

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FORTY SEVEN 256

AUGUST 14, 1972

197

FIFTEEN CENTS

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TORIES READY TROOPS AGAINST BRITISH DOCKERS

England is in the grips of its greatest and most decisive class battles since the General Strike of 1926.

As we go to press, a strike by more than 40,000 dockers has paralyzed British shipping; and the Tory government—now functioning with Emergency Powers—is making plans to clear the docks with the same ruthless methods that they used to clear the Catholic barricades in Ulster.

A general strike is on the agenda in England. During the past three weeks, hundreds of thousands of workers were swept into political struggle against the Tory government in defense of their unions and all the rights they won over the past century.

This mass movement of workers will grow in the coming weeks; for the working class in England is learning that it cannot defend itself through trade union militancy but must take up the political struggle by fighting to force the Tory government out of power.

FORESHADOWS

Every American worker must now turn his attention to the developments in Britain; for the struggle there—the oldest capitalist country in the world—foreshadows the battles that will emerge in the United States very rapidly in the coming period.

The class struggle in Britain is an expression of the international crisis of capitalism. The United States is very much at the center of this crisis, for it was the massive inflation of the dollar (Continued On Page 18)




Over 2,500 trade unionists sat-in at San Francisco's Emporium Department Store. See story on Page 20.

Soaring U.S. Trade Deficit Poses Mass Unemployment

BY THE EDITORS

American workers are threatened with a sharp rise in unemployment far beyond the level of six percent as the economy continues to be shaken by the monetary crisis and the drastic deterioration of the United States' trading position.

TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON
The Case for a Labor Party



See Page 15

Just as the price of gold reached an all-time high of \$70 per ounce—nearly twice the official American exchange rate of \$38—it was announced that the United States' balance of trade had suffered another staggering setback.

In spite of all the frantic efforts made by the Nixon Administration, at the expense of European and Japanese capitalists, to make the United States more competitive, the trade deficit for the month of June was a staggering \$590 million.

(Continued On Page 18)

Political Committee Statement

Launch Drive For Daily Bulletin

The central requirement of the American working class is the construction of a revolutionary leadership to meet the tasks posed by the deepening crisis of world capitalism. It was to fulfill this task that the Workers League was founded in 1966.

From our origins, we have proceeded from the understanding that the construction of a revolutionary leadership necessitated above all the development of a press to fight for socialist policies within the working class itself. Only with such a press can we expose exactly what it is the capitalist class is seeking to do to the working class, how the working class can answer each attack, and how through this struggle a conscious leadership can be constructed within the working class.

It was with this understanding that we first launched the Bulletin as a fortnightly mimeographed paper and developed it to its present frequency and size.

Now, however, the sharp change in the objective situation facing workers following President Nixon's August 15th, 1971 decisions requires that the fight to develop the Bulletin be seen in a new light. In the immediate period, American workers face wage limitations, soaring inflation, rising unemployment, the continuation of the Vietnam War, and the preparation of new anti-strike legislation.

At the same time, Nixon's policies have solved nothing fun- (Continued On Page 18)

Thieu Panics As Liberation Army Routs Puppets

BY MELODY FARROW

Despite the arrogant boasts of the U.S. Army that the bombing raids and mining of North Vietnamese harbors are crippling the offensive of the liberation army, the North Vietnamese Army and the NLF have been routing the frightened and demoralized Saigon troops in one area after another.

Two weeks ago, President Thieu loudly declared that Quang Tri had been retaken by South Vietnamese troops with little resistance. This was explained by the fantastic statement that somehow the North Vietnamese had escaped by tunneling their way out.

Four days later, the paratroopers were driven out of the Citadel by the North Vietnamese and suffered heavy losses. Liberation troops are now in firm control of the Citadel and are being supported by a heavy artillery barrage of South Vietnamese positions.

To add the Thieu's troubles, the North Vietnamese army has opened an attack on the western outposts to Hue. Heavy fighting is raging in the town of Bong Son which Thieu had also claimed was "recaptured." When the South Vietnamese soldiers were confronted with the North Vietnamese troops, they turned and ran and were only halted by the threat of being gunned down by their officers.

OFFENSIVE

On August 1st, the liberation army proved that it was still on the offensive by launching a powerful rocket attack on the Bien Hoa army base, only 20 miles north of Saigon. This was the biggest attack in this area in four months.

Facing a demoralized army and growing opposition of workers and youth in the South, a desperate Thieu has ordered all daily newspapers in Saigon to pay \$47,000 to the government as security against possible future prosecutions for violating national security. This measure would effectively force all but five papers to go bankrupt.

Most of these papers are not even opposed to Thieu. Thieu's regime is disintegrating at such a rate that he is forced to turn the press into propaganda sheets about phony victories. It is a dying gasp of a regime that does not have long to live.

Nixon is continuously stepping up attacks on the North and is unleashing the tremendous destructive power of American weapons in an attempt to force the North Vietnamese government to negotiate on his terms.

THREAT

A key part of this threat is the bombing of the dike system. Last month the Pentagon, after denying that dikes were being hit, admitted that certain sections had been bombed allegedly as part of a raid on military installations. In reply to charges that the U.S. was consciously attacking the dikes and was threatening the death of millions of Vietnamese people, Nixon replied:

"If it were the policy of the U.S. to bomb the dikes... we could take them out in a week.

We are not using the great power that could finish off North Vietnam in an afternoon."

Far from being a denial of the charges, these words were a threat to annihilate North Vietnam. They clearly expose the real thinking in the White House and in the Pentagon.

WIPE OUT

One thing is certain. Nixon is now pushed forward by the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. If he cannot win his demands at the negotiating table, he is fully prepared to carry out his boast to wipe out North Vietnam in order to maintain the interests of American imperialism.

British Troops Invade Ulster Ghettos

BY ED SMITH

The British Tories have decided on a "final solution" to the heroic resistance of the Catholic workers of Ulster. Ten thousand troops—two thousand of them secretly flown in on huge transport planes from Germany—invaded the Catholic ghettos of Derry, Belfast and other Ulster towns at 4 o'clock in the morning last Monday.

The Tories know that there is absolutely no way the problems of unemployment and poverty can be solved in the desperate crisis facing British capitalism. The very day the troops were sent in, a state of emergency was being prepared to deal with a national strike of British dockworkers which had earlier threatened to break out into a general strike.

See "How The Army Keeps The 'Peace' In Ulster" on Page 16

Three weeks earlier a Royal Air Force plane had flown in the leaders of the Provisional IRA to London to confer on peace terms with British direct rule administrator William Whitelaw. Whitelaw refused to grant any concessions in substance to the Catholic minority.

After a careful three week campaign, climaxed by the hysteria whipped up over the "Bloody Friday" bomb explosions by the Provos, the British Army demolished the barricades surrounding the "no-go Catholic areas, and the ten thousand troops went in. This is equivalent to 150,000 troops occupying London.

In the first hours of the occupation, two men were killed. The Tories know that their desperate economic crisis forbids any reformist answer to the Ulster crisis. Whitelaw said: "I intend to use the troops that we now have to remove the capacity of the Provisional IRA to wreck the life of this community." The IRA must be destroyed and the resistance of the Catholic working class must be met by the sword.



British dockworkers cheer after delegates meeting decided to reject government's offer and continue their nationwide dock strike.

Just as the Tories answered the British dockers' demands for the right to work by jailing five dockers and preparing to bring in troops on the docks, so the massive occupation is the preparation for pogroms against the Catholic workers—and after them the Protestants.

The economic crisis, and the great offensive of both the English and Irish working classes leaves the Tories no choice but repression.

Prime minister of the Irish Republic Jack Lynch welcomed the invasion, "as long as it saved lives."

The Provos had mostly left the ghetto areas before the attack. Their whole policy of a terror campaign to extract concessions from British imperialism lies in ruins.

The "Official" IRA, meanwhile, has called for a propaganda campaign against the British occupation! As for a policy to actually get the British troops out of Ulster, however, both wings of Republicans remain silent.

Great dangers now face the Ulster workers. The massive occupation of Catholic areas—the biggest British armored operation since Suez in 1956—means that British imperialism has decided to settle accounts with the working class.

The policy of the Irish Trotskyists is the only way forward. Workers—Protestant and Catholic, North and South, Irish and British—must be united in action to overthrow their common enemy: the Tory governments in both countries.

In this way, the enormous strength of a united working class can be brought behind the socialist policies that alone can solve the desperate problems of the Ulster workers.

Sadat Pact With Libya To Help Israel Deal

BY ED SMITH

Egypt and Libya have announced plans for "complete unity as soon as possible." The announcement came after a meeting last week of Egyptian President Sadat and Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Unity would be achieved in a complicated scheme involving the reports of seven commissions to a Joint Political Command, approval of both governments, and a vote of the people no later than September 1, 1973.

The unity plan, which has stirred little interest in Egypt, follows hard on the heels of President Sadat's ouster of Russian military forces in Egypt. Their departure leaves Egypt dangerously exposed to the plunder of Israeli military raids.

Sadat could well have agreed to the merger after long hesitation because Libya's vast oil deposits would be useful bargaining chips in a new orientation towards the United States.

Sadat is in the middle of a campaign to open peace negotiations with Israel. Last week, Egyptian Foreign Minister Murad Ghaleb was in Paris, ostensibly on private business.

Actually he was attempting to enlist France as mediator to get Egyptian-Israeli talks going, instead of the U.S. or Russia. It was hoped France could get Israel to the bargaining table by threatening to withhold Common Market concessions Israel badly wants.

Husak Sentences Czech Dissidents

BY MELODY FARROW

On July 17, the first in a series of political trials opened in Czechoslovakia that has already sent 31 opponents of the Stalinist regime of Gustav Husak to prison.

All of the defendants are intellectuals, students, teachers and former Communist Party officials who supported the regime of Alexander Dubcek which was overturned by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Following the invasion, Husak, who had supported Dubcek, was groomed to be the Kremlin's instrument to end all political reforms.

The defendants are being tried under Article 98 of the Penal Code which can carry up to a sentence of 10 years in jail.

The first three trials held in Prague involved twelve people, including Jiri Littera, a former secretary of the Prague City Commission and one of the organizers of the illegal 14th Party Congress which followed the 1968 invasion. Also tried were Jan Tesar, a historian, Rudolf Battek, a sociologist and Jiri Mueller, a student leader.

Jiri Mueller was the chairman of the Prague Student Parliament in 1969 which refused to support the Husak regime and played a role in the 1968 student strike. He was charged under the more severe section of the penal code which can carry 10 years imprisonment.

ACCUSED

Mueller, like many other defendants, is specifically accused of distributing leaflets in 1971 before the November Presidential elections. These leaflets simply reminded the Czechoslovak citizens of their right to cross candidates' names off the ballot.

On July 25, the fourth trial took place in Prague involving Jaromir Dus, a clergyman and Dr. Ladislav Hejzlanek, a historian, both Dubcek supporters. They received sentences of 15 months and nine months respectively.

At the same time, eight dissidents were jailed in the industrial town of Brno for "forming an illegal group in 1970 to carry out subversive activities against the state and joining other people to it." The first six defendants got up to six years. The trial was conducted in secrecy and the names of those on trial was only released at the end.

On July 3, Dr. Milan Huebl, a former head of the Communist Party's political college and one of the men elected to the Central Committee at the 14th Congress, received the severest sentence yet, six and one half years in jail. Two other prominent oppositionists, Karel Kyncl, a former radio commentator and Karel Bartosek, a historian, received 20 months and one year each.

These trials are only the beginning. The fact that Husak and his Kremlin masters had to wait four years after the Soviet invasion to move against the opposition testifies to the revolutionary upheavals that were unleashed in 1968 among not only the intellectuals but among the workers and youth.



Baltimore shipyard workers (IUMSWA) union Local 33 picket Bethlehem yards after rejecting contract.

Baltimore Shipyard Workers Strike Against Bethlehem Steel

BY MARY GREGORY

BALTIMORE, Md.—On Sunday, August 6, a weeklong wildcat of the Bethlehem Steel shipyards by the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Locals 33 and 24 became an official strike with the vote from Hoboken, N.J. and the Boston yards.

Of the four Bethlehem Atlantic Coast Conference locals participating in the vote, only the Baltimore locals came out clearly against the company's offer.

The package presented by the company has the blessings of the IUMSW officials and is tailored for the Pay Board. Union officials are pushing it as "the best contract possible under the Pay Board."

What these men forget to mention is that with the Pay Board's proposed new 2.5 percent wage guidelines, all their talk about fringe benefits, cost of living clauses and reasonable wage demands become meaningless.

With contract after contract being tossed into the trash can by the Pay Board, the fight today for a decent settlement means a fight against the government and its wage board. Baltimore shipbuilders' rejection of the contract stands in defiance of the Pay Board and its renewed attacks on the jobs and living standards of the working class.

Local 33's business agent Robert E. Clark stated that: "If it weren't for the Pay Board, we wouldn't be here." When the Bulletin asked Clark how the leadership was planning to fight against the Board, Clark had nothing to say. Instead, he insisted that he could get men back to work on the basis of the settlement that was just rejected.

When one of his own members pointed out that the men wanted many things that were ignored by the company's offer, Clark wouldn't even acknowledge the existence of these demands. His policy towards the Sparrows Point Bethlehem Steel management, like his policy towards the Pay Board, is one of compromise, giving up necessary jobs, losing ground every year to inflation so that the steel and shipbuilding barons can go on robbing every working man blind.

As it stands, very few members of Local 33 can get 40 hours work a week. The craft workers, welders and pipe fitters, who work side by side with Local 33 members, are receiving 60 dollars more a week in

bonus payments for doing the same job. Many men cannot afford to retire.

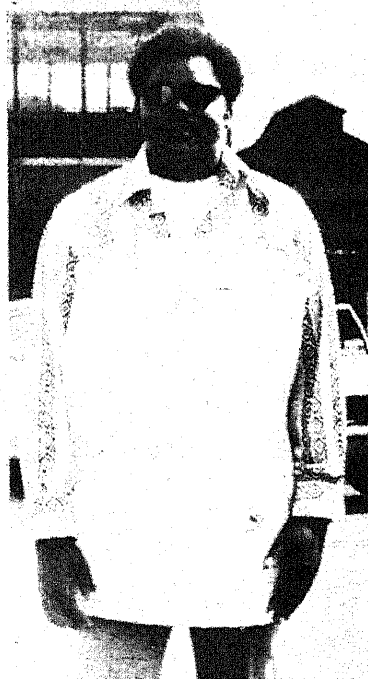
One of the members stated: "I don't believe there's anyone down here who hasn't been here for five years. Young people don't even think of this shipyard as a possible place of employment anymore."

For years the shipbuilding industry has been shaken by low rates of profit and reluctance on the part of capitalists to invest in shipping. This has meant a decrease in the number of men working at the same time as equipment is being introduced to eliminate whole categories of jobs.

At this time, the company has offered the men 75 cents over three years, reinstating the cost of living clause to start in January 1973, and 30 more hours of vacation time. The men have said that this is not enough: the wage settlements, the vacation time and the cost of living all fall short of what is actually needed.

The question facing Local 33 members is not just a question of wages and catch-up pay. It becomes a question of kicking out

the Republicans and Democrats who are responsible for setting up this Pay Board, and fighting to set up a labor party as a political answer to the attacks of Nixon and McGovern.



Strike Shuts Hoboken Yards

BY BOB MICHAELSON

HOBOKEN, N.J.—Members of Local 15 of the Shipbuilders Union are continuing their strike even though they voted 310-67 to accept the contract. Their vote was only part of a coast-wide vote, whose total was against acceptance.

Pickets in Hoboken feel the reason for the difference in voting between here and Baltimore, which voted to reject the contract, was the average age difference among the men of each yard. Hoboken is a small repair yard where most workers are older and largely interested in the pension benefits in the contract.

Baltimore, which builds as well as repairs ships, has a much larger percentage of younger workers, who are more interested in the wage side of the agreement.

The agreement contained a 75 cent wage increase spread over three years. No one in Hoboken

felt this was enough.

The president of Local 15 told the Bulletin:

"We face the same problems every other worker in this country faces. Our wage increases haven't been that good in the last twelve years—since the last strike.

"We had a three year contract, but you know what happened to that. Inflation ate it up."

Many workers in Hoboken said that though the pension increases were not sufficient, they were "better than before."

Bethlehem is an old hand at pitting workers against each other. This is obviously what they are trying to do here—set the older workers against the

Dockworkers Stage Wildcat Against New Work Rules

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—While England is in the grip of a nationwide dock strike which is leading to a massive confrontation between the entire British labor movement and the big business Tory government, an explosive situation is shaping up on the East Coast docks here.

Behind the rebellion against the new work rules in the Port of New York is the same fundamental issue—the attempt by the employers to wipe out thousands of dock jobs and destroy union conditions through containerization.

While the ILA accepted containerization and the reduction of gang sizes during the boom period in exchange for a guaranteed annual income (GAI) which reached a 40 hour per week peak in the Port of New York won in the 1967 contract, the shippers, backed by the Federal government, are now out to change all of this.

With the continued expansion of container facilities and growing competition between ports proceeding under conditions of economic crisis and stagnation of world trade, the employers are out to smash the ILA guarantee altogether.

LOOPHOLES

Although the 1972 contract retained the 40 hour GAI and an unlimited ceiling on the GAI payment fund, the shippers were given all the loopholes they wanted through the new work rules, to proceed in their war against the dock workers.

Having held off on the full scale implementation of these rules long enough to get by the threat of a renewed strike for wages against the Pay Board, they then proceeded with the first step—the filling of "list" jobs (a steady job for a single employee) in preparation for step two, port-wide shape-up for all longshore-

men not on a "list" job.

The attempt to fill the list jobs met with widespread resistance throughout the port.

In Hoboken, on the first day of the special procedures for filling list jobs, July 25, the hiring hall and the piers were shut tight for an hour and a half by an unofficial walkout. Hundreds of men walked out of the hiring hall, charging that the dispatcher was filling the list jobs by placing lower seniority men over higher seniority men.

Shouting "Out! Out!", the men marched down to the piers en masse and persuaded the rest of the men who were already there to come out. Waterfront Commission officials and ILA delegates attempted to restrain the men and get them back to work. But the men then marched back to the hiring hall, demanding that the dispatcher be replaced and that the gang that was next in seniority be hired immediately. Only after the gang was hired did the men return to work.

Many thousands of longshoremen are now without list jobs and in order to continue getting the GAI payments, must comply with the PDO (previous day ordering) procedure. Thus, they must call in for work every day, and then shape up at the borough hiring center in the morning if they are still not assigned.

FORFEIT

Already this has meant that men who have not done a particular kind of heavy work for many years must accept this work anywhere in the port, or forfeit the GAI payment.

Last week, for example, high seniority men in Manhattan were forced to unload bananas, even though under the former system of categories, they were not validated for the "banana" category. This is only the beginning of the use by the employers of the new hiring rules to force men into complete frustration, in the hopes that they will go into retirement or fall short of the 700 hours required to stay on the GAI.

That is how the shippers plan to use the contract to save what they estimate will be \$20 million per year on the GAI payments. But, the hesitation of the shippers to apply the new rules up to now means that they will be all the more vicious in the next period in this assault on the GAI. The deepening of the recession and the threat of world trade war will only intensify these attacks.

The ILA leadership under Gleason and Scotto must bear full responsibility for this situation. Not only did they agree to

(Continued On Page 18)

New York Cuts Off Jobless Pay Of 90,000

SPECIAL
TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK—Raymond Corbett, president of the New York State AFL-CIO has declared that 90,000 unemployed workers will be forced on welfare unless the government restores their unemployment benefits.

On July 23rd, two government programs which extended the benefits to 52 weeks were cut off under a rule which states that the jobless rate in an area must be 20 percent higher than the comparable period for 1970 and 1971. Corbett pointed out that in some industrial areas such as Buffalo, Utica and Elmira unemployment is as high as eight and nine percent.

Louis Levine, Industrial Commissioner and head of the State Labor Department cynically remarked: "We had no choice. We sympathize with the AFL-CIO. It's a rough situation but one we had little control over."

What this measure means is that thousands of working class families will be forced into complete poverty. The government consciously and ruthlessly seeks to cut off benefits to save money and turn these workers who have been laid off over to new slave labor schemes.



New York social workers of SSEU-371 organized this demonstration at an unemployment center. The City administration was opening new services without consulting the union as it had been agreed.

1199 Stalls Contract Vote To Halt Growing Rebellion

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, August 7—More than five weeks after the New York City voluntary hospital workers contract settlement, the contract has not been ratified by the membership.

The 1199 leaders face by far the most serious crisis in its history, as thousands of workers are expressing their complete disgust for this settlement and refuse to be persuaded to vote for it.

Meetings scheduled for mid-July to vote on the contract were abruptly cancelled. Many workers were angry at having

made special plans to attend these meetings on their day off, only to be informed when they arrived that the meetings were off.

At that time, the union officials claimed that a delay was needed because of last minute questions on certain items which required the attention of Basil Paterson,

the chief arbitrator of the state panel which had awarded the settlement. Paterson was in Miami Beach at the Democratic Convention, after which he was elected to be the new Democratic National Vice Chairman.

OPPOSITION

Many workers voiced the opinion that the tremendous opposition to the settlement, and not waiting on Paterson, was the main issue in the cancellation of the meetings. The union officials appeared reluctant to proceed with meetings at which rejection of the proposed contract seemed a strong possibility.

After insisting the union would never accept arbitration, President Leon Davis had eagerly grabbed the arbitrators' award of 7.5 percent or \$12, whichever was greater, with no fringe benefits until the second year of the contract.

Although the Pay Board is likely to cut even this measly amount when and if it gets its hands on it, the workers were incensed over the refusal to fight for anything approaching what had been won in previous contracts, at the same time as the hospitals were preparing to move full speed ahead on job cutting.

The proposed settlement also capitulated on the right of the 1199 members in the city hospitals to remain in the union they had helped to organize and build.

On top of all this, Local 144, the union representing workers in New York's profit-making hospitals, just agreed to a settlement providing a \$20 increase for the first year, thus for the first time setting a higher minimum wage than that for the 1199 members in the voluntary hospitals.

A rejection of the settlement means renegotiation of the contract, setting a new strike date, and preparing to defeat the Pay Board. The British dockers and their millions of supporters have shown that the government can be fought and pushed back.

Hospital workers can give a tremendous lead for the entire American working class by taking up this fight against the wage controls now.

Court Forces Mesabi Miners To End Strike Over Safety

BY MICHAEL ROSS

HIBBING, MINNESOTA—Iron ore miners and taconite workers are back at work at Hanna Mining Company's three Mesabi Iron Range properties in Minnesota since a safety walkout was ended by order of the Eighth Circuit Federal Court of Appeals on July 21. Some 1,300 members of United Steelworkers Locals 1438 and 2660 were involved.

The dispute centered in Keewatin, a town of under 3,000 northwest of Hibbing. Hanna operates its National Steel taconite plant there.

At 1:00 P.M., June 9, local management ordered four maintenance men to remove and replace heavy metal grates from an endless conveyor belt that dries taconite pellets. The temperature was in the 120 to 145 degree range. Hot metal occasionally falls from the grates. And the belt was moving at speeds up to 60 percent faster than normal due to the installation of a new roll feeder in April.

At the end of May, two men had been transferred and two warned for refusing to change the grates. This time the men categorically refused to change the grates until the belt was turned off or at least slowed down. Before the hour was up, two men were transferred and the others, Charles Bibeau and Hoyt Hains, were suspended for three days without a hearing.

With a mountain of safety problems on hand, this suspension was the last straw. Before the shift had ended, the whole plant had walked out and massed at the gates.

A traffic backup began and through it word spread to the second shift as well as to second

shift workers at Hanna's Butler Taconite plant in Cooley and the Pierce open-pit mine in Hibbing.

Within a day of learning the news, and faced with similar problems, the workers at Butler and Pierce had joined in the walkout.

Initial attempts to end the walkout through pressure on the International and the courts were rebuffed. On June 25, Federal District Court Judge Miles Lord denied a Hanna application for a preliminary injunction. He noted that:

"The employees, through their safety committee and grievance committee, on numerous occasions, complained of dust, fumes, falling rocks, narrow roads, unsafe movable equipment, unsafe procedures of operating machinery, poor lighting, a lack of warning devices on movable equipment, unsafe procedures for unloading trucks, in addition to many other complaints."

Instructed by USWA International President I.W. Abel to put an end to an unauthorized work stoppage "if such a work stoppage is in progress," District 33 Director Peter Bensoni came to Keewatin to investigate.

"He (Bensoni) sat right there and called the plant from that phone," Willard Anderson, Local 2660 President told the Bulletin, pointing to his local's phone,

"and requested permission to enter the plant and see the conveyor.

"They told him they would have to call Cleveland (Hanna's headquarters). I don't think that they did call. We could hear the superintendent discuss it with someone else. Then the superintendent picked up the phone and told us 'NO.'" Bensoni then would not order a return to work.

The company has been pushing for production at the expense of safety, cutting back maintenance crews. When asked about the new productivity clause in the 1971 Basic Steel Contract, Anderson said that it was the local's position that the company would have to pick up the tab for lost time for union productivity committee members, get rid of the Pinkertons and settle five local issues that had been agreed on in previous contracts, but still not settled. As a result there has never been a meeting of this committee.

Various officials of the Democratic Party worked consciously to sabotage the action of the taconite workers. This indication of continued attacks on the working conditions of the ore miners and taconite workers by officials originating from both capitalist parties makes the construction of a labor party all the more urgent.

ILWU Local Supports Farinas

BY NANCY FIELDS

NEW YORK, August 7—Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has sent a letter to the U.S. Board of Parole demanding the immediate release of Juan Farinas.

Farinas is now awaiting a decision on his request for parole after having served six months of a two year sentence in the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Connecticut for violating the Selective Service Act. He is eligible for parole in September.

A hearing on the request has already been held and a decision is expected some time between mid-August and mid-September. Under new regulations, the Parole Board is required to give its reasons if it denies parole.

Farinas is a 24 year old Cuban-born worker, socialist and a supporter of the Trotskyist Workers League. His sentence stemmed from his attempt to leaflet his fellow inductees at the Whitehall Induction Center in 1968, to express his opposition to the war as a class war waged against the workers and peasants of Vietnam in the interests of American business.

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee has begun a campaign, which will last until the decision of the Parole Board has been announced, to win his freedom. The Committee is urging all its supporters to send letters to the Parole Board asking that his request be favorably acted upon.

On the first few days of this effort, support has been gained from the SSEU-Local 371, Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers Union, the Joint Board of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers, and local 1707 of the Community and Social Service Employees Union. Officials of the National Alliance of Postal Employees and the American Federation of Teachers have promised to write in a personal capacity.

The attack on Juan Farinas' right to oppose the war is part of the attack on the unions, on living standards and democratic rights.

The Defense Committee urges that letters be sent to:

U.S. Board of Parole
101 Indiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20537

Funds are urgently needed to carry on all the publicity work of the Committee and continue to support Juan's family. Send contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

EDITOR: Lucy St. John
Labor Editor: Dan Fried
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper
THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

BY B. WILLS

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Mn.—The announcement in July by Armour and Company of its intention to permanently close down the Beef Division of its immense plant here has caused justified anxiety and alarm in the hearts of the company's 3,000 employees and their families.

Armour's claim that only 600 to 800 workers who slaughter and process beef cattle are to be affected and that the rest of the plant will continue normal operations is recognized as a brazen lie by every single worker.

The truth is that during the past few years whole departments here have been eliminated (Canning, Sheep and Calves, Dog Food, etc.) with large numbers of workers thrown out on the streets. Even now the announcement of the closing of Beef operations is accompanied by the admission that what remains of the Canning Department is likewise being rapidly phased out.

So all that will be left after January 1973 is the Hog Division. With four fifths of such a huge building idle, it is clear that it will not long stay open just to kill and process a few thousand hogs each day.

CLOSED DOWN

The facts reveal that this plant is one of the very last remaining large packinghouses in America. Virtually all the others, not only in the Armour chain, but in the rest of what constitutes the Big Four meat trusts of Armour, Swift, Wilson, and Cudahy, have been closed down.

After the unsuccessful attempt to break the CIO United Packinghouse Workers Union of America (UPWA) by starving them out in the bitterly fought ten weeks' strike of 1948 (in one or two localities as in Kansas City the strike dragged out for 13 weeks), all four of the big monopolists decided on a uniform strategy: eliminate the backbone of the UPWA, the large locals.

Cudahy began the process immediately after the strike. Indeed the most militant of its branches, the 600-member plant across the river from South St. Paul, was never again reopened after the 1948 strike.

Not long after, Chicago, once heralded as the "meat-packing center of the world," witnessed the termination of production in one gigantic plant after another until not one of them remained. And so it was in St. Louis, in Kansas City, in Omaha, in Des Moines, in Denver, and on and on.

REDUCING

Hardly two years ago the closing down of the towering Swift plant with its 3,500 employees in South St. Paul left only Armour in an area that had been touted as the "second largest meat processing center in the United States." And if the Company has its way, wrecking companies will be vying with each other for the task of reducing this plant to rubble too.

One of the packinghouse workers currently employed in this plant, to which he transferred after the closing of Armour in another city, told the *Bulletin* of the kind of determination that guides the Company in its undeviating policy to close all the large plants:

"I was a delegate from my local at negotiations with Armour for a new contract with the entire chain a number of years back. Also present at these negotiations were delegates from the East St. Louis Armour plant, which had just been informed that it was to be shut down for good. Some of the delegates from there sounded out the chief company spokesman about the possibility of keeping operations going there if the men agreed to a voluntary wage cut. This boss answered: 'Hell, we're going to shut down that place even if you worked for nothing!'"

This same employee attended another Armour chain meeting with the company about 10 years ago in Chicago. Negotiating for the company was William Wood Prince, who then held a controlling interest in the company. This mogul said flatly to everyone there: "All the big plants have to go!"

In view of all this history, how is one to evaluate the letter sent to every employee by the Armour Vice President and Area Manager in South St. Paul? It contained the notorious and completely scandalous charge, the accusation that the workers themselves were directly responsible for the closing of the Beef Division—not the company.

This letter was sent out two weeks after the public announcement of the cessation of Beef operations was issued. During those two weeks, the leadership headed by John Dettwiler, President of Local P4, to which the Armour employees belong, had not a word of advice to the stunned membership.

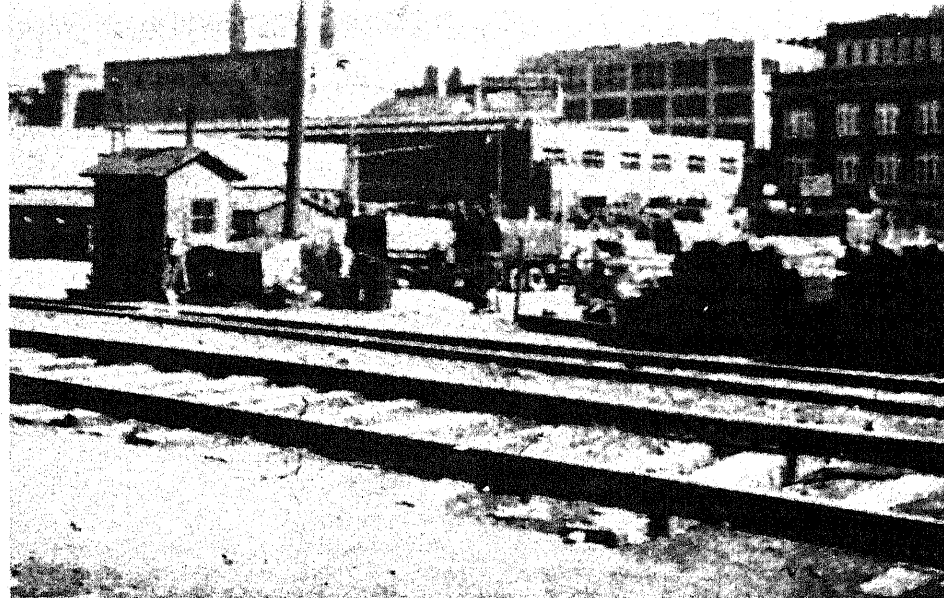
Yet about six months earlier, when on January 3, 1972, *Bulletin* salesmen sold their paper and passed out leaflets urging the officers of P4 to have their membership honor the picket lines of a striking sister local, the Stockhandlers' Union, Dettwiler managed to get out a special edition of his mimeographed leaflet "Workers Outlook" the very next day,

And then the leaflet peddles out-and-out company propaganda with the assertion that the entire plant is not only continuing to operate but "should for some time yet." Such assurances in the face of the company's own notice that the Beef Division will process the last cow next January can only have the effect of giving the membership an absolutely false and criminal sense of security.

Yet Dettwiler's sheet, curiously enough, had not a single word to say about the company's slanderous lie that the employees themselves are to be blamed for the shutdown. The Local P4 President has been in enough negotiations with Armour during his 25 years of stewardship and has seen the successive closing down of the big plants to alert the workers to the company's slanders against them.

Yet he does not see it as his responsibility to take up the most elementary defense of the ranks against a ruthless billionaire corporation out to squeeze even more profits from the bones of its employees.

COMPLETE CLOSURE THREATENS ST. PAUL ARMOUR PLANT



Companies tried to break Packinghouse Workers Union in 1948 but workers struck for over ten weeks to defend themselves. Above is 1948 Swift strike in St. Paul.

January 4.

Without answering a single one of our points, he crudely red-baited the Workers League and made the preposterous charge that our goal of a labor party was a means of eliminating human beings "through bloodshed."

Only on July 31, three days after the company's letter did the P4 bureaucrats put out their "Workers Outlook" and face up to the Beef Division closing. What wisdom did they offer? "This notice came as a horrible shock!"

For months, the Workers League had been warning of the need for the leaders to prepare the membership for just such a contingency. For our warnings we not only got abuse, but squad cars of South St. Paul police, called by Dettwiler, to prevent us from selling the *Bulletin* to Armour workers.

Note that the shutting down of the Beef Division is not considered as "one of the biggest problems." Not only does the local leadership show its real fear of the members, but it seeks to treat them like small and brainless children. Such statements can only aid the company and make more difficult the task of fighting back to save all the jobs.

Dettwiler also knows that Armour in South St. Paul has not made a single major remodeling or modernization of the plant during the last 20 years. Only the patchwork needed to keep the roof from falling in and interfering with their holy profits has been undertaken.

He then has the impudence to accuse the *Bulletin* of the "biggest mis-statement of facts ever printed" because our paper had dared to question the wisdom and quality of his leadership when he was scabbing on the beleaguered stockhandlers during their heroic 13 week strike in the midst of sub-zero temperatures.

COMPANY TRANSFERS

The Armour chain in the late 1950's had a two day strike bringing all operations to a halt until the company agreed to give transfers to senior employees of phased-out plants. Under the agreement, Armour was forced to take 80 percent of its old employees to 20 percent newly hired ones, when it located its plant in any new area.

But there are plenty of bitter complications in these arrangements.

The new plants tend to be very small compared to the former giants. The maximum number of employees is between

150 and 300. The sites are carefully selected and preferably set in remote rural areas where low wages predominate.

In fact Armour has already won a major concession from the international union, being permitted to hire new workers at nine cents below the present minimum hourly wage for common labor set by the union contract. It is very clear that the company will not only up its profits but create conflicts between the older and newer employees.

There are a large number of workers at Armour's here who have transferred in from other plants which have since closed down. They report of the terrible hardships that such dislocations cause.

Homes, whether mortgaged or unencumbered, are usually difficult or impossible to sell anywhere near their true value.

Where only one of a married couple works in the plant (true in the majority of cases) the decision as to whether to move or not creates often almost insoluble dilemmas. The workers know of many cases where families break up, often as a result of the reluctance or refusal of older children to move into a small, rural community.

Another major problem especially faced by older and more skilled and thus higher paid workers is the nature of the new job. The company in building their new, small, but more "efficient" plants usually manage to eliminate the skilled part of the job and replace it with a highly automated and rapid moving chain operation. This means that a once well-paid butcher is apt to find himself on a fast moving line for which only common labor skills—and wages—are now in effect.

Even piece work as such has been largely eliminated in the new plants although the company continues to demand that the workers keep up with the piece-work pace previously set in former days but for which they now get only straight wages.

SLUMP

These are but some of the problems facing employees who transfer to new areas. The company can count on the refusal of a considerable number of workers to make the move for reasons like those listed above. In this way Armour and Co. will save themselves millions of dollars in benefits and pensions abandoned by the disgusted workers.

The problems facing the South St. Paul workers, the closing of plants and destruction of jobs, are not simply a continuation of the attrition of the past period. Today, with a deepening recession and the threat of a massive slump which will wipe out huge sections of the market for meat, the jobs of every single butcher and packinghouse worker are at stake.

It is not simply a question of a lower skilled job, or the difficulty of relocation. Nothing is secure for the worker who has had to relocate to a small plant. This is the meaning for workers in all industries, where plant closures have been steadily increasing since the new stage of the crisis signalled by Nixon's August 15, 1971 pronouncements.

The defense of the jobs of South St. Paul must be fought for around a program of defense of the entire union that must be raised and fought for at the convention of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union now underway in Miami.

Caucuses must be organized in every local, demanding that the union adopt a program calling for:

- Strike action to shut down all Armour facilities if there is a single layoff or if the South St. Paul Beef Division is closed

- Nationalization of the meat packing industry including the large cattle ranches, under workers' control

- 30 hour week at no reduction in pay guaranteed for all

- Rescind the Pay Board wage slashes which have hit members of the AMC&BWU: Abolish the Pay Board

- Fight for solidarity with the family cattle farmers through full support to their demands against the wealthy bank owned ranches

- The fight for this program can only go forward through the convening of a congress of labor to set up a labor party based on the unions—demand that the AMC leadership repudiate all support for McGovern and the Democrats and fight for the formation of a labor party.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Young Socialists Prepare For Labor Party Conference

Under the tremendous pressure of the economic crisis, the government is stepping up its attacks on workers and youth.

Last week it was announced that the fall college enrollment is the lowest in two years. This is the result of large increases in the cost of living which, along with cuts in the financial aid programs, place higher education out of the reach of young workers.

This also means that the unemployment situation will not improve after the summer recess ends. In the past, it has been possible for the government to juggle the unemployment statistics when students returned to school.

But this year, thousands of students are not going back to school but staying right where they are now—in front of the unemployment centers.

They will not find jobs. It is the policy of the Democrats and Republicans to keep youth unemployed and at the same time throw millions of older workers off their jobs in order to force low wages on the entire working class. This is the only way big business can protect its profits.

Workers and youth should not underestimate the gravity of the crisis. All the miserable conditions which are developing are inherent in capitalism. All workers, young and old, are threatened with the loss of all their rights.

But it is under these conditions that the enormous power of the entire working class can be mobilized. Because the government is now trying to destroy the trade unions—the heart of the working class—the youth will not have to fight alone.

All the demands of the youth—for education, decent housing, jobs—are now coming together with the struggle of the organized working class.

Because the Democrats and Republicans carry out the attacks of big business, the working class and youth must have their own political party to fight back.

Only a labor party based on a socialist program will be able to guarantee jobs and a decent standard of living.

The Young Socialists is the only movement which has consistently fought for the independence of the working class from the capitalist parties by calling on the trade unions to construct a labor party.

We now call on all youth to join us in deepening this fight. In the coming months, the Young Socialists are going to take The Case for a Labor Party into the working class. At the same time, we will wage an intense struggle in the colleges and the high schools to build the YS.

This will set the ground work for a Midwest conference that will take place in the fall for a labor party. Young workers, trade unionists, students and unemployed youth will attend this conference, and proceed to construct a campaign in the unions and communities for a labor party in 1972.

The Young Socialists are beginning this drive with great confidence; for we know that the movement of the American working class is going to create the most favorable conditions for the construction of a revolutionary youth movement based on Marxist principles that will lead the fight for the labor party.

Community Councils Delude Youth With Phony Job Promises

BY HANK PADRO

NEW YORK—Even with the proximity of the Lower East Side to the Wall Street financial district and a large shopping center around Delancey Street, masses of youth remain out in the street unable to get jobs this summer.

The Young Socialist looked into the programs which are supposed to be dealing with youth unemployment. The city had threatened to cut out the entire summer jobs program but, because it was frightened of the reaction among the youth, it restored the program and cut back in other services which the Lower East Side Community Corporation provides.

Job slots are farmed out to neighborhood agencies and all applicants are sent to the Community Corporation at 66 Delancey Street. The center services tens of thousands of youth in the downtown area and this summer it had 3,000 job slots available.

One worker in the center said this was no problem however since "the youth around here always find something to do, we can't even find enough people to fill the jobs we have."

Many youth, both enrolled in the program and who could not find jobs, did not share his delight with the situation. That same day the YS talked to a youth who had returned for the third time and had been told there was no job for him.

"I haven't got any money and at this point I don't know what I can do. I've been running around all summer but there's just no jobs."

A YS member who got his job at 66 Delancey Street through the Whitney Art Museum branch at 185 Cherry Street said: "Fifteen of us were going to paint stores in Coney Island, a week after we

were supposed to have started we were still waiting to be called. Then we find out the job is off, so after losing a week they put us to work doing odd jobs around the Cherry Street center. Next they tell us we'll be making 'creative play constructions for the park.' So far nothing has come of that, all I know is a lot of us still haven't gotten our paychecks."

Another youth described the program he was in: "They trained us to give tests for lead poisoning, urine tests and so on at Queens College. The other day our group gave about 40 tests on 6th street. Now I live in this neighborhood and I know the conditions are bad, but I didn't know they were this bad."

More than half the people we tested needed some kind of medical care for hepatitis, stones, lead poisoning or something else. A lot of these buildings aren't fit for animals to live in, much less people, rats, roaches, water bugs, you name it."

This is what one worker at a community center in the Jacob Riis projects had to say about the claim that there were plenty of jobs to go around: "That's bull! We have half as many slots this year as last year and half of them must be welfare recipients: 20 jobs. We have hundreds of kids coming through here! This weekend they had the poverty election results for the Community Corporation. We were over at Avenue C and 6th Street where they had the polling machines."

"The former officers, who lost

the elections came down armed with bottles and what not and tried to steal the machine so they would have to hold new elections, a big fight broke out and we fought them off. There was a warrant out for the arrest of the man who led the attack, who also happened to be the former head of the corporation. Last I heard, he had split for Puerto Rico."

While the poverty pimps fight over the funds which the city, state, and federal governments are whittling away more and more, the conditions facing workers and youth worsen. Only the Young Socialists are fighting to mobilize the working class to break with the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for these attacks, and to set up a labor party pledged to full employment and socialist policies.

British Workers Support YS Marches

SPECIAL TO THE YS

In every part of England, workers enthusiastically supported the recently completed regional "Right-to-Work" marches of the British Young Socialists.

The marchers received one of the warmest receptions in the port and industrial city of Liverpool, where they were welcomed by a 150-strong delegation, including dockers, building site workers and unemployed youth.

"These youth, some of them new to politics, have fought all the way," declared John Simmance, secretary of the YS. "They represent something in the British working class that defies defeat—this is the element that will build the British revolutionary party."

These latest regional "Right-to-Work" marches were held just as the present crisis was building up and the Tories were preparing their vicious attacks on the working class.

It is only the Young Socialists—which roused workers throughout England with the call to force the resignation of the Tories—that prepared the working class for the struggle now taking place.

Now, the Young Socialists will play a critical role in bringing workers into the Trotskyist movement and in that way prepare for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party of the working class before the end of 1972.



Chicago Young Socialists held an outing in July where they studied the history of the Fourth International.

Young Socialist



The band "Three Days Ahead" plays at the dances held by the Young Socialists every Thursday night. Time is 8:30 to midnight at Club Harata, University and Avon, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Exclusive Story: The Harlem Four And The Struggle For Marxism

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—The Harlem Four have gone through three trials since 1968, and are due for a fourth trial this fall, although one of the prosecution's key witnesses has recently admitted that his testimony for the past eight years has been false.

However, the District Attorney is determined to see the four youth convicted for murder and put behind bars for life. The last two trials have ended in hung juries, and several witnesses have confessed to perjury.

In an exclusive interview with the Young Socialist, Walter Thomas of the Harlem Four spoke about the development of his case and of his own political development while in prison.

Walter Thomas' personal history is important not only because it exposes the government's persecutions of any young worker who seeks to fight politically, but also because it reflects a period of decisive political developments in the working class.

In 1964, when the Four with others were arrested on charges of murdering a Harlem storekeeper, the post war boom was coming to an abrupt end, civil rights workers were being attacked and shot, rebellions were breaking out in the most oppressed ghettos in the country.

Walter Thomas and some other youth from the neighborhood decided to get together to "protect the community from the tyranny of the police. Every time a crime was committed in the area the police used it as a means of suppressing Black people."

"In 1964, Black awareness was reaching a new level. People were going from sit-ins to shoot-ins. Racial tension was very high. The DA said that the motivation for his case against us was racial. In 1964 it appeared that was true, but people today aren't going for that. They are not going to let racism put fear into them."

When Walter went into prison in 1964, "They had a different kind of revolutionary—the religious revolutionary. Inmates

would try to convert each other."

In 1968, Walter was transferred to Dannemora. 1968 was the year of the May-June events in France, with massive student movements in the United States, the beginning of a systematic witch-hunt against the Black Panthers and other militants, as the working class was forced into battle against the capitalists internationally.

It was at Dannemora that Walter "made initial contact with revolutionaries." The breakup of capitalism found its reflection in the prisons: "To hell with religion (the revolutionaries) said—the gun is God. What they were saying was factual. The gun would do the trick."

It was from 1968 that Walter began reading Marxist books. He concluded that prayers would not make a revolution. "If there is going to be change it has to be an armed struggle. People have to be trained like an army to fight for revolution. When I was studying religion there were kings and queens and culture but no hard core revolutionaries. Revolutionaries are smart. They kept me in books."

In prison, the Harlem Four were isolated from the developments taking place within the working class. The turn toward Marxism was a reflection of the changes occurring in the struggle of the two great social classes.

But these changes could not be grasped within the prisons, and therefore Marxism was seen by Walter as more revolutionary ideas to be added on to the various theories of nationalism, third worldism, and guerillaism with which he had been familiar before going to jail.

Today, free on bail and wondering whether he will have to stand trial once again, Walter Thomas sees the study of Marxism as "mandatory for all practical reasons. People will have to become aware. Once in the struggle, always in the struggle."

Since Walter went to jail on a vicious frame-up, tremendous developments have taken place. In the advanced industrial countries, workers are being thrown into conflict with the ruling class. No longer must the youth fight alone, guided only by personal courage.

The most favorable conditions are now developing in the struggle against capitalism. But this means that the most urgent task today is not "Picking up the gun" but rather constructing a revolutionary leadership in the working class through the struggle to develop Marxist theory.

It is only by joining the Young Socialists that youth can take forward this struggle.

PRSU Leads Tenant Strikes Into Deadend

BY

A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK—The Puerto Rican Student Union has put forth a completely bankrupt program to solve the housing crisis which has erupted here in the last few months.

In the face of a massive campaign by the city to raise rents, tear down buildings and replace them with high rent apartments, the PRSU is calling for extending a rent strike in order to hit each of four landlords and to demonstrate at their houses.

Tenants have seized three buildings on Manhattan's West 117th Street over a period of three weeks. The tenants wished to prevent landlords from closing the buildings in preparation for building high rent housing.

Tenant leaders organized a collective, moved tenants back into half empty apartments and called on the community for support. Police have not been able to evict the tenants, because volunteers stay in the building to

protect the families who have moved back in.

Tenant leader Ramon Figueroa of the PRSU said the following: "The Housing and Development Authority called and wanted us to walk out and then they would help us. The City wants to put up \$250 a month apartments, so they say move out and in three months we'll fix all the violations. They did it in the building across the street, and it just burned down after eight months. They made no improvements."

UNEMPLOYMENT

This area is one of the highest in the city in drugs and crimes. Unemployment among the youth is 70-80 percent. Education is one of the worst and most people do not have access to high school.

Yet in the face of these conditions, the PRSU can only put forward a reformist campaign that will inevitably divert the entire struggle of the workers and youth in the community.

The attack on the housing conditions of the working class is the policy of not just the big landlords but of the city, state, and federal government. It is the policy of the Democrats and Republicans that hold office.

PROGRAM

The fight for decent housing can only be achieved through a program in which billions of dollars are utilized to tear down all slums and replace them with new low cost housing. At the same time, this will create more jobs for the youth.

But this very urgent need of the working class collides with the social relations of private property in which landlords and big banks who own these houses are demanding high rents.

The reformist policy of the PRSU covers over this fundamental contradiction that can only be resolved through the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies on housing.

SF Mayor Recruits Youth For Cheap Labor

BY A YS REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The use of youth as cheap labor is a policy of capitalism that goes back for years. Here, the very politicians who defended child labor in the earlier part of this century are now again finding loopholes in which to get young workers to produce colossal profits by paying them minimum and below minimum wages.

Orville Luster, a delegate of Local 261 of the Laborers Union, is the man who, along with the government, is backstabbing workers young and old in San Francisco.

Luster, the leader of Youth for Service and a member of the Laborers Union played a major role in recruiting minority youth for McDonald's hamburgers which

pays the youth from \$1.30 to \$1.65 an hour.

With thousands of unemployed young people in San Francisco, Luster and his youth organization have organized in the city to provide cheap labor to non-union McDonald's.

The YS program states that the only way to defend the union against the use of young people

for cheap labor is to unionize the young workers. The lessons to be learned by the developments in San Francisco lies precisely in this.

The youth group which Luster operates was financed by Mayor Alioto and the San Francisco unions with the "goal" of "providing useful jobs to the unemployed youth."

The Culinary and Cooks Union Local 44 have been picketing McDonald's and dozens of other scab operations in San Francisco to no avail.

As one labor council delegate put it: "We got Luster started and now he stabs us in the back.

Luster is not alone however. Behind him not only stands the scab restaurants but Alioto and the Democratic Party."

The campaign by the Young Socialists and Workers League for the construction of a labor party now that will break with the Lusters and the Democratic Party and take up an independent fight for full employment and unionization is the only strategy that will defend the working class.

The unanimous refusal of the San Francisco Labor Council not to seat Luster must now be taken forward with the fight for the labor party.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Workers League Calls Labor Party Conference

Behind the break of the top AFL-CIO leaders with the Democratic Party at the Miami Convention and the refusal of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to endorse McGovern, is the sharpening of the attacks by the ruling class on all the rights and conditions of the trade unions.

The Democrats are fully as responsible as Nixon for the situation facing the working class as the fall election period nears: soaring profits for the big business millionaires, paced by the auto barons; soaring prices especially for meat and other foods, which sharply reduces the purchasing power of the working people; continued high unemployment and plant closures, and the vicious suspension of unemployment benefits for many thousands of longtime jobless workers in states such as New York and Michigan; a leap in productivity per man hour which means more profits for the employers and increased speed-up and layoffs for the workers.

The statement by George Meany that the labor movement will "seriously consider a labor party" is not sufficient for the rank and file who must suffer under these attacks. For the millions of working men and women in the unions, for the youth who face the impossibility of finding decent jobs at all, while having to fight wars for the profiteers, for all the oppressed, the labor party is an immediate necessity.

Rather than accept the refusal of Meany and Abel to go beyond the "neutrality" of non-endorsement, rather than accept their refusal thus far to actually organize an independent labor party, the break that erupted at the Miami convention must be completed.

It is for these reasons that the Workers League is issuing a call for a conference of trade unionists and youth to be held in Chicago in mid-October.

The conference will lay the basis for the taking of the fight for the labor party into every union possible throughout the country. The central aim of the conference therefore will be to organize the broadest possible support, led by the most advanced sections of the labor movement, for the convening of a Congress of Labor to break once and for all with the Democrats and set up labor's own party.

The function of the conference will not only be to organize this campaign for the labor party, but to hammer out the program and to discuss and consider all proposals for the program of the labor party put forward by those seriously concerned with the formation of this party.

It is through such a discussion that we believe a leadership will be trained among the rank and file in the unions and the youth, based on the necessity of socialist policies and understanding of Marxist theory, as developed in the Workers League's statement "The Case For a Labor Party."

Need 500 Subs Per Week

Some 432 subscriptions have been gotten in the period since the last issue of the Bulletin was published. While this is a low per week figure it is quite good considering it was a summer camp period for most of the Workers League. The grand total is presently 2,609 out of the 5,000 needed by September 15th.

This means that we will have to receive 500 subs a week for the remainder of the drive to meet our goal. This will require a sharp change from the situation before the vacation break when our highest per week total was 336.



"Do I hear a voice from Heaven?"

What we think The SWP And The 'New Politics'

The split of the AFL-CIO top leadership with the Democratic Party at the Miami convention marks the beginning of the end of the coalition of the labor movement with the capitalist class that was put together behind the candidacy of Roosevelt in the 1930's.

Today, under conditions where this coalition is being torn apart, the Communist Party once again emerges as the leading force in a desperate and frenzied campaign to turn the labor movement behind the candidacy of George McGovern.

The Socialist Workers Party, while opposing the candidacy of McGovern, adopts all the arguments and methods of the Stalinists in their denunciations of Meany. To read the Militant recently, one would have to conclude that the real alternatives before the working class are NOT the formation of an independent labor party versus continued support for McGovern, but rather as the CP sees it: the "progressive" forces around McGovern versus the reactionary pro-imperialist AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Thus, Doug Jenness in the August 11 Militant baldly states that Meany's opposition to McGovern stemmed solely from his "reactionary abhorrence of McGovern's criticisms of the Vietnam war and the Senator's attempts to build a vote-catching coalition with leaders and activists from the movement for social change. Meany criticized McGovern from the right not the left." Jenness then speaks about the "bitterness of the Meany gang toward the new coalition in the Democratic Party that bypassed the Southern Democrats, Mayor Richard Daley's machine in Chicago and the AFL-CIO chiefs."

Clearly, the SWP sees McGovern and the "new coalition" forces behind him—the gays, the women's libbers, the peace protestors, as a movement to the "left" within the Democratic Party.

In the August 4 Militant, Caroline Lund denounces Meany for opposing "the Democratic Party reforms aimed at opening the party more to youth, women and Blacks." All this talk of "new" forces "for social change," of "reforms" within the Democratic Party is not the language of class hatred, of working class hostility to McGovern and the class for which he speaks, but rather is the acceptance of McGovern's constituency, reducing the differences to the mere criticism of McGovern for equivocating on issues of peace, civil rights, women's rights, etc.

Caroline Lund and the other Militant writers do not see the formation of a labor party coming out of the

conflict of the ruling class with the trade union movement. They do not begin with the world crisis of capitalism which reached a new stage with Nixon's August 15, 1971 decisions to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold and his opening up of a war aimed at the destruction of the trade unions, inaugurated with Phase I and Phase II.

To the extent that the Militant does raise the question of the labor party in relation to the unions it is turned into an empty abstraction separate from the development of the capitalist crisis and the attacks by the Nixon government, and separate from any perspective for leading a struggle for the labor party in the trade union movement now. Thus, in the August 4 Militant, Frank Lovell states: "The need for a labor party will certainly be the first point on the agenda when the union movement seriously considers political action. But this will come with the development of a left wing in the unions based on a class-struggle program." This is simply a justification for "waiting," for refusing to fight for leadership by posing the demand for the labor party in the unions now.

Lovell sees no change at all in the labor movement in the past six months, or since 1959, or for that matter, since the days of Samuel Gompers. Thus he says that Meany's statements that the AFL-CIO will consider a labor party, are "empty bombast" similar to statements Meany made in 1959. He sees the split of the AFL-CIO simply as a return to the Gompers tradition from which Meany "never departed."

The essential point that Lovell obliterates is that the relations between the labor movement, the most powerful trade union movement in American history, today is at the breaking point with the two party capitalist political structure, under which the capitalists have ruled since the Civil War.

The absolute assurance that Meany and the other bureaucrats will do exactly what they did in 1959, i.e., drop the labor party—is simply a rationalization for liquidation of the SWP into the middle-class forces "for social change." How else explain why the SWP refuses to take up a campaign for the labor party in the unions, or against the Stalinists at conferences such as the St. Louis Labor For Peace and the Chicago TUAD conference regardless of what Meany does?

The seeds of the SWP's surrender to McGovernism, which brings them into alliance with the CP, go back to the abandonment of Marxist philosophy. The battle to develop Marxist

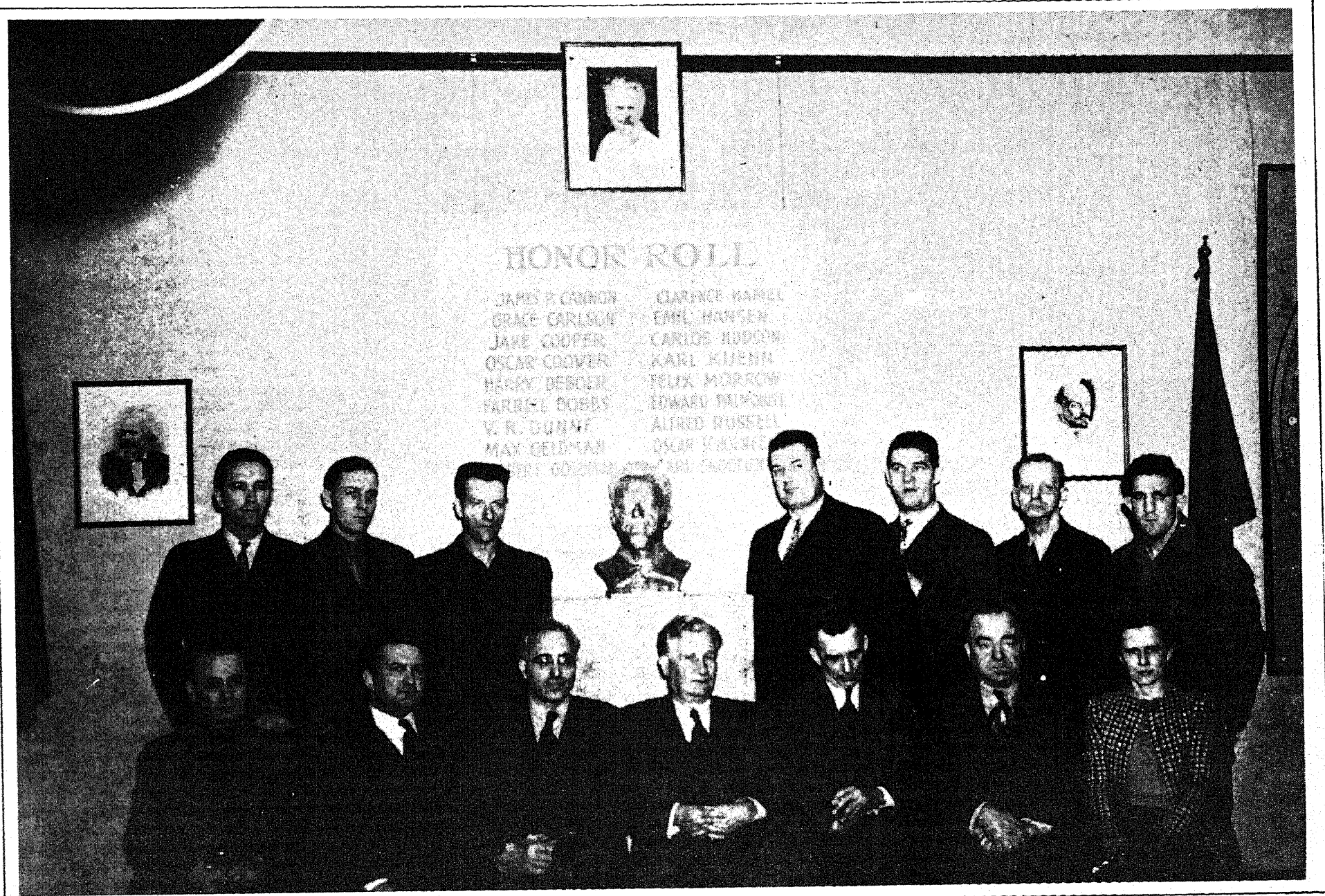
theory in conflict with the practice of the working class is replaced with pragmatic subordination to the thinking and practice of the liberal and radical elements of the middle class.

The abandonment of dialectical materialism by the SWP leadership received its highest justification in Joe Hansen's statement that "dialectical materialism is empiricism consistently carried out." Trotsky in 1940, in the struggle against the open espousal of pragmatism and hostility to dialectics by James Burnham, wrote of the necessity for the SWP "to educate the party, first and foremost its new members, in the spirit of dialectical materialism. In the United States...where the bourgeoisie systematically instills vulgar empiricism in the workers, more than anywhere else is it necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level."

The fundamental contribution of Trotsky to the fight against Shachtman and Burnham was to bring the necessity for dialectical materialism forward, not as an "aid" in the construction of the party, not as a matter of "taste" as Shachtman would have it, but as the central requirement. One has only to study In Defense of Marxism to see that Trotsky's insistence on dialectics is that the basis of the party is, indeed, its philosophical method.

Following the fight with Shachtman and Burnham in 1940, Trotsky very sharply took up a fight with Cannon and the SWP leadership in opposition to the pragmatic tendency of the leadership to adapt to the trade union consciousness of militants in the unions. In his discussions with the SWP leaders, Trotsky attacked the pragmatism which had brought the SWP into "a bloc with so-called progressives...they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in 4 years. You propose a trade union policy not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions."

There is a direct connection between the failure of the SWP leaders to develop Marxist theory in conflict with the practice of the working class in 1940, expressed in the adaptation to the "progressives," and the insistence today that dialectics is an extension of empiricism, that there is not conflict, but only the "unity" of theory and practice. Today this is expressed in the complete abandonment of Marxist theory, a complete blindness to the crisis, the abandonment of the perspective for power around the labor party demand, and instead, the opportunistic chasing after "the new politics."



IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM

AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY OUR HISTORY BY TIM WOHLFORTH

CANNON AND PABLOISM

ALL THESE various oppositionists within the SWP began as Cannon men. That is, their central political program was the call for the SWP to return to the road of Cannon on the question of the proletarian party. This is expressed the clearest in the Proletarian Orientation Tendency whose program really added up to no more than a turn away from the campuses and the middle class and a turn towards the trade unions.

Beginning really blind to the weaknesses of Cannon in the end these oppositionists turn upon Cannon's strengths. These strengths were no mere personal attributes of the man, Cannon, but represented the strengths of the Fourth International in important periods of its development, strengths without which we would not be here today.

Basing himself on a gross oversimplification and distortion of our book, *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States*, our anonymous author states:

"The SWP leadership, which traced its roots back to the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World, was at all times interested in one thing—the 'American

question.' When the Russian Revolution of 1917 sledge-hammered its way into the consciousness of Cannon and other American radicals, they accepted the idea of belonging to the International that had made this revolution—but two internationals had come and gone without Cannon and most other Americans showing any interest in the international questions."

No, we cannot accept any of this. First of all, we cannot accept the position that the American working class has never shown any interest in international questions. It is true that the general tendencies in the American workers movement has been American pragmatism which cuts off the working class from an international perspective and subordinates it to the powerful American bourgeoisie. But this tendency has constantly come into collision with the very objective nature of the American proletariat not only as part of an international class but as one largely made up of workers from other lands speaking other tongues.

There is, in fact, a very rich history of internationalism in the United States starting in the days when several thousand workers marched through the streets of New York City under the banners of the First International proclaiming their solidarity with the Paris Communards. Perhaps our author did not realize that, far from allowing two internationals to come and go without notice, the First International was actually headquartered here for a period.

If the author wishes to dismiss this experience by saying it was primarily relegated to the foreign speaking sections of workers, we need only note that these were the great mass of American workers until very recently.

Far from the Second International coming and going without the notice of American socialists, the majority of the American Socialist Party consciously broke from the Second International and

joined the Third. This act, decisive in the political history of the class conscious section of American workers passed through the Communist movement while social democracy was reduced to a minor trend.

The act of James P. Cannon and many others in forming the Communist Party was an international act based not on American considerations but international ones. It brought down upon those who took it the wrath of the American bourgeoisie in the Palmer Raids and many other great difficulties. No wonder today State Department liberals like Theodore Draper and ex-Stalinist New Left swine like James Weinstein, come down on this act as being un-American!

Of course, the old radicalism reasserted itself within the new Communist Party and James P. Cannon was very much a part of that as well. The difficulty was that what was required then as it is now, is a conscious struggle against pragmatism and for dialectics as part of the struggle to construct the party within the American working class. But

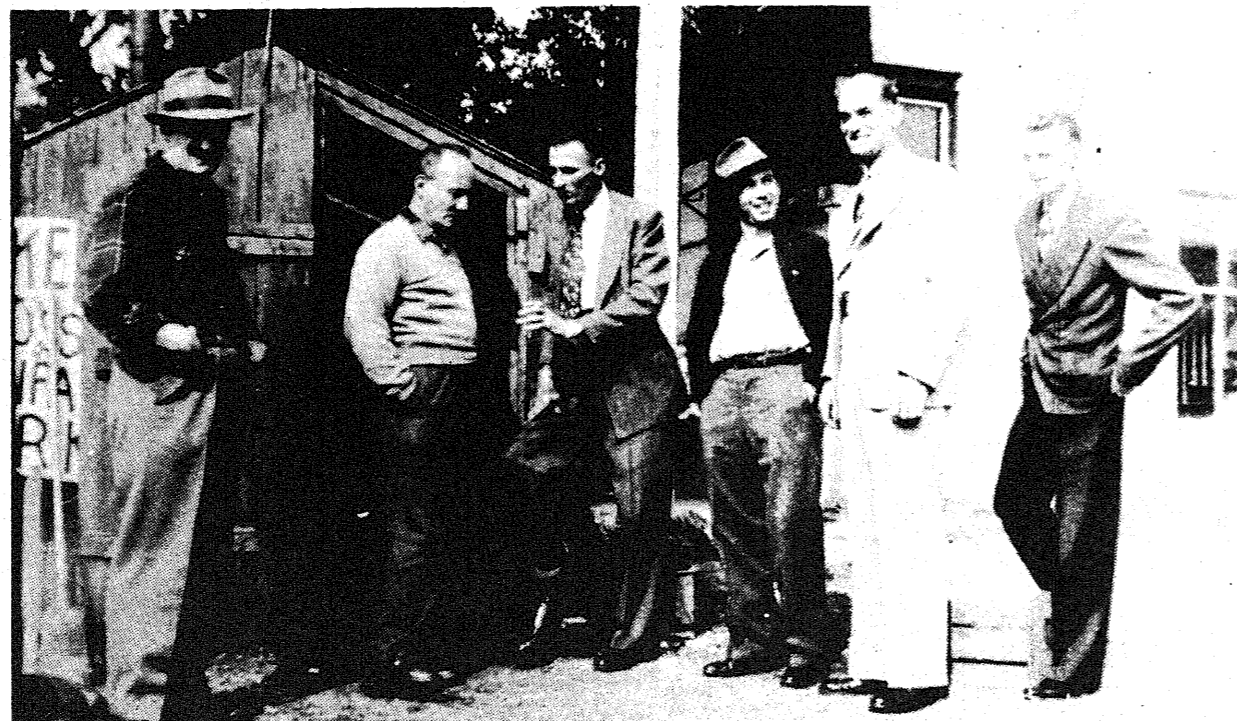
let us not blame the American working class for the pragmatic radicalism foisted upon it, and deny the objective breaks with radicalism and pragmatism which are part of the rich history of the American workers movement.

Next we are told:

"The question here is, did Cannon (and with him the American leadership) change?—did he become convinced and understand the absolute necessity of internationalism? We must answer (and it must be understood that one of the tasks of revolutionaries is to assess the strengths and weaknesses of others and thereby learn from them) that Cannon learned nothing about internationalism."

We are happy to hear that our author wishes to learn from the strengths and weaknesses of others—as if it were a matter of individual weaknesses. When in 1928 Cannon broke from Stalin and supported Trotsky had this act nothing to do with internationalism? In our opinion it had everything to do with internationalism. The truth is there was more internationalism in Cannon's little finger

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 Trotskyists and centrists." In photo above 14 of the 18 Minneapolis Defendants who went to prison during World War II because they fought as revolutionaries 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 Geldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, V.R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson.



The American Trotskyists played an important role in the upsurge of the working class in the postwar period. Above Left: Trotskyists within the Packinghouse Union played a central role in the 1948 national strike. Through their initiative mass picketing was continued despite a court injunction and the strike was not broken in St. Paul though it was nationally. Above and below right: In 1946 the SWP conducted a national campaign

than in the entirety of our anonymous comrade, Fender, Turner, Robertson and the rest of the inhabitants of the junkyard. Yet, we still persist in our opinion that it was the pragmatism and nationalism of Cannon and those trained in his school which in the end destroyed the SWP as a revolutionary party.

This discussion of Cannon is leading up to the question of Pabloism and Cannon's split with Pablo in 1953. It is this issue above all that our author insists on muddling—and for very good reasons. He seeks today to run away from the responsibilities which fall to those who stand on the basis of the Open Letter of 1953.

First our author seeks to come to a definition of exactly what Pabloism is. The purpose of this whole section actually is to deny any differences at all in the whole 1949-1953 period between Pablo and Cannon, to merge them into one so that he can then proceed to announce that the split between them in 1953 was of no significance, in fact, it should not even have occurred.

First we are informed: "Pabloism is not basically an adaptation and entry into the Stalinist parties." What then is it? "Pabloism is a form of centrism of the petty bourgeoisie in that it reflects the fact that it has not yet found the stable social base for reformist politics like the Second and Third Internationals."

And: "Pabloism seeks a 'stable' base, most likely to be found in the upper strata of the working class, the labor bureaucracy. . . . What we have here is a purely empirical descriptive definition which is absurd on the face of it. If Pabloism 'seeks' a stable social base why after 22 years has it not found one? It does not know where the offices of the nearest Stalinist party is located? It does not know where the upper layers of the working class live so it can run out there and sit upon them? It has no idea how to locate the headquarters of the leading trade unions in the various countries?"

What the author does is observe that over the years the Pabloites adapt to a variety of petty bourgeois movements without all Pabloites going all the way and completely dissolving themselves into these movements. This process is then

described and that description is considered to be some sort of theoretical designation of the fundamental character of Pabloism. It is like describing the very movements of a tree under differing conditions and trying to pawn off such a description as an assessment of the nature of trees.

Next there is an attempt to liquidate the meaning of liquidationism: "Part and parcel of revisionism is liquidationism. To liquidate the party is to destroy the distinction, organizationally or politically, between the Leninist party—the party of socialist revolution—and all other parties. This need not be done through entryism or wiping out the party as a distinct entity."

Once again we have the reassertion of the idealist method. To liquidate means only to "politically" liquidate. It does not necessarily mean to actually liquidate, that is, to destroy the cadres, the men and women assembled into parties around the Trotskyist program. In any event we have already been informed that these men and women were a pretty scurvy crew!

Pabloism is a centrist tendency and it is based upon the petty bourgeoisie. It is in the very nature of centrism that it does not have a stable base, that it is contradictory in character being pulled in the direction of complete liquidation into reformism but forced to resist this by its traditions, and sections within the party which reflect the working class, albeit in a highly distorted way.

While Pabloism has impressionistically adapted to all manner of petty bourgeois tendencies it has consistently from its origins theoretically and in its practical work adapted to Stalinism. This is not an inessential aspect of Pabloism but the real heart of the tendency. It represents a tendency breaking from Trotskyism and liquidating into Stalinism. It acts to disperse the cadres of the Fourth International, actually dissolve them, encourage tendencies which go all the way and desert even a formal adherence to Trotskyism. Thus utter confusion on the nature of Pabloism is put in this document by our anonymous author for a very specific reason. It is part of a whole section of the document—actually its political heart—which attempts to obscure the significance of the 1953 split of the Inter-

national Committee with Pablo. This way the continuity of Trotskyism is completely broken and the grip of history removed from our author. The entire Fourth International is thus transformed into the junkyard out of which our author can pick and choose what he likes as history begins again with him.

It was precisely the question of Stalinist conciliations and of liquidation of the cadres which brought about the break between Pablo and Cannon. Thus the importance to our author of denying the centrality of these two questions to Pabloism.

Basing himself on the writings of the International Committee, our author attacks Cannon's "American Theses." But he then proceeds to try to amalgamate this with Pablo's "New World Reality" theory.

"Pablo was essentially an empirical prisoner of the war devastated Europe. He could not see the dialectical relationship between a huge idle productive capacity in post-war American and a huge market potential growing up like weeds over the bones of the European proletariat. Pablo simply Europeanized Cannon's American Theses, for on both sides of the Atlantic the Fourth International was closed to internationalism."

And: "On the basis of an inflationary dollar European capital stabilized. Pablo-Cannon simply blinded themselves to this possibility."

We have here an excellent example of history being so many events and positions which can be arbitrarily related in any fashion the subjective observer wishes to relate them.

Cannon's "American Thesis" was developed precisely in a period when European capitalism was being reestablished. Cannon recognized that this process was going on but asserted that it was possible to have a revolution in America in any case. This was the nationalist character of Cannon's position. It must also be recognized that Cannon was reacting to the actual movement of the American working class in the immediate postwar period. It is, of course, not enough to react to a movement in order to lead it. But still there is a difference between a man who reacts to

the movement of workers and one who reacts to the movement of the middle class.

Pablo was not the empirical prisoner of war-devastated Europe. He was the empirical prisoner of Europe of the capitalist boom. This is why he coined the term "new world reality." He recognized that the Transitional Program was based upon a reality of world capitalist crisis which impelled millions of workers into battle for survival with the capitalists. What distinguished the new period for Pablo was a situation where the "old" battle of classes over survival was replaced by a global battle of Stalinism against stabilized capitalism. The working class was replaced by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It is significant that Cannon reacted to the movement of the working class while Pablo reacted to the movement of the petty bourgeois layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Social Democratic parties, the bourgeois nationalists, etc. The method was the same but there was still here an important distinction, a distinction rooted in the history of the Fourth International itself. Cannon's reaction was not a matter of instinct but of the historical training of the Trotskyist cadres. The distinction would lead to a break but the break could not be definitive unless the methodological roots were probed and the cadres retrained in this way.

VERN-RYAN TENDENCY

NEXT WE COME to the buffer states discussion and the Third World Congress of 1951 which developed out of this discussion. It was at this Congress that the International went over to the positions of Pabloite revisionism. It was on the basis of the decisions of this congress that Pablo launched his campaign to destroy the cadres of the movement by liquidating them into the Stalinists and other petty bourgeois move-



to stop fascist Gerald L. K. Smith. In Minneapolis a number of trade unionists from the Teamsters, Railroad Brotherhoods and Packinghouse joined the SWP-initiated picket line. At the last minute Smith moved the location of this meeting to the Lemington Hotel.

The trade unionists, led by the SWP rushed to the new location, stormed the meeting and prevented Smith from speaking. Smith later reported this incident as decisive in breaking his national campaign.

ments.

Our author writes:

"Wohlforth and St. John, in their 'Towards a History of the Fourth International,' say that the discussion on the buffer states in the Fourth International was a discussion designed to avoid what they call the central issue of the day, and that is the restabilization of capitalism. We agree with Wohlforth that the economic stabilization of capitalism was absolutely necessary to analyze, but we disagree with him entirely in that the discussion around the buffer states was a secondary issue. It was not a secondary issue. First of all, the discussion around the buffer states raises the key question of the state. To stumble over the nature of the state is to stumble over the question of the revolution. The discussion around the buffer states revealed the absolute and utter abandonment of the Marxist method of analysis and the substitution of impressionism and subjectivism for that necessary analysis. The result of the discussion was the complete and utter revision of the Marxist theory of the state."

Our position was and is that the discussion on the buffer states proceeded abstracted out of the question of international perspectives. What was really going on was that Pablo was interjecting through this discussion a perspectives completely hostile to that of the Transitional Program of 1938. This perspective in turn was based upon the undocumented assertion that the world was now totally different than in 1938, the working class' activity no longer central, the Trotskyist movement no longer needed. But none of this could become clear as long as the discussion was seen as a matter of designating the class nature of the East European states abstracted from everything else. No wonder no clarity was really achieved at that time on anything.

It was under these circumstances that various petty bourgeois medicine men emerged, set up their stalls, seeking to get the attention of the already confused enough cadres of the world movement. Two such gentlemen were Vern and Ryan of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP. Gathered around them was a coterie of less than ten people. Vern and Ryan were truly the forefathers of the Fenders and Com-

rade Anonymous.

Vern-Ryan proceeded as Talmudists. They abstracted from Lenin a definition of the state and proceeded to apply this in East Europe abstracted from the actual way in which the historical process had worked itself out there. They were totally oblivious to questions of perspectives for the actual construction of the world party. Their concern was only to preserve a correct orthodox stand. Needless to say they ended up being the biggest revisionists of the lot!

According to Lenin, they stated, a state is a body of armed men. They simply turned this around—which would be incorrect even from the point of view of logical syllogisms—and stated that any body of armed men is a state. Thus when the Red Army—a body of armed men of a workers state—stepped upon a piece of soil, that soil became at that exact instant a workers state. It did not matter if the means of production were in the hands of the capitalists, if the old state apparatus was still intact, or, as was true in some countries of East Europe, a monarchy still ruled.

Lenin, however, proceeded differently from Vern-Ryan. He insisted and this was the central thrust of State and Revolution, that for a workers state to be created the old state apparatus had to be completely destroyed. It was also his position that the basic means of production needed to be taken into the hands of the working class. He also insisted that for all this to happen a revolution was necessary led by a conscious Marxist party, a revolution of the workers themselves.

The actual developments in East Europe bore no relation to the Vern-Ryan schema. The Red Army did not set foot in most of Yugoslavia and yet it is today a workers state. The Red Army did occupy over one-third of Austria and a good hunk of Finland yet these countries are today capitalist states. No doubt a workers state is created without a revolution with each forward march of the Red Army and a capitalist state is created without a counter-revolution with each negotiated retreat!

Our author even carries this further than Vern-Ryan by applying it to Cuba: "For our part we believe that Cuba is a

ALL OUT! To the Demonstration Against Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith

Because . . .

he seeks the leadership of those forces which foster hatred among groupings of the working class by trying to set white against Negro, Protestant against Catholic, Gentile against Jew, farmer against worker, unemployed against employed, veteran against non-veteran, non-union against union.

Because . . .

his labor-baiting, race-hating, union-busting campaigns have been condemned by all sections of the labor movement . . . A. F. of L., C. I. O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

SMITH'S ROAD LEADS TO FASCISM!

Because . . .

like Hitler, Mussolini, Bilbo, Rankin and their kind, he uses prejudice and totalitarian methods against human rights and democratic liberties. He is again attempting to organize his fascist gangs in MINNEAPOLIS.

Today . . .

he schemes to recruit his fascist gangs by secret methods.

Tomorrow . . .

he will try to turn loose organized, brutal force against all minority groups and the labor movement.

Rats — Even Small Rats — Carry Plague. The Spread of the Fascist Plague Must Be Halted. It Would Be Criminal to Underestimate the Danger.

When Gerald L. K. Smith speaks in Minneapolis next Wednesday evening, August 21st, the organized workers and all anti-fascist people must register their opposition to his fascist program by joining the demonstration.

**ALL OUT ON THE PICKET LINE at 703 3rd Ave. South
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 7:30 P. M.**

Issued by:
Socialist Workers Party
10 South 4th St., Minneapolis

workers state, a deformed workers state because it is not based on the organized power of soviets and workers democracy, and that it became a workers state when the rebel army, based on worker-peasants, seized power."

Why, then is not Algeria a workers state where a similar army came to power? Why then construct Marxist parties in Latin America? Perhaps Mandel is right that the thing to do is conduct guerrilla warfare, organize an army of worker-peasants and seize power. In fact why must we do it anyway? If a Castro can do it then any old blunted instrument will do. Our author ends up with the worst of revisionist positions. Such is the result of defending orthodoxy with formal formulas.

We have elsewhere dealt with this question of East Europe explaining the combined way in which the social transformations took place there under specific conditions of the postwar relationship between Stalinism and imperialism. Rather than representing any wave of the future the transformations were forced upon the Stalinists by the rebuilding of imperialist strength in West Europe and the direct threat to the Soviet Union of the remilitarization of the imperialist camp.

The evolution of the Vern-Ryan group is consistent with its method. After developing this Red Army thesis the group made a special study of Lora and the Bolivian POR. They were able to expose Lora's opportunist relations with the bourgeois MNR government, his complete abandonment of the whole strategy of the permanent revolution. At the same time the group criticized the position of the SWP that McCarthyism represents some form of fascism.

While on these two questions the Vern-Ryan group was correct, the group never dealt with fundamentals. It could only pick at this or pick at that. In the end, and this our author completely omits from his enraptured account of the group's position and history, Vern-Ryan declared "a plague on both your houses" as far as the International Committee and International Secretariat (Pablo) were concerned and resigned from the SWP. The group immediately joined the Shachtmanites!

So we have a group which proclaims that wherever the Red Army steps a workers state is created joining a group which maintains the Soviet Union is a bureaucratic collectivist and imperialist state!

THE 1953 SPLIT

OUTSIDE OF THE common idealist abstract method of approaching political questions, the other major attraction of the Vern-Ryan position for our author was its stand on the 1953 split.

"It was the opinion of Vern and Ryan that the Cochran-Clarke faction and the Cannon faction in the SWP were both using the same method of analysis (impressionism) and were both heading down the same road (liquidationism). The causes for the friction between the two factions, then, was that one group was heading down the road by jet plane, and the other by oxcart. We agree with this analysis and we would extend it to the two groupings that made up the 1953 split in the Fourth International. At that time both the Europeans and the British-Americans were using the same methods of impressionism and were heading down to liquidationism. The problem was, one was heading down the road by jet, one by oxcart."

And:
"Wohlforth and the Workers League think that Cannon was 100% correct in issuing the open letter. We think that Cannon's assessment of Pabloism in the open letter was partially correct (i.e.—that it was liquidationism) and in that sense we support what Cannon said in the open letter. But we feel that the open letter was designed to avoid a fight and we feel that Cannon should have formed a faction to conduct the fight inside the Fourth International."

Fender, needless to say, takes the same position on the 1953 split. He writes:

"The issuance of an open document attacking, calling for a break with, the International leadership during the internal

discussion period of the forthcoming 4th World Congress, could only be interpreted as a declaration of a split. Such organizational methods served to confirm (along with the earlier expulsion of the SWP minority) that the SWP leadership was indeed incapable of leading a political struggle against the petty-bourgeois centrist leadership of the Fourth International."

The actual developments occurred somewhat differently than these two idealists describe them. First of all in the course of the buffer discussion the beginning of an opposition to Pablo's theories, particularly on "centuries of deformed workers states" was expressed by Cannon. Because of this discussion, Cannon proposed to amend the documents of the Third World Congress. Clarke was sent over to Europe instructed to do so. In Europe he abandoned the amendments and went wholly over to Pablo returning as his factional agent and immediately organizing the Cochran-Clarke faction.

It is true that Cannon's refusal to take political leadership of the Fourth International paved the way for Pabloite revisionism. It is true that Cannon's theoretical criticism of Pablo at the time was weak but it is not true that Pablo's positions were completely accepted, that there was no pre-history to the 1953 split.

Next our author does not bother to mention that in the period between 1951 and 1953 Pablo organized pro-Stalinist liquidationist factions in a number of sections including the LSSP, the British section, the French section, and the SWP. Whole sections, like the French majority, were expelled, whole Pabloite factions completely liquidated themselves in a number of countries. The precious cadres of world Trotskyism were being scattered to the wind at a most difficult juncture in the conjunctural situation. It was clear that if something was not done only a small Pablo faction would be in the Fourth International by the time of the Fourth Congress.

The crime, in this situation, of Cannon, was not his issuing of the open letter but that he waited so long in issuing it. We have analyzed the reasons for this elsewhere. But the act was a necessary one for

the preservation of the cadres. Of course to those idealists who abstract out the "idea" from the corrupt "concrete" cadres, such a dispersal means nothing. But we can say now that the existence of the Fourth International today is only because this action was taken.

This can be shown most sharply in relation to the British section of the Fourth International. Pablo served the majority leadership, headed by Gerry Healy, with an ultimatum that it should hand over control of the movement to the majority, headed by John Lawrence, who Pablo supported. Pablo was preparing to expel Healy and others. It was this threat of the destruction of the British movement which led to the issuing of the Open Letter by the SWP. This is entirely to the credit of the SWP and James P. Cannon. Let us also remember that Pablo's agent Lawrence soon broke with even a formal adherence to Trotskyism and became a loyal member of the British Communist Party!

The Open Letter was a wholly principled document, rooted in the whole history of Marxism, of Bolshevism, of Trotskyism. It stands up today as far more than "partially correct." It was correct on essentials. It reestablished the basics of Trotskyism. It offered world Trotskyism a new opportunity to move forward and prepare for the new period of class struggle ahead. The great crime of Cannon, all the more criminal because of the principled character of the Open Letter, was to once again drop the struggle to lead the International movement, to abandon the theoretical fight against Pabloism.

The difference was not a quantitative matter of the relative speed of liquidation but a qualitative break between Trotskyism and revisionism. Of course Vern and Ryan could not even distinguish the qualitative difference between the SWP and Shachtmanism!

Nor is Cannon to be condemned, as Fender does, at the very moment he does take up a political struggle, for not taking up a political struggle. Fender raises organizational objections to obscure the correct principled political fight of Cannon, Pablo and Healy against Haston and repeats the same technique to obscure the principled political break of Cannon and Healy with Pabloism.

This attack on the Open Letter of 1953 and the formation of the International Committee comes precisely at a time when the various factions of the United Secretariat are being forced to confront these same theoretical questions. It is Pierre Frank, the man who masterminded the split in the French section with Pablo's help, who now writes stating that Pabloism was all a myth after all while the majority faction in the United Secretariat views the 1963 "reunification" as a process of "assimilating" the SWP to the already existing "Fourth International."

Frank, Mandel and the rest of the leadership group from around Pablo defend Pablo's policies of that period and condemn Cannon's actions in breaking with those policies. This is their history—the history of defense of and complicity in liquidationism. Fender and our anonymous author stand with Frank on fundamentals.

In fact their position is precisely the position taken at the time by Ernest Mandel, the LSSP and Lora. Mandel was opposed to the expulsion of the French majority and sympathized with Cannon's criticisms of the pro-Stalinist positions of Pablo. But he would not break with Pablo and soon became his right hand man in liquidationism. The LSSP experienced a pro-Stalinist split supported by Pablo and itself developed amendments to be submitted to the Fourth Congress of the Pabloites. It abandoned those positions at the Congress and went along with Pablo who in turn refused to fight seriously the opportunist positions of that party which paved the way for its entry into a bourgeois coalition government. Lora reacted to Pablo's efforts in liquidating the Bolivian section by pulling back from any international affiliation, deepening the nationalist course in evidence earlier in his relations with the bourgeois nationalist MNR of Paz.

It was the treachery of those forces which contributed greatly to Pablo's ability to miseducate a whole generation of new revolutionaries in the period ahead.

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Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay travelled to Alabama to dig up the real story of George Wallace and the American labor movement. This pamphlet exposes the working conditions in his right-to-work anti-union state, Wallace's connections with big business and with fascist forces, as well as the bankruptcy of the labor leadership in opposing Wallace. It makes clear that only through the construction of a labor party can the working class stop the racist anti-labor offensive represented by Wallace.

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

Bob Michaelson Film

THE CANDIDATE. Starring Robert Redford. Directed by Michael Ritchie.

Bella Abzug did not like *The Candidate*. This "liberal" Democratic Congresswoman from New York was appalled at the cynical approach this movie takes towards politics.

Her reaction should not be startling. Her political existence is dependent on the sections of the middle class whose increasing alienation from the present forms of ruling class politics is reflected in this movie.

Opposite Bella are the mass of critics who enjoyed the film and its satire on political campaigning. These opposing reactions are no accident.

The Democratic Party is being broken up as a political force because it can pose no alternative to the Republicans and workers are becoming completely disgusted with both parties.

Bourgeois democratic politics is in decay. The class struggle is tearing it apart. Under these blows, the middle classes are themselves becoming revolted by the charades put on by the Democrats and Republicans.

This is portrayed clearly in *The Candidate*. It is the story of Bill McKay, a young, militant middle class lawyer who works in a legal aid headquarters for poor Chicanos in Southern California. His father was a big-time politician and ex-governor of the state.

McKay is a liberal who is so skeptical about politics that he has never even registered to vote, when a behind-the-scenes-type character drives up—fresh from the defeat of a campaign he engineered—and asks the radical lawyer if he will run for Senator. His opponent would be a reactionary—the incumbent, Crocker Jarmin.

A young Chicano looks at the professional campaign manager and says: "Politics is bullshit." The manager replies: "I was wondering what it was." But McKay accepts, to use the campaign to protest various things, even though he is

assured by the manager that he cannot win against Jarmin.

CYNICAL

McKay begins as an honest, sincere candidate. As the campaign progresses, he turns into a cynical vote-getter, going after what he calls the "white middle class honkies."

Under the guiding pressures of the manager, he makes deals with anyone willing and watering down and discarding his principles along the way. His father eventually joins his campaign after watching it first develop—he does not want to take a losing side—and uses his political connections to rally support for the campaign.

The most important connection is the president of the state Teamsters Union. At a closed meeting, the bureaucrat says to McKay: "We have a lot in common."

McKay disagrees and then mentions the sweetheart contracts the Teamsters officials had signed with the agricultural corporations against the Farmworkers Union.

The next scene shows the same bureaucrat joyously welcoming McKay to a podium at a mass rally in San Francisco. The alliance will benefit everyone except the workers.

CRISIS

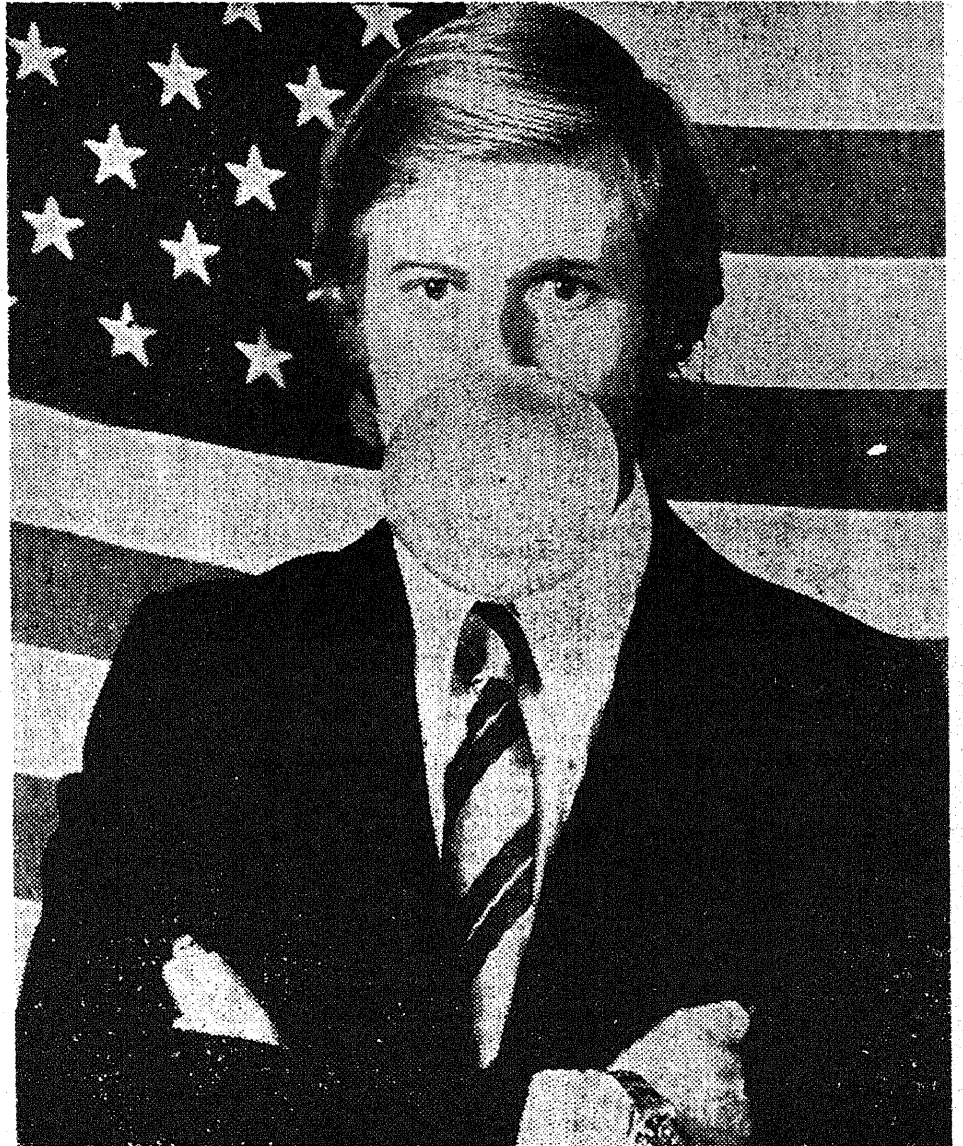
Hollywood cannot help but reflect the growing crisis in the capitalist system. This movie offers no alternative to capitalism. The only real mention of the working class is shown with the cynical alliance of McKay with the Teamsters bureaucrats.

But *The Candidate* is important for what it does show—the basic inability of liberalism to confront the problems facing the system; the alienation of the middle classes to the present political set-up. This is very clearly being expressed today in the Presidential election campaign, and McGovern's paralysis in the face of it.

As a matter of fact, McGovern and Humphrey are both shown in the movie as part of the established Democratic Machine.

The movie ends with the same cynicism

The Last Hurrah



it started off with, but now McKay is part of the Establishment, giving it a more liberal cover. But, even the kind of political campaign expressed in the movie is no longer possible. The liberals like McKay cannot fool the working class. The labor bureaucracy cannot give its

allegiance to these politicians with the ease they had once done. Things are changing.

The working class will now break from politicians of the capitalist class and build a labor party as the answer to Nixon and the capitalist crisis.

B. Wills Books



THE HANDBOOK OF TRANSPORTATION IN AMERICA. By Charles Luna. Printed by Popular Library. 1971.

This book has been authored by the former president of the United Transportation Union (UTU), Charles Luna.

His "responsible" attitude and sympathy for the problems of the railroad owners over many years, climaxed by his direct connivance with Nixon and Congress in breaking the one-day

strike of his own union on December 10, 1970, brought him his ultimate reward: the chairmanship of Railpax (Rail Passenger Service Act).

This corporation, controlled by the railroads, was established in 1971 and entirely funded by Congress with public money. It insures the rail monopolists full freedom in eliminating non-profitable passenger train service.

This book is hardly understandable, in the reviewer's opinion, without reference to the author's own role in the making of contemporary railway history.

With its 280,000 members the UTU is the largest rail union in the United States. It was the product of a merger of four

Rewriting Railroad History

previously independent railway unions. As head of the largest one, the Brotherhood of Trainmen, Luna became its first president at its foundation in 1969. The unification had to be forced on the unwilling presidents of the unions by these angry ranks.

There were genuine grounds for anger. Their leadership had allowed an industry whose wages in 1928 were first in the nation to sink to 20th place by the end of World War II. Today it is far below the 1946 level.

Even worse, that same leadership presided over a staggering and criminal elimination of jobs. In 1950 there were still 1.2 million employees. By 1969 the figure had already fallen to 578,000. With the wholesale elimination of passenger trains, the job losses as of now are considerably worse.

But even that barely reveals the extent of bureaucratic treachery. By allowing the companies to automate and lay off hundreds of thousands of workers, the union leaders bear responsibility for more than doubling the work loads. The men have been forced not only to do the work of those discharged, but considerably more: the additional freight hauled between 1950 and 1969, with half of the employees, yielded the companies an increase in revenues from 7.8 billion dollars to 10.3 billion.

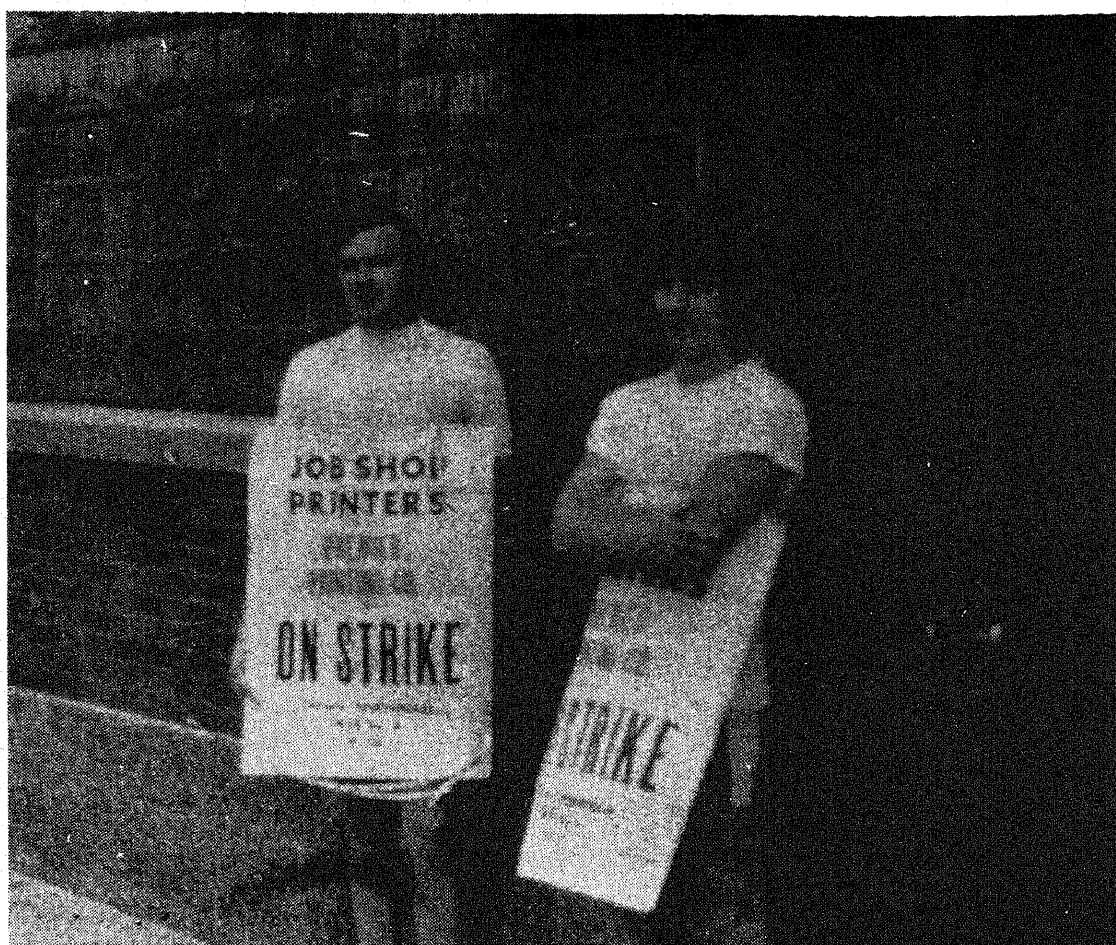
Anyone seeking a clarification, an interpretation, even the mere mention of these facts known to every railroad worker, will never find them in Luna's book. Despite

his intimate connection with the rail unions (including, of course, a major share in the catastrophic decline in the work and living standards of the thousands of workers affected), the former UTU president has managed to write a book on the history and current problems of transportation in this country, citing labor in only two references.

In one of these, he practically sides with the companies against the interests of the men, stating that the "rail transportation of grain was limited by work rules which require crew changes as trains cross seniority districts. Unions and carriers have agreed that some rule changes are needed to make the mini-train practical and competitive."

A proven and committed opponent of the theory of the class struggle and of working class independence, Luna could under no circumstances, not even superficially, deal with labor questions. To do so would have compelled him to show how the rail unions (including his own Trainmen's Union that was itself born out of the bloody railroad uprisings of 1877) came into existence as a result of company-initiated violence.

The ranks were forced into pitched battles not only with the corporation cops, but with state police, militia, and federal troops, always and everywhere placed at the disposal of the bloated tycoons. To have cited any of this history of railway labor would have exposed Luna's own treachery to the heroic traditions and current interests of his own trainmen.



Chicago International Typographers Union is picketing the Franklin Association, which locked them out.

Toolmakers Issue Call For Labor Party

BY AN IAM MEMBER

CHICAGO—The Tool and Die Makers Union here, Lodge 113 IAM, has sent an official resolution to the national convention of the IAM stating:

"That the IAM call a national conference representing as far as possible, all labor and its allies, for the purpose of establishing a labor party."

Lodge 113 is the recognized national leadership of the toolmaking trade in the IAM, and one of the most influential locals in the International.

It is indicative of the shattered relations between the capitalist parties and the labor movement that the vote on the resolution, by voice, was officially unanimous. Managing Business Representative Victor Horvat, and the Stalinist supporters of the Daily World, were known to have opposed the resolution coming to the floor, but abstained from voting against, presumably in order not to reveal the depth of their own isolation within the union.

FIGHT

Passage of the resolution was greatly facilitated by a deep split among the lodge officials with at least one business agent and several officers consciously taking up the fight for a labor party.

When the Resolutions Committee of the lodge recommended concurrence with a general strike motion last September, lodge officials disbanded this committee and appointed another with one of the four business agents of the lodge as its chairman.

At the last meeting, the new Resolutions Committee recommended concurrence with the labor party resolution, and

the business agent spoke in favor of its passage.

Horvat announced the complete failure of the union to make any headway in defense of contracts: "There has not yet been any reply from the Pay Board to our appeal of many of our contracts, including, of course, the Sunbeam contract."

In a brief question and answer period one member brought up Pay Board Chairman Boldt's recent speculation on reducing the freeze maximum to 2.5 percent and asked what the union intended to do if Boldt carried through this threat.

HYSTERICAL

Horvat's reaction was nearly hysterical: "What do you expect me to do, have a brain operation up here or something? There's nothing we can do. We're stuck. We're completely at the mercy of these guys in Washington."

During his report, Business Representative Jack Powell reported yet another shop closure, and heavy layoffs among the shops he services. This is about the 12th closure in the past two years, with the union liquidating at a rate of about 10 percent every six months. Officials have attempted to conceal the loss of membership by including retired and honorary members alongside active members in the figures given the rank and file.

Later in the meeting Jack Powell took up a strong defense of the fight for the labor party: "I just think that the interests of labor can no longer be served by supporting the Democratic Party, and that in order for labor to go forward, a labor party must be established in this country."

Conn. Bus Drivers Face Wage Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD, Conn.—Victor Abell, executive vice president of the Connecticut Company, declared in a letter to the state transportation commissioner that the bus company will not pay any wage increases to bus drivers in their new contract which is due after September 30.

This is a continuation of the company's vicious attacks on bus drivers which in the past two months has resulted in the layoff of 20 New Haven and Hartford drivers. The company is determined to shut down all bus service if it is not allowed to drastically reduce the work force. Abell said that the company must be subsidized by the state if bus service is to be maintained.

On July 17, a court order prohibiting any cuts in bus service by the Connecticut Company was extended to August 30 by Judge John Alexander in the Hartford Court of Common Pleas. It is now clear that this extension was only a brief postponement of the company's drive to eliminate jobs with the cooperation of the Public Utilities Commission.

The P.U.C. ruled that the company could raise its fares to 35¢ (a 5¢ increase) and discontinue bus service on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

The company is determined to destroy the jobs of Connecticut bus drivers with or without the cooperation of the cities.

One Hartford bus driver, reacting to the layoffs, told Bulletin reporters that:

"The buses should be a public service. That means buses should run even if they only have one passenger and the drivers should have secure jobs. Right now, the company is working drivers overtime rather than hiring back any of the laid off drivers."

Another driver said: "The union should fight these layoffs. I would be for striking. It could be my job next."

At this critical point, with a contract coming up and the court extension to expire soon, the attitude toward future layoffs expressed by union officials is extremely dangerous.

Officials from New Haven and Hartford said no strike action

would be taken by the union in the case of new layoffs, "that layoffs were to be expected as the transit industry was not thriving." Since 1969, membership in the local has dropped from 452 to 327.

Under these conditions, with unemployment soaring in Connecticut, the union must lead the fight against layoffs, taking

forward the fight taken up at the rally called by the ten laid off New Haven drivers in June, to demand: the reinstatement of all 20 drivers, a guarantee of no future layoffs, a guarantee of adequate bus service for Connecticut. The union must use its strength to shut down New Haven and Hartford until these demands are met.

Phase II Results Are In: Profits Total \$52 Billion

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's attacks on the American labor movement really paid off for big business during the second economic quarter of 1972.

Corporate after-tax profits between April and June zoomed to a record annual rate of \$52 billion. According to a survey of 563 concerns by the Wall Street Journal, profits rose by 12.3 percent over the second quarter period of 1971.

General Motors stands at the top of the list of companies reporting fabulous earnings. Its second quarter profits totalled \$723 million, the largest profit ever recorded in American history. Its earnings will probably reach the three billion dollar mark before the end of the year.

The profits of Chrysler during the second quarter jumped 117.8 percent over the same period in 1971—to \$68.4 million. Altogether, the four major auto companies earned profits of \$1.1 billion for the second quarter, up 35 percent over 1971.

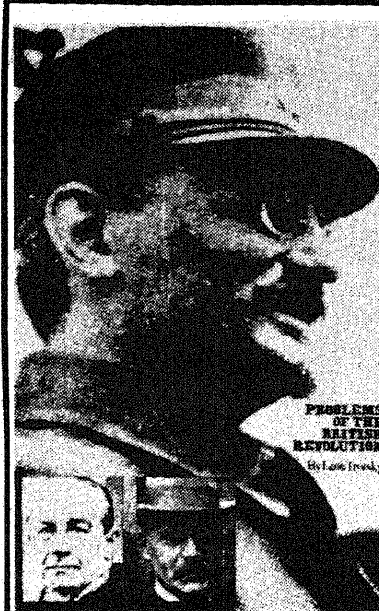
ENORMOUS

While the giant conglomerates were raking in these enormous sums of money, the living conditions of workers continued to decline. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the annual rate of gain in compensation per man hour slowed sharply in the second quarter.

It dropped from 8.1 percent to 5.6 percent in the private economy as a whole, from 8.7 percent to 4.7 percent in the nonfarm sector, and from 10.4 percent to 4.8 percent in manufacturing.

There was also a great leap in productivity figures. During the second quarter, average output per man hour climbed at an average rate of six percent, the highest figure in the post-war era.

According to the Wall Street Journal: "at least part of these gains can be attributed to President Nixon's economic policies."



Problems of the British Revolution \$.95

This collection constitutes Trotsky's reply to various critics of his then recently published *Where Is Britain Going?* It is a necessary corollary to that work. Dissects the arguments of all the opponents of Marxism and unravels many of the difficult problems facing the new Communist Party in the development of a strategy for power in the revolutionary epoch.

NEW TROTSKYIST WORKS FROM ENGLAND

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

Fourth International Quarterly Journal of International Marxism, Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International. Summer 1972. \$.75

This edition issues a call for an open discussion on the fundamental questions of Marxist philosophy. Contains the documents detailing the split with the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), French Section of the I.C. Also included are major statements by the I.C. on international perspectives and the documents from the Fourth International Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The New Course 1923 by Leon Trotsky \$ 1.95

Written in the aftermath of the Civil War and in the period of the New Economic Policy, the work details Trotsky's struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. At that time, there still appeared to be a chance of overcoming this bureaucracy. Serves as a bridge between Lenin's last struggles against Stalinism and the later founding of the Unified Left Opposition.



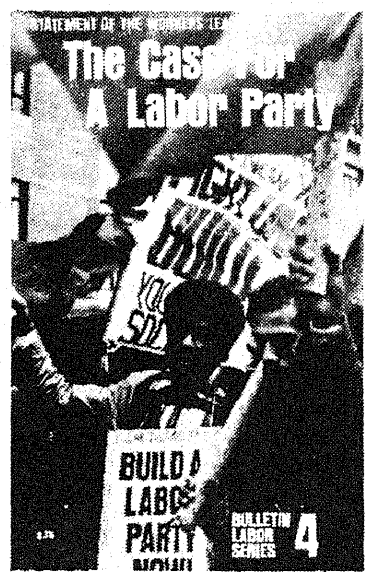
We Demand The Right To Work \$.45

The British Young Socialist pamphlet which details, in a day-by-day account, one of the most remarkable political campaigns ever waged in the British working class movement. The march culminated in a rally of 8,500 at Empire Pool, Wembley. It centered on the demand to bring down the Tories and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.



TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party

The following articles are the first of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is a part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.



TOM PIERSON is a leader of a rank and file caucus in UAW Local 25 at the GMAD plant in St. Louis.

The Workers League Manifesto on the Case for a Labor Party is of the utmost importance to all workers because it states very clearly and accurately the only way we can fight back against the attacks backed by both the Democrats and the Republicans.

The conditions that workers face now threaten the standard of living that we had won in the past. The speed-ups in the auto plants are forcing men to work under inhuman conditions

through job overloading. I was laid off from the St. Louis GMAD plant because I refused to do the work of two men.

That brings up another point—the increasing unemployment faced by workers. I have been looking for a job for over five months. Down at the unemployment office it is obvious that I'm not the only guy looking for work.

Anyone who doesn't see these conditions is just not accepting the fact. To fight back against these attacks we have to see how the situation is different since Nixon's wage freeze on August 15th.

We still have to act through the present organization of the workers, the trade

unions. But the unions by themselves cannot fight back against the government. One thing that's tied the unions down is that the courts can fine them thousands of dollars a day for striking and send unionists to jail. Workers have to fight back politically by forming a labor party.

If we look at the 1970 auto contract, we also see how the situation has changed. After the strike, we won a small wage increase. It wasn't enough, and even the local grievances were not settled.

But after Phase I of the wage freeze, the annual increments were challenged and then with the introduction of GMAD in St. Louis in October the Fisher Body contract was torn up by the management. So now we see that even if a contract is settled the bosses can tear it up when they like.

DEFEND

The Democrats and Republicans stand behind this action. It is only a labor party which can defend the unions.

One of the major issues to overcome in our plant is the racial division. We have to unite the Black and white workers in the struggle. But I don't think the Black workers should sit around until the white workers start to move.

Now with the introduction of GMAD in the plant, all workers are faced with the conditions that forced the younger Black workers into action before. We have to build a united caucus of workers based on the program outlined in the Manifesto. In this struggle we can break the racial divisions.

Another important point in the Manifesto is how this labor party can be built. The history outline says that it is not the present union leadership but the workers on the line that will take up the struggle.

We are planning in our local to build a caucus which can provide a political opposition to the present leadership of UAW Local 25, based on the fight for a labor party and against the conditions of GMAD.

PEDRO LORENZO is a shop steward at the Fedders plant in Edison, N.J., where 2,700 workers of IUE Local 483 have been on strike for five months.

We should have a labor party. Labor is what created this country. You have these people taking advantage of millions and millions of workers by taking big profits for themselves, and a laborer has nothing to share with his family and with the people. I don't like it. I think the people in this country are fed up with these things.

I really think the economic situation in this country is so tight all around that it's getting bankrupt; and every day they're attacking the working people more and more. The working class has to wake up. We have to get together so we can fight these people. We have to do something. It can't continue like this.

In Fedders, every time we try to fight legally against the system we are beat up and we are put in jail. It seems that there is nothing we can do but fight them back, but how are we going to do it? People are going to jail, the Fedders plant is supposed to be closed down because we are on strike—but scabs are working there and nobody seems to care. The union we have doesn't do anything. The company doesn't want to come down and settle the strike.

We are in a very critical situation in terms of money. I believe that we can't tolerate things like this anymore. Because what's going on in Fedders is going on in other places too, and gradually it's going

to grow up in other places. I think that Fedders is setting an example for business to do the same thing to other people. I think we have to fight them. The labor people have to fight for our rights.

I watched the Democratic Convention and saw them elect McGovern and Eagleton. I didn't like it. As far as I know, McGovern is anti-labor and besides that he has a million or two. What's he going to do for the working class? Especially when he's supported by some of the biggest millionaires in the country, like General Motors. He's one of them.

Between Nixon and McGovern there is nobody to pick. They stink, both of them. People should stay home and not vote. Meany is right in not supporting them. I agree with him. He said he doesn't support Nixon and he doesn't support McGovern. But nobody knows what he is going to do about it. So he's neutral. That doesn't go anywhere.

Meany is a very wise guy. He doesn't want to pick one side. He's confused. Because right now he doesn't know what is going to happen in this country. And he doesn't want to pick one side because at the end he doesn't want to lose.

I know we need a labor party. I know we have to have a program, but really I don't know what type of program we'll need. We have to study this Manifesto very carefully because I can say a lot of things, and they can be right or wrong.

The labor party would have to be different from the Democratic Party because it would have to provide for the working class. The Democratic Party throws bones to the poor people but the biggest share they keep for themselves. The Democratic and Republican parties run in the same boat. To pick one is like picking the other.

To provide jobs, the labor party would have to see that a lot of factories are open. I don't know if the Manifesto means we should take over the plants of rich people and put the working people there. Here's



where I'm really confused because I've never believed in taking anything away from anybody. If they close the plants and refuse to let workers work in them—it's very hard.

We should work in ways to reach agreements, instead of having to take everything they have. I don't really agree. Right now I don't see how that could be done. Because to take away someone's property, I don't think it's right.

I know that the Democrats can't keep their promises because they don't want to take away anything from the rich people. I don't mean that they have to take away everything. But they shouldn't allow these people to make so much money for them-

selves while others go hungry. I believe they could have a way of working where these people could have some profits if they want, but let them give more to the people that work.

Maybe I'm in agreement with you and maybe I'm not. I have to be sure before I can answer these things. I believe that these rich people we're talking about are entitled to make profits. But we are entitled to live too! And to have some profits too!

The Manifesto is right on unemployment. We have to improve working conditions with more jobs to the people, because the unemployment rate is growing so big.

HOW THE ARMY

KEEPS THE 'PEACE' IN ULSTER



BY ALEX MITCHELL

One unreported aspect of life in Ulster today is the continuous harassment and intimidation of working class families, particularly in the Catholic areas.

Despite Tory claims that the army was engaged in a "cool-it" phase while truce discussions proceeded behind the scenes, the army has never let up in its terror campaign.

Indeed, as the Official and Provisional IRA have entered talks with the Tories, this has only served to strengthen the forces of reaction and expose the Catholics to even more sinister attacks.

In Divis Street, Belfast, the headquarters of the Association for Legal Justice has become the pooling point of thousands of sworn statements about army and police brutality.

Since the army occupation began almost three years ago, the Association has compiled a library of crimes committed by the Tory "law-and-order" forces.

The Workers Press, daily organ of the British Trotskyist Socialist Labour League, published the following excerpts from these massive files in order to reveal the real face of Tory policies in Ulster.

If Ulster is the testing ground for the ruling class' attacks on the working class, we should know what they will attempt to try on here.

CASE 1

Raymond Muldoon, 23 year old porter, of Frere Street, Belfast, describes in his statement what happened to him on the way home:

"On the night of Thursday, February 3, 1972, around 9:30 p.m. I was leaving the Legion of Mary Hostel in Divis Street on my way home in the company of a friend Francis McCrea. As we were passing St. Comgall's School the army jumped out on us. They took the two of us towards the Divis Flats and then they started beating us with the butts of their rifles. I could not say how many of them attacked us as there were so many of them.

Then they started to question both of us asking us if we were IRA sympathizers. We told them we were doing charitable work in the men's hostel. They asked my mate Francis McCrea why he did this work and he replied for the love of God and his fellow men. One of the soldiers said: 'As I don't believe in God this kind of work would not interest me.' Then he

put the boot in my friend Francis.

All they did most of the time was to keep striking us with batons, butts and boots until we both fell. This was kept up for at least ten to 15 minutes and then they made both of us lie on the ground. At this point they put the rifle to Francis McCrea's head and told him to say his prayers as they were going to shoot him. Francis McCrea made an act of contrition and said to the soldiers 'go ahead and shoot me.'

Then they took my overcoat, inside jacket and shoes off and all they gave me back was my shoes. They then told me to get my shoes on and they made me put my hands behind my head. At this point a soldier grabbed me by the collar and rushed me over to the Saracen. All the time there was a soldier in front of me hitting me in the stomach with the butt of his rifle.

When they had both of us at the flats an officer was there and he told the soldiers to make sure and not strike us on the face.

They then threw me head first against the side of the Saracen. As my hands were behind my head all this time, my head struck the Saracen and my head was split. At this point I blacked out. When I came round I was in the Saracen and the soldier inside the Saracen kept forcing me to the corner with the butt of his rifle. This lasted for five minutes or more.

At this point my friend Francis was thrown into the back of the Saracen. The soldier did the same to him with the butt of his rifle. The remainder of the soldiers got into the Saracen then and started asking us where we wanted let out. Sandy Row, Shankill Road or the Falls (Protestant areas). At this point one of the soldiers asked whose turn it was to make the arrest this week. What seemed to me to be the senior in charge then said: 'We will have no arrest this week.' They then told us they would take us to the Shankill Road. All the time they were beating us they muffled our screams.

At the first stop they made one soldier get out. A couple of minutes later he came back. The driver asked 'What's the score, do they not want them here?' The soldier got in then and closed the door of the Saracen and we started off again.

The next time they stopped the same soldier got out again and returned a couple of minutes later. The back of the Saracen was open then and we were both thrown out of the street. At this point a crowd of about 30 to 40 men came out of a bar.

As the soldiers watched these men coming towards us they got ready to leave saying to one another: 'These are two fenians we have left you.' The crowd from the bar then started attacking us.

My friend Francis McCrea mentioned a couple of names of workmates who lived

in this district and at this point they stopped attacking us. My friend Francis started explaining to these men what the army had done to us. He also told this crowd of men what we had been doing when the army lifted us as it was for the good of both communities.

At this point I struggled over to a car that was parked for support as I was feeling very ill. Some of the crowd came over to me where I was standing and when they saw the blood running out of me they started to show a bit of compassion towards me.

My friend Francis was still talking to the crowd trying to appeal to their sympathy. He repeated again the work we both did and told the crowd that the army was no one's friend and that both of us had more in common with 'you people' than the army.

Francis then came over to me where I was standing against the car. He lifted me up and did his best to support me, complaining of his injuries, so he could only lend me a certain amount of support. We were both in a very bad shape and we left the crowd and started walking.

The crowd stood as we both walked away and then they all came asked if we were Protestants or Catholics. My friend Francis answered Catholic. They immediately started to beat us again. At this point we were separated. I saw Francis being taken from the body of the crowd and I was beaten to the ground.

One man appealed to the crowd to stop beating me. A couple of young girls also appealed to the crowd to stop beating me. Two men pushed their way through the crowd and picked me up saying they were taking me to the hospital. They lifted me to put me in a car with the probable intention of murdering me. At least this is what I thought they were going to do.

A soldier came on the scene, a Land Rover had just stopped and he took me and led me to the Land Rover. They put me in the Land Rover and the soldier said to get me off the road as the crowd were in a threatening mood and making towards the Land Rover. The Land Rover started off and moved away to avoid the crowd. The soldier in charge asked me for my name and address and then he rang for an ambulance."

CASE 2

Mrs. Rosena Ferguson of Leeson Street, Belfast, gives this account of what happened to her brother, Gerry Scott, after he was snatched by the army and interned in Long Kesh:

"I had a visit in Long Kesh this morning and I saw my brother. He looked pale and his eyes were heavy looking as if he had not got much sleep, but he did get eight

hours' sleep. He had a red mark above his left eyebrow and another on his cheek bone. I asked how he got this, he said he received it while he was being kicked from one side of the room to the other.

He told me he had four separate interrogations. The first one wasn't so bad. At the second one three young Special Branch men came in. These ones were the ones who put him between two chairs and kicked the stomach out of him, and he said: 'I got the pin treatment. They stuck pins in my bare feet.' I nearly died at this but he said: 'Don't worry about it, I'm all right now.' When I suggested getting a doctor he agreed very willingly, whereas I could not previously get him to go near a doctor about the rash on his feet. This was the worst.

His third interrogation was with Inspector T. He said he was very nice to him and gave him a cigarette. He asked him questions about lads in the area. He tried to blame incidents that happened in the area on him. He asked him about arms dumps and said: 'Even if you can tell us where there is one gun that will be all right or even Provo dumps.' He chatted to him and told him that he was a Christian himself and so were all his family whereas the Officials are prone to communism. All in all they had a great chat about politics.

Inspector T. went on to explain that Joe McCann's death was an accident and had nothing to do with the Special Branch. He said that Joe was shot in the thigh and the bullet travelled up his spine. He said there were three other bullets in him but it was definitely an accident.

His last interrogation was with a man who was only interested in the policies of Republican Clubs. He asked especially about the Joe McKelvey and the Terence Perry Clubs, but he said they weren't active any more. He got the usual treatment before each interrogation of looking at the wall for hours on end without moving."

CASE 3

This concerns a shooting incident at the Glen Road bus terminus on June 22. We reproduce the statements of witnesses:

First witness: Mrs. E. Shaw, Belfast housewife, who lives opposite the terminal:

"About midday today, June 22, 1972, I was cleaning my window which looks on to the Glen Road bus terminus. I saw two taxis parked there. I saw Jim Murray, Joe Smith and Hugh Kenny standing talking. I also saw Shiela McAree sitting in a taxi with a couple of others.

Then I saw a blue car with two men drive and one in the back—either moving very slowly or possibly halted opposite Mrs. Hasset's house. Then it moved down the Glen Road slowly. Next I saw the rear passenger window going down and a gun coming out of the window. I heard a volley of shots. I saw the three men fall and one of them bleeding. I stood petrified and screamed: 'Tommy (my husband). Get up (he was still in bed). There's three men lying on the roundabout.'

I ran upstairs, on the way I saw bullet holes in the walls at the landing. I saw through the open door of the bedroom where Tommy was that the mirror of the dressing table was shattered. I realized that Tommy must have been shot and I was afraid to go in.

I ran downstairs and on to the streets screaming: 'Somebody come quick I think Tommy is shot.' Mrs. McGuinness and my son Brian ran up to Tommy. They found him shot in the leg."

Second witness: Mrs. Mary Marley, Rosapenna Square, Belfast housewife:

"My son Tomas and my daughters Jean (12), Briege (8) and I were going up the steps from Bunbeg Park to the Glen Road terminus to get a taxi to go down town. We heard shooting beside us and pushed the small children back down the steps. We saw a blue car passing down Glen Road in the City direction at the same time. We didn't actually see a gun but we were quite certain that the shooting (two bursts) came from it.

When the shooting stopped, we ran up the steps and saw three wounded men and a girl (not wounded) lying screaming on the ground. There was a lot of people gathered at the time and putting the wounded into taxis.

We heard no shots fired at the blue car either before or after the shooting. There was no sign of guns around the wounded men."

Sargent Shriver- Model of a Modern Bosses' Agent

BY FRED MUELLER

The selection of R. Sargent Shriver to replace Thomas Eagleton as the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate points up the tremendous crisis facing the Democrats as the economic crisis deepens and the working class resists the attacks of the capitalists on every front.

Shriver is the brother-in-law of the late President Kennedy, the late Senator Robert Kennedy and the current Senator Edward Kennedy. He is the direct representative in the 1972 campaign of the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party.

The new candidate comes to his post with impressive credentials as a man dedicated to the defense of capitalism. He started his climb upward in the world of business and politics as the head of Chicago's Merchandise Mart, after being given this position in the 1940's by Joseph Kennedy, patriarch of the Kennedy clan.

In 1953 Shriver secured his position further by marrying Eunice, the third of the Kennedy daughters, in a ceremony performed by New York's Cardinal Spellman.

OPPORTUNISM

Throughout his career Shriver has demonstrated a thorough opportunism, the same kind of personal drive to climb to the top of the heap which characterized his unfortunate predecessor as Vice-Presidential candidate, Thomas Eagleton.

These men are determined to achieve personal success and power without regard to any principles other than devotion to capitalism. Their own principles are those of the capitalist entrepreneur himself—individualism, pragmatism, and toughness when it comes down to the fundamental interests of the system, the only thing to which they subordinate their own personal ambition.

Shriver was born in 1915, into a very prominent Maryland investment banking family. He was not marrying above his class when he joined the Kennedy family at the age of 38.

Though his family was hit hard by the Wall Street crash, Shriver was able to continue to attend the most exclusive private schools, and then Yale University in the late 1930s. At Yale he became chairman of the Yale Daily News and a member of Scroll and Key, a senior and secret honor society known, according to the New York Times, for its elitism and its lock-step marching around the campus on Saturday evenings.

In becoming chairman of the Yale Daily News, Shriver announced his personal credo as "Christian, Aristotelian, optimist and American." No doubt Shriver's membership in the right-wing, isolationist America First Movement during this period was one of the qualities noted with approval by Joseph Kennedy, who was U.S. Ambassador to Britain before the war and a notorious sympathizer of Hitler's.

Particularly since his association with the Kennedys, Shriver has built up a reputation as a businessman with a social conscience. This was indeed how McGovern referred to him in announcing his selection.

The particular assets of Shriver are well enough summarized by Black Democrat Shirley Chisholm, one of the unsuccessful Democratic Presidential candidates. Chisholm wrote McGovern a letter praising Shriver as follows:

"He is attractive, personable, and well-liked by a broad cross-section of groups. He knows the Hill and is an experienced and respected businessman, but he is equally at home with the poor and minority groups whose affection and support he earned during his tenure as head of the Office of Economic Opportunity."

Shriver is a good friend of Chicago's Mayor Daley, not the working class. His liberal reputation only serves the function of trying to tie the workers to the Democratic Party and to capitalism. His real class loyalties are shown by his views and associations at a time when he did not have to concern himself with polishing a liberal image for the voters.

Shriver's connections to Kennedy, Daley and others are now being desperately grasped by McGovern in his attempt to hold together a campaign which is falling apart at the seams. The McGovern staff is trying to provide some momentum and direction by selecting a man acceptable to the various wings of the Party which have set out in opposite directions, and above all to the section of the capitalist class which has been backing McGovern but which has been badly shaken by the events of the past two weeks.

The Eagleton fiasco, on top of the neutrality of the AFL-CIO, the hostility of the



Sargent Shriver

so-called regular Democrats and the decision of Wallace not to run independently in 1972, has thrown the McGovern camp into a tremendous crisis.

The Vice Presidential nomination was turned down by at least six prominent names before Shriver was finally selected. Senators Humphrey, Kennedy and Ribicoff, and Governors Nelson and Askew all turned down the offer. Then the offer to defeated candidate Muskie was widely publicized, only to have Muskie also refuse it.

PROBLEMS

The reluctance of many prospective Vice Presidential candidates reflects a recognition of the acute problems facing the Democrats in 1972. And these problems are the problems of the capitalist class, no longer able to hold the Democratic Party together as a party of the liberals, the middle class and large sections of workers, on behalf of capitalism.

Eagleton's history of emotional instability, and his decision not to inform McGovern of it at the time of his selection as his running mate, are the personal reflection of a political crisis affecting the entire capitalist class and its two political parties.

Eagleton is not the only man with problems. Witness the recent difficulties of Mr. and Mrs. John Mitchell, and Nixon's earlier visits, disclosed after the 1968 campaign, to a New York internist who

specialized in psychosomatic illness.

Then we have McGovern's indecisive handling of this delicate problem. For a week Eagleton remained on the ticket. Then McGovern took nearly a week to find a replacement.

As the ruling class commentators are now quick to point out, McGovern's 1000 percent support for Eagleton very quickly turned out to be zero.

Those issues on which McGovern had hoped to capitalize are receding into the background, and those on which he must affirm his basic agreement with Nixon are coming forward, together with the movement of the working class in the U.S. and internationally. This is the meaning of the Pay Board, the gold crisis, the continuing inflation, the wooing of both Moscow and Peking for a counterrevolutionary alliance.

The lesson of the Democratic Party shambles is the need for the working class to intervene with its own policy and its own party.

The only alternative to Nixon and McGovern is a labor party based on the power of the trade union movement. This is the only answer to every attack facing the working class today, from the Pay Board to unemployment, speed-up, anti-union legislation, rising prices, racism and discrimination and the war. On every single issue Nixon and McGovern stand together with capitalism and against the working class.

Fascist elements rally to Wallaceite party

BY FRED MUELLER

The ultra-right and neo-fascistic forces that worked in the shadows for Wallace in 1968 and during the primaries this past Spring are now functioning in the open with the nomination of John Schmitz, lame duck Republican Congressman from California, as the Presidential candidate of the American Party.

Schmitz, a leading member of the John Birch Society, captured the nomination last week on the first ballot, after the American Party was told by Wallace that he would not be able to campaign this year.

Wallace claims that his doctors have instructed him not to run until he recovers more fully from last May's assassination attempt.

But the nomination of Schmitz indicates that Wallace wants to keep the American Party functioning as an independent movement on the right outside the two party system—to meet the offensive of the working class.

However, while Wallace sought to play down his right-wing connections and actually attempted to maintain working rela-



Georgian racist J.B. Stoner is part of extreme right wing now running for office.

tions with the Democrats and Republicans, Schmitz is planning to run the most openly right-wing campaign in American history.

PROGRAM

A 41-year-old former marine pilot, Schmitz outlined his program in a two sentence statement:

"One, foreign policy: never go to war unless you plan to win. Two, domestic: those who work ought to live better than those who don't."

Schmitz is active in the John Birch Society in Southern California—precisely in that area where that organization is most openly anti-semitic. The California Birchites are responsible for the widespread circulation of the infamous Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, a forgery written in the 19th century which documents the international Jewish conspiracy to take over the world.

Schmitz is an ardent peddler of the theory of an international communist conspiracy controlled by Jews and carried out by the Democrats and Republicans.

Several years ago, Schmitz wrote the foreword to *None Dare Call It Treason*, which is required reading for all Birchites.

Schmitz is not just part of a lunatic fringe; for fascist forces are gathering behind him and playing an even more open role than they did in the Wallace campaigns. While this party is not a developed fascist movement, it is through such organizations that fascists will group.

Because of the deepening economic crisis, these elements are now receiving encouragement and aide from the government. Last week, the Federal Communications Commission granted permission for Atlanta lawyer J.B. Stoner to broadcast racist political advertisements over radio. "... The main reason why niggers want integration is because niggers want our white women," declared Stoner in one of his "messages."

Big business is grooming the American Party and elements like Stoner to meet the needs of the crisis. Only the power of labor, organized politically in its independent party, can defeat these right wing forces.

TORIES READY TROOPS. . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

which rebuilt European capitalism after World War II and which is now throwing Europe into crisis and civil war.

While the conflict explodes at this point in England, the days of reckoning in the United States are not far off. Through the dollar, the United States is connected to and shaken by every international upheaval. Furthermore, the American capitalists can survive their crisis only by restoring value to their currency. This can be accomplished only by direct attacks on the working class and its trade unions.

Events took a sharp turn in Britain during the last week in July when the Tory government—acting through its National Industrial Relations Court—ordered the arrest of five militant dockers who had been leading picketing against companies using non-union labor.

Within hours of the arrests, mass movements of workers began to take place in every part of England. In almost every section of industry, strike votes were passed. Workers at Heathrow airport staged a one day strike. Almost every newspaper in the country was shut down. Every dock in the country was shut tight.

Under tremendous pressure from the rank and file, the leadership of the TUC (England's AFL-CIO) was forced to break off talks with the Tory government and call for a one day general strike.

Solidarity with the dockers in Pentonville penitentiary was international. Workers in Holland, Belgium, France and Italy staged sympathy strikes or refused to handle British cargo.

West Coast dockers of the ILWU offered to take whatever measures necessary to assist the Pentonville Five.

Shaken by the response of workers, the Tory government staged complex maneuvers in order to have the dockers released. But they made this tactical retreat only after strengthening the Industrial

Relations Court.

The House of Lords declared that the National Industrial Relations Court has the power to hold unions responsible for actions committed by its members, and then reimposed a massive fine of nearly \$200,000 on the dockers' union, the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU).

Prime Minister Heath promptly stated that the House of Lords, which most English workers consider a relic from the barbaric past, is the "highest court in the land."

This assertion exposes the crisis of the British ruling class which seeks to hide its weakness by dressing itself up in the robes of its ancient glory as well as the robes of the nobility which it once overthrew.

Just a day after the five men were released from Pentonville, the dockers' delegates rejected a report prepared by the bureaucratic leadership of the T&GWU and a representative of the dock employers. The Jones-Aldington report, as the sell-out is known, opened the way for layoffs, speed-up and wage cuts.

EMERGENCY RULE

As the docks were once again shut tight, the Tories began to prepare for emergency rule. Last Thursday, the Government invoked the Emergency Powers Act of 1920.

The Tories now have sweeping powers to deal with the crisis. Virtual dictatorial measures can be used with impunity as Parliament is now in recess.

While the Tories make their plans, the trade union bureaucracy is doing everything possible to betray the working class. There can be no doubt that the leadership of the TUC and the Labour Party has decided to offer the Tories whatever help it needs to defeat the dockers.

But the working class is far stronger than it was 46 years ago, and its movement is throwing the bureaucracy into disarray.

However, it is not merely the spontaneous movement of the working class that can put an end to the Tories. The objective

development of the crisis poses with the greatest urgency the building of a revolutionary Marxist leadership in Britain.

Because the Socialist Labour League has based itself on the struggle for Marxist theory and proceeded with complete confidence in the determination of the working class to fight the Tories, it has been able to prepare for the crisis that now exists in Britain.

The SLL is the only political organization that has warned since the day Heath took office that the Tories would seek to break the unions and impose a dictatorship. It has led the fight to force the Tories to resign while the Stalinists and revisionists in England have attempted to divert the workers from that struggle.

The crisis of capitalism and the mass movement of workers has created the conditions for a tremendous development of Marxism within the working class and the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party of English workers.

It is for this reason that the Tory press began a furious witch hunt of the summer camp in Marxist theory held by the SLL in

Essex between July 22 and August 4. Reconnaissance planes photographed the camp for front page stories that appeared in newspapers like the right-wing Daily Telegraph.

These attacks against the SLL reveal clearly the preparations by the Tories for dictatorship and mass repressions against the working class and its organizations. Some Tories are introducing into Parliament the "Proscribed Organizations and Persons Bill" which would open the way for mass arrests.

STRIKE

There is no way that the working class can meet these threats except through general strike action to bring the Tories down and to replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

American workers must draw the lessons from the developments in Britain. The crisis of capitalism is international and the capitalist class in America must attempt to smash the unions here just as ruthlessly as British employers must seek to break unions on the other side of the Atlantic.

For American longshoremen,

the lessons are particularly critical. Containerization in Britain means layoffs for thousands. No compromise settlement short of the nationalization of the industry under workers' control can save the jobs of British dockers. The same is true in the United States, where containerization now requires that longshoremen be stripped of their Guaranteed Annual Income.

Dockers on the West Coast who came to the defense of the Pentonville Five made a historic contribution to the struggle of the British working class.

But it is through the struggle of dockers on both coasts and all American workers against the attacks of Nixon and the Democrats that the unity of American and British working class will be forged.

In the battles of workers in Britain, American workers can see the outline of the great tasks that will be placed before them. The sharpening of the international crisis as expressed by events in Britain requires the construction of a labor party in this country to beat back Nixon and the Democrats through the struggle for socialism.

TRADE DEFICIT. . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The trade deficit for the first six months of 1972 already stands close to three and one half billion, and it is now certain that the total deficit for the year will top four billion. This would be more than double the total 1971 deficit.

A new round of speculation against the dollar will be unleashed by the latest trade figures.

The Nixon Administration plans to meet this crisis by intensifying American pressure on its foreign competitors while preparing for a confrontation with the trade unions in this country.

The virtual breakdown of last week's trade talks between the United States and Japan reveals how close the major capitalist nations stand to launching eco-

nomie warfare upon each other.

Resisting extreme pressure from Nixon's special trade envoy, William D. Eberle, the Japanese government refused to make any concessions that would reduce the American deficit.

It is now entirely possible that Japan will strike back at the United States by undertaking a unilateral devaluation of the Yen. This action, by the principal trade competitor of the United States, would have a devastating effect.

Conditions of trade war, which are the consequence of the world economic crisis, will lead to a rapid growth of unemployment in the United States. The wholesale elimination of foreign markets through drastic protective measures will force employers to shut down plants all across the

country.

Trade war is but one aspect of the crisis. The collapse of the Bretton Woods agreements and the end of the convertibility of the dollar into gold has transformed the international system of credit that supported the boom into an international system of debt. The crisis threatens not only a restriction of trade but also the very foundation of all production.

Neither Nixon nor his opponent George McGovern has any solution to the crisis outside of massive attacks on the American working class and preparations for world war.

The deepening crisis poses before the American working class the necessity of building a labor party to fight for socialist policies.

N.Y. DOCKS. . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

the new rules, but they actually sat back and refused to fight when the Pay Board ripped up the wage agreement while insisting on the enforcement of the work rules. Along with Harry Bridges on the West Coast, they reneged on their pledge to renew the strike against the Pay Board wage slashes.

New York dockworkers are boiling mad over this contract which they feel was an attempt to pull the wool over their eyes. One irate longshoreman in Hoboken told the Bulletin:

"It's a disgusting contract. We never voted for these new work rules. We didn't even know about

them until now. This is not the contract that we voted to accept."

Throughout the port, there is a bitterness, often expressed in a string of epithets in response to the mention of "the ILA". At the same time, there is the beginning of a turn toward the Bulletin and a concern with questions of Marxism among militant dockworkers looking for an alternative leadership.

This was expressed in the tremendous response to a leaflet distributed by the ILA rank and file Committee for a Decent Contract which called for rejection of the new rules and renegotia-

tion of the contract.

It is becoming increasingly clear to dockworkers on all coasts that the system of private ownership of shipping and the docks can only mean a continual attempt by the owners to wipe out thousands of jobs in order to maintain their profits.

The government of the Republicans and Democrats backs the employers to the hilt and will not hesitate to take "emergency" action against any strikes or wildcat action, while stepping up efforts to discipline militants. The bill currently pending in Congress which would require special government "licensing" of dockworkers in "high-theft" areas is part of these preparations.

Only by taking the docks out of the hands of the private owners—through nationalization under control of the rank and file—can the destruction of dock jobs and conditions be halted. Only through nationalization of the entire transportation industry, based on a shorter work week, can the dockworkers obtain full employment and control of their own wages and conditions.

The complete break with the Democratic Party must be carried out now in order to fight for this program. This means the building of a rank and file caucus in the ILA which demands the convening of a Congress of Labor to launch an independent labor party to oppose Nixon in '72.

DAILY BULLETIN. . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

damentally for capitalism as the soaring price of gold so graphically illustrates. We must therefore develop the Bulletin to fight politically in the working class to arm the working class against the present attacks of the bosses while at the same time preparing ourselves for a whole new stage of the struggle ahead. Recent developments in England and Ulster give us an indication of what lies ahead in America.

We plan to develop the weekly Bulletin around the following lines in 1973 and after.

(1) Expand the Bulletin to 24 pages to include a regular weekly section in Spanish and more extensive coverage of the trade union movement.

(2) To develop the Young Socialist section of the Bulletin into a regular monthly separate newspaper.

(3) To publish the Bulletin in regional editions carrying both national and international news as well as more specialized treatment of developments in the particular area.

Through the development of the weekly Bulletin in 1973 and the deepening of our work in the trade unions through the campaign for the labor party we plan to lay the basis for the launching of the Bulletin as a daily paper in the period after 1973.

This last spring's Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive raised \$43,-

254.13 to complete an important stage in this work. All the equipment has been purchased and staff trained for the production through photocomposition up to and including camera work of a paper or papers including a daily paper.

What lies before us now is raising sufficient funds to purchase a web offset press capable not only of producing an expanded weekly Bulletin and a youth paper, but also a daily newspaper. We are launching a two-stage drive for \$100,000 for this purpose.

This fall we will be raising \$50,000 between September 15th and December 15th. Next spring we will raise an additional \$50,000 between March 15th and June 15th and will install the new press by that date.

We know that the resources for this critically important task can be raised from the working class because of the role the Bulletin now plays in defense of the working class. We call on all our readers to help us in this campaign.

We can only raise funds of this order with broad support. We must raise these funds if we are to meet current responsibilities and prepare for the period ahead.

We will require your help. For our part we will continue to develop and strengthen the Bulletin and its fight for a socialist America and a socialist world.

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Berkeley Ranks Defeat 'Radical' City Council

BY SUSAN FREDERICKS

BERKELEY—The three week strike of public employees has been settled gaining concessions from the City Council and exposing its anti-labor character to the entire working class of the Bay Area.

The "radical" City Council, touted and campaigned for by the Communist Party as peoples' power personified had continued its anti-labor activities begun during the UC-Berkeley strike of building tradesmen.

The "radical coalition" began by offering less than the four percent wage increase gained here last month by public employees union in Hayward. To the demand for an agency shop, like that won in Hayward, the radicals replied—illegal.

After refusing to negotiate, they slapped down an injunction, claiming public employees strikes to be illegal.

In response, the leader of Local 390, Paul Vacarelli stated that the Labor Council strike sanction was "higher authority than the court of law. Before the Wagner Act in the '30's, they said all strikes were illegal but now its just public employees who are not supposed to strike."

STRIKE

"Well, we're going to strike anyway and we expect other unions to respect our picket lines."

Local 390, representing the garbage men, Social Services Local 535, library workers AFSCME Local 2077 and IBEW Local 1245 staged a labor demonstration at the July 24 meeting of the City Council to demand negotiations.

About 500 workers and youth, including 100 Black Panthers brought by Bobby Seale, stormed the City Council. Refusing to move to a larger auditorium to accommodate the people, as was usually done for rallies of students and community people at other times, Mayor Warren Widener instead convened a private executive session.

Outside, hundreds of workers and youth, quite sure of the outcome of the executive session, shouted down repeatedly speakers who urged them to do whatever the council decided on. A march around the building started by the Panthers began with the chant "Power to the People" which was quickly changed to power to the workers, and the rally became one large march.

When the council emerged with an offer of five percent including fringes, Vacarelli told the Mayor



500 workers and youth rallied outside Berkeley City Hall July 24 to support demands of public employees.

that if that was a final offer the strike was still on. As Widener deliberated on whether it was a final offer or not, Black members of the radical council took the floor to repeatedly attack the strikers and attempt to divide the unions on racial lines.

But the unions were prepared for this, having issued a statement before the meeting in a leaflet.

Iona Hancock, D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, having expressed interest in larger raises for lower-paid workers, were trying to pit the garbage men against the electrical linemen to

break up the unity of the strike.

The union stated: "If, however, Councilmen Bailey and Simmons are mixing racism and politics in this matter, they should know none of our members will buy it."

At the council meeting Bailey and Simmons both rose to hurl insults at Black unionists, saying the fight should not be Black man against Black man. To this, the entire audience rose in anger and yelled back at the councilmen—that's right—and as one garbage man put it: "We didn't fight for unity between Black and white in this union in order to

have it broken up by Bailey and Simmons." As one garbage man on the outside, listening through the loudspeaker told the Bulletin: "The councilmen speak from a different station in life than ours."

It is clear that issues such as the Berkeley strike will not be left to settlements on the local level for long. The trade union movement of Alameda County must learn the lessons of the public employee strike politically and force the labor council to lead the fight against McGovern and for a labor party based on the unions.

Teamster Militant John T. Williams Tells Bulletin: 'It Is Time To Form A Labor Party'

LOS ANGELES—The following is an interview with John T. Williams, recently recovered from a fire-bomb attempt on his life. Mr. Williams is the newly-elected business agent of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles.

Bulletin: Mr. Williams, why were you attacked?

Williams: This is nothing new, and I expected this sort of thing. I am a militant in a conservative union, and I don't agree with the leadership. Let me make it clear that I don't believe this attack came from the ranks of the Teamsters, nor from the opposition candidates in the Local 208 election. I blow into the wind when I should be bending with the breeze.

Thus threats and attacks have become very much a part of my life. In Southern California, you can't tell the difference between the Teamsters Joint Council, the California Trucking Association, and the Los Angeles Police Department.

Bulletin: How is the attack related to developments within the Los Angeles Teamsters Union?

Williams: To answer that, we have to look at the recent history of Local 208. During the last strike, we stayed out after the contract had been approved. Local 208 is the most important local in California. There are 6000 freight drivers in 208, and a strike cannot be successful without it. Our so-called "wild-cat" was a threat, and the In-

ternational railroaded through trusteeship to cut it off.

The trial lasted nine weeks. That was the longest trusteeship hearing in labor history. The International called in the employers, witnesses from the California Trucking Association, to testify at the hearings. Naturally they were in favor of trusteeship. They also brought in anti-labor lawyers in favor of trusteeship.

We had 600 rank and file witnesses prepared to testify against trusteeship. Not a single member of the union's ranks was ever called to testify.

Now, after 20 months, trusteeship is lifted, and in the elections, the slate loyal to the International was defeated by candidates who led the 1970 strike, and fought the trusteeship.

The top leadership doesn't want this sort of opposition. There is a blacklist operating against hundreds of militants in this local, and it has the tacit approval of the Teamsters Joint Council. Of course, they won't admit to such a thing, but if they did not approve there would be no blacklist. I have a leaflet I issued in 1970 that you may wish to use. It is the text of an article on the blacklist that the Teamster newspaper refused to print. The same situation exists now.

Bulletin: With the end of the post-war boom, and stronger attacks on the trade unions by the employers, how do you see the situation facing the labor movement now?

Williams: We can answer that with an example like the unemployment situation. People are

thrown out of work when they aren't profitable for the employer. The working man is in a struggle for survival. Losing a job is capital punishment for the working man. It is long overdue for labor to move independently for its own interests because the deck is stacked against the working man.

The laws are made to use against us, not against the bosses. Like the ITT case, for example. The jails are made for us, and not for the bosses.

So long as you play the card game with their cards, that's o.k. It's when you start talking about changing the deck that it's trouble.

It's necessary to stand up for the working man as working man. It's like the case of Angela Davis. That was a political frame-up. Her innocence or guilt does not matter. She had to be defended regardless. Her alleged "crime" was nothing, absolutely nothing, compared to what has been done to the working man by the bosses.

The history of America is a history of violence between bosses and labor. The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 is a good illustration. Workers were murdered, shot by troops and police in that strike. It was a struggle for survival, and they have the state, the Army and Navy, to bring in against us.

Bulletin: How do you feel about the McGovern candidacy, and the fact that labor got nothing from the Democrats at the recent convention in Miami? Would you support a break with the Democratic Party and the formation of a labor party for this year's elec-



John T. Williams

tion? Williams: I can support neither Nixon nor McGovern. There is no great difference on the major issues facing the working man. Yes, it is time to form a labor party, and get out from under the political control of the bosses.

We must fight for our own interests. If workers took over and ran things, it would be the best thing that could happen because then we could have a system based on the needs of workers. We don't have that now.

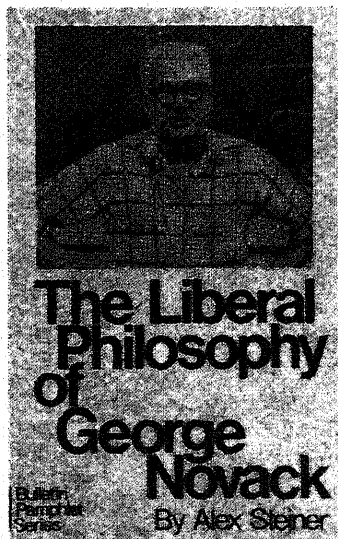
A labor party is the only alternative for labor. We must not stop thinking that everything can be solved at the negotiating table. Labor has been held behind the negotiating table for too long; it is time for labor to go beyond the negotiating table. I see this as an educational task.

I am critical of the labor movement because it is not taking up the responsibility it faces. There are many movements today. In fact, I like to call this an era of movements. Labor should be leading the movements of today, but it is not. We must develop politically.

Just Out!

The Liberal Philosophy of George Novack by Alex Steiner \$.50

A critique of the philosophy of Novack, leading theoretician of the Socialist Workers Party. Traces the history of Novack's philosophical development from his early fight for the Marxist method to his present defense of empiricism and pragmatism. Relates his capitulation to these bourgeois philosophical methods to the political degeneration of Novack and the SWP. Today, Novack attacks the Marxist theory of knowledge in order to defend reformism and liberalism.



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

West Coast News

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2,500 Workers Sit-In At Emporium To Support S.F. Clerks Strike

BY ALLEN SALTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 700 trade unionists gathered here recently to support the call by San Francisco Central Labor Council for mass picketing with the striking Retail Clerks against Emporium Department Store.

The militant show of solidarity took place in spite of the fact the Central Labor Council did little to mobilize

the thousands of San Francisco trade unionists.

A telegram from the state AFL-CIO pledging full support for the strike was read and various union officials including Representatives from the ILWU and Teamsters spoke announcing their support for the strike. Two union locals are involved in the strike: Department Store Employees Union Local 1100 and the Retail Employees Union Local 410.

As the strike now enters its third week, it has spread to two other Emporium outlets in the Bay Area.

The Retail Clerks are demanding a wage increase, dental coverage, additional premium for Sunday work, adequate pension benefits, extension of holidays and vacations and benefits to extra employees and increasing supervisor pay that has remained the same for over two decades.

The Retail Clerks are also demanding an end to the "free rider" concept of collective bargaining. Presently, certain workers of the Emporium Store



San Francisco Central Labor Council held mass meeting of over 700 trade unionists to support Retail Clerks' strike. On August 8, 2,500 trade unionists sat-in at struck Emporium store and then set up mass picketing.

enjoy all of the benefits, wages and working conditions—but they do not have to belong to the union.

The Emporium has already brought in scabs from its various other stores to break the strike. The mass picketing call by the S.F. Labor Council that took place on July 27 is a step forward in the fight to mobilize the strength of the labor movement

against the employers' vicious union busting attempts.

In an interview by Bulletin reporters with James Crowley, Executive President of the S.F. Central Labor Council, he told the Bulletin that: "The S.F. Central Labor Council will give whatever support is necessary to win this strike."

But when it came to the question of a political alternative for

the working class in the 1972 elections through the formation of a labor party, Crowley replied that he "was waiting" for them (the AFL-CIO Executive Committee) to make a decision.

The question of the immediate formation of a labor party to end the government's anti-union policies and its attacks on working people is a life and death matter for the trade unions.

STOP PRESS

SAN FRANCISCO, August 8—More than 2,500 trade unionists marched through the city this morning and then occupied the first floor of the Emporium Department Store, in support of its striking employees. The workers were led by 100 local labor leaders.

The sit-down ended after the store manager closed the Emporium for the day, but mass pickets were immediately set up outside.

The action was organized by the Permanent Bay Area Strike Support Committee, formed yesterday by representatives of five Bay Area labor councils, five building trades councils, and teamsters and longshoremen.

SWP Bows To McGovern-CP Forces At NPAC

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

LOS ANGELES—The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held its Fifth Annual National Convention here during the last weekend in July.

The veterans of "action in the streets," approximately 500 strong, affirmed once again their determination to build more mass demonstrations against the war. NPAC plans to picket Federal Government Buildings all across the country on October 26, and to hold rallies and demonstrations in major cities on November 18.

However, this convention met under very different circumstances than last year. Under the pressure of sharpened class struggle, and the strong resistance of American workers to the destruction of their living standard, this convention marked a rightward turn on the part of the anti-war movement, and revealed their total hostility to the political independence of the American working class.

Despite the desire of the NPAC leadership to "keep politics out" of the anti-war movement, politics was very much the heart of the convention. From the very start, beginning with the Saturday morning plenum, the convention confronted an onslaught of pro-McGovern forces, seeking support for their candidate.

REFUSED

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), prime mover of NPAC,

refused to take a principled Trotskyist stand in this convention for the political independence of the working class; arguing instead that politics should be kept out of the movement.

The major resolutions were introduced during the Saturday morning session. NPAC introduced its action resolution for more mass demonstrations. The McGovern forces called on the convention to endorse their candidate because he is pledged against the war, and it could only be ended by political means.

The Workers League resolution called upon NPAC to demand that the AFL-CIO, the UAW, Teamsters and all other independent unions immediately call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of launching an independent labor party for the 1972 elections and to bring about an immediate end to the war in Vietnam.

In the afternoon, the conference broke up into a number of discussion workshops. It was in the trade union workshop that the political issues facing the working class were fought out most sharply. At the center of the discussion was politics and the labor party. Every speaker in the workshop had to address the question of the labor party. The issue of the war could not be

addressed independently of confronting this fundamental political question facing the working class today.

Ron Borge, a Teamsters official from St. Louis and a spokesman for the Labor for Peace Conference, argued support for McGovern as the only candidate to defeat Nixon. He said that "none of us consider McGovern a right-to-work S.O.B."

This was in response to a question from the audience. In response to Meany's refusal to endorse McGovern, he stated: "The AFL-CIO has done its members a great injustice."

SUPPORTED

Cleophus Williams, President of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, supported the Workers League proposal for a labor party. In the workshop, he said that you cannot talk about the war without talking about the whole situation that workers face. He cited unemployment, inflation, the Pay Board as part of what workers must confront along with the war.

Oscar Coover of the SWP said that while a labor party is a good idea, "it is diversionary to discuss the labor party when we have a great opportunity to develop anti-war work in the unions."

What emerged from this workshop was a bloc of the ex-Trotskyist SWP and the Stalinists that was maintained throughout the conference.

The evening plenary session

was dominated by the political divisions in the convention. The SWP attacked the labor party proposal time and again, and raised no principled Trotskyist opposition to the McGovern forces. They adapted to them by saying that it did not matter who was in the White House.

SPARTACIST

The Spartacist League lined up with the SWP and the Stalinists against the call for a Congress of Labor to form a labor party for the 1972 elections. They also argued that Meany's near break with the Democrats represents nothing but maneuvers of a right-wing bureaucrat.

There is no question but that the vast majority in attendance at the conference supported McGovern. This is the nature of the movement the SWP has constructed. An open vote for McGovern was only narrowly averted through backroom maneuvers particularly with trade union elements influenced by the Stalinists who were willing finally to go along with a no endorsement of any candidate. Their real position was expressed by Harold Gibbons, who sent only an assistant to represent him, devoting his energies instead to campaigning for McGovern.

Now that the conference is over these forces will proceed to follow Gibbons' lead and throw their forces in behind anti-labor McGovern. At the same time they are more than happy to have the SWP construct anti-war



ILWU Local 10 president Cleophus Williams speaks at NPAC conference, supporting Workers League resolution for labor party.

demonstrations which, precisely because they do not oppose McGovern and call for a labor party, can only assist McGovern's election campaign.

It is the realization of this which is the reason why these labor bureaucrats and liberal and Stalinist friends saw no urgency in an open vote for McGovern at the conference.

The Workers League now plans to carry forward its fight on the West Coast by organizing for a conference of trade unionists and youth dedicated to fighting for a labor party based on socialist policies.