpiece for the wheat lobby.

"Let's end the hypocrisy of candidates who say they're for young people and then vote against summer jobs for youth. Let's end the hypocrisy of candidates who say they're for the Blacks and then seek to weaken the voting rights provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act...

"Give us a candidate with an unblemished labor record. Give us a candidate with a civil rights record that is unstained. Give us a candidate with a perfect record of pioneering for a better environment...

"Give us a candidate whom working people can support."

### INTERVIEW WITH I.W. ABEL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

down, we can't count on him. "If you go into the bar downstairs, you will find millionaires who give money to the Democrats and the Republicans. Many of the same people will be here in a couple of weeks for the Republican Convention.

#### FORCE

"Maybe this convention is the thing that will force us to have a labor party. I have been for one."

Abel denied that it was McGovern's positions on the war which had stirred up so much opposition to his candidacy within the labor movement.

"We are all sorry that nothing was said about the economy. A lot was said about Vietnam, but nothing about inflation and unemployment.

"The economy is in very bad shape. I get nervous sometimes when I think how many comparisons there are to the 1920's and the 1930's.

"In the Wall Street Journal today there is an article on mounting inventories. Industry is stockpiling. It's having trouble getting rid of its goods to the consumer. That's a bad sign.

"As for the war, the kids are going to be awfully surprised by McGovern. Ike said we would get out of Korea and we still have

troops there."

#### LABOR PARTY

Abel said that when the AFL-CIO holds its national meeting at the end of August, the question of the labor party will be raised.

"It's my feeling that if we are going to have coalition governments, we ought to have a labor party," he stated.

I asked Abel what the leadership of the AFL-CIO thought of UAW President Leonard Woodcock's support of McGovern and his open bid for the vice-presidential

nomination.

"We would all like to know what Loenard is up to," he answered.

Abel said that he did not expect that the Democrats would win the support of workers as in the past. "The ranks are restless," he stated, and admitted that if the ILA had gone on strike against the Pay Board, "there probably would have been a general strike."

Abel said that he had heard about the position of the Communist Party on the elections. "We know about Gus Hall, and it seems he's all for McGovern."

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# 56 And Unemployed — Caught In The Vise Of Aerospace Crisis

**PALO ALTO**—The following is an interview with a 56 year old worker who began working in the aerospace industry in 1940, and was suddenly thrown out of work in 1966 when his plant closed down.

**Bulletin:** Where were you working?

**Aerospace Worker:** Hiller Aircraft in Palo Alto. I started work there in 1952, constructing helicopters from the Army and Navy. I worked on the engine line, putting the engine and all the components together.

**Bulletin:** When did the plant close down?

**Aerospace Worker:** In February of 1966.

**Bulletin:** When it closed down, did the company give any notice?

**Aerospace worker:** Yes, we knew that they were going to go away to Hagerstown, Maryland. Fairchild bought them out. Some of our people went over there, not too many. Let's say 25 of them. They made it kind of difficult for people to stay over there. Finally they came back, one by one to California.

**Bulletin:** How many men were employed at the plant?

**Aerospace Worker:** Everyone lost their jobs, about 1500.

**Bulletin:** What were the conditions and wages at the plant where you worked?

**Aerospace Worker:** The conditions were pretty good.

**Bulletin:** But when it came down to it, they closed down and threw everybody on the streets?

**Aerospace Worker:** Well, that's right.

**Bulletin:** Since 1966, what has been your experience looking for a job?

**Aerospace Worker:** I worked for Pan Am first and left them in 1950. I thought when I left Hiller in 1966 that to go back to Pan Am would be rough because I'd have a lot to catch up on. I didn't know anything about jets. So I went to another plant, Bell Labs, for almost two years, in building maintenance. At that time they had 400 people on the payroll, then they merged with SCM.

Everything was going fine for about four months, then all of a sudden they started laying off. And finally they laid off 400 people. The plant is still in operation, but there are only 30 people working for them. I've been looking and making applications here and there. But there aren't many contracts for building maintenance.

**Bulletin:** Have you been able to get any steady job?

**Aerospace Worker:** No. I've been caught in crossfires. I worked for one company for two years and they laid me off. I worked for

another company for six months; they folded. I worked for another company for a short time and they folded up. One day you come out to make an application and they ask you the reason why and you put down layoff and layoff and layoff. It's not my fault, because the running of the jobs just seems to last so long and that's it.

I have some applications now and I'm waiting. They told me they'd call me up. I went to see one of them the other day, they gave me confidence that there'd probably be something waiting for me there. I made the application out and the young girl tells me that it will take two weeks before they can process it. I'm willing to wait. I'm trying to be patient.

One place in Stanford Industrial Park told me that they had a pretty good job for me with my ability as a mechanic. So to be patient and wait for a week. So I called her up. I don't know if the people in that department saw my age on there and figured I was too old for the job, because I'm 56 years old.



Bay Area Young Socialists held party recently to raise money to help build the YS.

## West Coast News

When you're past 40 nowadays, it seems the chances for you to get a job are pretty slim.

I look at the board at unemployment, but the problem is that in building maintenance, they want a fellow to do building maintenance work, they want him to paint, they want him to do electrical work, they want him to do plumbing, they want him to do air conditioning. You have to be able to do five or six jobs and do them well, all of them, before you get the job. And then they only want to pay you about \$3.00 an hour.

I'm getting very discontented over the whole thing. I've been paying my taxes, the same as everybody else, and just because I'm reaching a certain age, there should be something there for me to do.

**Bulletin:** What has it been like, making do over these last eight years?

**Aerospace Worker:** Well I had money, but I've been taking money out of the bank to support my family. But that money I had put away, I had thought I had put it away for when I would be retired. But I'm taking it now, so when I'm going to be retired what am I going to do if this keeps up?

**Bulletin:** What kind of pension plan do you have?

**Aerospace Worker:** It won't be too great, because it didn't start until the last eight years I was at Hiller. When you're 65 it's nice to get a few more dollars. Because of the way the dollar has been devaluated, it's just nice to have a little extra. That's what I was planning on. I worked hard and I put money aside, and I've been drawing on it for these last few years.

I pay the same price for a loaf of bread as a millionaire pays for it. I pay my taxes, but some of these bigshots, they always seem to

have a loophole. But there's no loophole for me.

**Bulletin:** What sort of change has it made in your life not being able to work?

**Aerospace Worker:** Last spring I had to go to see a doctor because I had a nervous stomach. I was nervous because I wasn't working. I went back to work for 10 weeks when I replaced one fellow at SCM who was hurt. And it made a big difference in my life, because I was working again.

They just mentioned tonight on TV, we have six million-people out of work. There should be something done about it immediately. It's been going on for years. The jobs have just been slowly, slowly creeping out. Big plants going out of business and big mergers, and everytime there's a merger there's problems. It's a write off for a lot of these people when they go out of business, a write off. It's not a write off for me.

**Bulletin:** In this election year, what do you think the candidates who are running have to offer to people like yourself?

**Aerospace Worker:** The politicians always paint a nice picture, what they're going to do, how they're going to do it, and vote for me and you won't be sorry. And after they're elected, you don't hear too much from them. We ought to get some one who's going to be able to help us, not just the top man, the one that doesn't need it. But to help the needy, the people that's making this whole United States.

**Bulletin:** It was the Democrats who passed the legislation which enabled Nixon to set up the Pay Board. None of the candidates have raised a peep about the Pay Board's cuts in contracts, including aerospace. What kind of alternative do you see between the Democrats and Republicans?

**Aerospace Worker:** I don't see too much change in either Democrats or Republicans. Whoever's in power, the government always seems to do what they want to do, and you have to like it. I think there should be a radical change in the whole thing.

**Bulletin:** Recently the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council called for the labor movement to break from the Democrats and Republicans and construct its own, independent party.

**Aerospace Worker:** I think that would be a good idea.

**Bulletin:** We think that a mass movement for a labor party can be constructed today. Such a labor party would have to fight for certain policies. Full employment, an end to all anti-union laws.

**Aerospace Worker:** I believe that the age of retirement, instead of 65, should be dropped down too. The big companies won't take a man because he's over 40. O.K., if they don't want to hire us, well, why don't they retire us? Why don't they drop the retirement down to 55? But retire with an honest retirement, not peanuts!

## Godfrey Men Invade North American Rockwell

BY A CORRESPONDENT

**LOS ANGELES**—When GM boss, Joseph Godfrey, launched his cost-cutting program of automation, speed-up and all-out union-busting against the UAW he was pointing the way for American industry.

Nowhere have the brutal methods of intensive exploitation developed at GM been studied more closely than in the crisis-ridden aerospace industry.

Boeing in Seattle began the drive with a layoff program that saw its Seattle employment figures decline from a high of 101,000 in 1968 to 38,000 in April, 1972. This was accompanied by a campaign to extract every possible minute of work from every employee.

"We found for example that a man was at his place of work only 26 percent of the time," says John E. Steiner, a Boeing vice-president. "He was going around to get tools, to get parts, to get approvals from some modification engineer, to do anything but build airplanes."

**REORGANIZATION**

Under Steiner's reorganization, Boeing claims that it has actually been able to

increase time at work to about 70 percent. Now North American Rockwell is taking the lead and it is no accident that the new methods are not only being copied from Detroit, but are being introduced by automobile men.

North American's chairman and chief executive, Willard F. Rockwell Jr., former head of a Pittsburg based auto industry supplier has hired as president Robert Anderson a 20 year Chrysler man and Wallace W. Booth, a 20 year Ford man, as vice-president for finance.

**CHECK UP**

Anderson and Booth are introducing "operations analysis" which involves intensive checkups on performance for all sales and production targets against rigid one year plans with "corrective action" taken against any deficiencies.

North American Rockwell itself was produced as a merger between an automotive supply company and North American Aviation Inc. in 1967. "You don't get tougher control techniques than those of the auto industry," says James A. Bondoux aerospace analyst for Mitchum, Jones and Tern-

pleton. "North American Rockwell has been able to apply them to a job shop."

**DRIVING**

North American is driving to produce below contract cost estimates. It has already received \$5 million from the Air Force as an award for savings on the Miniteman III missile.

North American is bringing off these savings by reducing employment from 120,000 in 1967 to a present 73,400. Almost half of the executives and their secretaries have gotten the axe as well.

The grim reality behind these statistics which are leading to rising stock values and dividends is the same as that in the auto industry. Reliability and safety go out the window as operations are geared to maximum speed. The three astronauts killed at Cape Kennedy in 1967 by a flash-fire were using equipment provided by North American.

**EXPLOSIONS**

What the introduction of these methods mean is that aerospace workers face a future on the job, if they are still working, very similar to that of workers in the auto

plants. Big explosions are on the agenda in aerospace as well.

Another ominous sign for North American's work force is that Booth and Anderson, well aware of the dim prospects for aerospace, are seeking to diversify into other fields such as the manufacture of small desk calculators. They intend to chop viciously into aerospace and electronics which presently account for a large percentage of sales but only a small percentage of profits.

**B-1**

Indeed, there is already talk at North American that if the company fails to get the B-1 contract and the space shuttle contract, the only space program on the agenda to follow Apollo, the days of its plants at Los Angeles and nearby Downey are numbered.

As in the past the lives and jobs of North American workers will count for very little in the decisions made by the "Detroit management style" experts.

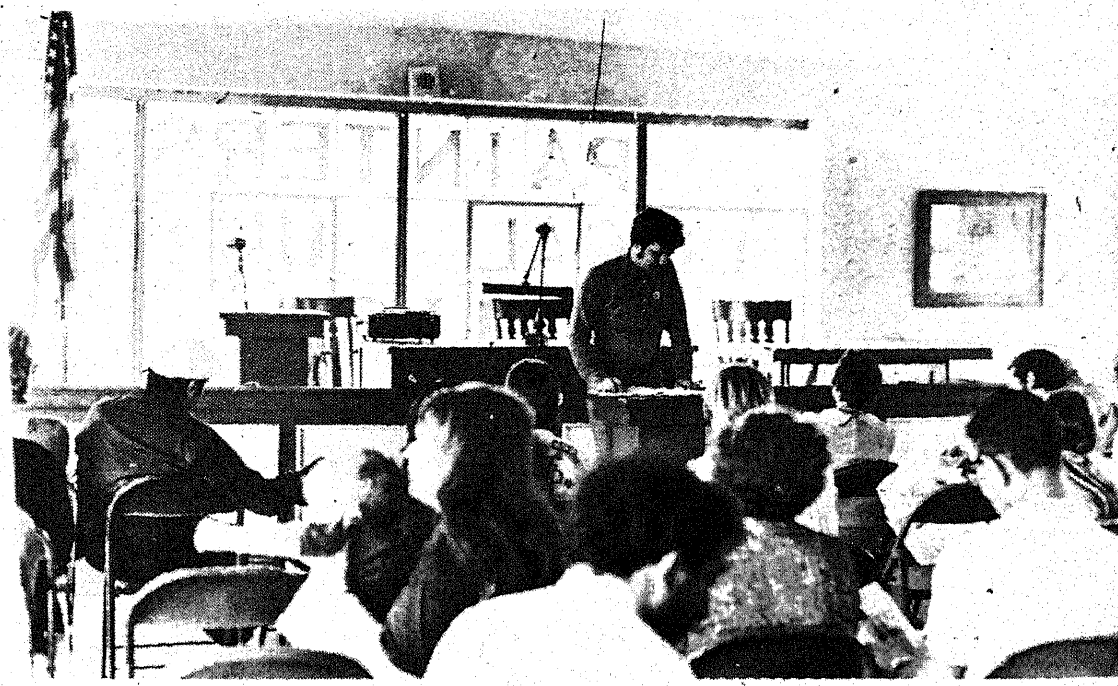
If the auto "experts" have their way the next Lordstowns and Norwoods will be at North American Rockwell. Aerospace workers must prepare now to force the UAW and IAM to mobilize behind the defense of their jobs and contracts.



# West Coast News

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## LOS ANGELES TRADE UNIONISTS CONSIDER LABOR PARTY



Stalinists tried to stop discussion on labor party at L.A. TUAD meeting last week. But they were forced by the interest and support of trade unionists present for a labor party to allow Workers League supporter to speak on the issue.

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy held a report back meeting here on July 15. The meeting, which drew approximately 60 trade unionists, was called to present reports on the St. Louis Labor for Peace Conference and the Chicago TUAD conference.

From beginning to end, the meeting was marked by the principled struggle of trade unionists, who were supporters of the Workers League, in a fight for the independence of the working class through the construction of a labor party. This struggle threw the organizers of TUAD, who are influenced by the American Communist Party, into a desperate attempt to prevent a political discussion from taking place.

The TUAD conference held in Chicago on July 2 revealed the sharpening crisis of the Stalinists in the face of the exploding class struggle and their attempts to restrict that struggle to pressuring the Democrats. This crisis was expressed even more sharply in L.A. because the meeting took place in the context of the split now developing between the labor movement and the Democratic Party.

According to the CP reporters, the Labor for Peace Conference was a blow to the Meany-Lovestone section of the labor bureaucracy. They went so far as to claim that the bureaucratic overturn of the 2-1 vote for a strike against the war was only a tactical matter with leaders such as Harry Bridges holding out for more time to prepare.

### FIGHT

There was no mention of the fight for the labor party which dominated the conference, a fight which speaker after speaker was forced to confront. Significantly enough, the reporter did not even see fit to mention that TUAD itself had been forced to condemn the bureaucratic handling of the Labor for Peace Conference.

The report on the TUAD conference was a model of CP falsification. The speaker boasted of its broad representation and its determination to exert pressure on the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy. He claimed that a motion for a labor party was over-

whelmingly defeated because the demand for a labor party was racist in that it meant abandoning the struggle against racism in a fight for a political movement that cannot be built at this time.

When a supporter of the labor party demand rose to challenge these reports and to explain why the fight for a labor party, which represented the real needs of the working class, was at the very center of these conferences he was ruled out of order by the chairman.

Precisely at this point when the struggle for the independence of the working class had to be taken forward, a member of the International Socialists rose to obscure the central issues. Challenged in his right to speak because he was not a trade unionist, this centrist sought to disrupt the entire meeting with demands for the right of non-unionists to speak. His role was to provide the Stalinists with a cover to obscure the question of the fight for power by the working class.

Refusing to be diverted, speakers supporting the Workers League continued the fight for the labor party. At each point the chairman interrupted and ruled them out of order insisting that only questions could be asked.

### MOVEMENT

The real movement of the working class was brought out sharply when an auto worker from the Southgate plant came forward to say that his union local had endorsed a labor party 35 years ago and that now was the time to carry out the task of its construction.

The Stalinists then rose to attack him for bringing the struggles of the past into the present, hinting that he was living 35 years ago. At the time when the real lessons of the past were being brought forward, some of the very people who acted in the past to prevent the construction of a labor party once again sought to obstruct this development.

Spokesmen for the Stalinists proceeded to heap abuse on all the

labor officials, particularly I.W. Abel, who were in a clash with the Democratic Party maintaining that a break would be a reactionary development when the task was to exert pressure instead.

Finally a speaker for the Workers League demanded to be heard without interruptions. The chairman was so desperate that he actually accused the speaker of being a racist for daring to challenge the chair.

The Chairman refused to put the issue to the body for a vote for fear of being outvoted. The demands from the floor were so clear that the Stalinists finally had to agree to allow the Workers League to put forward the case for a labor party for five minutes without inter-

ruptions.

Despite these harassments, the trade union supporters of the Workers League made it absolutely clear that if the TUAD was determined to fight for a rank and file participation in Labor for Peace the League supported that fight while continuing the struggle for a labor party movement and opposing the criminal TUAD support to McGovern.

### WORKING CLASS

Not a single spokesman for the Stalinists could avoid discussing the labor party. Their inability to deny the Workers League the floor or cut off discussion was a reflection of the tremendous power of the working class now moving

forward.

The summary remarks of the TUAD leadership were directed entirely at the Workers League and the labor party in the tradition of Stalinist distortion. They claimed that TUAD did not endorse McGovern when speaker after speaker had urged support for him. They lied outright claiming that the vote at TUAD against the labor party was overwhelming when in reality it was 70-50.

The struggle conducted at this conference was to clear the way forward for the working class against the Stalinists and centrists. This fight was the beginning of a struggle that will lead to the rapid development of the League in Southern California.

## Struggle Continues Over Safety At Milpitas Ford

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MILPITAS—The militancy of the Local 560 ranks exploded once again early Friday morning when 200 spray painters on the night shift staged a wildcat, bringing out the entire shift and shutting down production at the Ford Assembly plant in Milpitas.

The men had returned to work on Tuesday after a 27 day strike which forced Ford to guarantee to correct health and safety grievances which the company had for as long as two years.

At the center of the strike was the demand by the spray painters that Ford clean up the paint booths and provide decent ventilation. In a vicious drive to cut costs, Ford had reduced maintenance crews by half, permitting the paint booths to become virtual ovens in which the men could barely breathe.

Returning to work in the middle of a record breaking heat wave, the painters found the booths absolutely unchanged and simply refused to work in 130 degree heat with no ventilation. As one painter told the Bulletin:

"We were out on a damn strike for 30 days. We go right back and it's even worse. That paint booth where I work—you can't even breathe. You've got to put vaseline on your face, and the paint and everything is unbearable."

### CRIPPLING

The walkout threw the local leadership into a complete crisis. Another strike would have been a crippling

blow to Ford, which had fallen way behind schedule due to the strike that had just ended. The company was so much on the defensive that they immediately promised no action on would be taken against the painters.

They had to rely on the local bureaucrats to bail them out. In a two hour meeting on Friday afternoon, the local leadership refused to back the strikers and rejected their demand to call out the day shift, thereby forcing the men back to work.

### CONCESSIONS

Nevertheless, significant concessions were won. The company agreed to cut back the schedule, which had been 10 hours, to eight on Friday in order to bring additional men in to clean the booths. On Saturday, production was to be shut down entirely in order to continue the cleaning. A written schedule for maintenance work in the plant, one of the key demands of the strike, was to be posted at the Local 560 hall.

The tremendous strength and determination of the ranks here to beat back Ford's attempt to break union conditions was summed up

by a painter who told the Bulletin: "You see, they figured that we went out for 30 days and now we're hurting. So when we came back they could give us anything and we'd take it. They found out differently last night."

### STRENGTH

Throughout the auto industry, similar explosions are taking place as the ranks marshal their strength against the plans of the bosses, spelled out recently by GMAD head Joseph Godfrey, to break the UAW.

This is what is behind the crisis of the labor bureaucrats like Abel and Meany who are being put to the point of an open break with the two parties of big business.

But there must be no illusions that the methods of the backstabbing bureaucrats who continue to support tools of the employers like McGovern can defeat the union-busting drive being led by the government itself.

### LEADERSHIP

What is required is a new leadership in the UAW which will see to it that labor constructs its own party in 1972 to sweep away the Nixons, McGovern, and Wallace, who waits in the wings, and all those in the labor movement who collaborate with them.