

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 5, NO. 12-101

FEBRUARY 10, 1969

TEN CENTS

• **EXCLUSIVE** •
THREATEN
GENERAL STRIKE
IN COAST
OIL STRIKE

LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY TO BEAT NIXON BACK

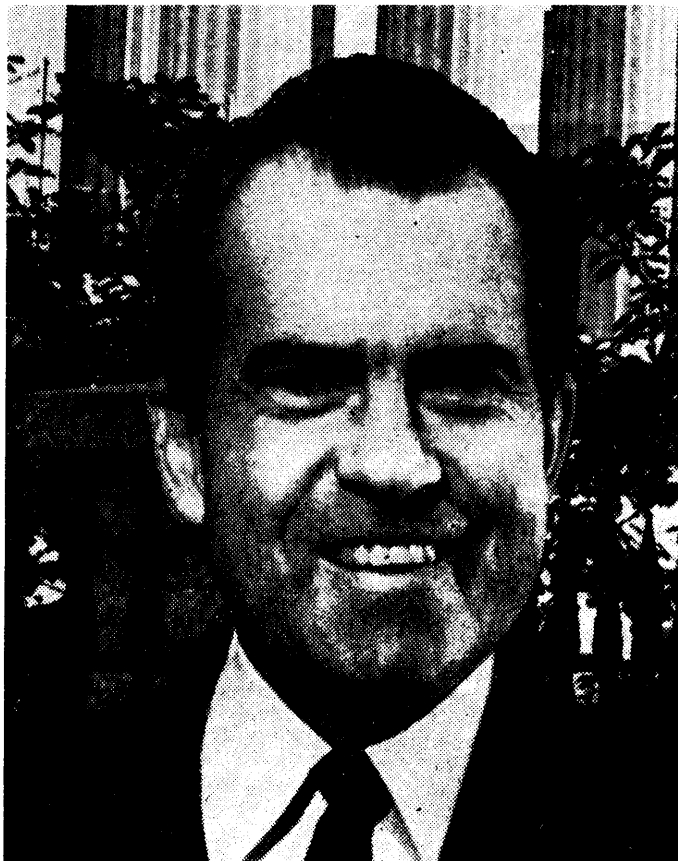
BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Nixon's ascent to power last month coincided with government reports of the worst inflation since the Korean War, the lowest trade surplus since the Great Depression and the highest interest rates on government securities since the Civil War.

Although Nixon has not moved to tackle this crisis head on in his first two weeks in office, policy decisions on a number of secondary issues handed down by the Administration last week reveal the direction in which Nixon is moving.

POLICE

Last Saturday Nixon unveiled his first concrete proposal in his program of "law and order"--"preventive detention". Preventive detention will hand over to police and judges the power to incarcerate for months and even



years accused persons who in the judgement of authorities are likely to commit crimes while awaiting trial. While Nixon tries to make it seem all very reasonable, assuring

us that preventive detention is meant only to apply to "dangerous hard core recidivists," what is involved is clearly an attack on the whole principle of "due process" and the conception that an accused person is innocent until proven guilty.

Preventive detention opens the door wide for police statism in this country. It is being proposed by Nixon not to restrain sexual psychopaths and muggers as he would have us believe, but fundamentally to pave the way for dealing with students, radicals and worker militants who threaten to take the lead in the struggle that will be waged against his administration in the next four years.

Two days prior to the "preventive detention" policy statement, Nixon's new HEW Secretary, Robert M. Finch, announced a last minute deci-

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FOUR
PAGE
FEATURE

"History's great mole is burrowing
ever deeper beneath the very
foundation of Europe's economy."

--Leon Trotsky

CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREAT BRITAIN



(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

sion to delay for 60 days the Southern school districts which had adamantly refused compliance with earlier federal desegregation orders. At the moment over 700 Southern school districts are in negotiation with the federal government over desegregation plans. What is clear is that Finch is moving toward accommodation with Southern segregationists.

If, as is quite likely, 60



NIXON'S PLANS FOR LAW AND ORDER OPEN DOOR TO POLICE STATISM

days from now Finch releases federal money to these districts, the painfully slow movement toward school integration in the South will be completely reversed. This is of course completely in keeping with Nixon's drive to strengthen the development of black capitalism and racial separatism within the working class North and South.

DRAFT

On January 31st, Nixon announced his equally reactionary proposal to abandon

scription in favor of a professional all volunteer army. His directions to his Defense Secretary Melvin Laird to begin work on a "detailed plan" to be put into effect with the phasing out of the war in Vietnam poses a tremendous threat to the

American working class.

Nixon knows full well that mass upheavals like the French General Strike are by no means ruled out in the next period in the United States. He knows full well that in a crisis of this kind as in France last summer, the loyalty of the military can become of decisive importance as the last buffer between the working class and the capitalist state. A professional army is an army far more insulated and divided from the working class

beat nixon back!

than an army of conscripts whose relationships with the working class are in no way really severed by their two years of compulsory service. The setting up of a professional army must be seen as a preparation by Nixon for the revolutionary struggles ahead in the U.S. and internationally and a conscious act on his part to make sure that arms and ammunition which at a certain point become of decisive importance are effectively removed from the hands of the working class.

Already even in the prosecution of the Vietnam war the dissension within the American working class has found its reflection in mutinies and rebellions by U.S. soldiers both at home and in Viet Nam. Nixon, taking advantage of pacifist anti-draft sentiment within the middle class anti-war movement, seeks to carry through a policy to strengthen his ability to use the military to carry out unprecedented depredations against the working class both at home and throughout the world.

ECONOMY

These moves towards 'preventive detention', segregation, and a professional army can in no way be separated from the way in which Nixon

is undertaking to deal with the economic crisis confronting him. At this stage of the crisis Nixon is trying to avoid going over to a full scale attack on the unions as a way of coping with inflation and related aspects of the financial crisis.

This is not to minimize, of course, the very real danger of special legislation against individual strikes, for example to break the longshore or the upcoming conflict in rail. Nor does it mean that Nixon is not prepared to pursue federal legislation against public employee strikes and encourage such projects as the automation of the mails, etc. Nevertheless there is still a hesitancy to move too much further in this direction at this particular moment.

EUROPE

Rather Nixon is moving on the one hand to throw the burden of this crisis on Europe and Japan through protectionism and related measures. Last week Republican leader Dirksen, responding to a reported 50% increase in U.S. steel imports in 1968 that have now captured 30% of the U.S. market, opted for mandatory import quotas of this product despite a flurry of voluntary limitations already offered by

Japan and others. The attack on Europe is to be combined on the other hand with a program as Nixon puts it, of "fine tuning" of the U.S. economy. What Nixon imagines he can do is move inflation back into the 3% area with an increase of unemployment of no more than 1%.

These policies will in no way extricate Nixon from this crisis. Neo-Keynesianism, whether Mr. Nixon believes it or not, is dead. The fact that interest rates, highest since the Civil War and in effect since December, have had practically no effect completely belies Nixon's fantasy that "fine tuning" of the economy through proper governmental fiscal and monetary policies is still possible.

At the same time the idea that the burden of this crisis can for long be pushed on the back of Europe without devaluations abroad that will bring down the dollar and profound revolutionary upheavals is equally illusory. Thus we say the day that Nixon must go over to sharply recessionary policies combined with laws against the unions is not far in the offing. It is precisely in preparation for the tremendous upsurge from the working class that such a frontal attack must produce, that Nixon undertakes measures today of a more indirect character that will serve to weaken the class when the really full scale battles begin.

ANSWER ROCKY WITH LABOR PARTY

EDITORIAL

The bosses and the government are on the offensive against the workers in this state. A few weeks ago Rockefeller announced that there would be a 5% budget cut and an increase in the sales tax. The City of New York has announced its plans to wipe out 7500 jobs in the Department of Social Service. In the meantime Nixon is making clear that there must be some belt tightening and this is going to mean cuts in the labor force as well as cuts in the federal budget.

Now up in Albany the politicians are brewing new attacks on the unions, specifically the public employee unions. Rockefeller's committee on labor relations has put forth new proposals for strengthening the Taylor Law which prohibits public employees from striking. Included in the recommendations of the committee are the provisions that the courts will be given the power to levy whatever fines they see fit against striking public workers and that there be unlimited suspension of a striking union's dues check-off rights. These measures are to be combined with more effective "impasse procedures" to head off strikes which could mean the incorporation of a 90 day cooling off period into the law.

We say that all these things are not isolated moves by the government but part of a new attack on the working class to solve the bosses' crisis. While the bosses are trying to preserve their profits in an economic squeeze, the workers in this country as throughout the world are on the offensive to improve their wages and working conditions. Something has got to give.

The proposals that have come from Rockefeller's Committee have come as a result of the combativity of the workers in this period. What has disturbed the politicians most of all is what has been going on in New York City which in the past year has seen a tremendous upsurge on the part of rank and file workers who refuse to take these attacks. Thus we have seen the sanitationmen, the teachers, the firemen combined with the spread of these struggles to state employees in the recent hospital strike.

Rockefeller has made it clear that the economy is in trouble and there have to be cut backs. But who is going to pay? Clearly not Mr. Rockefeller with all his millions but the workers. But Rockefeller cannot very well cut his budget when faced with workers who refuse to take the cuts.

In order to introduce their plans for increased unemployment, lower wages, and the increase in

productivity of labor, the bosses and their political representatives must remove the obstacle which protects the wages and working conditions of the workers, the trade unions. This is why the new proposals for anti-union legislation comes at the same time that the state announces budget cuts and the City plans to cut out thousands of jobs in the labor force.

The attack on the unions comes in two parts--anti-strike legislation and the offer in the setting up of Tri-Partite Boards which essentially restrict collective bargaining, taking it out of the hands of the rank and file workers and handing it over to the trade union bureaucracy, the state, and "impartial parties."

This attack on the unions is of a qualitatively different character as it involves the state. No longer are struggles of public workers merely a matter of economic issues, of bread and butter, but each contract struggle involves a confrontation with the government and its laws. This is the most important element in the labor struggles of today. It means that these struggles if contained purely on the trade union level will be defeated.

If the legislature can pass and enforce its laws against the unions, it means there can be no struggle, the workers are at the mercy of the government. That is why we say that all labor struggles must become political struggles. These attacks must be met head on by the unions taking up a political fight against the government.

The point is that there is very little or no room for the bosses and their government to maneuver. This Rockefeller made clear in his announcement on the budget. There can be no concessions to the workers. This is what is meant by all this talk of belt tightening. Every demand raised by the workers poses the whole question of the ability of capitalism to meet it and thus poses the very existence of capitalism. If a group of city workers, for example, demand a wage increase when the question posed is a budget cut and the workers refuse to back off this fight--then what is posed is a struggle of the two forces for power.

That is why we say today that not one minute can be wasted in taking up the political struggle in confronting the problem head on--what that means is a struggle for a political arm of the

unions, a labor party which will confront the government. A fight merely on the bread and butter level does not confront these issues.

The workers must take up the fight against the two bosses' parties which are attacking the workers. The workers must fight for a party with a program which will defend their basic standards of living. That means a fight against all anti-labor legislation and a fight for decent wages, full employment, and a thirty hour week.

What this poses more concretely is the need of the workers to fight for political power. As long as the bosses run the government, they will run it in their interests, the interests of capitalism. What is required is a fight for socialist policies, policies that meet the needs of the workers.

This is the central fight that must be conducted. All those who say that politics have no part in the unions are only seeking to lead the workers to defeat to save the bosses. The bosses know full well it is a political fight that is why they are using the legislature and all the offices of the state.

The greatest impediment to the workers taking up this fight is the present leadership of the unions. It was only about a month ago that the leaders of the two largest unions in New York City, Albert Shanker and Victor Gotbaum announced their agreement with new changes in the Taylor Law such as the 90 day cooling off period. In addition they agreed with the bosses that decisions should not be left to the ranks but that the labor leaders should be given the power to decide.

These labor leaders seek to contain the fights of the unions on the bread and butter level refusing to confront the government. They accept the conditions the bosses seek to perpetrate to solve their crisis--anti-labor legislation, unemployment, wage cuts, reorganization schemes and seek to "negotiate" and maneuver within them.

We say that the unions must be defended. That the hard won gains of the workers must be protected and new gains made. We say that the entire labor movement must be united in this fight and that the fight must begin now with the building of a labor party to defend the unions and the workers. We say that if the bosses and their politicians can't run things in our interests--then we will.

welfare ranks rebel against bureaucracy

LEADERS SUPPORT JOB CUTS

BY FRED CALHOUN

NEW YORK--On Jan. 27th, 3,000 caseworkers, supervisors, and clerks of the Department of Social Services amassed in Manhattan Center in an historic meeting. For the first time, the three unions in welfare--SSEU and 371 and 1549 of DC37--held a city-wide joint membership meeting. This meeting was in reality the first fruits of the successful merger vote with 371 campaigned for for almost two years by the Affiliation Now Caucus.

Underlying the meeting was the potential of the united rank and file. Only by understanding the fear of Morgenstern, Rogoff, Kritchlow, and Gotbaum of this potential can we understand their conduct at this meeting.

RANKS

The ranks came to this meeting wanting a clear explanation of how the leadership intended to fight for job security in the face of the City's stated intention to reduce the work force in welfare by 9000 jobs. They wanted to hear concrete statements on the joint negotiations with the city on workload provisions, job content, protection against lay offs, transfers, and speed-up, on a decent wage package. This they did not hear. Instead they did hear a speech by Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37 on the kinds of settlements he had negotiated in the last year, and the stern reminder that he could not sell out the workers, only they could sell themselves out. There was stunned disbelief from the audience. Morgenstern and Rogoff added to the platitudes. Adrienne Kritchlow, head of the welfare chapter of 1549, the city wide clerical local, made it clear that she didn't want to be at the meeting and that as far as she was concerned the clerks had nothing in common with the other titles.

MOTION

When the floor was thrown open for discussion, the ranks responded. Speaker after speaker made clear his lack of confidence in the bureaucrats on stage. A motion was presented by a delegate at the Kingsbridge center calling for a rejection of the joint negotiating committee position accepting "attrition," the gradual reduction of the work force.

When it was made clear by the response of speakers as well as from the audience that hundreds and hundreds of workers understood the importance of fighting the city on this key question, Morgenstern who had been left to chair the meeting, had one of his pudgy lackeys in the audience call for an adjournment, and called the meeting to an end before any vote could be taken on the motion.

The following day, a meeting was held by the three local chapters in Kingsbridge, Melrose, and Bronx Bureau of Child Welfare. A unanimous vote passed a motion calling upon the SSEU executive board to censure Morgenstern and those responsible for their reprehensible conduct at the city wide meeting.

DEMOCRACY

This motion was presented to the executive board forcing every faction and individual to take sides, either to support the right of the rank and file to express its will or the right of the labor bureaucracy to squash the labor movement. Twenty two delegates voted for the motion, seventy-five against.

As a further demonstration of their contempt for the rank and file, the leadership had a counter-motion introduced to censure those delegates and members who had stood on the speakers line to oppose the leadership, who had brazen impudence to take a position in contradiction with what had been decided by the august senators on the executive board. While the motion received no votes, behind its introduction was a quite clear veiled threat that further attacks upon the leadership in this fashion would draw responses in kind.

FEAR

What has forced Morgenstern to expose his true colors as the left-hand man of Gotbaum by taking measures which would have seemed inconceivable in the SSEU six months ago, what lies behind the crass capitulation to the bureaucracy by the executive board is in fact the question of job

security and their fear of the rank and file.

Precisely because Morgenstern, Critchlow, Rogoff, and Gotbaum are preparing the biggest sell-out in the history of Welfare, precisely because they are prepared to accept the liquidation of 7200 jobs by attrition, they quashed democracy and are preparing to witch hunt militants capable of leading the ranks against their bankrupt policies.

The labor bureaucracy begins with itself and sees its job as one of compromising with the City at the expense of the workers if necessary. Remember attrition does not apply to them: they do not begin with the interests of the ranks of city labor. Thus they accept reorganization and its job cuts rather than fighting it. To justify this complete capitulation to the City and betrayal of the ranks, they use the most reactionary demagoguery such as to oppose reorganization will alienate the "community". The 1549 leadership misinforms its members stating that reorganization will mean clerical promotional opportunities, when in fact few clerks will get promoted now and in the near future thousands of clerical jobs will

His reorganization plan is designed to cut costs at the expense of the workers.

That is why we say there can be no compromise on the issue of job cuts, and that the leadership of the three unions must be exposed in their refusal to fight the City. It is clear that they will stoop to anything and that means the destruction of trade union democracy to avoid this fight.

PL

There is only one reason why Morgenstern has been able to get away with his double-dealing now as he was able to get away with stalling for six months on a second merger referendum: the continued support given him by Ray Agostini and the "Progressive Labor Welfare Club" which along with Morgenstern gave leadership to Staff for Merger. In fact, we can accurately report that the most complete merger so far effected has been between Morgenstern and the PL supporters, to a point where Agostini and his cohorts on the SSEU negotiating committee are equally responsible for attempting to foist a sell-out on the ranks.

Agostini has stated that fighting against job



AT JAN. 27 JOINT WELFARE MEETING MORGENSTERN AND ROGOFF (CENTER) TRY TO SELL JOB CUTS TO THE RANKS

be wiped out via further automation. In addition what they don't say is that a cut of 7200 jobs means an overall contraction of the New York labor force that will push at least 7200 lower-paid marginal workers onto the welfare rolls. Contrary to those who see reorganization as a boon to the "community", the hiring of 1200 case aides hardly compensates for this.

What the bureaucrats and their erstwhile supporters in the SSEU Executive board fail to point out is that the liquidation of 7200 jobs in welfare will mean that clerical and social service staff will be thrown into cut throat competition for a diminishing number of promotions. In addition a 60% cut in staff, combined with rising welfare rolls, must inevitably lead to a doubling of workload. Mr. Goldberg is no friend of the workers.

VOTE CLOSE ON JOB CUTS

The February 2nd joint membership meeting of SSEU, 371, 1549 marked the beginning of the fight by the ranks against the sell-out policies of their leaders. At the previous meeting the bureaucrats had adjourned the meeting preventing a vote on a motion demanding that the joint bargaining committee take a stand of "No Job Cuts" in the contract fight with the City.

The leadership of the three unions showed their absolute contempt for the ranks by leaving the meeting right after giving their usual platitudes. The motion was again put on the floor and was defeated only by a slim margin of 244-197.

Those who opposed the motion included not only the bureaucracy and its representatives but all those forces in the union supported by the Communist Party, Progressive Labor, and the Socialist Workers Party.

This vote while not victorious shows that the rank and file understand the meaning of the City's attacks on their jobs and will fight against the sell-out planned by their leaders.

cuts was taking an "economist" position, campaigning only on "bread and butter" issues. According to a PL leaflet, "attrition is inevitable." No doubt raising the slogan of accepting job cuts in the agency is a political demand and will raise the consciousness of the workers?

What this somewhat-less-than militant charlatan and his supporters fail to realize is that increased unemployment is a conscious policy of the Nixon administration and the bosses. Job security is therefore unquestionably a political question and the fight for the preservation of jobs and the increase in the work force by means of the 30 hour week is in fact posing the question of power in a transitional way to the American working class by placing on the agenda the creation of a political party of the working class--a labor party.

Any program less than this is equivalent to betrayal and is based upon the continued divisions of the working class and the continued existence of the trade union bureaucracy. The only demand which PL can raise for social service staff is to fight for the \$6000 minimum for clerical titles completely separated out from any fight against reorganization. Furthermore, their leaflet advises that, "reorganization should not be confused with the simultaneous attack on welfare recipients." By separating out the fight for higher wages for low paid clerical titles as well as improved standards of living for welfare clients from the government's attempt to lower those standards of living by attacking the entire working class, PL sows confusion and keeps the working class divided and at the mercy of the bosses and their agents, the labor bureaucracy and the black nationalists.

PL is joined in this betrayal by those in the union supported by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. All these forces have lined up in total and complete defense of the labor bureaucracy.

We say that the ranks must unite behind a firm program in defending not only their jobs, their working conditions but also by defending their unions. That means fighting for union democracy, control of their unions against all those forces who seek to destroy them through capitulation to the City.

MILITANTS HOLD OUT ON DOCK CONTRACT

NEW ORLEANS AND PHILADELPHIA STILL HOLD OUT

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDANT

NEW YORK -- After some 42 days--a record for the industry-- the East - Gulf Coast longshore strike continues, despite the agreement of the Gleason leadership on the terms of the New York contract, still to be ratified by New York longshoremen. The New York terms will not be put up for a vote until all ports have agreed on the proposed terms, using New York as the pattern.

BELOW

The New Orleans shipowners' offer is still far below the New York terms on wages alone, not to mention the issues of containerization and job security. Agreement still has not been reached in Philadelphia. These ports alone could hold up a settlement for some time. Even then, there remains the question of possible rejection by New York dockers, according to Brooklyn ILA bureaucrat, Anthony Scotto, who fears that the longshoremen "might turn the terms down" due to their "misconceptions".

FEAR

Behind these so-called misconceptions and behind the militant determination of the ranks from Maine to Texas, lies the legitimate fear that the job security guarantees and containerization agreements may not be worth the paper they are written on, in a sick industry where the bosses must drive inevitably toward

automation and containerization in order to survive the competition with foreign shipping and air transport. Right now the airlines are getting many new customers, many of whom will never go back to transporting their cargo by ship.

Although the New York dockworkers have not been getting a penny in strike bene-

fits or unemployment compensation under the reactionary New York State unemployment compensation law, they become eligible for the state benefits in seven days (under the unemployment compensation law) when they will have been on strike for seven weeks. Under these condi-

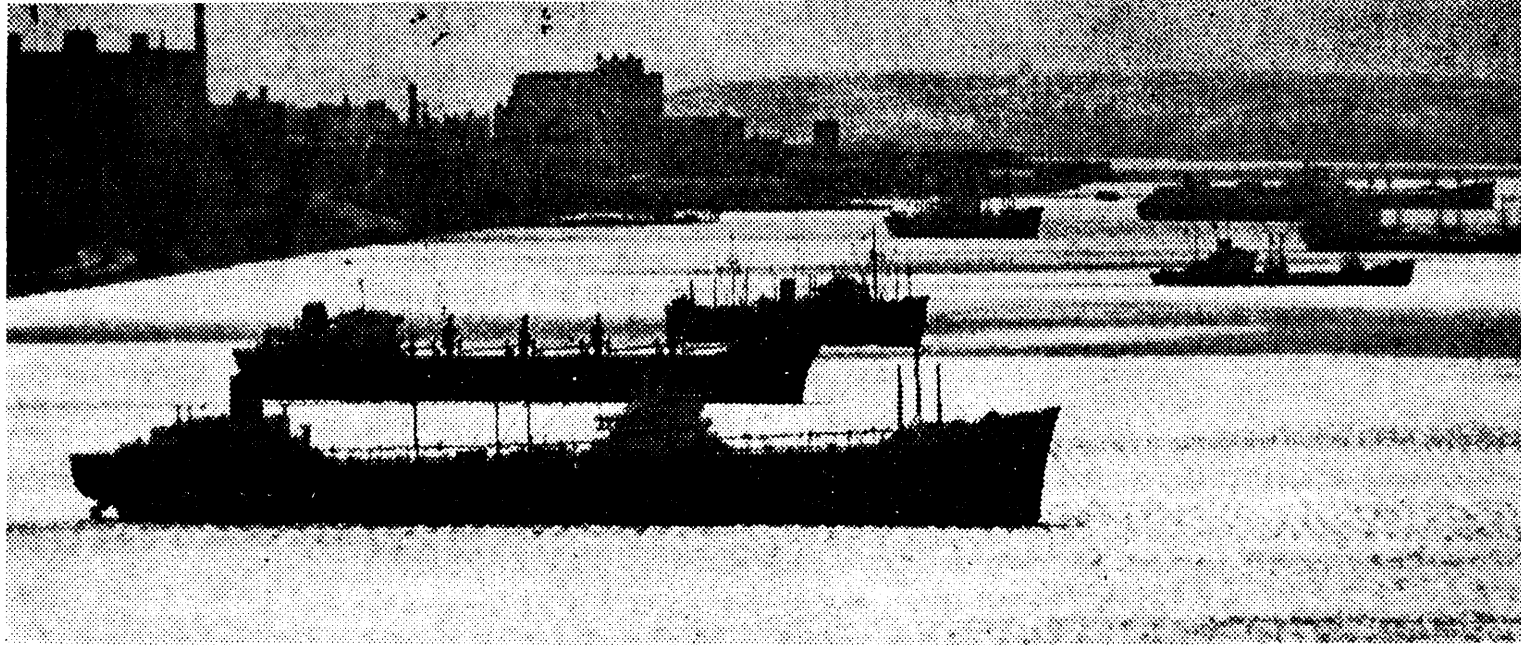
tions, New York longshoremen will certainly think twice or maybe three times before voting to go back to work.

HARDSHIP
While many businesses and import - export firms have been hurt as a result of the strike, it is the seamen and the longshoremen who have been fighting for the very future of their jobs and con-

ditions, New York longshoremen will certainly think twice or maybe three times before voting to go back to work. **HARDSHIP**
While many businesses and import - export firms have been hurt as a result of the strike, it is the seamen and the longshoremen who have been fighting for the very future of their jobs and con-

We support the longshoremen all the way. No compromises whatsoever on the job cuts and wage issues. Not one longshore job must be lost! We stand for the absolute independence of the unions from the government. Longshoremen and labor as a whole must be prepared to defy any strikebreaking laws or injunctions!

There is only one way for



THE DOCK STRIKE CONTINUES AS SHIPS UNABLE TO UNLOAD THEIR CARGO ARE FORCED TO ANCHOR IN THE HUDSON RIVER

ditions who have undergone the real hardship. Such is the logic of capitalism's private enterprise system where workers are forced to fight automation which under a socialist planned economy would be a blessing.

To call for Nixon to intervene by forcing the New

trade unions. The net result is the same whether proposed by union representatives or by Rockefeller and the Senators from New York who want special legislation compelling the New York longshoremen to return to work immediately under compulsory arbitration of the terms.

modernization in shipping to benefit the people, the working people and not the bosses and that is to take this industry out of the hands of the private profit makers and put it under public ownership. This requires a labor party. Every recent struggle of American workers has made this clear.

violent oil strike erupts on coast

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SAN TABLO, CALIF.-- An extremely violent and critically important strike of oil refinery workers here has had a major impact throughout the area and raises fundamental questions for the whole labor movement.

Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, AFL-CIO is on strike against several refineries in the area as part of a national refinery strike. The union is demanding a 72¢ package over two years combined with a number of pressing local issues over job conditions. In the background is the issue of automation which has reached an extreme point in refineries. Not satisfied with huge reductions in the refinery work force, the oil companies have been shifting around existing workers with-

out regard to job title, using trainees to perform tasks of higher paid workers and reducing the work force to the point where it is undermanned to handle emergencies, raising an extreme safety danger.

What has made the situation particularly explosive is the determination of the mammoth oil companies to bust the union, already weakened by automation. They are manning the refineries with technicians and riding scabs in through the picket lines creating daily scenes of violence. The police stand by while scabs attack the strikers, but as soon as a striker hits back the police move in, beating and jailing the strikers.

The oil refineries are situated in Contra Costa County, in the East Bay Richmond-Oakland area, which is one of the most industrialized areas on the west coast. Huge Ford and GM assembly plants, steel mills, chemical plants, warehouses and shipping facilities exist in this area.

Some 85% of the work force in the county is unionized. Faced with this blatant and violent attempt to break the strike right in the heart of a solid union area, the Contra Costa County Central Labor Council has been forced to threaten to call for a general strike in support of the refin-

ery workers. Such a strike would have a major economic impact not only in the county but throughout the nation and would be a tremendous blow against the bosses who are trying out in microcosm the union busting plans they have for labor as a whole. But so far the Labor Council statement has been so much publicity without action to back it up.

"Publicity statements are not enough", Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of the local told a Bulletin reporter. "We need real action, a general strike to close down the county and put a stop to this union busting." Jacobs made it clear he had had his fill with the politicians too, and had learned something of "impartial" government. "I was a Democrat but I'm

not anymore. What we need is our own party, a labor party," he stated. During the interview Jacobs was constantly being called out of the union headquarters to the picket line with a 2x4 in his hand as new assaults were made on the line.

So far the refinery workers have had to fight this bitter battle all alone. This situation must stop right now. We demand that unionists throughout the area join the picket lines and form defense guards to protect it from the

attacks of the scabs and the police! Rank and file unionists must demand immediate action on the threat of the Contra Costa Labor Council for a general strike. The united might of labor in the Bay Area must be brought to bear against the oil tycoons. If they can break the oil workers right in the heart of a

major industrial area, then no union in America is safe.

We have had enough of these political scabs in the Democratic and Republican parties. Lets take up the struggle now for our own party, a labor party based on the unions. This is the only way we can beat back the bosses everywhere.

marxism and the trade unions

World capitalism has entered a period of deep crisis and as a result the bosses are forced to resist even the most modest trade union demands and to call on the government to back up their resistance. Simple bread-and-butter militancy leads to defeat. Witness: longshore, teachers, welfare, auto, steel, in fact every major trade union struggle in the last year. A Marxist leadership has become absolutely essential to take the trade union fight over into a victorious political fight. The purpose of this class series is to contribute to the construction of such a leadership.

Feb. 19, Feb. 26, March 5--THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM: ITS ECONOMIC BASIS. Reporter: Tim Wohlforth

March 12--THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM--PROGRAM FOR POWER. Reporter: Dennis O'Casey

March 19--THE RISE OF THE CIO. Reporter: Daniel Fried

March 26--TRADE UNIONS TODAY. Reporter: Fred Mueller

April 2--BLACK NATIONALISM VS. THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Reporter: Lucy St. John

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CLASS STRUGGLE IN BRITAIN

Decline of British Imperialism Paves the Way for Socialist Revolution

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Trotsky wrote in 1921 that the revolution has three sources which are interconnected. "The revolution's first source is the decline of Europe." Central to this decline is the decline of Great Britain. As Trotsky pointed out class equilibrium had been maintained in Europe by England's dominant position on the world market. But by 1921 this position had been lost. With the decline of European capitalism Trotsky saw the inevitable and powerful revolutionary paroxysms which could end either in the victory of the proletariat or in Europe's complete downfall. "This was his warning - "The debilitation of Europe's economic foundations will manifest itself on the morrow even more acutely than it has yesterday or today. History's great mole is burrowing its tunnels even deeper beneath the very foundation of Europe's economy."

This first source of the revolution is intimately bound up with the second, that is the feverish development of U.S. capitalism with its profound ups and downs. U.S. capitalism had flowered at the expense of European capitalism but contained the same basic contradictions. Trotsky saw that these contradictions would be the basis for a mighty revolutionary force which could develop at the same frenzied tempo as U.S. capitalism developed. The third source Trotsky saw in the colonial countries and in the development of a small but important working class leadership.

These developments, Trotsky made clear, could not be counterposed to one another for the movement "flows long these three channels, and reciprocally influences one another."

DECLINE

Although these words were written in 1921, they contain an understanding which is essential today. World capitalism has entered a new period of decline, decline which is irreversible. This decline is most clearly represented in Europe and has been accompanied, as Trotsky pointed out, by powerful revolutionary forces unleashed as in the upheavals in France during May and June of last year, but occurring in every European country. The crisis in Europe, however, cannot in any way be separated from the crisis in American capitalism which is the very heart of world capitalism or from the struggles of the workers and peasants in Vietnam which have dealt severe blows to world imperialism and deepened the crisis.

Today the capitalists throughout the world are attempting to restore economic equilibrium to save their fast decaying system. This means not only the growth of economic warfare among the capitalist nations but centrally the crushing of their working classes. This means that there is no more room for concessions to the working class as was possible during the '50's but measures of a fundamentally different character are required. What is required is that the basic standard of living of the working class be lowered, that wages be slashed and the intensity of labor raised. But this involves at the same time the disruption of class equilibrium which was established through concessions during the period of the boom. Every step toward



THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE OF 1966 MARKED A NEW LEVEL OF CLASS STRUGGLE, THE ERA OF POLITICAL STRIKES

the restoration of the capitalist economy is bound up with increasing the exploitation of labor and therefore provokes resistance on the part of the working class.

BRITAIN

Today we have entered a period which is characterized by a tendency to economic crisis and breakdown. Trotsky in 1921 saw the crisis of European capitalism represented in the decline of Great Britain. "What could better characterize the instability of our epoch than the fact that the most stable, absolute, and incontestable thing in the world- the English sovereign- has lost its former position and has become transfigured into a relative magnitude." Thus so today the devaluation of the British pound signalled the new period, the beginning of a renewed phase of crisis not only for British but for world capitalism. This renewed crisis has led to the intensification of class struggle in England as throughout Europe. This action by the working class is today the decisive element and as Trotsky pointed out the source of the revolution.

This is most clearly seen today in the struggles of the working class in Britain. That the crisis first manifested itself in England is an indication of the fundamental historical weaknesses of the British economy and of British industry. As was clear even in 1921, England represents the dying man of capitalism.

The attempts by the British ruling class to solve its crisis show how these pressures engender resistance from the working class and how the resistance of the working class acts to disrupt economic stability, thus reducing the talk of restoring this equilibrium to empty phrases. There are many lessons to be learned for the international movement from these struggles including the understanding of the nature of the period, the role of the trade union bureaucracy, the reformists, and the Stalinists, and the need for a revolutionary alternative.

WILSON

The end of the boom was posed directly to Wilson after his election in 1964. The Labour

Party was originally formed by the trade unions to politically defend their interests in Parliament. Wilson was elected by the working class. But these were different times and Wilson inherited an economic crisis that had to be dealt with. Wilson came to power in a period when the historical policies of reformism, class collaboration, were not longer possible. The international bankers and their Tory allies demanded that their economic crisis be solved at the expense of the standard of living of the working class. Thus what was required was for Wilson to take back every gain made by the British workers. It was not that Wilson had planned it that way, but what was objectively required in order to preserve capitalism. Wilson and that Labour Party had always based itself on extracting reforms for the working class while maintaining capitalism. Now there were to be no more reforms but capitalism was to be maintained.

SEAMEN

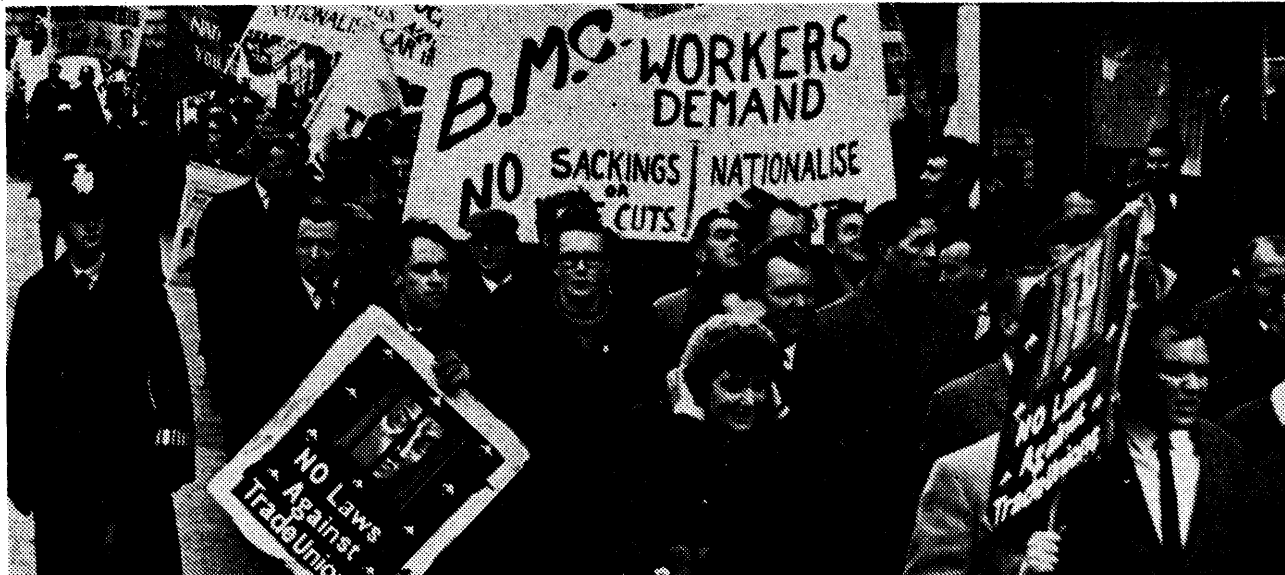
Wilson began his attack on the working class with the announcement of his prices and incomes policy which included a freeze on wages as well as an increase in unemployment. Before he could get it passed, a major strike occurred -- the seamen's strike -- which represented the new relationship of forces, the new level of class struggle.

The central issue was the wage demands made by the seamen. What the employers wanted was for the union to agree to a wage freeze for three years. This demand by the employers was in line with Wilson's income policies. What was at stake was the beginning of a serious attack on the wages and working conditions of the British working class in preparation for the measures to be later incorporated into the Prices and Incomes Act. Wilson had decided that the seamen had to be fought and defeated. The government and employers wanted this showdown in order to pave the way for greater attacks on the entire organized working class. Wilson wanted to show his friends, the bankers, that he could break the seamen and thus inspire confidence in his ability to take on the rest of the British workers.

Early in the strike, Wilson made it clear that this was not going to be any ordinary strike, but that it was "a strike against the state." He contended that "to accept this demand would be a breach of the dikes of our prices and incomes policy." The government accordingly intervened, passing the Emergency Powers Act to break the strike.

POLITICAL

The seamen's strike marked the end of an era of purely trade union industrial action. It pointed the way for political strikes, that is strikes in which the government directly intervenes. The wage offensive on the part of the workers in a period in which the employers cannot afford concessions requires the intervention of the government on the side of the bosses. Every economic struggle, i.e. wages, on the part of the working class poses the inability of capitalism to improve wages and working conditions and thus poses the necessity for the workers to go over to a struggle for power



MOTOR CAR WORKERS JOIN SLL AND YOUNG SOCIALISTS LOBBY AGAINST WILSON GOVERNMENT



A SECTION OF THE NOVEMBER 10, 1968 DAILY NEWSLETTER RALLY IN CAMDEN TOWN HALL SINGING THE 'INTERNATIONAL'

to solve their problems.

Thus the seamen were not just fighting their boss but the government. It was also not just a question for the seamen but for the entire working class. This strike was the first in a whole series of political strikes which characterize the change in this period.

All the forces at work in this strike pose the future struggles of the workers, not just in England but all over the world.

CONTAIN

The trade union bureaucracy sought to contain the struggle on a purely economic level and refused to link the fight of the seamen with other workers, in particular the dockers. In the words of the head of the seamen's union: "our fight is against the shipowners" and not against the government. This was after Wilson himself said the fight was with the state. The trade union bureaucracy was, of course, joined in this by the Communist Party which attempted to distract the workers from the real issues, claiming that the strike was just an ordinary industrial one calling for more trade union militancy. The trade union bureaucracy with the help of the Communist Party was able to prevent a united workers front against the government and this was fatal making it possible for their leaders to sell-out and to call off the strike without even consulting their members.

Because the strike was a political strike what was required was that the seamen prepare for a conflict with the government. In order to do this it was necessary to gain the support of all other sections of the working class. Those who refused to raise these issues were in fact preparing the defeat of the workers.

LEADERSHIP

The betrayal of the trade union leaders and their cover the Communist Party pointed up so sharply the need for an alternative leadership for the working class, a leadership which has a Marxist understanding of the crisis and is able to pose the way to victory in the context of the struggle. Only the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists (British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) prepared the workers for this confrontation and were the only forces which pointed out the political nature of the struggle and fought for an alternative policy.

Before the strike the SLL and the YS waged a campaign against the incomes policies pointing out that they were laying the basis for big class battles in the future. The Newsletter (organ of the SLL) pointed out over and over again that the attack on the seamen was not an isolated event but was part of a whole attack on the working class whose central point of concern was the Prices and Incomes Bill which sought to tie the unions to the state and deprive them of their real function of improving wages and working conditions. The answer to this attack was the need to mobilize the support of as many workers as possible against this legislation and against the actions of the government. Only the YS and SLL fought constantly for such a policy both before and during the seamen's strike. On May 25 in the middle of the strike the YS called a lobby which brought thousands of YSers and workers from many unions. This was the kind of mobilization needed.

Shortly after the strike, the Prices and Incomes Act was passed freezing wages and tying the unions to the state. Under the Prices and Incomes Act wage demands are made subject to direct government intervention, having to be submitted to the Prices and Incomes Board, a governmental body.

STEWARDS

During the period of boom in the '50's the shop stewards organizations which are the real heart of the trade union movement were able to increase

wages far in excess of those negotiated by national agreements. Traditionally in England the shop stewards in a factory have had the right to bargain on wages and working conditions; the shop stewards also have the power to control the production line - this is quite different then in the U.S. where the shop stewards have very little power.

But this was changed with the institution of the Prices and Incomes Act. The issue posed in the seamen's strike was brought home even more in this piece of anti-union legislation. What became clear is that every struggle by the workers means a confrontation with the government. Thus the struggle for better wages is no longer a bread and butter, simple trade union struggle, but involves a fight, a political fight, with the state. Now the shop stewards had to explain why there was government intervention and why it prevented the workers from obtaining wage increases

The Prices and Incomes Act laid the basis for the continuing attack on wages and working conditions through the introduction of rationalization and schemes to increase the productivity of the workers. This has been combined with an attack on the unions, and in particular on the shop stewards movement.

The trade union leaders as well as the "lefts" in parliament have refused to wage a real fight against the Prices and Incomes Act. The SLL and YS have continually demanded that the Left MPs break with Wilson and fight for repeal of the law. While many of these "lefts" have voiced opposition and more important both the Trades Unions Congress and the Labour Party Conference passed resolutions last fall condemning Wilson's

anti-labor policies, this has been the result of the tremendous pressure from the rank and file in the trade unions.

However, this opposition has remained verbal or on paper and no attempt has been made by these forces to mobilize the ranks of the labor movement against these policies. Rather these "leaders" have attempted to confuse the ranks, trying to keep the struggles of the workers divided and held on the economic level. They have been aided and abetted in this treachery by the Communist Party which has attempted at every level to sabotage the struggles of the workers against Wilson. The Communist Party did nothing in the fight against the Prices and Incomes bill until March when it was too late. The SLL and YS went into action in October of 1965 and prepared the very successful lobby against the bill in January of 1966. After that the CP did everything possible to witch hunt and sabotage the efforts of the YS and SLL.

DECISIVE

Despite the attacks of the employers and the government and the betrayals of their leaders the British working class has met every attack head-on, refusing to buckle under. This is the decisive factor. Despite the Prices and Incomes Act the workers have fought for higher wages and against the attacks on their working conditions. This offensive has increased the crisis of the capitalists and the Labour Government.

Armed with the Prices and Incomes Act the employers with the aid of the government have attempted to solve their ever increasing crisis

BOOK OF SLANDERS

BY MELODY FARROW

FRENCH REVOLUTION 1968 by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville. Penguin: 1968 238 pages paperback. Not available in the United States.

Two British journalists, Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, from the newspaper the OBSERVER have written a completely reactionary, false, and anti-working class account of the May-June Revolution in France last year. The introduction points out that the authors are particularly grateful to Pierre Frank who cooperated with the authors by keeping them well informed of the activities of the JCR, the student organization of the French Pabloites.

It is no mistake that the leader of the PCI (Parti Communiste Internationale) who brand themselves Trotskyists, collaborated in the writing of a book that ridicules Marxism and seeks to restore confidence in French capitalism. The JCR is very proud of the press coverage they received last May and June regardless of the class origin of this publicity.

CONFUSE

Right from the beginning the authors attempt to confuse the issues by dressing up Cohn-Bendit and the JCR as the true catalysts and organizers of the Revolution. Much praise is lavished on Cohn-Bendit who is depicted as some sort of comic revolutionary genius.

The FER (Federation of Revolutionary Students) on the other hand is briefly dismissed as "ultra-sectarian Trotskyist fanatics" who act and look like demented stormtroopers. This is the image that the bourgeoisie has always tried to give to the Bolsheviks. They are haughtily denounced for having left the barricades on May 10 and May 11 when it was obvious that it would be a massacre while it is not mentioned that instead they called a meeting to mobilize working class support to the students. The JCR and the PCI are listed as the French section of the Fourth International but the OCI and the FER are not listed as the French section of the International Committee of the 4th

International.

These authors have intentionally distorted the nature and role of these organizations because their book is written in the interests of the ruling class. Every sentence is aimed at deceiving workers and students as to how the Revolution occurred and what its political content was. The barricades struggles, the pattern of provocation, repression and protest utilized by the anarchists and the JCR is glorified. These groups are played up as the leading lights of the struggle while the work of the OCI in bringing out the working class in Nantes is ignored.

The OCI and the FER are the only organizations in France fighting to build a revolutionary party as an alternative to the Communist party. Trotskyism represents the only real threat to the French bourgeoisie and this is why it is slandered and misrepresented while misleaders of the working class are given so much attention.

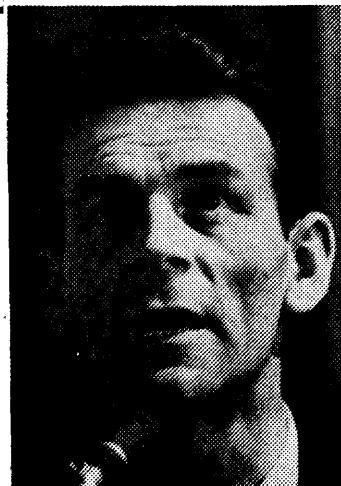
FALSE

The purpose of the book is to show that French capitalism is invincible and increasingly classless and affluent. The reason for the outbreak of the Revolution is seen as a conglomeration of isolated and superficial factors such as archaic and overcrowded universities, bureaucracy, a bigger slice of the pie for the workers, etc. The struggle is not attributed to a decaying system that was creating mass unemployment and a reduction in wages but only to the lack of sufficient bourgeois democracy.

In other words only a few reforms were necessary to set things straight. The students and the working class are kept completely separate; any common program of workers and students is denied. Student demands involve more reform and democracy in the universities while workers want only better wages. The clenched fists, red flags, and revolutionary songs and slogans of the more advanced sections of the working class are not mentioned. The working class has been "lulled

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through the institution of rationalization and productivity schemes and through the continuing attacks on the trade unions which have become the real obstacle to their ability to establish economic equilibrium.

These measures include what is called Measured Day Work and Job Evaluation and are contained in the Royal Commissions Report on Trade Unions (Donovan Report).

What is done under these plans is to pick a factory often with a weaker shop stewards organization and to bring in "work-study teams." These teams measure what each worker is doing with stop-watches down to the nearest hundredth of a minute. Usually these "experts" know absolutely nothing about the jobs and often have to ask the worker what he is doing. It is then up to the "expert" to decide whether he is working at a fast, slow, or average rate. Then he sets what is called an average time. If the worker does the job in the time set and in most cases that is a big if -- he gets a bonus. What is finally arrived at is a string of impossible times which would give the bosses a 200-300 per cent increase in production for an increase in wages according to the bosses of about one-third. The results are the reorganization of work to cut down the number of men, speed-up production 2-3 fold without buying new plant equipment and without increasing wages, and the hope to split the unity of the workers by turning faster workers against slower workers. The employers seek to reduce the labor force, creating a pool of unemployed which can be used as a further spur for the introduction of speed-up.

MEASURED-DAY

Essential to accomplishing this has been the

need to destroy the shop stewards movement which is the real strength of the British trade unions. This is what the Royal Commission On Trade Unions was set up for. In its report it recognizes that the shop stewards are now the obstacle to the introduction of job-evaluation and Measured-Day Work. What the Commission decided was that there were really two trade union movements -- the official trade union movement that has been tied to the state and the entirely different trade union movement in the shops, led and represented by the shop stewards. The latter, the Commission recognized, has been getting all the wage increases.

What the Report recommends is to take shop stewards out of the negotiating process and put plant negotiations in the hands of full time union officials. In addition it proposes that all shop floor wage disputes be cut out and replaced with job evaluation and Measured-Day Work. As it exists now piece work prices are fixed in a struggle in the shops between the workers and the rate fixers so that the workers can continually struggle to raise them. Measured Day Work and job evaluation take away the right to struggle in the shops and to negotiate. It establishes a fixed rate which cannot be negotiated.

Included in this arrangement is that the government must directly intervene in the shop against the shop stewards through an Industrial Relations Commission. All these proposals amount to an end to collective bargaining and the independence of the trade unions. All power over wages and working conditions is taken out of the hands of the workers and turned over to a Tri-Partite Commission consisting of the bosses, the government, and the trade union bureaucracy over which the ranks have no

control. Under this arrangement the unions rather than being organizations to defend the workers become organs of the state to control the workers.

It is these policies and "strings" which have become such a crucial matter in the defense of the trade unions. The SLL and the YS along with the All Trades Unions Alliance have fought within the unions to expose these policies and to prepare the workers for the fight against them. The Newsletter has been the prime weapon in exposing these schemes and pointing out the necessity to take up a political fight against them as well as the Prices and Incomes Act.

ENGINEERING

All the issues posed in these attacks by the government came to a head last fall in the struggle of the Engineering workers.

The Engineers strike threatened to be the most important struggle since the general strike of 1926. It involved 3,000,000 workers but most important was a struggle of the entire working class against a decaying system and all the forces which seek to preserve it. The Engineering industry is the major industry in England, central for exports. However, what has been posed to the British capitalists is the inability of the British industry to compete abroad because of its backward nature and the advanced technology and rationalized production of other countries. Therefore, in order to compete, and this is absolutely essential in restoring Britain's balance of trade deficit was the need for substantial wage cuts and speed-up in order to make the industry more competitive.

The demand raised by the Engineers was for a 2 pound increase now without productivity strings. This demand confronted the very existence of capitalism. The Engineers' demands were submitted to the Prices and Incomes Board in October of 1967 and were rejected by the PIB in December and by the employers in March, 1968. This followed months of negotiations. Key in this fight was the determination of the ranks to stick by the original demand while the labor bureaucrats were discussing concessions to productivity.

In April the union's National Committee decided to call a token one day strike on May 15 which brought out 3 million engineers. However, the bosses did not move until a strike vote was passed under heavy pressure from the ranks in August. The strike was called for the end of September and then postponed until October 21. During this period both the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference passed motions condemning the Prices and Incomes Act. Thus the stage was set for a real battle against Wilson.

BETRAYAL

The strike was called off by the leadership at the 11th hour and postponed indefinitely. In November the leadership completed the sell-out of the engineers by accepting the "strings" including the introduction of Measured Day Work and job evaluation. The employers made concessions on wages faced with a situation that might have equalled the May-June struggles in France. What this represented was that the employers at this stage were pushed back on the question of wages under circumstances where there was the threat of such an action. What this posed is that all the demands of the engineering workers could have been won had it not been for the betrayals of the leaders. Rather these leaders sought compromise, dangerous compromise by accepting the "strings" and thus laying the basis for the passage of the recommendations of the Donovan Report.

The reaction of the workers was clear. All over England rank and file workers and shop stewards committees passed resolutions condemning the sell-out and demanding the rejection of the "strings". In some shops workers struck in defiance of the deal. As one worker said, "We will have Measured-Day Work in our factory over

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to sleep" by French affluence and only the students roused the workers into struggle. The authors encourage every reactionary conception of student power and student elitism to keep the struggle within the existing system.

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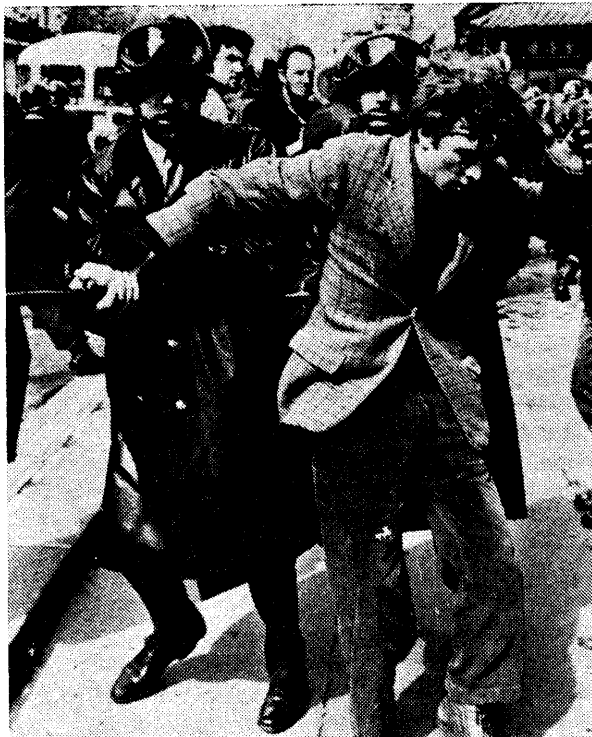
What is clear in this book is the complete identity of interests of the bourgeoisie and the CP. The Communist Party policy of working through the electoral process is "realistic." The failure of the CP to take power is placed upon the shoulders of the rank and file workers. After all, say Seale and McConville, the Stalinist leaders are only representing the bourgeois interests of their members. This is aimed at demoralizing students who seek a revolutionary alternative to the rotten policies of the CP. Seale and McConville, like the CP, spread the idea that this is a French question and not an international struggle.

We may perhaps be grateful to these authors for clearly showing what the policies of the JCR were during May-June. They played no leading role at all in the Marxist sense of the word. They were the most slavish uncritical supporters of Cohn Bendit who proudly declared that his movement had no organization, no structure and no program. For his all denunciation of the CP as "Stalinist filth" his only alternative was spontaneous disorganized struggle without any perspective of taking power. The authors explain that the Pabloites were quite flexible in their dealings with the CP and tried to work from within while the unreasonable fanatical FER would not compromise their program. During the occupation of the Sorbonne the JCR aided the Stalinists in the collapse of the Revolution by fostering illusions about "structural reform" of capitalism.

The JCR never learned the lessons of its break with the CP and that is the necessity of the construction of a revolutionary party that fights as part of an International and bases itself on Marxist theory. The JCR capitulates to the anarchists and

the Stalinists and must be exposed to workers as well as students who think that it is an alternative to the Communist Party.

The conclusion of the book, that DeGaulle will initiate reforms as a result of the pressure of May-June is already crumbling. Due to the General Strike France was thrown into a deep financial crisis which threatened the entire world capitalist economy. Rising prices have already wiped out the wage gains of May and June and unemployment and speed-up have been renewed at an even greater pace. So much for the predictions of Seale and McConville. As for Pierre Frank, we for one are very happy not to have friends like these.



FRENCH COPS SEIZE FER MILITANT

"The debilitation of Europe's economic foundations will manifest itself on the morrow even more acutely than it has yesterday or today. History's great mole is burrowing its tunnel even deeper beneath the very foundation of Europe's economy." --L.D. Trotsky

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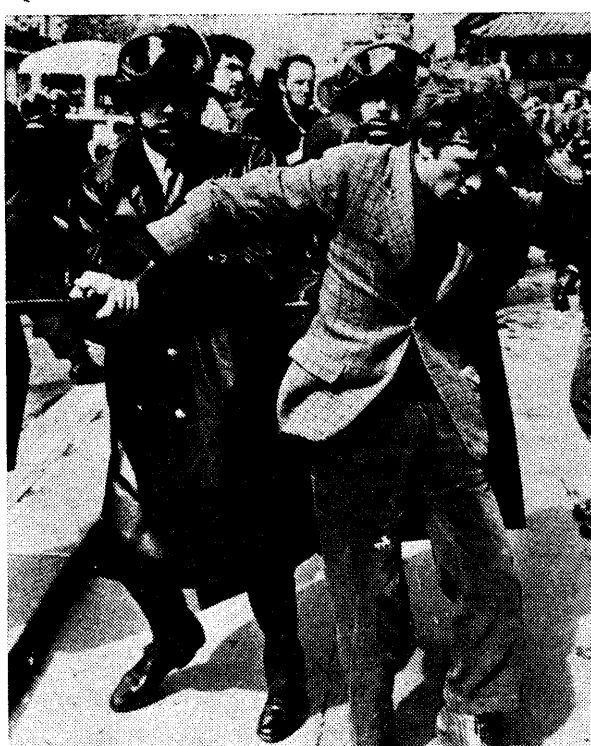
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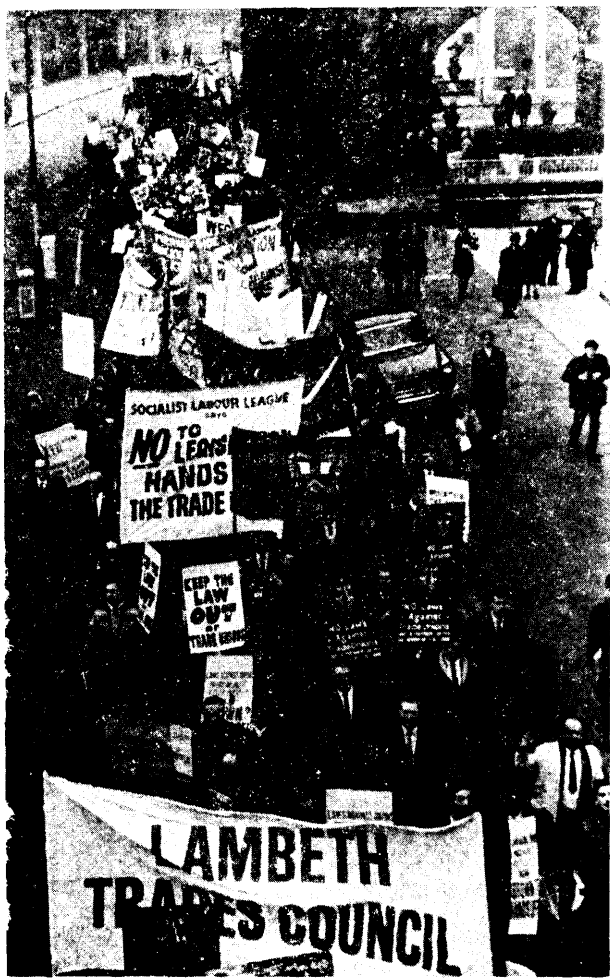
The JCR never learned the lessons of its break with the CP and that is the necessity of the construction of a revolutionary party that fights as part of an international and bases itself on Marxist theory. The JCR capitulates to the anarchists and

the Stalinists and must be exposed to workers as well as students who think that it is an alternative to the Communist Party.

The conclusion of the book, that DeGaulle will initiate reforms as a result of the pressure of May-June is already crumbling. Due to the General Strike France was thrown into a deep financial crisis which threatened the entire world capitalist economy. Rising prices have already wiped out the wage gains of May and June and unemployment and speed-up have been renewed at an even greater pace. So much for the predictions of Seale and McConville. As for Pierre Frank, we for one are very happy not to have friends like these.



FRENCH COPS SEIZE FER MILITANT



LOBBY DEMANDS 'HANDS OFF THE TRADE UNIONS' our dead bodies.'

The Stalinists of course supported the sell-out. Their line had been like that of the trade union leadership, the strings have to be accepted and negotiated within, workers have to accept 'new ideas.' The CP fought tooth and nail in the factories to prevent resolutions opposing the settlement from being passed.

We are already seeing what the acceptance of these new ideas by the unions involves. Shortly after the sell-out the head of the Department of Employment and Productivity announced plans for new anti-strike laws combined with the passage of the recommendations of the Donovan Report. If passed the employers will be able to cut wages using the full force of the law. These measures are to be combined with new anti-strike laws which will enable the government to order a 90 day cooling off period for unofficial strikes. Since 90% of all strikes in England are unofficial, what this means is that workers in the shops will be deprived of the right to strike in resisting new work practices forced on them by the trade union leaders.

We can clearly see in England the nature of the period we are in and the basic class forces at play. There is no letting up in this struggle. The lines are drawn. The capitalists must attack the working class to preserve their system. Capitalism must take back the reforms already won by the workers precisely at a time when the workers are on the march for a higher standard of life. This brings the working class into a confrontation with the capitalist class and the state. This in



ENGINEERS DISPLAYED TREMENDOUS MILITANCY IN FIGHT SOLD OUT BY UNION BUREAUCRATS

turn poses the need on the part of the working class to struggle for state power. The British ruling class through the Wilson government has introduced and attempted to enforce the most vicious anti-labor laws and practices, but not a day goes by that the British working class has not fought back.

SPIRIT

What is most important is the undaunted spirit of the workers. Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program in 1938 the 'objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten.' However, the central question posed is the crisis of revolutionary leadership, the building of a cadre, of a disciplined party within the working class which is capable of leading the workers to power.

This is the central task posed to the SLL and YS today as it is to the entire revolutionary movement. Central to this fight is the understanding that only a party based on Marxist theory, which begins with the contradictions of capitalism as a system, can orient itself to the working class, studying and building upon every phase of the development of consciousness in the class with the sole aim of preparing for power. This can be done only through the Marxist party. The revolutionary party is not built overnight. It requires years of consistent, day to day hard work. This requires above all the development of theory and to intervene in all the struggles of the class with this understanding to raise the level of political understanding within the working class. This has been the work of the SLL over many years of struggle.

The Young Socialists fought a continuous battle from 1960-1964 inside the Labour Party against Wilson's policies warning the workers of the betrayals to come. The YS won a majority for a change in these policies. The YS was expelled from the LP in 1964. The YS together with the SLL continued its struggle against the Prices and Incomes Act and the anti-union policies of the government, demanding that the left MP's take up this struggle and exposing their capitulation to Wilson, pointing out the necessity to build an alternative leadership within the working class.

This fight has required a day in and day out struggle against the betrayers of the working class, the trade union bureaucracy and its defenders, the Communist Party and other revisionist tendencies, the Pabloites and the International Socialist Group.

These forces seek to head off the confrontation between the capitalists and the working class basing their policies on reformism and the maintenance of capitalism. The record of these forces is clear and has been exposed in every major struggle by the working class; it is a record of betrayal of the workers.

ATUA

The struggles of the SLL and the YS have prepared the building of a revolutionary Marxist leadership within the trade union movement. Today this is represented in the development of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

The basis of this movement was laid when a group of workers in the auto industry in Oxford organized the Oxford Liason Committee for the defense of the trade unions and called a conference in September of 1967. This was followed by a conference in February of last year at which the All Trades Unions Alliance was constituted with representation from the major industries in Britain. The ATUA was formed upon a political understanding of what is involved in the present crisis so as to establish effective unity for the struggle to be waged within the trade unions and

The Newsletter
WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE
Vol. 9, No. 400 April 22, 1967 Price 8d.

have said in the past two years

WINGS MORE GHT February 7, 1966

CHANGE WILSON POLICY May 21, 1966

LESSONS OF 1966 Say 'NO' To Wilson December 11, 1966

POLL DEFEAT SHOWS: LEFTS MUST FIGHT WILSON

NLF boost worries U.S.

LAST WEEK'S local election results were a series of shattering blows to the Labour Party. Biggest shock of all was the crushing defeat in Greater London, where the Tories held 82 seats to Labour's 18. No wonder Labour's Campaign chairman, Bob Melish, was reported as saying: "The feeling pretty sick and thoroughly humiliated." (Melish had predicted a handsome Labour victory.)

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LOCAL 113 DEMANDS 20% INCREASE

Ranks Must Insist Leaders Fight All The Way!

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

At the January 15th meeting of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Local 113 Business Representative Neil Geske proposed 19 demands for the March 1st contract.

Included in these demands were: a 20 percent across the board increase in wages, a 35 hour week, time and one half pay on Saturday, doubletime on Sunday, a \$30 per year uniform allowance (it's now \$20), an escalator (cost of living) clause, and a union shop. Most workers were amazed at all this militant talk from bureaucrats who had for so long talked mainly about improving health and welfare benefits.

These demands are still far from what hospital workers deserve and need for a decent standard of living. For instance to bring the lowest paid workers to the \$100 a week minimum won by New York City hospital workers would require a 34 percent wage hike not the 20% proposed by the leadership. At the same time the demands represent an important step forward and should be fully supported by all union members and above all we must be on guard to see that the final contract encompasses these demands, that there is no retreat from these reasonable and necessary demands.

INTERVENTION

It is important to note that

up to the intervention of the Workers League the leadership had put forward no demands at all. The December 16th issue of the Bulletin came forward with an eight point program including:

1. \$100 a week minimum as won by hospital workers in New York City. All other workers pay to be raised proportionately.

2. A cost of living escalator clause.

3. Equal pay for equal work. No more division of men and women workers.

4. Cost of living bonus and all new benefits to apply to pensioned members. An end to the division between active and retired workers!

5. Inspection and supervision of work conditions by union shop committees. Enforce the contract!

6. A decent hospital and medical plan. Those who care for the sick must get adequate care when they are sick!

7. Increased fringe benefits of all kinds: vacations, holidays, etc. Benefits must equal those enjoyed by unions with the best contracts in the area.

8. An annual contract. No more three year freezes!

REACTION

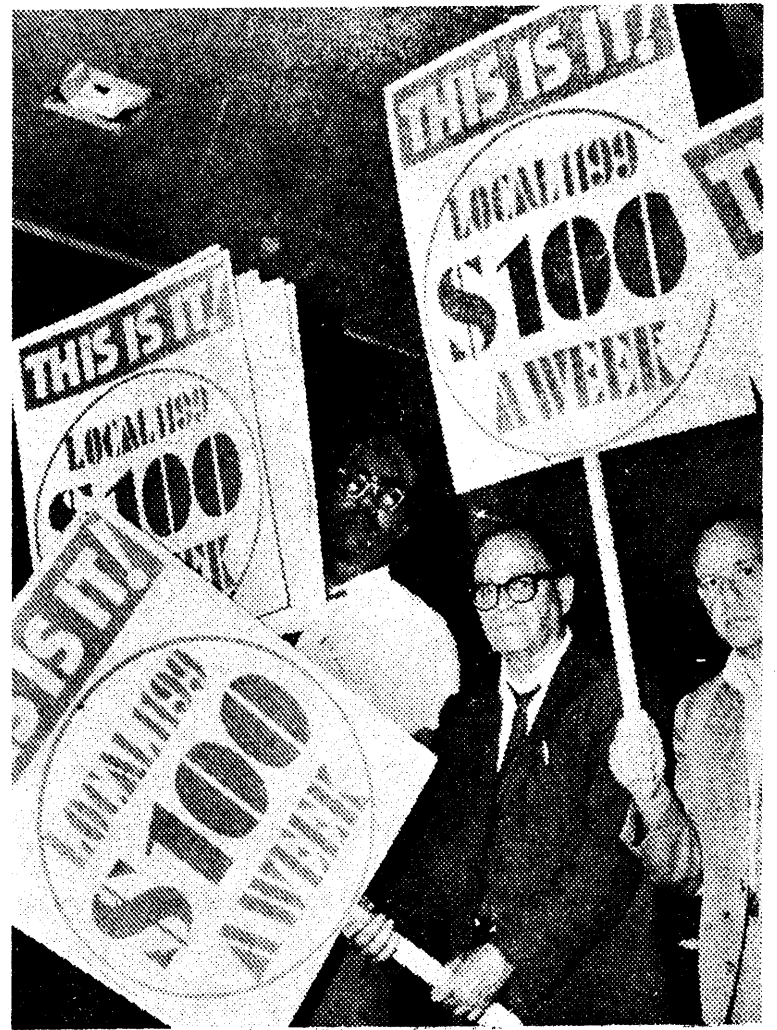
The reaction of the union bureaucracy was quick: at the meeting of the Minneapolis Division of 113 on December 18, the Division's President and Recording Secretary, as

well as the Local's two Business Representatives, launched a furious, hysterical red-baiting attack against the Workers League. Instead of telling us what they thought wrong with the Workers League hospital program and presenting their alternative, all one could hear was "these Communists are making a personal attack on Carle (113's Secretary-Treasurer) so that they can take over the union and get it's money." This of course was a lie from beginning to end.

SHOCK

To the shock of the bureaucrats, then, at the next meeting of 113's Minneapolis Division, on January 6, 1969, Bulletin salesmen returned with the December 30 issue of the paper which refuted their wild charges. We showed how only the employers benefit from witchhunts in the trade unions, and once again presented our minimum program for fighting the hospital owners. This time five times as many Bulletins were sold as on December 18. And at the meeting that night the bureaucrats kept completely silent on the matter.

Now the leadership has found it cannot simply silence critics with such techniques but must come up with its own program to fight the hospital bosses. Fine we say. Its program is still weak but the



1199 A WEEK VICTORY A CHALLENGE TO LOCAL 113 \$100

main point is whether it will fight for even this.

FIGHT

The rank and file must be on guard to insist that the union leadership fight all the way for its 19 points and prepare now for a strike to force

the hospital bosses to accept our just demands. The power of the union ranks combined with a real struggle to rally the whole of the mighty Twin Cities labor movement behind us is the only serious answer to the bosses. Forward to victory for 113 and the whole labor movement!

a labor mayor for minneapolis!

BY MIKE ROSS

The upcoming primary (April 29) and general (June 10) elections for the office of Mayor of Minneapolis find the Minneapolis labor movement completely unprepared to deal with the situation. The official leadership of the trade unions, including those affiliated to the Central Labor Union Council (CLUC)-AFL-CIO, the Teamsters Joint Council and the United Auto Workers (UAW) are continuing to promote the idea that the solution to our problems lies in voting for "friends of labor," to be found among the candidates of the Democratic (DFL) and Republican parties.

But behind all of the soothing words from the labor bureaucrats is the cold fact that Minneapolis, like every other big city, faces a financial and political crisis.

CRISIS

This crisis in Minneapolis, St. Paul, New York, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Detroit and every other major city is not something that is unique to the U.S. It is a reflection of the world capitalist crisis. For beneath the "boom" period of the 1950's and early 1960's, all of the contradictions of capitalism were building up. And now, these contradictions are coming home to roost.

Because of the way the eco-

nomics cards have been stacked for the past quarter-century, this crisis is first felt in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (Algeria, Vietnam, etc.), followed by Europe and Japan and finally reaching the United States, the heartland of world capitalism.

Despite all the talk of "you never had it so good" from the official labor leadership the much-vaunted "prosperity" of the past fifteen years is now showing deep cracks. This is the meaning of the devaluation of the pound in Britain, the General Strike in France of May-June 1968, and all the frantic manipulations of the world bankers over the price of gold.

TRANSIT

In Minneapolis, this crisis has reflected itself especially in several fields.

The present Naftalin administration, consisting of--you guessed it--"friends of labor," has repeatedly decided that the workers will do the paying. First, in 1966, through the Minneapolis Board of Education, they slashed the 1967 school budget by \$5,150,000. Included in these cuts were funds for summer school, bus service, clerical help and health services. Only the protests of hundreds of students, their parents and the proposal of the teachers union (AFT Local 59) to strike against

UNIONS MUST TAKE ACTION NOW!

these cuts caused a restoration of part of these cuts.

Next came the transit crisis. Amalgamated Transit Workers Division 1005 fought a 47-day strike against the Twin City Lines Inc. at the end of 1967 and beginning of 1968 to improve the standard of living and raise the wages of the bus drivers. Ever since that time, the owners of the bus company have been agitating for a fare increase. Their purpose is twofold: to either raise the fare, thus raising their profits, or to get the city (along with the St. Paul city government) to buy the bus company. If they can get this second course put into effect, the workers of Minneapolis and St. Paul will find themselves paying through increased taxes in some form to compensate the bus company owners. And by then it will be obvious that the bus company owners had already transferred everything worthwhile from Twin Cities Lines Inc. to another corporation they also control, leaving the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul with nothing but the buses and their

garages.

And most recently, a proposed attack on Minneapolis workers has come in the utilities field, with the Minneapolis Gas Co. proposing a seven percent increase in gas rates. If this can be pulled off, then it will not be too long before Northern States Power tries to raise the electrical rates.

And to all of this, what is the response of the Minneapolis trade union bureaucrats? The same, worn-out slogan of "Vote for 'friends of labor.'"

WARNED

Don't say we haven't warned! This is shown most clearly in St. Paul, where, in last year's election for Mayor, the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, AFL-CIO endorsed incumbent DFL Mayor Thomas Byrne for reelection. He won easily, but has now turned around to announce a 13-1/2 percent cut in city services. So much for labor's "friends." When we understand that the Twin Cities employers have the same thing in store for Minneapolis workers, we can see that Naftalin is leaving office just in time.

It is time to permanently and completely break with this reactionary "friends of labor" business. Labor's best friend is itself. We don't let the boss decide which union we will belong to, so

why let him choose the mayor for us?

ANSWER

There is only one answer to this situation. The CLUC must call for a city labor conference, representing all Minneapolis AFL-CIO local unions, as well as all Teamsters, UAW and other independent unions, to nominate a labor candidate for mayor. The April 29th primary is supposedly non-partisan; the highest two candidates have a runoff on June the 10th. Considering labor's strength in Minneapolis, there is absolutely no reason why an independent labor candidate should not win, short of vote fraud.

Minneapolis labor stands at the crossroads. Either it will face new blows from the very DFL and Republican machines it supports, or it will move forward independently of both capitalist parties, on the road to power in Minneapolis.

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Editor: Tim Wohlforth Art Director: Marty Jonas Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Printed entirely by union labor. Editorial Offices: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003.

UE AND IUE PLAN JOINT STRUGGLE

BY DAN FRIED

1969 promises to be a year of hard fought industrial battles with the likelihood of more workers "hitting the bricks" and staying on the picket line even longer than in 1968 which saw the highest level of strike action in some 15 years. The current dock strike is certainly a portent of things to come.

Among the major industries where new contracts will be negotiated is the electrical manufacturing super-industry dominated by these two giant combines, General Electric and Westinghouse. These electrical corporations will be even tougher and more unyielding than they have been in the past in the bargaining with the major unions representing the electrical workers, the IUE, UE and IBEW. In the past, the corporations have been aided in keeping wages and conditions appreciably below the level of other major industries by the division and rivalry of the two major unions, the IUE and UE.

WELCOME

The recent announcement of joint talks between the presidents of these two unions in preparation for a common negotiating effort in the fall contract talks is therefore a welcome sign that the electrical workers will have a powerful weapon of unity next fall against the bosses. Despite the increase of splits, splintering, fragmentation, raids and jurisdictional battles that have plagued the labor movement in the last

year or so (to the great delight of the ruling class) there are also powerful forces for unity. Last year's merger of the United Steel Workers with the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, and now the joint talks and possible merger of the UE and IUE are of this nature. In both cases the bureaucrats who control these unions have been forced together in the face of the attacks by the copper and electrical combines. Narrow bureaucrats though they be, they cannot escape from the class struggle.

The original split in the UE which began with the setting up of the rival IUE under the presidency of James Carey at the 1949 CIO convention was followed by years of raiding by the IUE of UE contracts and the attempt in turn by the UE leadership to hold its own by the signing of what many considered sweetheart agreements. In an hysterical witch hunt the UE had been forced out of the CIO along with a number of other so-called Communist dominated unions like the ILWU, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, etc. The witch hunt was engineered by Phillip Murray and Walter Reuther who were proving their loyalty to the bosses government.

For the workers in General Electric the split meant retreat from the attack by the bosses who were able to threaten the closing down of the giant G.E. plant at Schenectady, New York, as the price for a decent contract. The IUE leadership, representing the majority of GE workers



MILITANT IUE WORKERS BEAT UP SCAB AT HUGE GENERAL ELECTRIC SCHENECTADY PLANT

used threats such as these as an excuse for selling out the workers. One of the prices the workers had to pay was the loss of their cost of living escalator clause which today, with the ravages of inflation, they feel more than ever.

SPLITS

Those splits in the AFL-CIO of the last year, including the threatened split from the RWDSU by Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, hospital workers justified by so-called "progressive" demands, must be judged in the light of the sharpening of the attack on the trade unions by the bosses and their government of Democrats and Republicans. On this basis, the split of the UAW from the AFL-CIO and the alliance with the Teamsters, has only weakened the Auto workers and

allowed Reuther a freer field to mouth off with his "progressive" demagoguery while callously disregarding the attacks on the workers' conditions in the plants. Instead of doing something about organizing the unorganized that Reuther has been yapping about, the UAW now engages in jurisdictional battles with the IAM in the aircraft industry when what is needed is unity in that industry just as in the electrical industry.

As for the plans of Leon Davis to take the hospital workers out of the "reactionary" labor movement to more fully identify with the "progressive" cause of community control, we see this as a capitulation to those elements within the union movement who seek to split the unions on race lines. This split can only help the hospital bosses and the entire

ruling class. We urge hospital workers to fight this split tooth and nail.

FIGHT

Electrical workers can start rolling up their sleeves with the news of the joint UE-IUE talks. GE and Westinghouse are going to get a fight regardless of the hope of the UE-IUE bureaucrats for peace. But with 10 or more unions representing workers at GE and Westinghouse, more than joint talks and the coalition bargaining of the last contract is needed. The first step is the demand for the merger of the three major unions, the UE, the IUE and IBEW. This will lay the basis not only for the struggle on the picket line but for the political struggle against the government which stands behind GE-Westinghouse.

lindsay puts squeeze on poor

BY KAREN FUNKIEL

NEW YORK--With the deepening economic crisis, the attacks on the poor as well as the working class have both directly and indirectly been stepped up. Nixon's "belt tightening" policy is being evidenced quite immediately in the forcing of those marginal sections of the working class and the poor into even deeper poverty.

The welfare system is now being exposed to all for the farcical perversion that it is. The proposed cuts in welfare and education on both the fed-

eral and state level mean that all the valves which were once used to release a certain amount of pressure in this section of the population will be clamped down tight.

MEASELY

Already, with the establishment of the flat grant system, which gives a measely \$25.00 every three months to the welfare recipient for clothing and all household furnishings, one of the valves had been shut. Now, any request for duplication of monies issued by the depart-

ment, or special needs has to be sent to the central office. At the central office, where it is not unusual to find one person handling requests from three boroughs of New York City, the vast majority of requests are denied.

A case in point was a request for beds from a woman who had been sleeping in one double bed with her four children since November. The request was flatly denied. This case is not unusual. Catholic Charities has reported a great increase in the number of Welfare recipients who have come to them in the past month for such necessities as plates, sheets, and clothing.

With the new edict which has come down from Central Office, there will be no replacement of checks lost or stolen if the client has had that happen to him in the past year. The worker will be allowed to issue food money through the next check, but rent and all other bills will go unpaid. This will mean vast numbers of people homeless in the next few months.

If plans to stop giving moving expenses go through, the prospect of thousands of destitute in New York City alone becomes quite clear.

The city hopes to counteract that prospect by pulling another trick out of its sleeve--the WIN Program. This pro-

gram is essentially designed to force those who are on welfare to work (if they're not working already.) It gives the welfare mother no choice but to take the job they give her or lose her welfare checks altogether. This program opens a vast new arena of attacks on the poor. People, forced to take any kind of demeaning job offered, will be used as cheap non-union labor, scab forces, etc., and they will have no choice. Seen in the context of the rising number of strikes, this means a direct attack on every section of American labor.

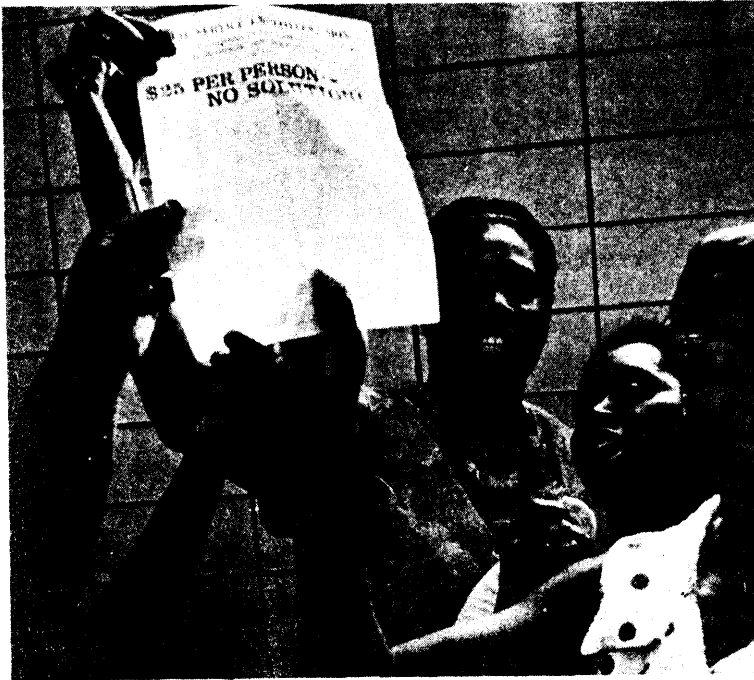
CUT

The proposed budget for welfare includes the lowering of welfare grants about \$400 a year for an average family of four. This is not only a direct attack on the present standard of living of the poor, but will force many of those who are working and receiving some supplementary aid off the rolls. In the face of the rising cost of living, these people will be forced into abject poverty--despite a full time job, thus assisting Mr. Nixon in his

plans to raise unemployment.

The restructuring in the Department of Welfare, a plan openly admitted by all to be a money saving device, is being presented to the clients as if it were a proposal for improved services to the community. Very few are not able to see through this sham. The removal of the caseload means quite obviously that the functioning between the worker and the client becomes a mechanical and impersonal one-shot operation. Not only will the worker have lost the money power to solve any problems, but the personal rapport will be gone too.

Clearly, the death of liberal capitalism and reformism is tragically manifest today in the plight of the poor. But this situation cannot and will not be accepted without struggle. It is absolutely necessary to bring all sections of the working class together under the leadership of the trade unions into a common battle for a labor party to throw out those who rule in the interests of the rich and reorganize society in the interests of the working people and the poor.



CLIENTS PROTEST SLASH IN THE FLAT GRANT

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trudeau widens attack

NEW IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION POINTS IMPORT SHERWOOD CASE



ROBERT SHERWOOD

The recent decision of Premier Trudeau to deny landed immigrant status to American army deserters is the first step towards greater attacks on all immigrants in Canada and a preparation for attacks on the labor movement as a whole. Starting with the deserters, the draft resisters will be next and they can be followed by the Italian workers and other sections of the large immigrant working class in Canada. This points out clearly what

we have held all along, that the case of Robert Sherwood is not an isolated event but part of a general attack on workers and socialist militants, not only in Canada but everywhere and requires the full support of all workers and militants in this country. Sherwood, a member of the Toronto branch of the Workers League, is being tried for failing to list on his immigration forms his convictions received during civil rights activities in Chicago in 1963.

MINISTER

Fred Mueller, Executive Secretary of the Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood, has released a letter received from the Minister of Manpower and Immigration in response to the protest delivered at the Canadian Consulate during a picket line demonstration held there on January 11th. The letter states that "no deportation proceedings have

been instituted for the purpose of returning Sherwood to the United States" and that Mueller's letter "will be retained in Mr. Sherwood's file for future reference."

"We note with great interest that the letter makes no promise about future deportation proceedings," Mueller states. "If Sherwood loses his present case he will definitely be open to such deportation. The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood will not allow this to happen. We are already laying plans for an appeal if Sherwood is convicted at his February 13th trial."

FUNDS

The Committee is presently engaged in extensive fund raising and petitioning cam-

paigns to cover the costs of the current legal action and to be prepared for an immediate appeal. Please send contributions, offer to be a sponsor and to circulate petitions in your shop or school. Write to: Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood, Rm 7, 243 E. 10th Street, N.Y.N.Y. 10003.

As we go to press over 100 signatures have been gathered from members of the three unions in the New York City Welfare Department, an additional 100 signatures have been gathered in the Bay Area, primarily from ILWU members and students at San Francisco State and Berkeley. Fifty signatures have been gathered at the New School and drives are being held in other New York schools and unions. Well over 1,000 petitions will be submitted from New York City alone by the trial date.

SPONSORS

New sponsors for the Committee include: Richard Foster, John Bernstein, and Michael Keenan, all teachers at Macalester College, St. Paul; Paula Geise, James Peck, Martin Roth, Alan Hooper, Joseph Rosenstein, Arthur Geffen, Donald Jackson, Joe Selvaggio, James Scoggins, Laurence Victor, and John



PREMIER TRUDEAU

Buttrick, 21 professors, Univ. of Minnesota; David Berger, Alternate Delegate, SSEU, and Orion Mehus, Steering Committee, Vets for Peace in Vietnam.

PUBLISH TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM IN RUSSIAN

The Transitional Program of the Fourth International has been reprinted in Russian and is presently being circulated in Eastern Europe and the USSR by supporters of the International Committee. This is an act of the greatest importance as it occurs precisely at the time of the joint crisis of Stalinism and international capit-

alism.

Trotskyism has come under the strongest attack recently in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and throughout the bloc as the ruling bureaucracy fears above all else a revolutionary working class struggle to return the conquests of October directly to the working

people.

The real task today is to restore the link of the current struggles of workers and students in the Soviet countries with the historical continuity of Bolshevism and with the struggles of workers in the capitalist countries. The publication of the Transitional Program is a highly important step in this direction.

THE LESSONS OF MORRILL HALL CAPER

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—On Monday, Jan 13, representatives of the Afro-American Action Committee presented to secretaries of U of M President Moos a list of three demands. They said these demands had to be met by 1:00 p.m. the following day. These demands were: 1. that the University set up a department of Afro-American Studies by Fall quarter 1969; 2. the University foot half the bill for the upcoming national Black students conference called by the AAAC; and 3. that the University transfer control of the Martin Luther King, Jr. scholarship fund to the black community.

On Tuesday a larger group from the AAAC assembled in Morrill Hall (the Administration Building) to see Moos. Getting nowhere after a half hour or so, they moved downstairs and the "occupation" was on.

Later that evening they were joined by the usual coterie from the YSA, SDS, P&F and Resistance, who were told to remain in the hallways - as a buffer against any invasion attempt. The building was barricaded for the night.

The next day, after several negotiating sessions, the occupation ended with a compromise. The university found the money for the black conference, agreed to set up the department of Afro-American studies, and put some AAAC members on the King scholarship fund Board. Following

the occupation the hall had to be closed for a few days to clean up the mess left behind.

VICTORY

The 24 hour takeover was hailed in the Militant, organ of the revisionist SWP as a "Black Student Victory".

It was, in fact, nothing of the sort. It was instead another victory for the policy of deepening the divisions in the working class and student youth on the basis of race. This is the policy of the bosses and they have found a great ally in black nationalism.

The three AAAC demands and others like them which have emerged in the recent wave of black student actions from San Francisco State to Brandeis, contain not an ounce of progressive content. They do not speak to the real needs of working class youth, black and white.

As the Bulletin has pointed out before, the point is not preferential admissions for black students but free education for all; not a phony "Department of Afro-American Studies", but the real teaching of working class history.

FANTASY

The demands of the AAAC are a reflection of the separatist fantasies of the desperate and pro-capitalist Negro middle class, caught in the scissors grip of the crisis in capitalism. On what basis can the AAAC

claim to represent the needs of and provide a leadership for working class youth? The content of their recent action was nothing more than to try to "hustle" Moos for some "coins". They represent only themselves.

To attempt to solve the problems of one section of the working class at the expense of another section is reactionary, no matter how "militant" the effort. This is the very procedure by which the bosses have maintained their political stranglehold on the working class.

METHOD

The METHOD of the revisionists and of the new left groups who supported the

occupation is very important for it underlies the whole logic that leads to such disorienting actions. For these groups, the starting point is the current level of militancy shown by the black students, whose struggle is presumed to be unquestionably "progressive". "Whatever the black students do, we must support them." Those who hold back when the going gets rough or when a little furniture gets scratched are really cowardly liberals, the argument runs. Whatever the results of these actions, they are answered by: "What did you expect under the circumstances?" Such a logic assumes that the head is not for reasoning, but only for proving that a cop's club

is harder than a skull.

The Workers League completely rejects this pragmatic rubbish.

The pragmatist accepts the "accomplished" fact and does not try to understand what produced it. Therefore the occupation is presented as a spontaneous development which had to be either supported or not. But although it was not planned in advance, there was nothing "spontaneous" about the occupation. The "new left" conceptions of student power, of the central importance of "street tactics and confrontations", these lie behind the occupation. The Workers League is at war with these conceptions for they are anti-working class utopian diversions.

West Coast Black Nationalists Join Union Busters

The announcement of the formation of a "Black Workers Alliance" in collaboration with the National Right to Work Committee is a warning to all trade unionists of the extreme danger of black nationalist propaganda to all workers.

The group has been formed by a Ben Howard, who is also Western region vice chairman of CORE. Its purpose is to fight to break up union shop agreements and to form dual Negro unions in an attempt to smash and splinter up the American labor movement. The National Right to Work Committee, which is promoting this group, is a coalition

of rightist forces, many of whom are supporters of Wallace, and is financed by some of the largest and most reactionary big business firms in America.

COMBINE

Once questions are posed in race rather than in class terms, the members of one race are forced to combine regardless of class. That is, workers of one race combine with the bosses of the same race rather than with fellow workers of different races. Thus the very logic of black nationalism leads to black workers becoming the tools of the bosses and also encourages white workers

along the same lines.

This is why we will not give in one inch to these black nationalists.

We warn-- any attempt to break up the trade unions on race lines by either the Wallacites or the black nationalists helps the bosses. Black nationalism and Wallacism play the same objective role in perpetuating race divisions and dividing workers. Here we have an example of the Wallacites and black nationalists combining in the open. We will have many more examples in the future. The result of such combines will be defeats for all workers.

CROCODILE TEARS OVER IRAQ

Imperialists, USSR, Nasser Conspire to Head Off Arab Revolution

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

All the hue and cry over the recent public executions of 14 Israeli spies by the Iraqi government is so much smokescreen for Israel's imperialist machinations and the behind the scenes maneuvers of the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union.

What hypocrisy! The Pope, U Thant and the American government all express their "shock" over the executions even though they remained silent over the executions and ship of working class militants.

The aim of the whole international campaign is to divert world opinion from the aggression of Israel in its raid on the Lebanon airport, its continued flights over Arab territory and military build-up along its frontier, its repressive occupation of Arab lands, including forceful repressions of demonstrations by Arab school children, and above all, the tremendous revolutionary fervor which has swept through the working people of the Arab world.

MASSES

Clearly the Iraqi government held the public hang-

ings as a concession to the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Arab masses, a concession it felt safe to make because it required of the government neither socialist revolution at home nor a military struggle against the Israeli occupiers.

Nasser has responded to the imperialist campaign with a slap on the wrists of the Iraqi combined with a new peace proposal closely paralleling that of the Soviet Union and the plans promoted by UN agent Jarring. Clearly Nasser is feeling the combined heat of the Arab masses and the pressure of the imperialists, and seeks a deal over the Middle East which will give him and the other weak bourgeois rulers some stability. The Soviet Union is pushing for the same end. El Fatah, however, which is much closer to the Arab masses, has reiterated its opposition to any deals, and this following Nasser's statements.

AGGRESSIVE

In the meantime the Israelis are getting more and more aggressive, playing the role in the Middle East that the Saigon regime plays in Vietnam. The military wing

of the government is calling the tune and Israel's harsh rejection of the Nasser plan is being coupled with plans for a military build up in the occupied territory, making it clear that Israel plans the permanent annexation of these territories.

SUPPORT

We stand completely in support of the Arab liberation movement and urge that the struggle move forward to the overthrow not only of the Zionist regime in Israel but the bankrupt bourgeois regimes in the Arab countries, the real culprits of the humiliating defeat of 1967. For this dual task a section of the Fourth International is needed in the Middle East to expose the role of the Soviet Union and the Nassers, as well as to carry forward the struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, the destruction of Israel as a "Jewish" bourgeois state and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Middle East which grants complete liberties to all religious and national minorities.



HUSSEIN AND NASSER FEAR NEW OUTBURST OF ARAB REVOLUTION

SAFETY HAZARDS IMPERIL MINERS



RESCUE WORKERS WATCH IN VAIN DURING RECENT MANNINGTON W. VA. MINE DISASTER

BY PAT CONNOLLY

A raging fire, started by a faulty electrical connection and fed by the accumulation of coal dust, brought near-disaster to twelve men trapped underground in the Christopher Coal Co. Mine #7 in Mt. Morris, Pennsylvania late in January.

The fire followed in the wake of the disaster in the Mannington, West Virginia mine, in which 78 miners were killed in an explosion and fire last November.

The same large company, Consolidation Coal Co., owns both mines. This company is owned by the Continental Oil Corporation, which is controlled by a combination of the Mellon, Morgan, and Rockefeller financial interests.

SAFETY

An inspection of the mine at Mt. Morris this winter revealed over 100 violations of the federal safety code,

including many faulty electrical connections, one of which caused the latest fire.

These tragedies highlight the conditions under which miners have to work. The U.S. Bureau of Mines Safety Code, which the coal companies ignore completely, has not been revised in 15 years despite increasing mechanization, which increases possible safety and health hazards.

Mine accidents killed 182 coal miners in the first 9 months of 1968, according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines, and there are more than 10,000 disabling injuries a year in mines. In Pennsylvania alone, the State Department of Public Health reports that over 19,000 miners have x-ray evidence of pneumoconiosis, the chronic "black lung" disease of coal miners, and that almost 25,000 more miners have been disabled by the disease.

The poorly ventilated mines, with polluted air, and

accumulations of coal dust, cripple thousands of miners in the U.S. every year. Bills are before the legislature in West Virginia to provide lifetime compensation for workers who are crippled in the mines. The large coal companies are fighting these bills through powerful lobbies, and company doctors cooperate by listing causes other than suffocation of "Black lung" disease when miners die.

PROFITS

The coal companies, owned by such notables as the Rockefellers and the Morgans, in their search for increased profits take absolutely no regard for the health or safety of the workers who produce the coal. The only answer for the coal miners is the nationalization of coal, along with other basic industries, to provide working conditions which are not at the whim and greed of the mine owners.

Labor Unites To Pay Fine For New York City Teachers Union

NEW YORK - The labor movement has been dealt a vicious blow as Albert Shanker, President of the UFT, has been ordered to jail and a fine of \$220,000 has been levied on the teachers union as a result of last fall's teacher's strike.

But what is becoming clear is that the labor movement is not going to take this attack by the government lying down. George Meany in an historic move announced that the entire AFL-CIO will be mobilized to pay the fine imposed on the union by the Taylor Law.

INJURY

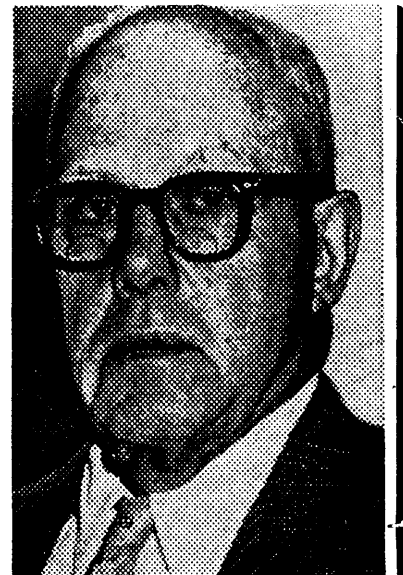
What is posed in this move is not simply the paying of the fine but the unity of the entire labor movement in defense of a section of the working class under attack. We must recall the slogan of the IWW "An injury to one is an injury to all." This is the very heart of it. The labor movement as a whole can no longer afford to be fragmented in a period of increasing attack not only by the bosses but by the state.

Not since 1902 has such action to defend the trade unions been taken. Then it was in defense of the Hatters Union in Danbury when the government imposed on the strikers the anti-trust law supposedly passed to deal with the big corporations.

HATTERS

The hatters' struggles occurred during the period of the rise of monopoly capitalism when the working class was forced to defend itself against

the large conglomerates or capital. Today monopoly capitalism is in decline. This requires that the bosses and their government destroy the unions if their system is to survive. The unity that was required to build the unions



GEORGE MEANY

then is today required to defend them against destruction.

UNITY

This basic unity is the first step but the struggle must go beyond this. At a time when the UFT is being fined and its leaders jailed, the legislature is talking of strengthening the Taylor Law. What is required is the mobilization of the entire labor movement not just to pay the fines but to repeal the law and all anti-labor legislation. The AFL-CIO must call for a general strike throughout this state to beat back this law.