

# Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 5, NO. 17-106

APRIL 21, 1969

TEN CENTS

• why black  
caucuses are  
reactionary  
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## LABOR FIGHTS BACK



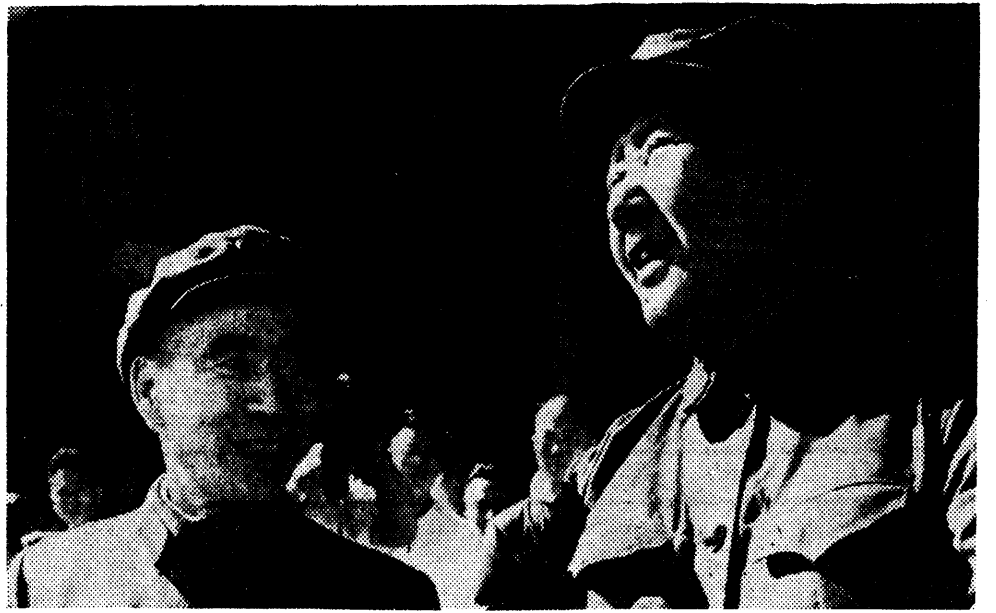
### WORKERS LEAGUE PROGRAM FOR LABOR



MOSHE DAYAN

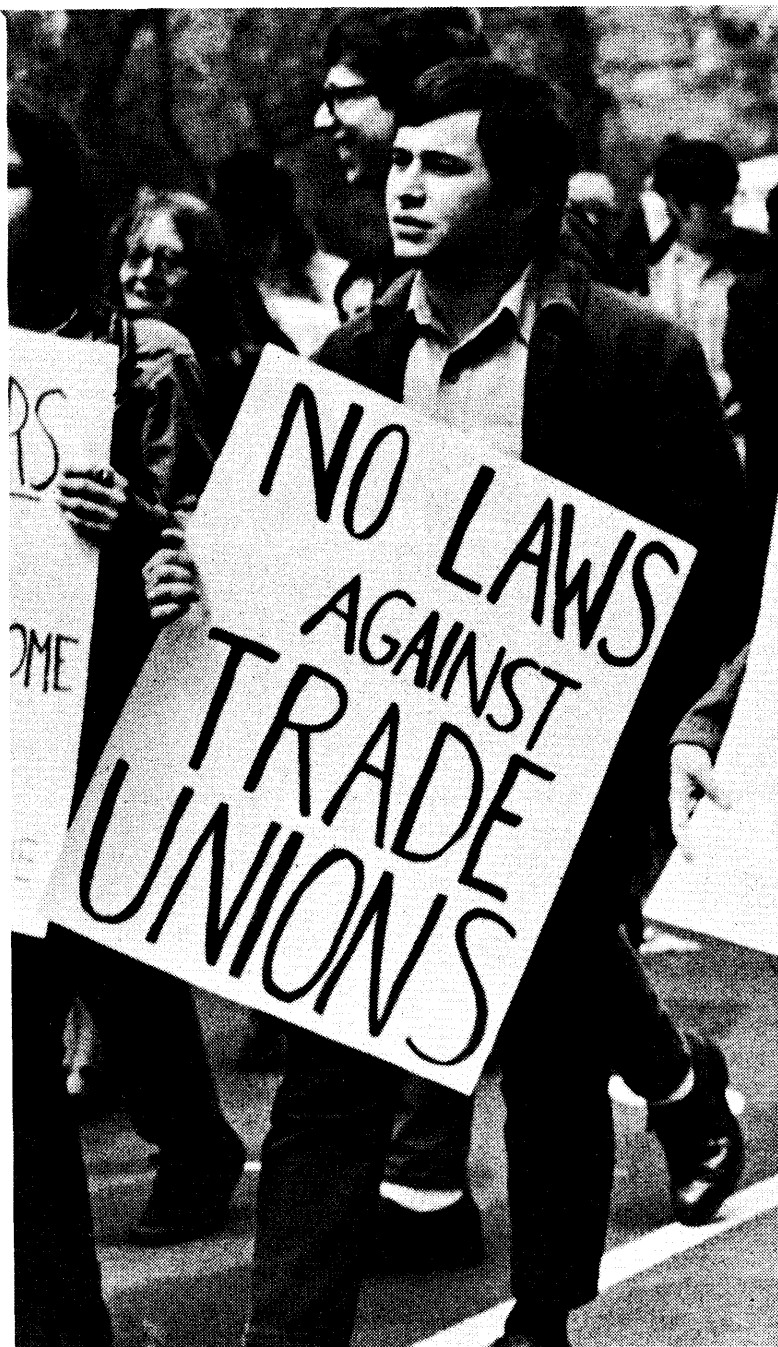
**israel**  
INTERNAL POLITICAL  
CRISIS DEEPENS

**china**  
US, USSR AND  
EUROPE REVOLUTION



MAO TSE-TUNG AND CHOSEN HEIR

# PROGRAM FOR TRADE UNIONS



WORKERS LEAGUE LEADS FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-UNION LAWS

BY THE EDITOR

The fight for a shorter work week--30 hours work for 40 hours pay--must become the fighting demand of all workers in America. At the same time workers must deepen the wage fight and battle for union control over working conditions.

Over the last decade the American trade union movement has made a number of gains leading to a certain degree of job security and a betterment of living conditions for millions of workers. Now all this is being threatened. This is the central lesson of every major labor struggle in the last two years. Here is what all unions face today:

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

**STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT**-- In every major industry new technology has meant that more and more workers are being replaced by machinery. Here are but some examples! Employment in the coal mines has dropped from 415,000 in 1950 to only about 135,000 today. In long-shore, the recently introduced containerization will cut the

time it takes to turn around a ship from 7 days to 15 hours. ILA President Gleason admits that within a few years, containerization will cut long-shore jobs in half.

In steel, only 450,000 workers produce double the amount of steel that 650,000 workers produced in 1946. This trend will accelerate as American steel is still behind many foreign competitors in automation. The situation in auto is similar.

Among public employees New York shows the situation, facing city, state and federal employees as a whole. Over the past 15 years some 15,000 jobs have been eliminated by the Transit Authority. Now the City plans to destroy 9,000 jobs in the Welfare Department alone in one blow. Nixon is following Lindsay's lead and is planning wholesale cuts in federal jobs. Rails, metal mining, electrical industry and many, many others show similar trends.

On top of this we must also consider the most dramatic attack on employment of all--the mechanization of farming. Despite the general

population rise, the farm population in America has been reduced from 30.5 million in 1940 to about 10 million today. In the single decade from 1959 to 1969 more than one million farms have disappeared in this country. These 20 million people, forced off the farms, have entered the cities to become a source for cheap labor as well as adding to the enormous welfare rolls.

**CONJUNCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT**-- During the boom period of the 1950s the economy was able to largely absorb the unemployment caused by automation in existing industries and the migration from the farms due to the general expansion of the world market for American goods. Today we are in a period in which the expansion of the markets has reached its limits creating a fierce international competition for this limited market. At the same time the market has been expanded, in part, artificially through inflation. This, in turn, is threatening to undermine the dollar, forcing the Nixon Administration to carry out an open policy of deflation which they openly admit will mean less jobs.

It is this combination of a continuing process of reducing jobs through automation with a reduction in jobs because of the crisis capitalism is in which makes it absolutely urgent that trade unionists in every industry fight for a shorter work week. Workers thrown out of work in one industry because of automation will not find employment in another industry.

The only alternative to workers being thrown onto the scrap heap of the welfare rolls is for workers to fight today around the program of **NO JOB CUTS!** Let the workers benefit from automation by sharing the existing jobs with a shorter work week. Open up new jobs for the existing and future unemployed by reducing the work week! Let the great industrial equipment of American industry, built by the workers, be used to provide all workers with jobs and a decent standard

#### WAGES

**THE WAGES FIGHT**-- The wage gains won by organized labor in the 1950s are now being taken away from workers through cost of living rises of 5% and more each year, and smaller wage packages negotiated by the union bureaucrats tied to longer contracts. For the first time in a decade auto and steel workers are falling behind in their real wages and the same goes for most other industries. It is important that escalator clauses, won during a period of only slightly rising prices, have either been taken away completely (electrical industry) or whittled down (auto).

At the same time millions of new workers who found employment in the boom period still earn well under \$100 a week. These workers will face the stiffest fight to reach

even the decaying wage levels of basic industry.

The wage fight requires the stiffest struggle by the workers or the working class as a whole will find its living standards pushed back to the depression period. No more long term contracts! Yearly negotiations of wages; job security, working conditions! A full escalator clause in all contracts! Inflation is not the workers fault and therefore the workers will not pay for it. \$100 a week minimum for all American workers.

**WORKING CONDITIONS**-- American industry has been built by paying for whatever wage concessions the bosses are forced to make by speeding up the work in the shops. This has reached the breaking point in many industries--particularly auto and steel. Now the bosses want even more speed-up but without even giving the workers a little pittance from the profits they make this way.

This can no longer be tolerated by American workers. No more attacks on working conditions! Union control over working conditions enforced with effective shop stewards on the floor! The right to strike over company violations of working conditions!

#### LAWS

**ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION**-- Since World War II, the Democratic and Republican Administrations have given us the **Taft-Hartley Law** and the **Landrum-Griffin Bill**. Because, in most cases, the unions were able to reach at least some sort of compromise settlement, the full brunt of these laws was not felt. Today there is less and less room for any kind of compromise. The full weight of existing laws, the whole NLRB structure and the courts, will now hit the labor movement.

At the same time Nixon plans increased anti-strike laws in the form of some sort of "labor court" scheme. In New York State the Taylor Law against public employees has been beefed up and similar legislation is pending in Minnesota and other states. These attacks on public employees are but a testing grounds for blows against labor as a whole. **NO LAWS AGAINST THE UNIONS! BUILD A LABOR PARTY**

NOW!

#### BUREAUCRACY

The labor bureaucracy is totally incapable of carrying out a serious struggle around this program. Bridges, Gleason, Reuther, Abel, Boyle, and all the rest are not in the slightest bit interested in a serious fight against the bosses. So they agree to job cuts, to layoffs, to attrition schemes.

This is why the trade unions must be returned to the rank and file membership. Democracy within the trade unions! Independence of the unions from the government!

The program of all these bureaucrats was summed up by Tony Scotto, Brooklyn ILA boss, when he sought to sell his sell-out contract which will mean the loss of one half the jobs on the docks: "We don't want to kill the companies that employ us--we're hoping to keep them in business and still get our fair share." The problem is, Brother Scotto, you can no longer start with keeping the bosses in business and get a "fair share" or anything approaching it from the bosses.

This is why the Workers League is the only force which can fight the bosses all the way. We do not begin from the standpoint of the bosses interests but from the standpoint of the workers' interests. The bosses and the workers have nothing in common! There can be no peace any more between these two forces. If the bosses cannot run their businesses and see to it that the workers have jobs, decent working conditions, and a decent standard of living then we propose that these industries be nationalized and run in the interests of all the people. This is a central reason why labor needs its own party to fight back against the bosses.

#### PROGRAM

This is the program which the Workers League fights for throughout the American trade union movement against the bosses and the labor bureaucracy which serves the bosses. **JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE AND CARRY FORWARD THE STRUGGLE IN THE UNIONS AGAINST THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS.**

#### WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

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MINNEAPOLIS: P.O. BOX 14002 UNIV. STA.

SAN FRANCISCO: 644 OAK ST.

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., New York, 10003. Printed entirely by union labor.

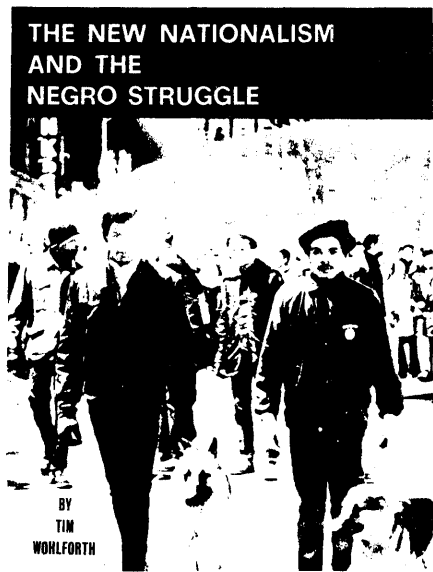
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**SPECIAL OFFER**

One copy of "The New Nationalism and the Negro Struggle" (worth 25¢) plus a ten issue introductory subscription to the BULLETIN (worth 50¢) for only 50¢.

**THE NEW NATIONALISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE**



BY TIM WOHLFORTH

**BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS--ROOM 8-243 E. 10 ST.--NYC**



# 6000 FIGHT NEW YORK BUDGET CUTS

BY FRED CALHOUN

NEW YORK--More than 6,000 city workers, welfare clients, social work agencies and others amassed at Central Park to protest the vicious budget cuts passed by Rocky and the Democrats. Such legislation only points the way towards the most vicious legislation against all workers in the state.

The rally climaxed a full day of picket lines in front of all welfare centers, with eight and nine centers marching together, from as far as the North Bronx to protest the Welfare cuts and Taylor Law.

Banners showing the political importance of the cuts by linking them with the general attack on all workers by the government were conspicuously hoisted by delegations from Kingsbridge and East End Welfare Centers. These red, white and black banners were prepared by Workers League members and supporters and called for no job cuts against plans to reorganize the Welfare Dept. resulting in the loss of thousands of jobs; no budget cuts and took up the fight to build a labor party to throw the Republicans and liberal Democrats out of Albany instead of begging these swine for crumbs.

A cheer went up through the crowd as the contingent of several hundred with our banners entered the park.

When it was announced that Welfare Commissioner Gold-

berg would speak--invite by client leader Beulah Sanders--a roar of boos went up from rank and file unionists and clients preventing him from speaking.

Ironically, the next speaker after Goldberg was Paul Bouteille, leading spokesman for the SWP and part-time black nationalist. He cleared the liberal politicians from the stage by denouncing both parties and in fact singling out the East End banner calling for a labor party in the most complimentary terms. He was greeted with tremendous applause.

What baffles us is the fact that one of the leading SWP supporters in the SSEU denounced the idea of a labor party at the chapter meeting, although subsequently the slogan for the banner was overwhelmingly passed. We demand to know from the SWP precisely what is their policy on this question?

Despite the vast support from the working class, the sponsors of this demonstration--black nationalist client organizations headed by Hulbert James and Beulah Saunders, Marty Morgenstern, president of the SSEU, along with social workers and others--made certain that the campaign was kept safely within the bounds of middle class protest politics.

CO-OPTED

In fact by the time of the actual demonstration, the



EAST END BANNER

campaign had been almost completely co-opted by the same liberal politicians who are responsible for the massive attacks upon the city's working class. It was only the intervention of the Workers League supporters which brought a fighting class content into the demonstration. And the response to this initiative from the masses of rank and filers gives an indication of the real potential for political struggle of the American working class as long as there is clear leadership.

That a campaign to bring out thousands of city workers for a one day strike against

the policies of the state legislature can be turned largely into its opposite--support for one section of the liberal bourgeoisie against another section--was implicit in the original demands of its sponsors: "RESTORE, REPEAL, AND REFORM. Restore the welfare monies, Repeal the regressive sales tax, and Reform the tax laws to tax businesses, not people."

Events like the April 15 demonstration prove conclusively the correctness of the Workers League demand for a one day general strike of all city and state workers against the Taylor Law and to break the class as a whole from middle class reformism by the fight to build a labor party. What is also demonstrated is a complete incapability of the black nationalists and the labor bureaucracy to take this path.

Based on such a program, supporters of the Workers League have taken up this challenge in the SSEU--to organize to defeat the Morgenstern's sell-out contract, as well as to pose the necessity of breaking politically from the capitalist parties. Forces around the Affiliation Now Caucus obtained over a hundred signatures of delegates, alternate delegates, and active rank and filers on a statement printed as a leaflet urging a no vote on the contract and demanding that Morgenstern and the DC 37 leadership prepare all sec-

tions of welfare staff for a strike to obtain a satisfactory agreement. Plans are being formulated to extend this campaign.

These same forces fought within the executive board, and subsequently received about 40% of the vote at a membership meeting for a proposal to support the April 15 demonstration around the following slogans: Repeal of the Taylor Law; No job cuts--no budget cuts; Out with the Democrats and Republicans--Build a Labor Party now. This motion was taken to the welfare centers, and was passed overwhelmingly at a chapter meeting at the East End center. These and similar slogans were taken to the demonstration emblazoned on banners and placards by workers throughout the city.

**The Death  
Agony of  
Capitalism and  
the Fourth  
International  
TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM**

**20¢**

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS RM. 8,  
243 E. 10 ST. NYC 10003

## MILITANT MINERS MOVE TO DUMP DOYLE

the ILA, Boyle's first concern has been for the welfare of the employers. Rather than seeing any companies go out of business, he has sold hundreds of thousands of miner's jobs down the river through increased automation.

FATTEN

For this the reward has been the fattening of the UMW welfare fund, established by Lewis, which is tied to the amount of coal produced - 40¢ per ton for the Fund. To keep the Fund's share right up there, Boyle has condoned speed-up and thrown safety to the wind. The automation destroying jobs which was ushered in by Boyle also kills and maims thousands of miners by producing enormous amounts of coal dust, responsible for the vicious "black lung" disease.

Has Boyle demanded protection in UMW contracts? Absolutely not. Like Lewis before him, he has brought his "concern" to Congress. That sort of thing in a contract can't be enforced, Boyle says. But Congress can send mine inspectors. These mine inspectors operate under laws giving the virtual rights of a feudal baron to mine owners. These laws were prepared with the collaboration of Lewis and Boyle.

Boyle shares the callousness of the spokesmen of the companies over the safety of the miners. He regards the hazards of mining as unavoidable. The National Coal Policy Conference recently met,

and the chairman of this industry group said: "We're not going to destroy the coal industry to satisfy the frantic ravings of self-appointed and ill-informed saviors of coal miners." The speaker was - W. A. Boyle!

MURDER

The recent murder by coal capitalists of 78 miners at Farmington, W. Va., and the campaign against the "black lung" disease seem to have had little effect on Boyle.

The betrayal of Boyle - his collaboration with industry and the government - deepens as the coal industry sees a new spurt of activity. An increased need for coal by utilities has produced further speed-up and automation. Coal industries have become part of the vast oil conglomerates - those same ones which show disdain for human life by poi-

soning water resources and beaches.

Boyle has responded to this not in the interests of coal miners, but in the interests of the industry. He has cluded even tighter to the government for some sort of token safety measures and exchanged demands for safety and health measures for an 8% a year increase in wage and fringe benefits in the 1968 contract.

Each year in the coal industry, automation not only wipes out thousands of jobs but endangers the safety of every miner. Boyle has gone along with this. Any opposition to Boyle must demand protection against it. The only force that can win safety measures are the miners themselves.

The recent political strike against "black lung" has dem-

onstrated that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans give a damn for the miners safety. They are in league with the industry which operates for profit and considers a miner as expendable as any machine. As with the docks, ships or any hazardous occupation, only workers care about their own safety.

LESSONS

The lessons of the last 150 years of mining in the U.S. and the hundreds of thousands of deaths and accidents should be clear to any UMW opposition: There must be union control over working conditions to counter speed-up and to enforce real safety measures in the interests of the workers and by the workers. No more job cuts - fight for a shorter work week so workers benefit from increased automation.



A RESCUED MINER

BY MARTY JONAS

On April 13th a large number of miners from eight states met in Elkins, W.Va., to begin a campaign of opposition to the Boyle bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers Union. The head of this campaign is Steve Kochis, a miner from Bobtown, Pa. Kochis was one of the miners who was assaulted at the 1964 UMW convention when he tried to intervene against Boyle from the floor. Kochis has announced that he will oppose Boyle for the presidency of the union in December elections.

W. A. Boyle has been earning the increasing hatred of members of the UMW. He is the handpicked successor of John L. Lewis and he has continued the policies of Lewis to the letter. He has deepened the Lewis policy of collusion with the mining industry and the government.

Like Gleason and Scotto of



RANK AND FILE MINERS MEET TO DISCUSS THE FIGHT AGAINST BLACK LUNG

# COPS LAUNCH ATTACK ON HARVARD STUDENTS

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Over 400 city and state police, many with badges removed, swarmed onto the Harvard campus and bludgeoned students and reporters with nightsticks in an action to remove student sit-ins from the administration building.

While all this is going on in Harvard Square what is liberal Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts doing? Visiting Eskimo villages in Alaska as the TV cameras grind and the flashbulbs burst. And Mrs. Kennedy? Visiting an IBM sweatshop in Bedford-Stuyvesant and lecturing blacks on how "in time" capitalism will solve their problems.

It was a repeat performance in miniature of last summer's Chicago police attacks on de-

monstrators. Once again liberals and moderates are trying to slough off the significance of the police brutality with talk about "overreaction." And what, pray tell, were the police overreacting to? They removed their badges before hitting the campus and when they arrived they plowed right in to the student demonstrators clubbing away.

## PREMEDITATED

Clearly it was premeditated brutal attack on students organized with the approval of the city and state administration. It is but one--the most violent--of a whole series of police attacks on students ranging the whole length and breadth of the land--San Francisco State, Berkeley, Madison, Queens College-- just to mention a few.

These attacks on students reflect a conscious campaign on the part of the rulers of this country to isolate the students from the working class, lay the blame for their decaying system on student "unrest," beat dissident students into submission, and prepare the way for violent attacks on the trade unions in the coming period. Let us not forget the recent violent police attacks on oil strikers in Richmond, California where one striker was killed by a scab truck.

Nixon's recent statement on student unrest was the green light for this violence. Go ahead, he said, in effect. We got enough laws and enough cops to handle the situation. The problem is weak university administrators. We need



HARVARD STUDENTS OCCUPY UNIVERSITY HALL

men like Hayakawa and the President of Notre Dame. The attack at Harvard was no matter of overreacting nor an isolated incident. It reflects the new policy of the ruling class as a whole.

## TIMES

If there is any doubt of this, then all one has to do is read the lead editorial in the April 11th New York Times. SDS is labelled as "a band of self-appointed revolutionaries" who seek to "rule by terror". While there is some talk of police overreaction it is to conclude that "the only effective way to prevent abuse of police power on the campus is through renunciation of the use of force by members of the academic community." That is it--if only the students wouldn't protest then there would be no "overreaction"!

Even a blithering idiot could see through such hypocrisy. The fact is the demonstration which was busted up was attempting to remove the ROTC from the campus. It would seem that if the Times is serious about "renunciation of the use of force" it could well start by having the ROTC renounce the use of force. Most members of this blessed "academic community" after graduation will be sent to Vietnam. Does the Times suggest such products of the academic community renounce the use of force there?

The Times ends up in a fever pitch of indignation: "The time has clearly come to stop pretending that the disruptions are adolescent pranks or justifiable excesses of young idealists. What is at stake now is nothing less than the perpetuation of universities as centers of reason in a free society. To permit them to be paralyzed or subverted by any lawless, coercive force of whatever political ideology or objective is to give up on the survival of free society itself."

Well that's it! The position of this spokesman for the ruling class in reaction to the police attack is--to encourage more police attack.

## SERIOUS

It is about time students faced up to the seriousness of the repression they face. Just as the repressive force enters from off the campus to crush student rebels so, too, the strength to fight back against these repressions is outside the campus in the great power of the American working class. Students can no longer view these attacks in

isolation nor fight back in isolation. It gets one nowhere to revel in the number of students one has "radicalized" through bleeding heads when the upshot of these struggles is defeat for the student's aims.

The students are not being attacked because they, in themselves, threaten the capitalist system. Behind the attacks is the deep crisis and decay of capitalism which not only makes peace internationally impossible--yes, Messieurs PEEEAACE-NOW Prayers, impossible--but class peace domestically equally impossible. Rebellion on the part of any section of the population becomes intolerable. Thus the necessity to build a conscious fighting party of the working class which will encompass the struggles of the students and the Negro masses.

## DEFEND THE BLACK PANTHERS!

NEW YORK--The arrest of 21 members of the New York Black Panther Party, setting the bail at over 2 million dollars, is an outright and blatant case of political persecution. Everyone knows that the police have been out to get the Panthers in every major city of the country. Everyone is aware of the kind of police methods--informers, provocateurs--that were used in the RAM Statute of Liberty Case.

The purpose of the government in this case is two-fold. On the one hand it seeks to fan racist fear among white workers with "plots" to blow up department stores, botanical gardens and railway trains. On the other hand it can no longer tolerate opposition of any sort from within the black community, the student movement and the trade union movement. It seeks to persecute all who resist and fight back whatever the correctness or effectiveness of the programs of the groups involved.

This attack on the Panthers must be seen as a threat not only to this organization but to the whole working class. The 21 Panthers deserve the full support of every socialist and class conscious worker.

Contributions to the Black Panther Legal Defense Fund should be sent to Box 1224, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

## No Model City For Herman Badillo



HERMAN BADILLO

NEW YORK--"New York will never be a model city." Such is the heading on a full page ad in the New York Times supporting Herman Badillo's nomination for mayor. No one will accuse the Bronx Borough President of being a "cock-eyed optimist!"

Badillo then goes on to explain what he means. New York, he notes has a chronic financial crisis. "This means simply that the mandated and inescapable expenses of running our city increase by 15% every year, whereas the city's income increases by only 4%.

Therefore we have a built-in deficit of 11% each and every year.

"We will have that deficit regardless of who is Mayor and regardless of what promises are made, unless income is increased or expenses are reduced. We face a historic battle just to keep meaningful services from being reduced. Under these circumstances, it is cruel and stupid to promise a model city. We will have to struggle just to build a liveable city."

## LIBERAL

This is of course true and everyone of the innumerable candidates running for mayor knows it. It is particularly significant that Badillo says it because Badillo just happens to be the darling of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. When he announced his candidacy, his major pitch was that he was the only "genuine liberal" who was running.

And what is the platform this "genuine liberal" is running on? It is impossible to improve the lot of the working people of New York City. It will be in fact an "historical task" to keep conditions from deteriorating further. He has nothing to say on how he is to achieve this "historic task" But, don't worry, Herman Badillo will make the city "livable" anyway.

And how is he going to make New York livable? By being a mayor "who can get people to work together and understand each other whether they are poor or middle class, white or black, employer or employee." "This", he tells us, "is what I have done as Borough President of the Bronx." Anyone who has visited the South Bronx recently will get a good picture

of the product of Badillo's togetherness.

## WHY?

The one question Badillo refuses to raise is why is it that in a country with the greatest industrial plant in the world, the highest level of technological and scientific development man has ever known, its leading city is not only falling apart at the seams but by Badillo's own estimate will continue to do so--for ever. What is true of New York is true of every major city in the country.

Badillo stands completely bankrupt. But the working people of this city will not tolerate a continued deterioration of their working and living conditions. No matter what the budget of the city says they are determined to fight for a change.

In the course of this struggle they will learn that there is no material reason for the decay of the cities. There is only a social reason--the capitalist system itself which develops the economy only in so far as the capitalists can enrich themselves. What Badillo wants is to make the city "livable" for Nixon and Rockefeller who still maintain apartments here, for the owners of the great industries of this country, the profiteers from the slum housing, etc. The way forward is not through employer and employee "working together" but the workers organizing politically to dump the employers and their system which gives us nothing but war internationally and misery in our cities.

## DUMP

We beg to differ, Mr. Badillo! Not only New York but the whole world can and will be a "model city". But first we must dump capitalism and its liberal stooges, like you, Mr. Badillo! You can march in front of all the peace marches you wish. You may fool the SWP and the CP and the rest of that rotten crowd but you won't fool us. We've got your number.

## MINNEAPOLIS

THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS  
AND  
THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION  
Friday, May 2nd 8:00pm  
Andrews Hotel  
4th St. H Hennepin 2nd floor



BY LUCY ST. JOHN

In 1941 the CIO achieved its greatest victory - the unionization of Ford. As Art Preis puts it in his book "Labor's Giant Step": "Ford was the very epitome of industrial exploitation and wage slavery. Henry Ford, the founder, had established such a system of speed-up and harassment, enforced by a vast private army who operated much like Nazi storm troopers, that it was said that Ford's made an old man out of a young worker in five years."

Ford's final weapon against the unions was racism. Ford consciously carried out a policy of employing Negroes at a time when they were being denied jobs elsewhere. In 1941 there were 10,000 Negro workers in the Ford plants. Through publicity, contributions to Negro organizations Ford built up the idea that he was the true benefactor of the Negro people. He likewise sought the support of the Negro community in his fight against unionization, winning and dining the Negro ministers and other influential Negro leaders.

FAILED

But despite all his efforts Ford failed to keep the union out. This was due in large part to the uniting of the ranks, black and white, in doing the impossible, shutting down the Ford empire. Of the 10,000 Negro workers that Ford had hired for "strike insurance" who had daily been badgered by anti-union poison only 1,500 remained in the plant.

The unity forged between the workers was achieved despite the trade union bureaucracy which did little to fight racism. The ranks joined together to defeat capitalism's most vicious spokesman understanding that only through this united fight against their employer could there be any improvement in their working conditions.

The organization of the CIO laid the basis for the powerful trade union movement that exists today and the basis for the fight necessary to defeat capitalism. The unity of the workers was an essential part of the CIO's victory.

Today the working class is facing attempts by the bosses to return to conditions reminiscent of Henry Ford's days. The bosses faced with a severe international crisis are making the workers pay through fantastic speed-up, compulsory overtime, layoffs and vicious attacks on their unions in order to carry this out.

Thousands of Negro workers have been hired in basic industry. Under the guise of helping the "hard core," the black workers are hired and often given the worst jobs, slightly better jobs are held open to white workers, open racism is practiced by the foremen. The bosses in order to attack the conditions of the working class employ racism as a tool to keep the workers divided and to break the unions. The systematic use of racial discrimination has created a serious gulf between black and white workers in the factories, which threatens the future of the trade union movement and the ability of the working class to fight.

TWO FORCES

This division in the working class created by the bosses is being deepened by two forces within the labor movement - the trade union bureaucracy and the black nationalists.

The past year has seen the growth of black caucuses throughout the country in such basic industries as auto and steel. By far the most important has been DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) which together with its FRUM (Ford Revolutionary Movement) and ELRUM (Eldron Ave, Revolutionary Movement) has now formed an organization called the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Another group, the Black Labor Federation is an outgrowth of the Concerned Transit Workers struggle in Chicago.

These caucuses have been hailed by every organization outside of the Workers League. These days the pages of the Militant, Challenge, the Guardian are filled with praises or apologies for these groups.

CAUSE

What is the cause of this growth of black nationalism within the working class? The Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, SDS, Progressive Labor and the Guardian tell us that the rise of black causes is an expression of the "national" struggle of the Negro people. As PL states it: "The national consciousness of the Black workers is propelling them to struggle against their class enemy - the exploiters - and for their class demands." The Guardian explains the ideological view of DRUM this way: "The working class can change society at the point of production. But there are two working classes at this stage of American capitalism -

black and white. The blacks form a 'subproletariat'. They can be organized on a caste basis, but can work revolutionary change on a class basis."

But when these organizations go to explain this further what becomes clear is that there is not a material basis for a national struggle in Detroit but there is a material basis for a class struggle - arising from the deplorable conditions in the shops. As the Guardian puts it, "It's 'Pure Hell' inside Detroit auto plants."

The struggles of the black workers are not simply a matter of a "national" struggle or caused by some special "super-exploited" status of the

the advancement of a few black workers, at the most 70, not for the masses of which there are 7,000 in this plant. These demands in no way address themselves to the conditions in the shop or to discrimination. Tokenism is an old answer - the bosses have used it before - as a cover for racism. However, the most revealing demand is the last one. Although DRUM calls itself revolutionary, this is far from a revolutionary demand. What it says is that the problem is not capitalism but that it is white and that if capitalism becomes black the problems will be solved.

Not only does DRUM accept as permanent the existence of capitalism but the existence of

## BLACK CAUCUSES ARE REACTIONARY



DRUM DISTRIBUTES ITS PAPER ONLY TO BLACK WORKERS, THUS FURTHERING THE DIVISIONS IN THE CLASS

Negroes in the U.S. The central cause of this movement is the class struggle of the employers against the working class in basic industry which has been qualitatively intensified over the past few years as a result of the international crisis.

The resistance of the working class to these attacks is hardly isolated to just black workers although the nationalists and their revisionist followers would like to see it that way. The crisis has forced not just the lower paid "super-exploited" workers to fight back but the highly paid skilled workers as well.

DRUM

DRUM was formed after a wildcat strike called by the ranks in defiance of the UAW leadership against the speed-up. This is the way the Militant (October 18, 1968) described it: "The wildcat strike was specifically caused by a speed-up in production which included an increase of eight extra units per hour without any change in workload or the addition of new personnel." This was not a "national" struggle it was called and participated in by both the black and white workers.

As a result of this strike a number of workers were suspended and fired, black and white. It was after this that a number of black workers joined with the black nationalist "Inner City Voice" to create DRUM.

The logic of the struggle in May was for a united fight of black and white workers against management, uniting workers on the basis of the deteriorating conditions in the shops of which racial discrimination is a part. But something quite different happened. The militancy of the ranks was turned away from class struggle through the nationalist ideology.

In July DRUM called a wildcat. Even though the struggle in May had been a united one - the leaders of DRUM now announced: "There is no possibility of collaboration with white workers." The class demands posed in the previous action became bourgeois demands. The Militant proudly printed these demands. "Among the demands listed in the DRUM newsletter were: installment of 50 black foremen, 10 black general foremen, 3 black superintendents, and a black plant manager; that all doctors and 50% of the nurses at the plant medical center be black; that a black brother be appointed as head of the Board of Directors of Chrysler."

The class nature of these demands can be shown with simple arithmetic. They are for

racism. Racism cannot be fought much less capitalism by furthering it. In the July strike white workers were not even asked to join the picket line. There were calls and signs of racist slurs against the white workers such as "Polish Pig." Complete hostility to the white workers was expressed by the DRUM leaders who said that "among white workers at the plant there is no understanding of the motion among black workers." This was, mind you, only two months after white and black workers had united in a fight against speed-up - "motion" that all workers understand.

What lies behind this is the basic ideology of nationalism. Nationalism is bourgeois in content. The nationalists pose the problem not in terms of class but "nation." The enemy becomes "whitey" not the capitalist class. The rest of the working class is lumped with the ruling class. The following is a quote from DRUM's election statement: "Historically Dodge Main has been run by the Polish aristocracy of Hamtramck; until the beginning of the so-called 'boom' era, 1963 Poles constituted a majority of the working force. However, within a five year period the work force has changed to 70% black - the majority of these young, black militant workers, whereas the remaining 30% of the working force is white. ...Management is 99% Polish and the UAW remains in control of racists, whites, and shuffling Uncle Toms."

Such reasoning leads DRUM to a deep hostility to the organizations of the working class, the unions. In its first strike DRUM demanded that "all union dues be stopped and the dues money go to the black community to aid in the struggle for self-determination." The logic of DRUM and the black caucuses in general is to place nationalism above class unity, and in the long run will take the form of all black unions which will split the unions and only aid the boss, and to the defeat of the black workers.

BEGINNING

This can be seen if we look at the development of the struggle under the DRUM leadership. What began as a class struggle at Dodge was changed to a "national" struggle losing the support of the white workers and deepening the hostility. This was also the case with the struggle of the Concerned Transit Workers in Chicago who had originally combined their demands against discrimination with class demands mobilizing the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT)

**IT IS with anguish that workers and militants learned of the brutal clashes which, on March 2, then on March 14 and 15, took place on the Russian-Chinese border.**

Everyone feels that in its actions the bureaucracy puts the gains of the October Revolution as well as the Chinese Revolution in grave danger.

A feeling of disgust overtakes every revolutionary of consequence, every internationalist, at the chauvinistic tone of the argument used by both sides.

It is a derisory conclusion to 'socialism in one country', this confrontation between 'proletarian armies', to modify or preserve the line of a border.

Certainly the historical formations which nations represent are not abolished by the overthrowing of the bourgeoisie, and among the 'relics of the old society', which inevitably mark the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, can be found national problems inherited from the past.

That their 'solution' should be reached by taking up the most outrageous and reactionary weapons of the defence of 'ancestral lands' and by the means of military strength, does not in any way result from the new property relations brought about by the revolution, but, on the contrary, form the profound bureaucratic degeneration, the counter-revolutionary character of the bureaucracy—a mortal danger for revolutionary gains.

Does the similarity in arguments and methods mean that the Russian and Chinese leaders share the same responsibility in this affair?

Should one, therefore, in the name of a moral 'neutrality', condemn equally both sides and request them to end the hostilities, as the Italian Communist Party, for example, does?

To reply to this question in any other than a formal way demands an understanding of the total process in which these 'border incidents' and their exploitation are situated.

But first of all it must be remembered—and that has much more than a symbolic value—that the first military clash took place on the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International whose constitutive political platform ended with this appeal made to the workers of the world:

**Long live the International**

**Republic of Proletarian Soviets.**

To defend its bureaucratic dictatorship from the Russian proletariat, to preserve its privileges by sabotaging and betraying the international struggle of the working class, whose victories

Reprinted from  
**'Information Ouvrière'**  
No. 425,  
March 26 to April 2.

would have sounded the death-knell of its domination, Stalinism has had to destroy the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky. It makes the International an instrument of its diplomacy, then pronounces in 1943, in the midst of imperialist carnage, the International's dissolution, as a pledge of its counter-revolutionary good-will.

In 1968, the bureaucratic usurpers celebrated the birth of the Soviet institutions which they claim to have inherited. But they did not dare to do the same for the Communist International.

No boring orations, no ceremonies.

It was with shots from automatic weapons on the banks of the Ussuri that they 'celebrated' it, in accordance with their counter-revolutionary nature.

**Why these incidents?  
Why their exploitation?**

Border incidents have been occurring for more than ten years. Why is so much publicity given to them now, why their 'dramatization'?

Why, after the clash on March 2, its repetition on the 14th and 15th, in which the Russian authorities admitted to having brought into action armoured divisions?

'Political operation for internal reasons, on both sides', explains the press generally. This 'reasonable' argument certainly contains a part of the truth.

To fight tendencies towards liquidation and capitulation before imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy which the majority of the Chinese Communist Party's bureaucratic apparatus was developing, a section of the bureaucracy has had to rely on the masses, mobilizing them completely while maintaining its control over them.

But it had then to stop the 'cultural revolution' because in it lay the path to political revolution, to the establishing of the political power of the working class, which was taking shape.

Today the Mao Tse-tung leadership is trying laboriously to rebuild the apparatus of the Chinese Communist Party, dislocated by the 'cultural revolution'.

At the same time, however,

the encirclement of China, effected by the joint forces of imperialism and the Kremlin, continues.

Even if today the relationship of forces between the classes in the decisive centres of imperialism prevents it from bringing onto the agenda a counter-revolutionary war against China, the fact remains that China is isolated and threatened more than ever.

In this situation, the Mao Tse-tung leadership reacts to the closing in of the circle by a popular mobilization against the Russian bureaucracy which it turns into a nationalist issue in order to maintain control over it.

On the Russian side, it is very obvious that the shouting about 'Chinese warmongering' is very useful as a diversion after its counter-revolutionary intervention in Czechoslovakia: it is an attempt to patch up the cracks which more and more are spreading through the international Stalinist apparatus.

But is that the essential point? One can soon see that if one describes these serious events as ways of getting out of internal difficulties, it is necessary, in order to understand anything, to relate these difficulties to a general political situation.

In calling for a 'holy war' against China, in making use of the worst arguments of 'Great Russian' chauvinism, the Kremlin bureaucracy does not mean to patch up its international apparatus just for the defence of a border line which dates in effect from the time of Tsarism and the vassalization of China by imperialism, but means to consolidate it against the extension of the world revolution of which the gains of the Chinese Revolution are an element.

Marxists do not define their attitude on the basis of who is the 'aggressor' or the 'victim', by determining 'who started it', but on the basis of what is involved from the point of view of the international class struggle.

The methods of the Chinese Communist Party leadership are not defensible: they endanger the gains of the Chinese Revolution.

But it is precisely against these gains that the anti-Chinese offensive of the Russian bureaucracy is turned. And the defence of the Chinese Revolution against the blows of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy of the Kremlin and imperialism remains the starting point of a revolutionary stand regarding these events.

But if this aspect of the events is important, it does not constitute its essence. The huge political operation which has developed is not just aimed at Asia. On the contrary, it is first



of all in relation to the class struggle in Europe that it is significant. We will explain:

**What is essentially at stake: Europe**

In the days following the March 2 incident, the Soviet ambassadors, in official visits, informed the American, French, English, and West German governments of the Kremlin's version of events.

This is a completely revealing and unusual procedure in so far as the Soviet 'negotiators' insisted on informing the government of 'vengeful' West Germany.

In an employers' review 'Enterprise', a journalist wrote:

'For the first time Moscow recognizes that it belongs to the Western world and suggests that in defending its borders it defends Europe and the US.'

If you scrape away the gilt surface of the journalistic phrases, you see the reality of this statement.

Of course, it is not a matter of belonging to the 'West', nor principally of the defence of borders, but the meaning of the hastily-transmitted message from the Kremlin ambassadors to the imperialist statesmen is clear: it affirms the common counter-revolutionary interests of imperialism and bureaucracy; it calls for consolidation of 'peaceful co-existence' as a means of preserving 'social peace' in Europe.

On March 17 in Budapest there was a plenary meeting of the civil and military chiefs of the Warsaw Pact countries. (It brought together the leaders of the countries which had invaded Czechoslovakia, of Rumania,

# DAYAN POWER RISES IN

**THE CHOICE of Mrs. Golda Meir as Prime Minister of Israel only means that the battle for power among the Israeli leaders has still to be resolved.**

Mrs. Meir has been put there to hold office while the contestants for power fight it out.

She is 70 and not especially healthy. Not long ago, she was reported to have had a heart attack after a sharp speech from former colleague David Ben Gurion.

In the Knesset, Ben Gurion abstained from a vote of confidence in Mrs. Meir. He accused her of refusing to help leading Party members when they had wanted to have previous Premier Eshkol dismissed, and of covering up for the public grave defects in Eshkol's government.

He charged:

'In so doing she caused dangerous moral rot in the Party's leadership.'

Elections are due in November. The general secretary of the Israel Labour Party, Pinhas Sapir, is reported to have said 'he did not regard Mrs. Meir as a transitional Prime Minister, but expected her . . . to lead the Party in next Autumn's elections.

'In my opinion, she should also lead the government formed after the election.' ('The Times', Tuesday, March 4.)

Of course, Mr. Sapir is bound to deny that Mrs. Meir is a 'transitional' premier, just as British Chancellors of the Exchequer are obliged to deny categorically that they intend to devalue the pound, and with the same credibility.

What Sapir really wants is to assert his own legitimacy as successor when Mrs. Meir goes.

One minister who opposed Mrs. Meir's nomination was Defence Minister Moshe Dayan. He said:

'I am opposed to the choice of the Prime Minister being left to a central committee elected before the creation of the new Labour Party, and which does not reflect the actual strength of elements within the Party.'

Dayan is continuing to press his own claim to the premiership, and if Mrs. Meir heads the Party list at the next elections, it is likely that Dayan will head a list of his own in opposition.

The power struggle in the Israeli leadership has been presented by the Western press either as a conflict between generations, or between 'doves' and 'hawks'. Neither description is adequate.

Yigal Allon and Moshe Dayan are

rivals for the premiership. Both are Israeli born and of the same generation. Although Dayan has always been known as a military 'activist', both are advocates of the retention of the occupied territories gained in the June 1967 war.

It was Yigal Allon who said last year:

'The border between Israel and Jordan should be the Jordan river and the middle of the Dead Sea.'

The differences between the contending factions are over how Israel itself should be run.

Mrs. Meir, Sapir and Allon all have strong ties with the labour and co-operative movement.

In the course of Zionist colonization, a decisive part was played by this movement in creating the physical basis of statehood.

It was the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour) which ousted Arab labour, while the Kibbutzim (collective settlements) were the means of colonizing new areas.

The Histadrut, with its wide range of affiliated co-operatives and institutions, became known as a 'state within a state'.

Meir, Sapir and Allon are part of the Labour establishment.

Dayan, with the backing of Ben

Gurion, has been in conflict with this establishment for 'normalization'.

For instance, Yigal Allon is pursuing a policy of establishing new Kibbutzim in the new territories. He has insisted in the past on the value of permanent settlements and of the youth movements orientated towards kibbutz settlements.

Dayan, however, played down the economic value of the kibbutz when he was Minister of Agriculture and considered the military units of Nahal to be enough for frontier settlement.

He once said that the Jewish youth movements outside Israel should be re-organized and run by Israeli army officers.

On the issue of Arab labour, Mrs. Meir recently spoke of the importance of maintaining Jewish labour as basic to Israeli society and of the danger to that society in employing Arab workers as cheap labour.

It was Moshe Dayan, again, as Minister of Agriculture, who was responsible in 1960 for a policy of exploitation of the Bedouin. They were denied grazing lands and Dayan's policy was that they should sell their flocks to the government and be employed as labourers where needed.

Bedouin workers employed as road labourers were paid only 50 per cent





# Behind Sino-Soviet 'incidents'

'These differences are not negligible in so far as they lead in the direction of an easing of the political situation and seem to exclude a hardening of socialist countries in their relationships with the West.'

The text of this appeal is moreover very explicit:

'Contemporary Europe, resulting from the treaties drawn up after the Second World War, represents about 30 large and small states differing in their social structure, geographical situation and interests, but forced by their past to live side by side. . . . The Warsaw Pact countries consider it their duty to do all in their power to avoid new military conflicts in Europe, to open the way to a greater co-operation between all European countries, whatever their social structure. . . . A stable system of European security creates the objective possibility and necessity to carry out, through the use of energy, transport, sea and air space, as in the domain of hygiene, the great plans which are inseparable from the well-being of the population

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The ardent appeal for 'co-operation' includes the brutal dictatorship of Franco and the Greek colonels, which is logical if one thinks that the capitalist system can assure the 'well-being of the population of the whole continent'.

## Holy alliance against the European proletariat

This is the heart of the matter; it is the division of Europe, the maintaining of capitalist domination in the countries where the essential productive forces of the continent are concentrated the Budapest appeal guarantees.

It not only re-affirms, but makes more precise, the holy alliance against the European

proletariat, which in the East struggles for workers' democracy, for the power of the workers' councils against the bureaucracy, just as in the capitalist countries it struggles to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

The reference to the borders inherited from the Second World War shows the bureaucracy's desire to preserve a *status quo* brought about in conditions which were very unfavourable to it, while obtaining, in return for the strangling of the mass revolutionary movement at the end of the war, concessions from imperialism thrown onto the defensive.

But today the necessity for the bureaucracy to depend more and more directly on imperialism, as much to defend it from the proletariat of the USSR and Eastern countries as from the working classes of the capitalist countries, allows imperialism to pursue, through the compromise reached by the bureaucracy, its own ends—that is, the restoration of its domination over the countries which have escaped its grasp.

And the conclusion of the article in 'Enterprise', which we have already quoted, analyses with lucidity (with a definite class awareness) the process which is beginning:

'On Monday the Warsaw Pact countries, meeting in Budapest, made an appeal to Western Europe for co-operation in the domain of security. The movement is thus tending to accelerate. What price would the USSR pay for the support of its former enemies in its quarrel with China? Would not its Eastern European allies find further reasons for seeking new outlets in the West? It would be paradoxical that in giving greatest publicity to the Oussouri incidents in order to strengthen the ties of the socialist camp, Moscow should have finally dug its own grave.'

And as the weekly paper of the British capitalist class, 'The Economist' says:

'It is America which had the most to gain in this three-party manoeuvre.'

The first act of the new representative of American imperialism, Nixon, was to visit his European allies. It is at the end of this journey that he assured that it was possible to envisage a summit with Moscow. On the day after the Russian manoeuvres which followed the Oussouri incidents, he announced that the plan for the building of a network of anti-missile missiles would be reduced.

It is also by the pledge to do everything to maintain social stability in Europe that the

Kremlin bureaucracy laid the bait for the preparation of this summit.

All counter-revolutionary efforts are today concentrated on Europe because it is in Europe that the contradictions of the class struggle are revealed in their most explosive form.

## Struggle for the socialist revolution

The May-June general strike in France expressed this reality in terms of conscious action, of political mobilization of the proletariat.

The revolutionary unity of the European working class showed itself in the revolutionary upsurge of the Czech working class, opening the way to political revolution, forcing the Kremlin bureaucracy into a military adventure which did not prevail over the resistance of the Czech workers which aggravated its own crisis.

These struggles begin a period in the class struggle in which the question of socialist revolution is on the agenda in Europe, in the bastions of imperialism, in the countries where the proletariat is rich in experience for fighting and organization.

Confronted by this menace, the international counter-revolution, under the leadership of American imperialism, closes its ranks.

It finds support in the Kremlin bureaucracy, in the decay of the international Stalinist apparatus whose crisis does not diminish—on the contrary—its counter-revolutionary role and characters.

But the enormous struggles for which the European proletariat is preparing, in the forefront of the international class struggle, constitute the basis of the resurgence, under the form of an international political organization, of proletarian internationalism, of communism in fact.

In the coming conflicts the task handed down by the Communist International will be accomplished.

The Communist International's manifesto affirms: 'Under the Soviet workers' flag of revolutionary struggle for power and dictatorship of the proletariat, workers of every country unite.'

This is the meaning of the struggles for the re-construction of the Fourth International.

The article below by Charles Parkins is reprinted from the Newsletter.

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The final communiqué remains extremely vague, noting only that the 'meeting took place in a spirit of co-operation and friendship'.

But the conference adopted an appeal to all European states for the organization of a conference on security and peace.

The 'conciliatory' character of this appeal is stressed, omitting as it does the classic references to US policy and all allusion to the 'vengeful' nature of West Germany.

As 'Le Monde' notes on March 19:

# ISRAELI POLITICAL CRISIS

of the wage rate of Jewish workers. This has become a trend since the June war.

An article in the Israeli Socialist Organization's magazine 'Matzpen' for August 1968, entitled 'Israel: A new South Africa?', said:

'Thousands of Palestinians from the occupied territories doing Israel's menial work for starvation wages and no social benefits—this is part of Israel's new, post-June 1967 landscape.'

'Matzpen' writer Ben-Horin gave details of how Arab workers were being exploited and gave an interesting quotation from the economic section of the daily paper 'Ha'aretz' (July 10, 1968):

'Arab agriculture produces latent unemployment which can only be solved by the migration of workers from it into the towns where they can find employment in industry and construction. Fortunately, such migration can be of help not only to the Arabs, but also to the Israeli economy. Israel's economy is showing signs of a labour shortage. It is hard to tell whether this will develop into a general phenomenon or remain restricted to some industries. In any case, the potential supply will cool off the labour market and help prevent wage inflation.' (My emphasis. C.P.)

If Arab agriculture does not 'pro-

duce latent unemployment' in sufficient quantity, then no doubt the Israeli military authorities could oblige by requisitioning more Arab land, as has been done in Israel before.

As the above passage shows, this policy of oppression and exploitation will be used to attack the norms of organization, living standards and social benefits that have been established by the Israeli working class.

For this reason, it is a policy favoured not only by the Israeli bosses, but by the Zionist investors living outside Israel, too.

For many years now, these financial interests have complained that the Israeli workers were overpaid and that there were too many strikes.

They regard the social services as extravagant and the politicians as complacent.

'What will happen when German reparations end?' they asked.

West German reparation payments ceased, United States aid was cut and with the economic crisis of capitalism growing more acute, Zionist capitalists have become more insistent on better returns for their investments in Israel.

At the beginning of 1967, Israel had reached the figure of 100,000 unemployed—10 per cent of the working population.

The June war eased the unemployment figures, but the economic and political crisis remains.

It was also at the beginning of 1967 that the row in the Zionist leadership came into the open, when Jon Kimche, editor of the 'Jewish Observer', was dismissed after 15 years, largely under pressure from the Israeli government.

We pointed out in The Newsletter at the time that while Kimche's editorial line was found objectionable, so must the article by Marcus Sieff have been, in which he demanded the formation of a 'war cabinet' to include people like Moshe Dayan.

Sieff was honorary president of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. Besides being chairman of Marks and Spencer, he has extensive investments in Israel.

In June 1967 Israel got a 'war cabinet', Moshe Dayan and a war.

Sieff is now a member of the industrial policy group.

As for Kimche, he is editor now of the magazine 'New Middle East', of which the board of directors includes Marcus Sieff and Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Both Sieff and Rothschild were at the conference of financiers in Jerusalem last year.

Shortly after he was sacked from

the 'Jewish Observer', Kimche wrote in the 'Economist' of March 18, 1967:

'... the political system which has dominated Israeli politics for more than a generation is no longer capable of meeting the needs of a modern state.' He went on to say that:

'Transition, therefore, does not simply mean new faces. It means that the structure of society and politics in Israel is on the verge of a dramatic change.'

For Mrs. Meir, Sapir and Allon, it is not a question of defending the working class. Allon was responsible, as Minister of Labour in Eshkol's government, for drafting legislation against strikes.

For these representatives of the old Establishment it is their social position that they are defending. As with the foreign policy, they will try to prove that they can do the job as well as Dayan.

The 'left-wing' Zionists of Mapam will protest, as they always do, then stay in the coalition.

The Zionist capitalists decide the policy of the Israeli government and they are backing the 'strong man'. For the Israeli working class, the alternatives are: unity with the Palestinian Arabs or dictatorship under Dayan.



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# black caucuses are reactionary

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

support of the white workers. With the intervention of such figures as the well known black capitalist advocate Jesse Jackson the struggle was turned into a fight for "black pride." The black workers lost the support of their fellow workers and the struggle was defeated.

DRUM has held a number of wildcats in auto plants - calling on only the black workers to strike. In each one of these workers have been fired and suspended. They have essentially been defeats - there have been no gains for the workers - speed-up is getting worse, pay checks are dwindling - and racism still exists. Divisions in the plants between the workers have deepened enabling the Reuther leadership to play on the prejudices of the white workers to line them up in a fight against the black workers.

Losing the support of the white workers and having been defeated "at the point of production" the DRUM leadership has now taken the fight outside the plants to the "community" - posing clearly the classless nature of DRUM's perspective. Essentially what this has meant is to rob the workers under DRUM of their power. The militancy of the workers has become a pitiful pleading for "justice."

## BOYCOTT

While DRUM members have been fired, suspended, and harassed - DRUM is now calling for a boycott of Chrysler products by mobilizing the black community not to buy Chrysler products. "Plans to print posters and bumper stickers, to speak at churches, schools and other community groups, to issue press releases and news stories are all being organized." The purpose of all of this is "to attempt to bring enough pressure and adverse publicity to bear to take the heat off of ELRUM and DRUM."

In a leaflet DRUM is issuing "A Call to Black People", they state: "As poor Black people, under the yoke of one of the monsters of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, we have always anticipated this show-down stage of our life-and-death struggle and we enter it with new determination to see it through. The boycott will be sustained until justice is done in the aforementioned manner. WE WILL WIN!"

This DRUM calls a "major tactic!" Is the black community being asked to support Ford instead? And what about the rest of the population?

Despite DRUM's talk of revolution nothing is more clearly revealed in this tactic than the reformist nature of this movement. The DRUM leadership has turned the black workers struggle to a classless reformist fight. The death and defeat of the Poor People's Campaign whose purpose was to bring pressure to bear showed that this kind of struggle is futile and only perpetrates the illusions that capitalism can be reformed.

"Monopoly capitalism" is not a paper tiger - it cannot be downed with bumper stickers or speeches to church congregations appealing for justice.

The black nationalists have totally rejected all the lessons of the working class historically, that gains have been won only through a united, disciplined fight based on the power of the class, the power that the working class has in industry "at the point of production." Today much more is required to win gains - a political struggle not for reforms but for political power.

This the nationalists reject limiting their fight at its best to protest politics - to struggles on partial issues within the confines of capitalism, and thus aiding the capitalists to remain in power to continue racism and oppression.

The absolutely criminal nature of this leadership is that it is diverting the real militancy and desire for struggle by the black workers down a blind alley - dividing them from their real allies in the working class.

## BUREAUCRACY

As we said in the beginning of the article, there are two forces which are threatening the labor movement the nationalists and the labor bureaucracy. In this period when an all-out struggle by the unions is required just to keep even, the trade union bureaucracy lies prostrate before the bosses seeking more and more to contain the ranks from struggle. It is precisely the movement by the workers in the auto plants over the working conditions and the fast diminishing pay checks that disturbs the bureaucracy

The last auto contract was a complete sell-out, with Reuther essentially giving away the escalator clause.

Recently Reuther has launched an attack on DRUM. It is not the national character of this movement that disturbs him but it is precisely the objective basis for the movement not what the nationalists have turned it into. Reuther in the past years has crushed every wildcat strike which has come up in the UAW most of which have been outside of the DRUM struggle. What Reuther fears more than anything else is a united fight of the ranks against his leadership and against the bosses.

The nationalists are only aiding the bureaucracy in this posing the fight in terms of race rather than class perpetrating the conception among black and white workers that they are each others enemies. Reuther answers DRUM with statements that what is required is unity and that the divisions are threatening the union. In this way Reuther attempts to line up the white workers behind him.

The fact is that while DRUM is indeed posing a danger to the unions through its separatist calls, Reuther's talk of unity is pure demogogy. Reuther and his cohorts in the rest of the labor bureaucracy have perpetrated racism precisely to keep the workers in line.

But black caucuses pose no real struggle against the labor bureaucracy. The labor bureaucrats are dismissed with a few epithets. The black workers are told to relinquish the fight in the union.

## TOGETHERNESS

The fact is that in the long run we will see the drawing together more and more of these nationalists and the trade union bureaucrats precisely because they both base themselves on the same political tendency - that is reformism. The Reuther leadership for years has diverted the union engaging in "community" projects while refusing to fight the class battle. The Chrysler boycott in no way poses any struggle which confronts the bureaucracy.

As we have said the direction of black caucuses is towards the formations of black unions. This is being posed today in New York within the Transit Workers Union where a nationalist led caucus is seeking bargaining election. Instead of posing a united fight against the labor bureaucracy within the unions, this group looks toward the "riding public" and the struggle of the "black community."

Not only does this leave the unions to the bureaucracy, accepting its existence rather than fighting to get rid of it, but such moves divide the class. In this period the unions are faced with the increasing attacks by the state. Unity is absolutely essential. How is the union of black transit workers isolated from the AFL-CIO going to fight the Taylor Law? Is it going to side with the boss in a transit strike "against the community?" The logic of a union based on "national" interests rather than class struggle is to draw the workers closer to the ruling class.

In this period more and more the ruling class seeks to control the unions by law by bringing them into the government apparatus. To accomplish this the ruling class enlists the support of the labor bureaucracy. The task of revolutionaries is to fight the bureaucracy, exposing its role as well as the state. The nationalists seek to avoid this fight thus aiding the ruling class in controlling the unions.

## REVISIONISTS

Both the labor bureaucracy and the nationalists are aided in this fight by the revisionists, which seek to give the nationalists a left theoretical cover.

The SWP has given uncritical support to the black caucus movement using its theory of self-determination which it has translated into whatever the blacks do is correct - combined with its theory of fighting for reforms in a revolutionary way which becomes an apology for reformism.

PL has had a little more trouble. So much so that they have taken to falsifying pictures these days. Stalin indeed haunts PL.

PL's basic theory, if we can call it that, is that black nationalism and black caucuses are "nationalist in form and working class in content." In other words it supports black caucuses but remains critical of the logical development of them from class unity towards unity of black workers with the petty-bourgeois national-

ists. This is the political method of centrism and of an organization with the backbone of a jelly fish.

It is summed up in the headline in the March issue of Challenge "All Black Unions - Good and Bad." It seems they are "good" in a factory which has nothing but black workers as if you could organize an integrated union in such a factory.

More recently (April issue of Challenge) PL has had to go through some twists and turns. Evidently someone posed the logical question since black workers are to organize into black caucuses what about the white workers - what about white caucuses? While it is correct for a black caucus to exclude white workers, "An all-white caucus which specifically excludes Blacks is not only racist in FORM but in CONTENT, also." WHY? "By its very nature, it must help maintain the specially exploited position of Black workers, and SIDE WITH THE BOSSES who created it. This will further embitter the Black workers, impel them to see the white workers as the enemy, rather than the boss, and maintain and increase the division in the entire working class."



The main point however is that if, according to PL, the black workers are to organize and fight in black caucuses, then the white workers, if they are to fight, must organize into white caucuses. But since PL correctly holds that white caucuses are reactionary one is forced to conclude that PL feels white workers should not fight but should stand still and commiserate on a moral basis with the problems of the black workers. PL's perspective is that sometime in the rosy future the white workers might begin to struggle and then there might be unity.

## NO NONSENSE

The Workers League will have nothing to do with all this metaphysical nonsense. We state clearly and openly that ANY caucus organized on race lines, black, white or what have you, is reactionary. The working class must organize on CLASS lines. For this it needs a CLASS program to fight back against a CLASS attack on the part of the bosses and their government.

Such a program does not come out of thin air. It can come only from the revolutionary party which embodies the whole historical experience of the working class struggles since the writing of the Communist Manifesto. This party is the Workers League, the American supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Central to the program of the Workers League in the unions is the demand for full employment through the thirty hour week, the demand for an escalator clause to counter the inflation, the demand for the independence of the unions against all anti-union legislation to protect those organizations which defend the interests of the class. If the bosses cannot meet these demands then we say the workers should run the industries under their control and in their interests.

This program requires not "pressuring" the rulers to grant a few concessions but fighting for political power for the working class. This means that the workers must have a political arm - a labor party with a socialist program.

The form for this program must be a united one, joining together workers regardless of race. This "amalgamation" of the working class as Lenin put it is necessary in every organization from the revolutionary party to caucuses within the unions. This program is an international program uniting the working class throughout the world.

# they marched for vietnam sell-out

BY BOB JOHNSON

CHICAGO--Despite the sincerity of many of the young marchers, the recent peace demonstrations here and across the nation were essentially a diversion from the conscious struggle that must be waged against imperialism and its wars.

The class nature of middle class pacifist protest is not changed by the chanting of 'Ho Chi Minh.' And from the legions of hippies and liberal politicians to mothers and children, to the anarchists and the 'socialists', the common denominator of the affair was bourgeois pacifism.

The leadership of the recent marches, a resurrected bloc between the pacifists, the CP and the SWP, consciously seeks to divert the militancy of the youth away from revolutionary politics toward unconscious and 'spontaneous' street actions and pointless

confrontations with the police.

FRIENDLIEST

Perhaps more than a few of the more frenzied activists were disappointed in that no confrontations occurred. Despite the few childish provocations by some of the marchers the cops kept their cool. Small wonder. Daley knew there was no threat from this collection of pacifist protestors. He gathered a select force of 'Chicago's friendliest' (cops with high boiling points) to police the march. Just two days before the regular cops along with the National Guard were suppressing the rioting of working class youth in the cities slums. Daley did not extend to these youth the same courtesies he showed to the peace parade committee.

The April 5-6 demonstrations for peace in Vietnam take place in the midst of the recent offensive of the National



VETERANS FOR PEACE CONTINGENT MARCHES IN CHICAGO PEACE PROTEST

Liberation Front. U.S. forces are being relentlessly battered from one end of Vietnam to the other. American war losses mount every day. The imperialists not only realize that the military victory is impossible; they know that a speedy political settlement of the war is essential. U.S.

capitalism simply cannot afford this war any more.

The kind of settlement, that is 'peace,' it seeks in Vietnam is to be based on continued imperialist domination of the area. The most significant ally it has in this regard is the Soviet Union whose leaders, their hands fresh with

the blood of the Czech workers, now provoke a border clash with China to further isolate the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. The chief dangers facing the Vietnamese revolution are not military but political in the form of Stalinist betrayal.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY

When the leadership on the peace movement not only ignores these political issues but insists that the raising of these issues will weaken the peace movement it plays an openly counter-revolutionary role. To chant 'peace now' - which was the major chant - and at the same time avoid the class basis of the war, to urge upon Nixon speedy conclusion of the Paris peace talks, which is exactly what he too desires, is only to lay down a popular basis for the political betrayal that imperialism and its Stalinist allies are preparing.

REACTIONARY

What is particularly reactionary is to spread the illusion that youth can find a revolutionary leadership behind the likes of Bobby Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy. Yet these reformist forces carried the day.

While the Stalinists and the reformists gave the march its political content, the revisionists continued to act as its chief organizers. For them the only thing of matter is numbers. Their watchword is spontaneity. They are at war with the conscious struggle to build the revolutionary party based on the working class and guided by Marxist theory.

A Construction Worker Writes

## 200 FEET BELOW MARKET ST

BY A CONSTRUCTION WORKER

Two hundred feet beneath San Francisco's Market Street near Woolworths is a hole



Eventually it will form part of the tunnel for the Bay Area Rapid Transit connecting San Francisco with the East Bay.

The guys who work with me are from the Ironworkers Union, Laborers Union, Electricians Union, Carpenters Union, Piledrivers Union, and Plumbers Union. Most of us are doing the same job, though we're in different unions and getting different rates of pay.

Although I'm in the Carpenters Union, I've been welding and working as a laborer. As an apprentice, I take home \$109 a week. Some of the guys

doing the same job as me take home \$200 a week. That seems like a lot of money, but they don't work all year around and they get gypped and cheated salesmen so they end up with very little money left.

SAFETY

There are only a few ladders and no scaffolding. Sometimes I have to hold on 150 feet in the air, holding onto a pipe with one hand and banging away with a hammer with the other. There are no nets underneath us.

We're given inspirational

literature, of course, telling us to be careful and a lot of big red safety signs. However, there are NO coffee breaks and we only get half an hour for lunch (which we are not paid for).

Sometimes it just takes 10 minutes to get down the ladder to go to lunch. With no rest periods at all, accidents result because we are too tired. Most of the machinery is old; a large part of the work is being done by hand, with hammers and wrenches -- we're not much better off than the guys who built the pyramids.

A lot of the guys are just too tired at the end of the day to think about fighting the boss or getting a better deal. And we all belong to different unions, so if we were to go out on strike, we'd have to go through ten different unions.

What we need is one construction workers union--laborers, carpenters, ironworkers, etc. We're all doing the same work, anyway. This union would be unbeatable with a program to beat the bosses wherever they are--in the hole wearing their pretty business suits and hard hats or in City Hall making their pretty promises.

forge a fighting new leadership for their union.

This is what the BULLETIN and the Workers League has been fighting for and this is why the redbaiting attacks. We have every intention of deepening this struggle in the coming period. Hospital workers interested in working with us should write to: P.O. Box 14002, University Station, Minneapolis.

## Local 113 Redbait's The Bulletin Over Expose Of Sell-Out Contract

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

MINNEAPOLIS--The April 1st meeting of the Minneapolis Section of Hospital Workers 113 witnessed a vicious, red-baiting attack on the Workers League and its newspaper the BULLETIN by local Secretary-Treasurer Norman Carle. An important article in the March 24 issue of the BULLETIN had taken up the betrayal of the ranks of 113 by its leadership in the struggle for improved wages and living standards at the February 27th contract meeting.

It was because 113's leadership had no intention of discussing the depth of the February 27th betrayal that Carle never told the ranks exactly what in the BULLETIN article he opposed. Instead he referred to Workers League members as 'stooges' and the article as 'lies.'

BLANK

Carle ended his attack by calling for the membership to give a blank check to his handpicked successors, Neil Geske and Matt Juhl. No sooner had he called for this than 113's President, Armand LaBerge, made such a motion. To intimidate the members, a standing vote was arranged.

Thus the motion was passed, with no discussion allowed.

But all these maneuvers cannot cover up the fact that the 113 leadership completely capitulated on its own proposal for a 20% wage hike settling for a measly 12¢ the first year and a thin dime the second year. Twin Cities hospital workers live on poverty wages and will continue to do so until such time as they

## HOW HOSPITAL WORKERS GOT ANTI-STRIKE LAW

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The 1950-51 negotiations between the hospital employers and members of Local 113 seemed no different than before, except that negotiations had dragged on much longer than usual. By June of 1951 hospital workers in Minneapolis had been working sixteen months without a contract.

Finally, on June 26, 1951, workers in the nine organized Minneapolis hospitals decided that they had had enough and went out on strike on their own.

Local 113's leadership, including Secretary-Treasurer Norman Carle and Recording Secretary Dorothy Schiager, refused to do anything to give this strike official sanction or

to defeat the hospital owners. They stood aside and watched the workers defeated.

CROCODILE

It was then that the anti-strike Charitable Hospitals Act was introduced in the Minnesota Legislature by a member who wept crocodile tears for the sufferings of the patient in the struck hospitals, never mentioning the quite real suffering of hospital workers under poverty wages. Despite feeble protests by 113's leadership, this law was passed with lightning speed, and by July 16 the strike was broken.

Local 113's leadership then quickly signed a new contract with the hospital owners which allowed an arbitration panel,

loaded two to one in favor of the employers, to discipline or fire any worker who had gone out on strike for 'alleged violence in connection with said work stoppages.'

The passage of the Charitable Hospitals Act was one result of the continued collaboration to the trade union bureaucracy with the 'liberal.' Yet it is this same treacherous collaboration that they demand that we continue today. The vacillations of the trade union bureaucrats in the face of attack by the capitalist state is all the more reason why we must fight for their removal, and fight for the creation of a Labor Party to repeal such laws. 'als' and 'friends' of labor,

### WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY?

WORKERS LEAGUE WILL HOLD A ONE DAY SCHOOL

SUNDAY MAY 4TH 10:30AM

FIRST SESSION: The Rise and Fall of the Comintern

SECOND SESSION: Revolutionary Strategy Today

243 East 10th St. Room 8 NYC (near First Ave.)

Registration: \$1.00



# TARIQ ALI SWALLOWS THE WHOLE LOT

BY JOHN SPENCER

(reprinted from the Newsletter)

Tariq Ali's recent trip to Pakistan began with all the well-publicized secrecy of a Beatle wedding. He left by a devious route. He put about mysterious rumours that he was off to see 'a bird of mine in Frankfurt'.

Though his arrival in Karachi made the front pages of 'The Times' and 'The Guardian', the usual expansive descriptions of his plans were missing.

Not that Mr. Ali had abandoned his search for publicity.

He was merely going about it in a more roundabout way, with the collaboration of Granada TV.

The March issue of 'Film and Television Technician', journal of the Association of Cinematography, Television and Allied Technicians carries an article by a certain Mr. Gus Macdonald, investigation editor of Granada's 'World in Action'. He writes: 'Tariq Ali's aim was to slip back into Pakistan unannounced, so he planned a stealthy exit from Britain. That suited us. "World in Action" alone knew the details of his departure and a good story is always the better for being exclusive.'

He and Ali travelled together to rendezvous with the camera crew at Frankfurt and then flew together to Karachi.

The team accumulated 10,000 feet of film during their week in Pakistan and became

the first to hear Ali's future plans.

Mr. Macdonald ends by saying: 'We cut "World in Action" together over two days and put it on the screen before any of the foreign correspondents got close enough to Tariq to scoop us.'

Mr. Macdonald writes with hearty approval of Ali's exploits. He and Ali obviously thoroughly enjoyed their outing together.

But the Pabloite publicity-seeker's adventures were less welcome to the leaders of the Pakistani socialist students.

Mohammed Arif, chairman of the Pakistani Student Socialist Society, wrote to 'The Guardian' on March 25:

'I am concerned and amused to note that the British press (especially "The Guardian") is still intent on building up Tariq Ali as a Pakistan student leader.

'...When the student revolution in Pakistan was about to succeed Tariq Ali, considering himself a Lenin, went home to claim the revolution. It was the left-wing Pakistani student body both in Pakistan and in Britain who disowned him rather than the Islamic right-wing students, who would have opposed him in any case.'

REPLIES

Ali replied to the letter on Saturday, March 29. He made no attempt to reply to the allegations about a 'press

build-up.' Instead he maintained that he had always been a known opponent of the Ayub regime, despite having 'devoted most of my time to Vietnam.'

'I have never tried to disguise the fact,' he said, 'that I supported Maulana Bhashani's party in Pakistan.'

Bhashani is the 85-year-old 'Red Mullah', whose pro-Peking party, based in East Pakistan, offers what the 'Sunday Times' describes as 'a unique combination of revolutionary politics and Islam: he is also a religious dignitary.'

The 'Sunday Times' goes on to say that he has formed 'an alignment with Bhutto who offers a similar but much milder program in the West.'

Bhutto's response to the Army take-over in Pakistan shows the unprincipled politics that underlie this alignment:

'It had to happen, and on the whole it's a good thing. At least we are rid of Ayub Khan and the "royal family". Unless the military get a taste for power themselves--and I don't think this is likely--the prospects for a return to democracy seem good.' ('Sunday Times', March 30)

But, at least for British consumption, Ali is put forward as a 'Trotskyist.'

He is a leading member, along with Pat Jordan and Ernest Tate, of the Interna-

tional Marxist Group (IMG).

A huge press campaign has been carried out precisely to build up this image. And yet, all the time he was posing as a 'Trotskyist', he was really... an Islamic socialist who was not averse to supporting Maoism.

Kindly people might think that the Pabloite leaders of the IMG hadn't the heart to attack Ali's deeply-held religious beliefs.

But the fact is that despite his Islamic socialism he's an atheist. As he told 'The Times' reporter in Rawalpindi last month:

'Personally I am an atheist, but I don't see why we cannot have a socialist Pakistan in which everyone has the freedom to worship whatever God he likes.'

Ali returns to the theme of 'a socialist Pakistan' in, of all places, the 'Daily Mirror.'

The 'Mirrorscope' supplement for Friday, March 28 carries an article by what the 'Mirror' calls 'the omnipresent student leader.'

In the article he 'assesses for Mirrorscope the cause and

the consequence' of the Pakistan events.

After describing the fall of Ayub and his replacement by Yahya Khan, Ali goes on to speak of the situation now:

'The smallest incident could lead to another upsurge which may end in an independent and sovereign East Pakistan: a Pakistan which of political, economic and geographical necessity would be socialist.'

With respect we would point out to Mr. Ali that this is the most outright nonsense.

Pakistan exists only by virtue of the religious divisions stimulated by imperialism.

How can Pakistan, let alone its Eastern half, develop independently of the rest of the subcontinent?

What sort of 'socialism' is possible not in one country, but in half of half a country?

Ali appeared in the guise of a fire-eater at Grosvenor Square last March.

Now he shows that he can painlessly swallow East Pakistan nationalism, separatism, Pabloism, Maoism, Islam, the 'Daily Mirror' and television without turning a hair.

What a tribute to the patient work of his ex-Trotskyist tutors Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel!

## how california oil workers were led to complete defeat

SAN FRANCISCO -- The militant members of Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (AFL-CIO) have been led to ignominious defeat by a combination of their local leadership, the international leadership, and the radical fakers of the student-based Third World Coalition and the SWP.

One of the most militant strikes in years, pickets battled daily with cops to keep scabs out of a Standard Oil refinery and chemical plant in the Richmond area. Local leader G.T. Jacobs was in the midst of it all receiving gashes in the head from scabs and dishing out a few blows himself. There was no lack of militancy and determination on the part of these strikers. What was lacking was a program for real struggle.

Hailed as the shining example of the "student-labor alliance" from coast to coast and trumpeted in the Guardian and the Militant, student supporters of the strikers made their contribution to the defeat as well.

The central issue in the dispute was the question of the union shop. There were also a number of local grievances. Recently Standard Oil demanded that all workers return to work without any guarantees at all or face replacement with scabs. The local went along with this and is now working without either a union shop or any contract covering local grievances in the Chevron chemical plant.

This complete defeat was

covered with a call for a boycott of Standard Oil products. This was a complete retreat from a rank and file struggle to force the labor movement in the Bay Area to take militant class struggle action in defense of the union. It goes without saying that all the labor councils in the area--plus of course our student fakers--announced their support to the boycott. How easy it is to pass resolutions in favor of consumer boycotts! It requires more to mobilize the great power of labor on an industrial level to carry out the threat of the general strike and to man the picket lines of union with tens of thousands of workers from throughout the area.

Now the International has intervened insisting the boycott be called off because of possible legal problems. So even this fig leaf is torn away.

BLAME

The Militant is now seeking to blame the International leadership for the defeat because of its action against the boycott. But the real blame lies with the SWP and these Third World opportunists who acted to help divert the struggle from the class arena where it could win and transform it into a middle class protest campaign. These revisionists acted as a cover to get the heat off of the trade union leadership in the Bay Area which feared most of all a militant confrontation with Standard Oil and the government which serves it.

## United States Trade Balance Worsens

BY DAN FRIED

Wall Street and Administration economists are voicing increasing concern over the almost certain prospect of a 1969 balance of payments deficit of a minimum of \$2 billion. This figure could be even higher unless there is a sharp drop in inflation for 1969. It is clear that the "voluntary" restraints imposed by the government under Johnson--restraints on foreign investment and travel--have not been able to reverse the trend toward deficit. These voluntary restraints were imposed after the 'alarming' 3.57 billion dollar deficit of 1967.

Wall Street's anxieties lessened after an improvement in the payments figure for 1968 when there was a small surplus of \$158 million. But not only were Wall Street's sighs of relief short lived, as we now see, but were based on a deceptive maneuver in order to show even this slim surplus in 1968. As the Wall Street Journal puts it, this deception "involving encouraging friendly foreign governments to invest their excess dollars in special Treasury securities or commercial bank deposits of a maturity just long enough to count in the statistics as a 'long term capital inflow.' Though this made the balance of payments look better, dollars so invested were no less real as eventual claims on gold." This statistical sleight of hand in other words, is over and now the capitalists must

face up to their balance of payments crisis.

PHONEY

Underneath the phoney surplus of 1968 and the \$2 billion plus projected deficit of 1969 lies a steady growth of imports and loss of exports. The favorable balance of trade that the U.S. held since 1893 is now coming to an end. Chances are that there will be barely any trade surplus at all this year. The "experts" predict that by 1973, the trade balance will be anywhere from a surplus of \$1.2 billion to a deficit of \$1.8 billion. This is in contrast to what was considered a "normal" \$5 billion surplus a few years ago.

U.S. exports have been hard hit while imports have soared. Last year, U.S. imports rose by \$6.3 billion while exports increased only \$2.9 billion. The German, Japanese and Italian economies, in particular, show every sign of maintaining their strong competitive position against the U.S.

Wall Street and Administration policy makers now have a renewed fear because of the payments deficit, that confidence in the dollar will be shaken. They fear the growth of speculation against the dollar of the kind that forced the devaluation of the British pound and the near devaluation of the franc. The possibility of a speculative panic against the dollar could force its devaluation and a resulting catastrophic crisis of the monetary system leading to

the drying up of international trade and a world depression.

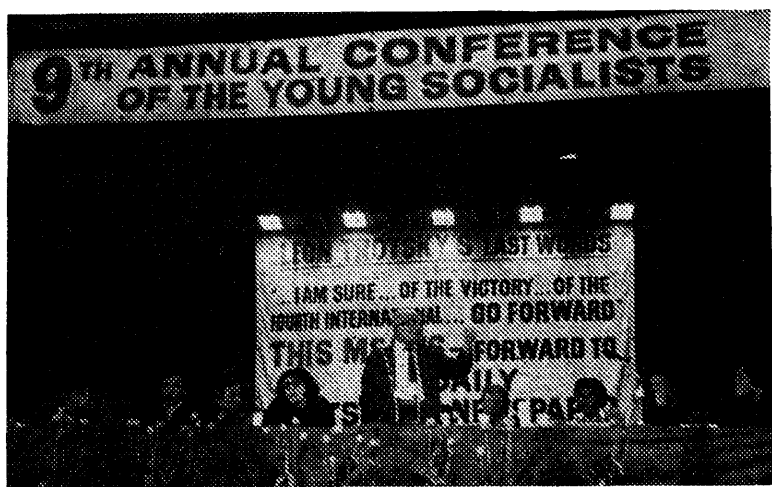
But the very fears of a monetary crisis have led to the Administration's 'program' to raise exports through an attack on inflation at home--the so called "cooling off" of the economy. While consumer prices are increasing as much as ever, the growth of unemployment has begun. The only debate among the bosses in Washington and on Wall Street is "how much" unemployment can they "risk". More layoffs and shorter hours are to be the price paid by the working class to try to lower the price of exports.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The longer range plans of the U.S. capitalists to increase exports will also involve attacks on the working class in the form of more speed-up and "attrition" of the labor force through new productive technology and automation. This is why there is a strong demand on Wall Street for a DOUBLING of the 7% corporate tax credit for investment in new plant and equipment which will increase the attrition of labor through structural unemployment.

It is one of the ironies of capitalism that the government is reluctant to increase this tax credit and in fact there is sentiment in Congress to repeal it altogether as part of the program to further "cool off" the economy.

## SUBSCRIBE TO BULLETIN!



GERRY HEALY ADDRESSES YOUNG SOCIALISTS AT MORECAMBE

Could what happened in Germany in 1933 be repeated here? This was the question posed by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League as he addressed the 9th Annual Conference of the Young Socialists at Morecambe, England.

The Young Socialists are the youth supporters of the SLL (British section of the Fourth International). The YS was

formed in a fight within the Labour Party against the betrayals of the Wilson government. The YS after winning a majority of the youth in the Labour Party were expelled in 1964. Since then together with the SLL, they have fought to prepare the working class for its present struggles posing the need for a socialist alternative.

The Conference was attended by 650 delegates and 700 visitors. The large attendance at the conference reflects the growing awareness on the part of the young workers and students of the need to build the revolutionary party in Britain.

HEALY

Gerry Healy in his address stated that there could be no complacency about this matter and that new decisions be put into the building of the YS and the unions. This was the only way to fight the ruling class which is determined to keep power.

The political report to the conference was given by Aileen Jennings, Editor of Keep Left (the YS paper) discussed the seriousness of the crisis and the tasks posed to the YS in this period.

"The death agony of the present Labor government is in fact the death agony of capitalism, since the essence of reformism was the ability of the capitalist class to grant concessions to the working class.

"We have left behind the boom era of class peace and entered an unprecedented era of class warfare.

LEADERSHIP

"The Tories, De Gaulle in

# british youth forge revolutionary party

## 1,300 ATTEND MORECAMBE CONFERENCE

France and Nixon in Washington are absolutely united in this aim--crush the working class is now the battle cry of the capitalist class all over the world.

"That is why we as Marxists lay so much stress on the need for preparing the working class for action. LEADERSHIP IS NOW DECISIVE."

"The Young Socialists always proceeded on the basis that our task is to prepare the working class to break from the politics of reformist treachery by building the Trotskyist revolutionary party in order to take the power by revolutionary means."

Aileen Jennings stated further that the acid test for the YS has been whether it has prepared the working class for the current struggles. That the YS has met this acid test can be seen in its struggles from its origins. The YS was the first to mobilize workers and students against the anti-union legislation.

The work of the YS has exposed the revisionists and reformists. The CP in every major confrontation with the Labor Government has sought to divide the workers and to contain the struggles on an economic level trying to prevent the working class from a political struggle against Wilson. "They thereby made sure that the workers ... were defeated, and they thus strengthened Wilson and his government in its role of betrayal." Stalinism is the "grave digger" of revolution.

The revisionists can only lead the working class to defeat opening the way for a Tory government and right wing forces such as Enoch Powell who is an open racist. This is why the challenge to the YS is so great and must be met to prevent a Germany of 1933.

This challenge was taken up

in the resolutions of the conference and by the speakers. Moving the composite resolution on the fight against the treacherous Labour Government, a delegate from Leicester stressed the need for the building of a revolutionary alternative which would mobilize the working class to settle accounts with Wilson.

Alan Thronett, a deputy senior steward in auto warned the conference against the dangers of non-political trade unionism, and stressed the need to build an alternative leadership in the unions. This was why the daily Trotskyist paper was so important.

Peter Kerrigan contrasted the 1930's with the present day. He had seen police soften his father's brains with batons. Today a whole section of the working class has never known defeat.

Frank Willis the YS's prospective candidate for parliament in the Swindon by-election said: "We are going to make Swindon a by-election the like of which has never been seen before. The fight to put a Trotskyist candidate in parliament was a platform for rallying the working class to fight back against the attacks of the employers and the Labour government. Our campaign has to be seen in a Bolshevik way. Its purpose is to develop revolutionary consciousness in the working class."

KEY

Key to the struggles of the Young Socialists together with



AILEEN JENNINGS

the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance will be the launching of the Daily Newsletter. The Workers League in its greetings to the conference hailed the Daily Newsletter as a tremendous leap forward for the entire international movement.

It is this serious struggle to build the revolutionary party internationally that is the only way to defeat capitalism. "We must answer it with our daily paper and build the mass revolutionary party as a giant fighting machine with hundreds of thousands of members trained and skilled in the fight to overthrow capitalism."

This is the task of all revolutionaries. Today the fight of Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League is giving leadership to the working class throughout the world.

We ask the readers of the BULLETIN to contribute to this fight by supporting the Daily Newsletter Fund. Send in your contribution right away!

### SDS LABOR FACES PHONY BOMB CHARGE

Four members of the New York and Philadelphia SDS Labor Committees were arrested Wednesday, April 9, by the Philadelphia police for alleged possession of explosives with intent to use them.

Accompanied by TV cameramen from KYW-TV, the police entered the apartment of Steve Fraser, which they had staked out several weeks before. After rummaging through the apartment, the police huddled in the kitchen, turned their backs and then produced several short pipes, gunpowder, fuses, and a tin can filled with an alleged explosive. The police then arrested the four and made no attempt to search further.

George Fencl, head of the Philadelphia Civil Disobedience Squad, claimed that the Labor Committee planned to bomb national shrines in Philadelphia and Boston. Philadelphia Police Chief Ruzzo further accused SDS of inciting high school students to bomb their schools but produced no evidence for his charge.

The four arrested are now free on \$1,000 to \$10,000 bail.

The Workers League defends the SDS Labor Committee against this attack. This frameup is an obvious retaliation for the activities of the Labor Committee. Together with the Black Panthers, it is trying to organize student-community alliances in Philadelphia and New York City around demands for increased housing, more public education, and tax reform.

These arrests, along with the New York City frameup on April 3 of 21 Black Panthers in another alleged bomb plot, are only the prelude to increased assaults on all workers and students. Nixon is planning a labor court, preventative detention and a tougher and more flexible Taft-Hartley Law. He has appointed the conservative president of Notre Dame University to head his Civil Rights Commission.

## UAW Rank & File Organize fight Vs. Reuther

On April 2, the 3,500 members of the United Auto Workers' Local 1264 struck the Chrysler Corporation's Sterling Heights, Michigan, stamping plant over a safety dispute. General Motors' Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants in St. Louis were hit by a UAW-authorized strike over work and safety conditions. Negotiations are going on at six other GM plants to avert possible strikes.

On April 7, the UAW appointed Douglas Fraser, head of the UAW Chrysler department, and Kenneth Morris, director of the region the Sterling Heights Local is in, co-administrators of Local 1264. This was an attempt to take the strike out of the hands of the men. The concern of the UAW bureaucrats is shown in the fact that at the Mansfield, Ohio, wildcat against GM

two years ago, they appointed only the regional director as administrator over the striking local. Fraser, however, is a possible successor to Reuther as head of the UAW.

MOVE

Fraser's first move was to urge Local 1264 to return to work while he and Morris bargained with Chrysler.

The next day, the strikers refused to cross a picket line of about 40 people, including members of the Wayne State University Students for a Democratic Society. But on Wednesday, April 9, 80% of the men voted to return to work, apparently ending the strike.

The UAW bureaucrats also face opposition from the United Caucus, which met in Detroit on April 3. This caucus, which represents 20 locals, plans to run a full slate of

candidates against Reuther at the next UAW convention on a platform calling for election of officers by national referendum reopening the contracts to increase cost of living raises, and non-discriminatory grievance machinery.

The United Caucus decided not to try to affiliate with drum, the militant black caucus in Detroit. Instead, it seeks unity among skilled and unskilled, black and white workers.

The United Caucus grew out of the 1966 "Dollar an Hour" movement among skilled UAW members. It includes members from the opposition to Reuther at the 1967 UAW convention. This group proposed a 30 hour week for 40 hours' pay, and retirement after 30 years, as key bargaining points, but couldn't keep up

organized opposition.

Throughout the 1950's, Reuther bargained for wage increases by allowing brutal speedup of the production lines in auto. But in the last contract, he was forced to emasculate the cost of living escalator clause won earlier, and still got no end to speedup. The days when bureaucrats could win job protection or wage increases are gone.

The UAW rank and file can begin the fight against speedup, layoffs, and wage cuts by fighting for direct popular election of all UAW officers around a program of:

- No layoffs.
- Retirement after 30 years for all who want it.
- 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay.
- Union control of working conditions to end speedup and safety hazards.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ on behalf of the DAILY NEWSLETTER fund.

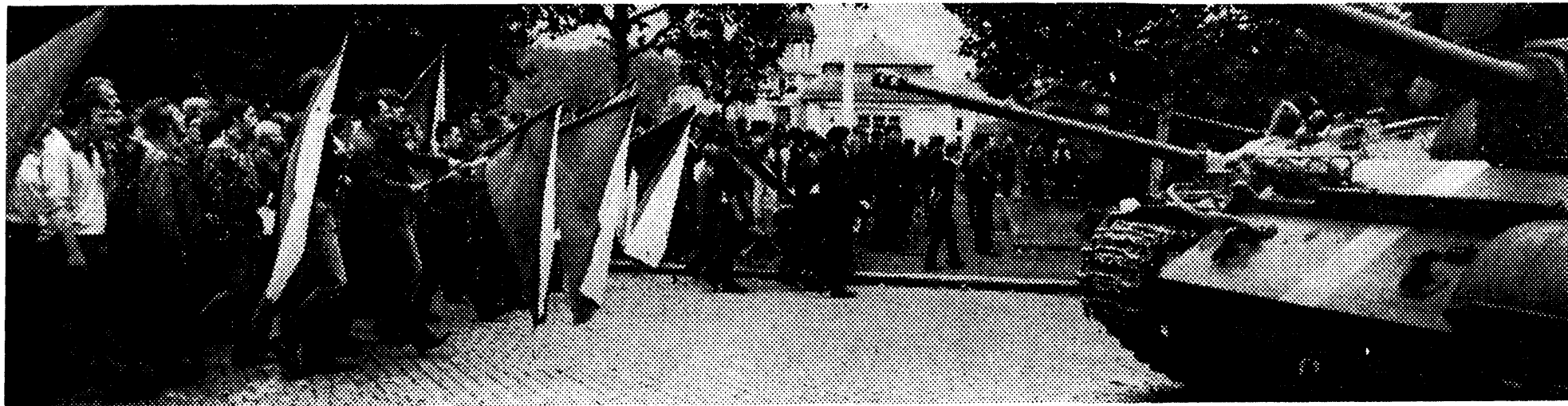
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CZECH WORKERS AND STUDENTS CONFRONT RUSSIAN TANKS DURING THE AUGUST INVASION

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA HEADS TOWARD BRINK



SVOBODA SPEAKS TO TRADE UNION CONGRESS

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The move last month on the part of Moscow to re-impose strict pre-publication censorship on all Czech mass media has now gone over to an all out purge of Czech editors and journalists associated with the country's progressive forces.

Soviet Defense Minister, Marshal Andrei Gretchko, arriving in Prague uninvited March 24th, made it quite clear that either there were to be censors' desks in every editorial office in the country or there would be Russian tanks in the streets. When the Czech Union of journalists had the audacity to declare in favor of the self-censorship policy in effect since March '68, the crackdown began.

The Presidium of the Czech Communist Party, in the interest of strengthening the "leading role of the party," preferred charges against leading editors of the country's press including the editor of the trade union daily, Prace. Various magazines have already been ordered to cease publication. One of the government's chief censors has resigned in protest while the liberal head of the government's Press and Information Office has been replaced by a hardline conservative.

NEW

The attack by the Kremlin on the Czech press must be seen as the opening of a new stage in the post-August developments in that country. Dubcek and other party liberals were retained in their posts after the August invasion only because their moral authority was required to shackle the Czech working class with illusions that capitulation to the occupation forces was the surest road to eventual reform. They were needed to serve as window dressing, to pacify the working class while the Kremlin went about the task of reconstructing the party apparatus on the basis of strict loyalty to Moscow.

Today, eight months later, Dubcek's pathetic relationship with Moscow is almost at an end. Less and less can he pretend he represents anything different from the Soviet invaders and therefore less and less is he capable of staving off the fundamental confrontation with the Czech working class postponed since August.

AEROFLOT

This was nowhere better exemplified than in the incident which led directly to the recent press curbs, the burning of the Russian Aeroflot office in Prague which turned into an anti-Soviet demonstration after the defeat of a visiting Russian hockey team. The point is that there is no great distance from this incident to the outbreak of strikes and mass demonstrations which so far have been held back by the Dubcek regime. But it is precisely the outbreak of these actions that will pose more sharply than in August the question of the political revolution

not only in Czechoslovakia but throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR, giving in turn a tremendous spur to the socialist revolution in Western Europe.

To head off this development Moscow is now determined to impose "normalization" in Czechoslovakia with a vengeance. We say that the Kremlin is fully prepared to undertake purges on the order of 1935 and 1948 and to carry through a bloodbath that will make Hungary of 1956 look like a picnic in the effort to return relations between the working class and the bureaucracy to what they were before Dubcek's action program was inaugurated in January, 1968.

This means, first of all, the backing of conservative forces loyal to Moscow in an effort to sweep the Czech Communist Party clean of the progressives. This in fact has been in preparation for the past eight months. In the words of Dr. Miroslav Kussy, Slovak Central Committee head: "Within the (party) apparatus the progressive forces are on the defensive. Before Christmas they were still setting the tone, but the very opposite is true today."

Not only have the conservatives gone on the offensive but they are preparing for a comeback. There was considerable evidence that various conservatives were prepared to use any disorder arising from the funeral of Jan Palack on January 25 to carry through a regional coup to oust Presidium member and liberal Joseph Spacek from his chief secretaryship of the Southern Moravian party committee.

TURN

These developments could well take a decisive turn with the meeting of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party on April 17. Soviet troop movements have been reported in and around Prague for the past two weeks. On April 12, the government announced, though it subsequently denied "in view of changed facts" (presumably the negotiation of new concessions) that new reinforcements were being sent onto Czech soil to beef up the already 70,000 strong occupation force.

These military factors play the objective role of strengthening the pro-Moscow forces in the Central Committee which is expected to move for expulsion of various liberal members. The real test of how far the conservatives are willing to go at this point will hinge upon their willingness to move against Josef Smrkovsky, the Presidium member most hated by Moscow and one of the most representative of the liberalization program. On the Smrkovsky ouster as well as a number of others hangs the question of the very real possibility of massive outbreaks of strikes and demonstrations by workers and students long committed to such action.

The contradiction facing the Kremlin is that it must confront the Czech working class no matter what course it chooses in Czechoslovakia. If it does not fight to consolidate a new party leadership through which to clamp down on the Czech working class today but leaves the country in the hands of the puppet Dubcek liberals, it will still have to confront it on the morrow, under even more adverse conditions.

POWERFUL

The Czech working class for its part has never been more powerful or more hostile to the pro-Moscow conservatives. As Dr. Kussy in a statement quoted above put it: "While the conservatives today are re-establishing themselves in the party apparatus, the conservative forces today are not working through the party or trade union organizations. They do not dare. The situation is such that while until August the working class as a whole behaved relatively

passively, it has become since August the most revolutionary and most active force. The conservative forces therefore, are seeking other forms."

That this is the case is fully borne out in numerous examples. When Vasil Bilak, conservative Slovak party leader, ousted along with Novotny, came to speak at a show factory in Bardejov, the management refused him admission after the workers threatened to strike. When Bilak appeared at a factory in Humenne the workers raised such a protest that he had to leave through the back door.

The Czech trade union movement has been the most outspoken force against the August invasion and in favor of the post-January 1968 liberalization.

As the Bulletin has pointed out in earlier articles, the essence of Dubcek's action program consisted in a completely reactionary economic program designed to make Czech industry competitive in the world capitalist market through attacks on the wages and conditions of the Czech working class. In order to gain the support of the working class for such a program, it was necessary for Dubcek to grant certain political reforms contained in the program of democratization.

COUNCILS

In the trade unions the action program called for the transformation of the trade unions into independent bodies for the defense of the conditions of the members rather than bodies for the transmission of party policy as they had been conceived since 1948. The action program also called for the creation of "Workers councils" which would act as "co-equals with management" in running the state enterprises.

Of course this plan, in the terms Dubcek had in mind, was a complete fraud. In the words of one Czech engineer writing in Prace, under this plan "the state would share the collective management of an enterprise in the same way that Rockefeller shares the management of Standard Oil Company with his employees who own just one or two shares of the company." Moreover it was precisely through this ostensible concession that thousands of Czech workers were working in the "Dubcek shift" to make up for losses incurred during the invasion.

At the same time thousands of workers utilizing the modicum of independence Dubcek was forced to grant to the trade union movement, if for his own ends, are coming into conflict with the bureaucracy precisely on the issue of the phony authority vested in these workers councils.

In the view of the critic quoted above: "The Czech government's view is on this issue in conflict with that of the majority of workers in our enterprises." The stage is set for a fight in the next period for real workers councils to replace the bureaucratic state machine and the parasitic caste of Czech Stalinists of both the liberal and conservative denominations. This task can only go forward through the struggle to build the Fourth International in Czechoslovakia and throughout the People's Democracies.

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BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003