

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Georg Lukacs..

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VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER FORTY-TWO (202)

JUNE 28, 1971.

FIFTEEN CENTS

# CRISIS RAGES OVER VIETNAM



What we think

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## ESSEN

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International Youth Assembly



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## ESSEN

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# Scottish Workers To Occupy Yards

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Workers at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders in Glasgow, Scotland, who are facing unemployment when the company goes bankrupt, have pledged to occupy the yards and run them under workers' control.

Upper Clyde Shipbuilders asked the Tory government of Britain for funds of between five and six million pounds to keep the enterprise going. Secret negotiations were held between the chairman of the company and the Tory Industry Minister. 35,000 jobs are at stake.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Scotland already has one of the highest unemployment levels in Britain. Already at 10%, unemployment will jump to 75,000 if Upper Clyde ends operations.

The decision of the government was to grant no new funds to the Upper Clyde. Unlike the trade

union leaders in the shipping industry who cooperated in eliminating 54,000 jobs over the past ten years, the Tories know that the capitalist crisis cannot be solved other than through massive attacks on jobs and living standards.

## WARNING

The Tory decision is a clear warning that capitalism can only be salvaged by sacrificing whole companies and throwing millions out of work.

This threat to the working class comes from the inability of the capitalist class to make enough profit. It is not that Upper Clyde does not have any business but that it cannot maintain as high a profit as it used to, due to the recession.

It is not the bankruptcy of one company but the bankruptcy of the whole system which is incapable of expanding the productive forces.

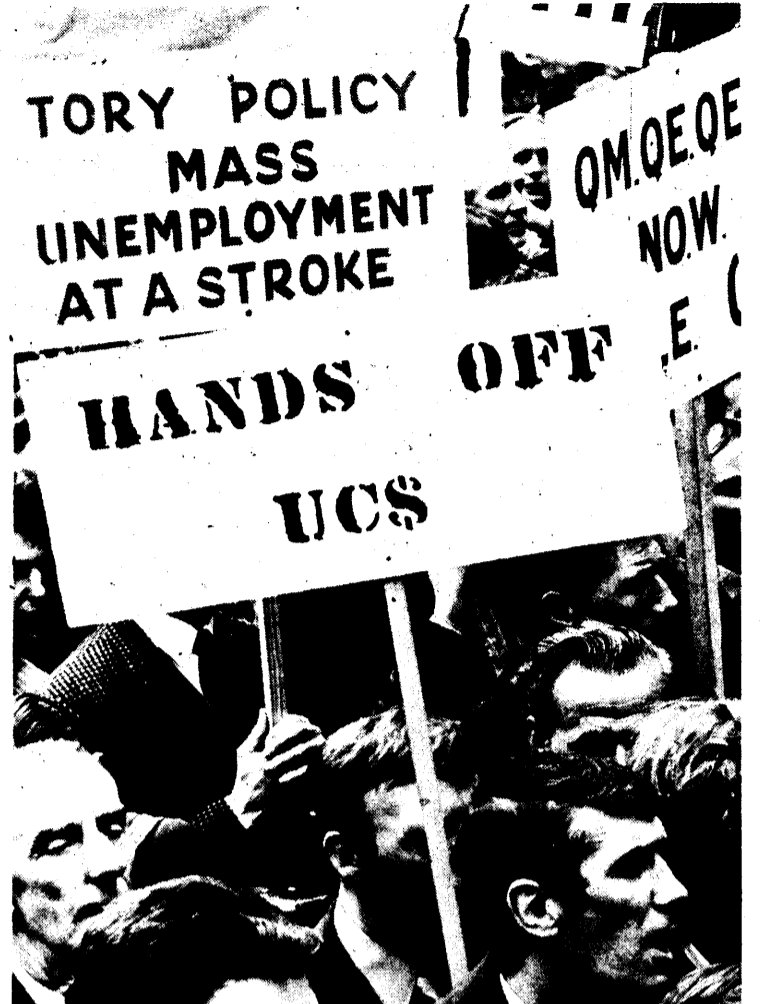
The decision of the workers to occupy the yards is a direct slap in the face to the union leaders who pleaded with the government to keep things going because of the workers' cooperation in accepting layoffs.

## LEAD

This fell on deaf ears in London where the ruling class has not the slightest concern for the interest of the workers.

Benny McGowan of the General and Municipal Workers Union told the *Workers Press*, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, "It is symbolic that we take this decision in the centenary year of the Paris Commune."

The Upper Clyde workers have given a lead to all workers in Britain as well as all countries.



Workers fight against the closing of Upper Clyde Shipyards, and pledge to occupy yards and run them under workers' control.

# CP Opens Door To Italian Fascists

BY ED SMITH

In provincial elections covering a fifth of Italy last week the fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI), running on a "law and order" "social-pacification" campaign, posted big gains at the expense of the ruling conservative Christian Democrats.

The Socialists and Social Democrats, who are in a governmental coalition with the Christian Democrats, as well as the massive Communist Party, held their own or made marginal gains.

The fascists received 7.2 million votes—13.9 percent. In the last elections held in 1966, they received 5.2 percent. In certain areas, such as Sicily, they made even bigger gains. Sicily nearly tripled its MSI vote to 16.1 percent.

The Italian fascists received great encouragement from the results for their plans for the destruction of the Italian working people. Giorgio Almirante, leader of the MSI and one-time junior minister in Mussolini's last government, proclaimed:

"We are the only victors in this electoral competition...the Italian Communist Party has been halted in its tracks....The electorate has thus shown that it wants a swing to the right to

obtain those guarantees of national pacification, order, and cooperative socialism that constitute the program and undertaking of the Italian Social Movement."

## ARMED

Vicious armed attacks by fascist goon squads on left-wingers, unions, and students have become common in Italy. It is beyond doubt that the fascists, buoyed by this increase of popular support caused by disaffection by middle class elements with the Christian Democrats, repelled by the reformism of the Stalinists and Social Democracy, will seek to step up their attacks on the working class movement, under conditions of even deeper social crisis.

## LONGO

With the continued advance and emboldening of fascism, Luigi Longo, leader of the Italian Communist Party, the party of the mass of Italian workers, can only call the results "a warning against the dangerous lure of the right." The trade union leaders call a token department store strike and the Social Democrats complain that if only the coalition government would fulfill its promises of reform this sort of thing would not happen.

Meanwhile Longo's fellow Stalinists in the *Daily World*

scold the U.S. press for its "reports about a Communist defeat and a neo-fascist triumph."

## STALINISTS

Fascism is again a danger in Italy. Fascists shoot down workers and students with submachine guns in police buses in Mexico. Even bourgeois commentators hint of the spectre of dictatorship in the "Pentagon papers" scandal in the United States. But the Stalinists spread the message of "business as usual." Underneath the Stalinists' complacent view of the

# Strike Wave Sweeps 'Classless' Israel

BY PAT CONNOLLY

As a strike wave swept Israel last week, Premier Golda Meir convened a late night emergency session of her Cabinet and told them: "The house is on fire."

The heat on the Zionist regime is coming not just from the Arab guerrillas, but from thousands of striking Israeli workers who are exposing the myth of a "classless" Israel.

Electric workers, customs officials and cops in the port city of Ashdod, and workers in government run hospitals back to work only after the government invoked special emergency regulations.

The strikes followed on the heels of demonstrations in the streets of Jerusalem by Israeli Black Panther youth protesting discrimination against Sephardic Jews in housing, education and employment.

## WAGES

The government which last year set up "voluntary restraints" on wages, is launching a new "anti-inflation drive" which means big attacks on the wages and working conditions of the Israeli workers.

But the wage demands of the workers have already gone beyond the wage restraints and

Italian fascist advance is their desire to enter into the very same Christian Democratic coalition that more and more Italians decide they are through with forever. Thus the Italian CP plays right into the fascists' hands.

This situation has got to be stopped and turned around. The Italian workers must demand that the CP and Social Democracy break with all forms of coalitionism and take the road to a workers' government. This is the way to destroy capitalism and the fascist terror it inspires in Italy forever.

show no sign of being held back on the basis of "national interest," as the cost of living soars.

## WAR

Premier Meir also issued a statement saying that "workers' demands in the future must continue to be clarified through customary channels" and that the government would "do everything that lies within its authority to prevent paralysis of vital services."

This is a declaration of war against the Israeli working class. Just as the Zionist regime has played the most reactionary role against the Arab Revolution and in support of American imperialism, it now takes up the most virulent attacks on the Israeli working class.

The task posed now is the construction of a mass Trotskyist party in Israel and the Middle East, to fight to unify the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants against Zionism and imperialism and for a united socialist Middle East.

# ANGELA DAVIS REFUSED BAIL

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN RAFAEL, CAL.—Angela Davis was refused bail last week by Superior Court Judge Arnason. Arnason claimed that the denial of bail was based "solely and exclusively on legal issues." The Probation Department had recommended to the court that bail be set at \$100,000.

Davis is charged with murder and kidnapping for allegedly buying the guns that were used by Jonathan Jackson in Marin County Courthouse in August, 1970. When he armed prisoners in the courtroom and took a hostage to force the release of the Soledad Brothers and his own brother George Jackson, the cops opened fire. Jackson, the judge and two prisoners were killed.

Davis' lawyers had asked for the dismissal of the charges against her, or failing that, the granting of bail.

California law states that a defendant cannot get bail if there is any "substantial evidence that would sustain a verdict of finding the accused guilty of a capital offense."

This is what Arnason and the court used in order to refuse bail and keep Davis in prison.

## "EVIDENCE"

In other words, rather than innocent until proven guilty, the judge has already decided her guilt. The only "evidence" against Angela Davis is that she is a revolutionary. This is why the courts, the government and the bourgeois press are trying to railroad her on completely trumped up charges.

These vicious attacks against militants were exposed and repudiated in the trial of the Panther 21, where all defendants were found innocent. The labor movement must now take forward the defense of Angela Davis and all political prisoners.



Almirante, head of Italian fascists, with his supporters.

# NYC Unions Must Prepare For Joint Fight

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK—The struggle of city labor for job security and decent contracts is far from over. The City Council, controlled by the Democrats, has just announced its intention to cut \$28 million in taxes from the new fiscal budget, which will mean renewed efforts to lay off thousands more city workers.

This time Lindsay will not be able to simply shift all the blame for layoffs onto Rockefeller. It is crystal clear that both the liberal and conservative wings of both the capitalist parties are out for the blood of the trade union movement.

The defeat of city labor on the pension issue, engineered by Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, opens the door for a renewed offensive against the labor movement by the capitalists. All the major municipal union contracts are still up in the air as Lindsay is trying to strengthen his ability to shove simply cost of living increases down the throats of the workers.

## HIATUS

The SSEU must fight to break the contract "hiatus" in order to turn around the situation with the municipal contracts. The uniformed services, whose contract negotiations were also suspended pending decisions on the state budget, must be approached for a joint contract fight. 1549, the largest local in the District Council, faces its contract expiration at the end of the month. Particularly in light of the reorganization of the Department of Social Services in preparation for Nixon's Family Assistance Plan, the situation has never been more ripe for joint contract struggles.

It is clear that Lindsay plans to have the workers in the various social service agencies take the brunt of his layoffs. He is being aided tremendously by Nixon's "welfare reform" bill.

## FAP

The FAP bill provides for a new administration nationally of welfare which would require only 60,000 of the present 200,000 workers now employed to run it.

## Medal Of Honor GI Says 'I Was Stoned'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

An ex-GI who just won the US's highest military honor, the Medal of Honor last week, told reporters that he was "stoned" on marijuana the night he fought off a Viet Cong attack with machine gun, rifle, grenades and hand to hand combat.

"It was the only time I ever went into combat stoned....All the guys were heads. We'd sit around smoking grass and getting stoned and talking about when we'd get to go home," Peter Lemon, 21, said.

He also told reporters from the **Detroit Free Press** that he

The only answer to such an attack is to force Jerry Wurf, national head of AFSCME, to call a nationwide strike in the event that the bill is passed.

## IMPOTENCE

The trade union bureaucracy has shown complete impotence in trying to deal with any of these attacks on the labor movement. While Wurf and Gotbaum are lobbying in Washington, Hill, President of the SSEU, with the open backing of the Stalinists, is telling his membership to write their congressmen. The bureaucrats are desperately trying to cling onto the liberals to do their fighting for them, the same ones, who to a man, supported the use of troops against the municipal workers strike.

## CNL

The only force in the SSEU which is fighting for the independent mobilization of the unions against all these attacks is the Committee for a New Leadership. The CNL is fighting to mandate Hill to call upon Wurf to call a national AFSCME strike in the event that FAP is passed. Furthermore, the CNL is fighting for the SSEU to take a public position in favor of the building of a labor party, for a political alternative to all those in Washington, Albany, and nationwide who are preparing these vicious attacks on the trade unions and the working class as a whole.

There can be no more reforms from the liberals, and the right wing is more openly preparing each day, a Bonapartist dictatorship. The working class must say "no" to all the politicians and immediately begin breaking ground for a labor party for the 1972 elections.

## DECAY

The number of GIs who smoke marijuana is almost impossible to estimate, but GIs in Vietnam hooked on heroin have been estimated at between 30,000 and 60,000.

The decay of capitalist society is expressed within the army. Tens of thousands of soldiers now take drugs in order to escape the reality of the war they have been thrown into, and hate. And even the "heros" are not exempt.



Above, two of millions of Bengali refugees, mostly women, children and old people, who fled Yahya Khan's bloody massacre—a massacre aided by both Mao and the U.S. Now, as cholera and hunger threaten more mass murder, it is revealed that U.S. imperialism is still sending massive aid to the murderous Yahya Khan regime. The blood of millions of workers and peasants is on the hands of the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

# New Crisis Rages Over Vietnam

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The Nixon Administration and its pack of lawyers entered the courts again this week in its efforts to prevent further publication by the capitalist press from the secret study conducted by the Pentagon on the history of the Vietnam War.

The unprecedented moves against the **New York Times** and the **Washington Post** mark the first time in the history of the United States that the government has sought to legally prevent the publication of a story.

The moves against the organs of the capitalist class are only a glimpse of the preparations which the capitalist class is making for civil war against the working class. If Nixon now moves against a section of his own class, this is but a prelude to the real battle against the American workers and their trade unions.

The material that has already been released, however, does plenty of damage to the conduct of the war and is creating a tremendous crisis within the ruling circles. The real character of this war can no longer be concealed from the American working class. Any confidence in those who rule the U.S. has been severely shaken.

It is the movement of the working class in Indochina and the U.S. which is exploding the attempts of the capitalists to maintain their system.

The content of the secret report, the publication of it and the government's suppression of it, mark the break-up in the whole strategy for the Vietnam war. This is what lies behind the passage of the amendment to the Selective Service Act by the Senate this week calling for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

At the same time the crisis over this report also marks the break-up of all the old relationships in capitalist society and marks the passing from parliamentarism to bonapartist dictatorship which will seek to integrate the working class into capitalist society not through bourgeois democracy and compromise, but by curtailing its rights and liberties.

This process is clearly outlined

in the reports already published by the **New York Times**, the **Washington Post**, and now the **Boston Globe**.

These reports trace the cold blooded planning of the top circles of the ruling class in the war against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia and the deception of the American working class. From beginning to end these documents explode the myth that the U.S. was fighting for "democracy" and "freedom" in South Vietnam, explode the myth of Vietnamization and the myth that the American working class has any voice whatsoever in the government.

## WEAK

The succession of rulers recognized the weak position of U.S. imperialism and its puppets in Indochina in the face of the hatred of the masses of Indochina for imperialism and their determination to drive it out.

At each point in this war, the rulers found themselves and U.S. imperialism in an impossible position, unable to compromise its interests and continually faced with defeat.

The material published by the **Washington Post** after the **Times** publication had been stopped makes clear that the Eisenhower Administration fought at the Geneva Conference against permitting elections in both North and South Vietnam fearing that "Ho Chi Minh would win." The documents published by the **Boston Globe** expose the role of Kennedy in escalating the war.

## KENNEDY

As early as the spring of 1961 Kennedy had given his support for covert action against the North Vietnamese including infiltration into Laos, attacks on NLF bases there, sabotage inside North Vietnam and the launching of guerilla ground activity.

At high level conferences the

use of tactical nuclear weapons was seriously considered. When the Administration decided instead to use ground troops a whole scenario was developed to deceive the American people. In a cable from Saigon sent by General Taylor to Kennedy, the following plan was outlined:

"My view is that we should put in a task force consisting largely of logistical troops for the purpose of participating in flood relief and at the same time of providing a U.S. military pre-

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## St. Paul Teamsters Pay Hike Breaks Nixon Wage Freeze

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

ST. PAUL—Twenty members of Teamsters Local 120 are the immediate beneficiaries of an agreement signed today with St. Paul Ready Mix Company which broke a solid employers' front in the already three weeks old concrete drivers strike.

Some 700 drivers in Local 120 and Minneapolis Local 221 remain out at other area concrete firms.

Immediately significant is that the drivers at St. Paul Ready Mix won all of their demands, beginning with a \$3.00 an hour wage increase over three years, \$1.50 effective immediately.

These construction drivers have now broken a big hole in Nixon's attempt to freeze wages throughout the building trades. There can now be no excuse for leaders of Locals 221 and 120 not continuing the strike until the full demands are won from all other concrete contractors.

By refusing to operate within the discipline of Nixon's construction wage freeze boards, the Teamsters have now shown the way forward for the rest of the building trades, as well as demonstrating that the workers in copper and steel can now go forward to big wage increases later this summer.

# City Workers Strike St. Louis For Wage Hike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, June 18—Following the example of New York city workers, four key unions of city employees went on strike today for immediate wage increases.

In a joint action by Stationary Engineers Local 2, Water Workers Local 675, Electrical Workers Local 2 and Teamsters Local 610, power plant, water workers, electricians, and trash collectors walked out over the failure of the Board of Aldermen to pass a long promised wage increase.

Herman Jones, business agent of Operating Engineers Local 2, stated that the union leaders have had "a hard time keeping our people working" since they were "damned unhappy" over the failure of the city to grant wage increases which should have gone into effect over four months ago.

St. Louis firemen, already angry over the mayor's decision last Thursday to help the City Service Commission appeal their wage parity election victory to the Missouri Supreme Court, may soon join the mass labor strike against the city.

Over forty copies of the *Bulletin* were sold at meetings of Firefighters Local 73 last week.

Rank and file firemen denounced Mayor Cervantes in strong language. Cervantes was at a plush resort in the Ozarks when the strike began.

The ranks of the city labor movement must now fight to shut down the whole city. Firemen, clerks, MSD, welfare workers and hospital employees unions must join the mass strike. City workers must stand on no

return to work without immediately effective wage increase of at least 18% for all employees.

The Labor Council, Teamsters Joint Council 13, and the UAW must call out all unions if Cervantes attempts to use the National Guard or arrest union members.

At the center of the strike must be the demand for a labor party to replace Cervantes, Badaracco and all of the rest of the bosses' politicians in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

## Yale Betrayal Means Loss Of Jobs, Wages

BY DAVE FRANKLIN

NEW HAVEN, June 19—Vincent Sirabella, business manager for Local 35 Yale Employees sold his ranks down the river as the 51 day strike ended with a 379 to 31 yes vote on a new contract.

On the two central issues in the strike, wages and Yale's attempt to replace workers with students, the contract was a complete sellout.

In wages, the contract provides for an 80¢ an hour increase over



Sirabella, head of Local 35, is arrested by cops during Yale strike.

three years to lower grade workers and \$1.15 an hour increase over the same period for higher grade workers. Ten cents of the wage package actually includes benefits.

Yale has adopted a new health plan for the union which will cost more than the old one, so Yale is "giving" the workers an extra dime to pay for the new plan.

When this is taken into consideration, the 35¢ increase for the first year is actually 25¢ or equal to Yale's offer when the strike began. Fifty-one days

of Sirabella's militant rhetoric and moralist protest proved bankrupt and incapable of taking forward wages at a time when employers and the government are moving to halt wage gains for American workers.

On the question of students taking over workers' jobs, the contract gave 15,000 additional work hours to students in the first year. The rest of the agreement provides for a joint study committee to iron out how many jobs will be lost over the next two years.

The joint study committee is a cover for the job freeze which continues. With a 28% turnover in the union, Sirabella has handed over 25% of the union jobs and this at a time when unemployment in Connecticut is higher than at any time since 1937 and the Depression.

No wonder that Kingman Brewster, President of Yale University, could victoriously say to the Yale alumni on the same day as the contract vote, "It is essential that we be able to substitute an increasing number of students for union jobs because of the financial squeeze."

Sirabella's sellout paves the way for Yale to try to do what every employer is forced to do, "because of the financial squeeze"—smash the unions.

The vote in favor of the settlement reflected an awareness by the ranks that nothing could be gained on the two basic issues under the present leadership. The fight will continue in Local 35 against Yale's union-busting strategy. To insure victory in this fight to throw out the sellout contract, a new leadership must be built.

the representative was in Europe, so we'd have to wait until he came back. In Europe! Well, I'm not able to go to Europe and lie around on some beach. If anybody is going to go to the Riviera I think it ought to be us who are out of work."

### APPRENTICESHIP

At present individual construction workers pay 15¢ per hour out of their paychecks towards apprenticeship programs. By squeezing out union labor, the contractors are not only able to cut wages, but close any further openings in apprenticeship programs for unemployed youth.

### PARTY

What is required is the sharpest fight by trade unionists and unemployed for jobs for all. This means the fight for a shorter work week at full week's pay, an end to discrimination in hiring and promotion, no layoffs, and apprenticeship programs paid for directly by the bosses. This further means the construction of a labor party based on the unions to fight for peace, full employment and decent wages and working conditions through nationalization of all industry under workers control to provide a decent standard of living for all working people.

homes. We didn't just have to fight the owners, but we had to fight the Governor. Then, after all that, Punch (President of Local 1199-E) had the nerve to ram an endorsement for Mandel (incumbent Governor of Maryland) through the Delegates Assembly. Now that Mandel got re-elected he's either laying off or freezing wages on every state worker. We've got to clean these guys out of office, both in the unions and in the government."

The job shortage situation in Baltimore is extremely bad. A number of the youth at the center had taken the pre-apprentice course through the trade union sponsored "Micro-Tech," but were still unable to get jobs.

### NIXON

One construction worker who had been out of work for two and a half months had more to say about layoffs in construction: "The reason I'm out of work is that Nixon and the generals (general contractors) are out to bust every construction union in the country. The generals have been hiring non-union labor and quietly weeding out men who carry their union books.

"Some time ago we asked the International union for help in this. Well, last night we had a union meeting and found out that

## Scotto Backs Shippers Poverty Plea

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BROOKLYN—As the fall expiration of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) approaches, the leadership is busy preparing a rotten compromise with the shipping bosses.

Rank and file longshoremen told the *Bulletin* that at the June 14th membership meeting of ILA Local 1814, local president Anthony Scotto handed over the floor to an official from Grace Lines.

This representative of the employers told the men that the profits of his company are low and therefore the wage demand the union is raising for \$7.50 an hour was too high.

He proposed instead a 50¢ an hour hike and "profit sharing." The "profit sharing" would be paid out as is the container money, in a lump sum once a year. The spokesman from Grace Lines also proposed cutting the annual guarantee off from all but A, B, and perhaps C card holders.

President Scotto then addressed the meeting and urged support of the proposal from Grace Lines.

Instead of this rotten sellout ILA longshoremen must prepare now to follow the lead given them by the ILWU ranks in Local 10, San Francisco, where despite the Bridges leadership's total refusal to wage any struggle over the current contract negotiations, wildcat strikes are sweeping the harbor.

Every ILA local must hold membership meetings immediately to discuss the September contract. These meetings must also lay plans for a joint ILA International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union strike.

The shipowners are desperate and will use every opportunity to smash the ILA guarantee and gang sizes. This is the meaning of reports that some shippers are considering signing two contracts with the ILA, one for general cargo and one for containers.

The shippers want to play up all the present divisions in the ILA between locals and between different card classifications within each local, and introduce new divisions to weaken the union.

This is why the proposal made by Grace Lines and supported by Scotto in Brooklyn is so reactionary. Cutting the D carders and the '66 men out of the guarantee will only set up the A and B carders for the axe in the future.

The July ILA convention must go on record for the announced ILA contract demands: \$7.50 an hour, a two year contract, \$500 per month pension after 20 years. At the same time the delegates must be mandated to demand that the LASH and Seabee and other barge-carriers be boycotted, that the wage guarantee be extended in full to all men in all ports, and that no gang sizes be cut.

## BALTIMORE JOBLESS SPEAK OUT

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—Thousands of workers here have found themselves thrown out of work and onto long lines at the unemployment centers. Hard hit are "overpaid" construction workers with one local union reporting 400 out of 1,000 members out of work.

The *Bulletin* interviewed unemployed workers at the Eutaw Street State Employment Office last week.

There was virtual unanimity amongst workers interviewed on the need for political action to end unemployment. One man said, "A labor party? It sounds like a good cause. I can't see any worker in his right mind voting Republican and it seems that the Democrats aren't much different. It looks like what we're going to have to do is build a workingman's party to fight for what we need." This worker is a member of construction workers Local One.

### GOVERNOR

A hospital worker and member of Local 1199-E said: "My union officers helped the boss do a lot of good people out of work. We had a lot of trouble getting union recognition in the nursing

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# Steel Magnates Step Up Layoffs

BY STEVE CHERKOSS  
LOCAL 1845 USWA

While secret negotiations are going on in Washington, D.C. between the steel barons and the I.W. Abel leadership, thousands of basic steelworkers across the country are being laid off or are working a shorter work week with less pay. This is a result of the first signs of steel production slowdowns as strike hedge buying tapers off.

Bethlehem, US Steel, Youngstown Steel and Tube Company, Kaiser Steel in Fontana, Sharon Steel Wheeling in Pittsburgh, and many more steel companies have already begun layoffs and shorter weeks.

On June 1st Bethlehem announced that at least 250 workers would be laid off "due to operational cutbacks" at its Lackawanna Mill. Bethlehem said five steelmaking open hearth furnaces were taken out of production last week due to a decrease in the volume of orders. Fifty additional workers were laid off at the Lackawanna Plant last week because of a cutback in coke oven operation.

At Youngstown Steel & Tube a blast furnace was closed down which resulted in hundreds of workers being laid off. In a related development at Youngstown's Cambell Ohio plant the overwhelming majority of the members of United Steelworkers Local 2163 rejected the company's request that the coke plant be allowed to operate in the event of a strike.

In Pittsburgh a spokesman for US Steel said the number one steelmaker planned to close down one blast furnace and two open hearths in its Pittsburgh area mills. He said he could not specify the employment impact but said "some adjustments" are likely.

At its Geneva, Utah works US Steel is cutting back production operations about 35-40%. This means at least 250 workers will be given the axe immediately. It is already admitted by the US Steel bosses that many of the laid off men will be out permanently.

At Bethlehem's Vernon plant in California the 10" and 12" mills are "temporarily" on a four day week. This means that at least 300 of these workers will only be drawing 80% of their regular pay. The Vernon plant like many others still has about 100 men on layoff and has not hired a new worker in over a year. The work force at the Vernon plant over the past three years has gone from 1850 to about 1500 at present.

All of this is just a small sample of what is taking place in the industry and what is in store in the future if the shorter work week with no reduction in pay and the fight against layoffs and for nationalization under workers' control with no compensation is not fought for in the

## Bethlehem Ranks Hit With Speedup, Forced Overtime

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
WILLIAMSPORT, PA.—Steelworkers at the Bethlehem Wire and Rope mill here face tremendous speedup due to the company's stockpiling in preparation for a strike.

At this time, Bethlehem is still hiring, but it is becoming increasingly clear that it wants to lay off and overwork the workers now on the job rather than continue hiring. Workers, already being pushed hard during the week, are asked by company officials to add an extra day or even two days work. Many of the younger workers with families are forced to do so.

Presently, the company is

negotiations.

I.W. Abel and his machine have not the slightest intention of fighting against the companies' plans for massive layoffs, plant closings, wages, working conditions or anything else that is basic to the needs of the workers. This leadership has not lifted a finger in the fight against speedup, crew cutting and job "reorganization."

Above all what is needed now is a tremendous fight by the ranks. This must be organized in the form of a national rank and file caucus movement with units in each mill. All local presidents must be forced by the ranks to vote NO on Abel's sell-out package. The can and aluminum settlements were complete defeats and will mean a continuation of a decline of real wages, worse working conditions and massive layoffs.

The local presidents must be forced to call a nationwide strike closing down the whole steel industry. This is the only strategy that can win.

merely asking for the extra days. However, according to one young steelworker, it is rumored that the company is preparing to institute a compulsory six day week. Bethlehem will use the provision in the steelworkers contract which says that the company can force the employees to work a six day week.

Every ounce of steel stockpiled strengthens the hand of the steel bosses, who, along with the Nixon Administration, must beat back the growing movement for a first year wage increase of \$2.00. Steelworkers must thwart any attempt at imposing overtime. No cooperation with speedups and stockpiling!



Bulletin salesman selling paper to workers at Duluth steel plant.

## Copper Workers Must Break Can Settlement

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Over 150,000 copper, lead, and zinc workers, 116,000 of them in the United Steelworkers and the remainder in 25 other unions, now face strike action against the major copper producers on June 30.

The bulk of the non-ferrous workers are employed by Kennecott, ASARCO, Phelps Dodge and Anaconda. The remainder are employed by 151 smaller producers.

In this situation, the rotten contracts forced through by USWA President I.W. Abel in can and aluminum is what the leadership obviously means when it calls for a "very substantial" wage increase" throughout the non-ferrous industries.

Now, with support for an immediate \$2 an hour hike building up in all of the steel mills, Abel may try to repeat his action of 1967-68, calling the copper workers out for a long strike, settling for peanuts, and using this to force through a similar settlement in basic steel.

The Abel leadership shows itself completely willing to work with special federal mediation panels and arbitrators as in

the last copper strike. One result of operating this system the last time were separate expiration dates for the copper, lead and zinc contracts.

NIXON

What Nixon and the employers see as the big threat put forward in the 1967-68 copper strike was the use of coordinated bargaining on an industry-wide basis by all 26 international unions involved.

During that strike, however, the USWA and other union leaders showed no coordinated strike strategy, allowing return to work in each company as soon as a settlement could be reached.

Nixon and the copper barons fear what coordinated bargaining could do if a new type of leadership is built in the steelworkers union, based on a strategy for big wage increases as being central.

CAUCUS

All the more important then, is the need for the formation of a national rank and file movement in the USWA which can take forward the movement for \$2 an hour and prevent repeats of the 1968 sellouts in steel and copper.

## CP AVOIDS CLASH WITH ABEL IN WAGE STRUGGLE

BY MICHAEL ROSS

The heat is building up in the steel mills, the ore mines, the taconite processing plants. As rank and file pressure for strike action on August 1st continues for big wage increases and many other demands, Abel and the USWA leaders are being more and more exposed as agents of the steel barons.

They are willing to go to any lengths to keep a strike from coming off, and are collaborating down the line with Nixon to do this. This is the meaning of Abel's willingness, expressed jokingly before the negotiations with the steel industry's Big Nine, to accept a settlement similar to that rammed down the throats of the railway signalmen.

This may be funny to Abel and his fellow bureaucrats, but not to 550,000 basic steelworkers.

If anything has been shown, it is that Abel still intends to use the rotten can and aluminum settlements as the basic steel wages pattern.

But today, the conditions for rank and file steelworkers overturning these settlements has never been more favorable.

Now as the bureaucracy faces its greatest crisis since the 1959

steel strike, along come the Stalinists of the Communist Party to divert the wage struggles of the steelworkers away from the confrontation and defeat of the USWA bureaucracy that is absolutely essential to win their demands.

This comes out most graphically in the June 10th issue of the CP's paper the *Daily World*, an issue that features what is coming in steel August 1st.

CP

What stands out is that for the first time this year, the CP openly recognizes the question of wages as decisive. After months of talking about little else except the need for more "democracy" in the union, the right to strike over grievances, the CP's Steel and Metal Workers Commission gives wholehearted endorsement to the demands being promoted by the

National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, the National Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, and the Rank and File Team.

These groups are all influenced by the CP, the Ad Hoc Committee being a Black caucus, the other two functioning in the Chicago-Gary and Youngstown-Canton areas.

Their demands include: a \$2 an hour wage increase; full cost of living clause; scrap the present grievance system, restore the right to strike on this issue; union control over all changes in work rules, work assignments, crew sizes; guarantee an end to all forms of racial discrimination; 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, retirement to be \$500 a month after 30 years, no overtime during layoffs, no contracting out of work; two year limit on the contract; a three year contract only if there is a wage reopener at the end of the second year.

The CP statement goes on to say:

"USWA president I.W. Abel is fully justified in denouncing

Nixon's demand that wage increases be held down to 6 per cent. But he is mistaken if he believes the container settlement comes anywhere near satisfying the demands of the rank and file even with regaining the escalator clause. The can industry settlement still leaves workers behind the rising cost-of-living, and still tailing behind the auto workers' gains. It sets no acceptable pattern for the rest of the USWA members...

"Steelworkers have every right to expect their leaders not to retreat one inch on the demands that really count, to go all-out and to stand firm by these demands...."

PRESSURE

At first glance, one would think that the CP is doing a complete turn-around, adopting many of the demands that were originally proposed and fought for by the Workers League.

But it is the perspective around which the Stalinists propose to fight for these demands that is totally different. It is a perspective of pressure on the bureau-

cracy.

What is meant by the June 10 issue of the *Daily World* is that the CP can no longer get away with ignoring the wages issue in basic steel, as they have all this year, or the meaning of the can and aluminum pacts. They can no longer openly pretend that these settlements were victories, except at the risk of being chased out of the steel mills.

But until this month the very opposite was the case. They claim the can contracts fell short of those in auto. But the can wage settlements were based on auto.

In fact, the *Daily World* of February 23 of this year informed us that "The National Can agreement closely parallels the United Auto Workers settlement last year in many of its basic economic features..."

"But the biggest plum of all was the unlimited cost-of-living increase beginning February 14, 1972. It provides for one cent an hour increase for each 0.4 cent rise in the consumer price index."

(Continued On Page 12)

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Viet Report Reveals Move To Dictatorship

The capitalist class is leading society to complete bankruptcy. It is incapable of providing the masses of people in the United States, the working people, with a decent standard of living. Rather it must drive back conditions to the poverty and misery of depression.

This is precisely why it cannot tolerate much longer the democratic order. The greatest weakness of the capitalists is precisely the strength of the working class which today refuses to have its wages slashed and its jobs eliminated. So today the capitalist class is forced to begin to operate outside the forms of bourgeois democracy to try to smash the working class and its organizations, to take away all its rights.

This is what lies behind the suppression of the Vietnam Report. Whatever the differences among the ruling class on the question, it stands as a whole united against the working class.

Both the dangers and the developments of the struggles of the working class now require the construction of an independent political arm of the working class—a labor party.

But precisely at this moment the traditional leaderships of the working class, the trade union bureaucracy aided by the Stalinists and revisionists, seek to prevent this development, holding out the alternative of a coalition of the working class with a section of the capitalist class to "pressure" the government.

In this process the Communist Party is playing a key role. The reaction of the CP on the publication of the Vietnam expose was to see it as a way to spur a big vote for the Hatfield-McGovern amendment to end the war. The Daily World cried: "Telephone your Senator now; the vote is Wednesday."

But the whole point of the Vietnam document was that the war had been conducted through five administrations, both Democratic and Republican, without approval or disapproval from Congress.

When Nixon banned the report the CP printed uncritically long statements from Senator McGovern attacking Nixon for suppressing the report. The Daily World concluded: "This perilous situation calls for a popular outburst of anger directed at the White House. It calls for the most intense pressure on the Administration to call off its dogs. It calls for unrelenting insistence by the people that their Representatives and their Senators act now in determined resistance to the fascistic foray against the press."

This statement reveals the utter bankruptcy of the CP's Popular Front perspective which asks the American working class to put their faith in the very scoundrels in Congress who despite their protests had their hands in the Vietnam war and who are the most open advocates of the attacks on the trade unions.

It was in fact none other than George McGovern that Daniel Ellsberg, who reportedly released the documents to the Times, first approached six months ago. Needless to say this great critic of Nixon and the war turned down the offer to read and release the documents. And certainly McGovern was not the only one in Congress who was aware of the real deception being carried out by the presidency.

Precisely at a time when a deep crisis is shaking the capitalist class over the Vietnam report, the CP sees the task as one of strengthening this class by supporting a section of it, not of destroying it through the independent mobilization of the working class.

The trade unions are strong and powerful. But the offensive of the labor movement now faces its gravest threat. This requires a break from reformism, a break from the capitalist parties and the formation of a labor party. This is the only alternative to Nixon and to dictatorship.

At the same time the whole rotten character of the war in Indochina has been exposed to the American working class. The struggle to end this war must now go hand and hand with the struggle of the labor movement against the government's attacks on the unions. Only through the general strike movement and the construction of a labor party can the American working class strike the blow which will defeat imperialism.



"Just needed a little cover-up myself."

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)  
all, fears the movement of this giant union against the class he represents.

What is happening is that the capitalist class is forced ever more in conflict with the mass of American workers who in turn will not peacefully accept a reduction in their wages and a worsening in their working conditions—achieved through the strength of their unions over the past 20 years. This, in turn, is placing unbearable pressure on the union bureaucracy in all unions in the United States from the "progressives" like Schrade to the old liners like Van Arsdale and Fitzsimmons.

Within this framework we can understand the extreme significance of the recent strike of New York City's District Council 37 of AFSCME. This strike which approached the level of a general strike almost stopping the nation's largest city in its tracks, was a POLITICAL STRIKE. As such it marks a turning point in the development of the American labor movement.

The strike centered over the question of a negotiated and agreed to pension plan. This plan, one of the best of its kind for non-uniformed city workers, was itself the crowning achievement of DC 37's Director, Victor Gotbaum, and his methods of compromise and political support to Lindsay and other capitalist politicians. The pension was also used by Gotbaum to gain support among the older civil service workers as a weight against militant forces beginning to develop within the Council as a whole, particularly the Social Service Employees Union.

However, the capitalist politicians upon whom Gotbaum relied and relies did him in. Lindsay did not fight in the State Legislature for the Pension Plan even though he had agreed to it. Rockefeller, supported by both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, saw to it that the plan did not see the light of day in the legislature. Gotbaum spent two weeks up in Albany pulling every string he had, visiting every two-bit politician he had helped get into office with the money and votes of his 100,000 union members. But to no avail because in this period the capitalist class must break the back of the labor movement. They could not accept the pension.

So Victor Gotbaum was forced to call a strike. He struck against

the very politicians he had supported. This strike meant that his support to the capitalist parties no longer allowed even for a few crumbs to be gained at the bargaining table. More than that it opened up the unions to being beaten back and losing what they have gained over the years.

Victor Gotbaum called the first political strike in recent history. He called out the District Council against the State Government itself. He almost called the first general strike in the history of New York City. This expressed how sharp the relations now are between the labor movement and the capitalist class.

Victor Gotbaum not only called the first political strike in recent history but he called OFF the first political strike in recent history before it became a general strike and before it won a single concession. This is why the construction of a new leadership in the trade unions has become so critical. The bureaucracy can no longer avoid a collision with the capitalist class but it is incapable of carrying through any struggle against this class. Thus the situation facing American workers is a very dangerous one. At the same time the potential for the construction of a new leadership is extremely great.

What must now be understood is the historical development of the American working class which has set the stage for the present conflict. In the 1930s the American working class through a momentous struggle and at great expense established the most powerful trade union movement in the world. But it did not go beyond this to establishing its own workers party. Today the economic conditions of the 1930s are in the process of being recreated and the capitalist class is forced into conflict with this union movement. The capitalist can solve nothing outside of beating back the trade unions.

This means that the American trade unions must become the center of the political struggle in the United States. What appears at many times to be minor, a trade union question of the narrowest sort, like pensions or the percentage split on a taxi meter, are elements of the political struggle between classes. The role of revolutionaries must be to be part of these trade union struggles bringing out the inherent political con-

tent in these struggles, and building a new leadership for the working class in this process.

Particularly pernicious in this respect is the Communist Party. The Communist Party is quite capable of opposition within the unions but this opposition is based on not only acceptance but a struggle to deepen the dependence of the labor bureaucracy on capitalist politics. Therefore its opposition is actually a form of cover for the labor bureaucracy.

This can be seen clearly in the recent DC 37 strike. Prior to that strike Communist Party supporters within the SSEU supported SSEU President Hill who called for a general strike. Hill only issued this call at a point when the pressures were so unbearable for strike action that Gotbaum himself was moving in that direction. At the same time his call remained no more than a gesture and was not accompanied by a serious fight within the District Council. After all, that would upset relations among the bureaucrats!

Once Gotbaum went out on strike neither Hill nor the CP did one thing to extend the strike, to mobilize the rank and file against Gotbaum's efforts to contain and then strangle the strike. After the strike was over the Daily World called it a victory!

The position of the Communist Party is thus summed up. The movement of the rank and file is only for the purpose of pressuring the bureaucracy to obtain a better deal within the existing relations with the capitalist class. That is why politically they support the Democratic Party. The existing relations with the capitalist class have been changed by that class so that a "better deal" is now no deal.

What must now be constructed in the trade unions is a new leadership committed to fighting for a labor party, giving no support whatsoever to the two capitalist parties, and completely independent of the labor bureaucracy. The trade unions today are becoming the center of political struggle and this political struggle requires above all a Marxist leadership. This is what the Workers League is committed to building.

# INTERNATIONAL YOUTH UNITE AGAINST STALINISM AND IMPERIALISM



## International Committee Declaration on Essen Youth Rally

THIS SPRING, 1971, the frantic movements of capital in search of speculative profits and the sharp and repeated monetary crises have threatened the whole exchange system and even the whole capitalist economy.

**And yet this particular example of the anarchy and decay of the capitalist mode of production is only a symptom.**

It is not simply a question of a European crisis, but of a world crisis, one of the expressions of which is the monetary chaos in Europe, related as it is to the defense at any cost of the dollar i.e., of the dominant position of American imperialism.

It is thus the contradictions of the capitalist system as a whole which are concentrated in Europe.

Unemployment and inflation go together in every country in Europe. However, these burdens which continually aggravate the life of the working masses are a threat to the stability of the bourgeois order only to the extent that no single ruling class is capable of regulating the political problems of its domination, of confronting the working class in a decisive battle and inflicting a defeat on it.

Everywhere—and this is what characterizes the whole period which opened in 1968—the working class refuses to give up its rights, its positions, its conquests, to meet the needs of the capitalist system. Everywhere it fights.

And, from Spain, where the working class forced the hangman Franco to retreat to the pretended "social paradise" of Sweden, it tends everywhere to place in question through its struggle the class rule of the bourgeoisie, and squares up to the state machine.

That is why, as the British Tory Premier Heath cynically revealed at the United Nations, the bourgeoisie is preparing civil war against the proletariat.

There is no other solution but counter-revolution, the physical and political crushing of the workers' organizations, in order to break:

- THE BRITISH workers' movement which is resisting the anti-working class offensive of Heath.

- THE GERMAN workers who are shaking the SPD's (Social Democratic Party's) coalition with the bourgeoisie.

- THE FRENCH workers who are taking the road of struggle to put an end to the Pompidou government.

- THE WHOLE European workers' movement.

Imperialism in crisis has only one solution: to destroy all the conquests of the proletariat. But imperialism's crisis is joined by the crisis of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracies whose privileges and political power rest upon the continued world domination of imperialism.

To perpetuate themselves, they have only one solution: to strengthen yet again their links with imperialism against the proletariat.

This spring, 1971, in those countries where capitalism has been expropriated, in the USSR, in all the countries of Eastern Europe, the proletariat is preparing for the assault on the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to defend its conquests.

After the upsurge of the 1968 political revolution in Czechoslovakia, coinciding with the May-June general strike in France, it was then the Polish workers who organized an insurrectionary general strike, covered Poland with workers' councils, and forced the rotten bureaucracy to retreat.

In Europe, through these struggles in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia, the proletariat asserts the unity of its fight, the unity of the social revolution and the political revolution, expressions of the same struggle for the world socialist revolution.

Everywhere in the front rank of these struggles stand the younger generations of the proletariat, the young workers and students.

Educated by the crisis of imperialism and of the bureaucracy, the young generation of workers by hand and brain are seeking ways of organizing for the socialist revolution and for the renewing of their links with proletarian internationalism.

The revolutionary youth organizations developing in Europe, like the Young Socialists in Great Britain, like the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme in France now go forward with the slo-

gan on their banners: "Long Live The United Socialist States of Europe!"

It is by uniting across frontiers, by rejecting the division into "zones" or "blocs" that the youth, side by side with the working class, in struggling for the United Socialist States of Europe, open the road for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its counter-revolutionary state machine, express their unity of struggle with all those throughout the world who fight imperialism and bureaucracy, from the American imperialist fortress to Indochina, from Latin America to Bengal.

This struggle affirms itself today in the fight to build a revolutionary youth International and finds its concrete expression in the international rally at Essen, convened for July 3 and 4, 1971, and supported by the AJS, Young Socialists, Junge Garde of Germany, and the Students Liaison Committee for Eastern Europe.

The International Committee of the Fourth International, which fights for the reconstruction of the International, which fights to establish through the building of revolutionary parties in every country the necessary instrument for the world victory of the proletariat: the Fourth International founded upon the Transitional Program of Leon Trotsky, has always affirmed that the political necessities of the struggle of youth demanded specific forms of organization.

The sections of the IC have taken the initiative in creating and developing fighting organizations of communist youth. These organizations are an indispensable part of the construction of the revolutionary party: through them we approach the main task of winning thousands and thousands of young fighters in the class struggle to the program of socialist revolution, the program of the Fourth International.

It is the same at the international level. The building of the Revolutionary Youth International is one of the necessary components of the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

The IC of the Fourth International supports the initiative taken by the revolutionary youth organizations which have convened the Essen rally.

The IC of the Fourth International considers that this rally, as part of the

struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe, is an international event in the class struggle, and especially welcomes the fact that organizations in all continents, such as the youth of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (POR) of Bolivia, the Revolutionary Communist League of Ceylon, the Trotskyist organization in Israel and others, are collaborating in this rally.

The IC of the Fourth International considers that the Essen rally, by affirming in the heart of Europe, in Germany, against imperialism and the bureaucracy, the unity of the struggle of the working class, is a challenge to all the allies of imperialism within the workers' movement and to the liquidationist revisionists who serve the bureaucracy and fraudulently claim to be Trotskyists.

The IC of the Fourth International stresses the significance of the fact that for the first time, in response to the call of revolutionary youth movements, linked in the common struggle against imperialism and bureaucracy, youth from East and Western Europe will come together in the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe. In their thousands, the young revolutionaries gather in Essen under the call of the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of the world, unite!" which retains all its meaning today, will affirm that the realization of this slogan today lies on the road of the program of the Fourth International, and of the construction of that International.

The IC calls upon its sections to mobilize their forces, politically and physically, to assure the full success of the Essen international rally.

The preparation of this rally is a political fight linked directly with the fight to build revolutionary parties in every country.

The IC calls all militants, workers and youth, to join in this campaign.

- Down with imperialism!
- Down with the counter revolutionary bureaucracies!
- For the United Socialist States of Europe!
- For the Revolutionary Youth International!
- For the building of the Fourth International!
- Long live the Essen Rally!



**ESSEN**

# Greetings from:

## Spain

**THE FOLLOWING ARE greetings to the recent AJS Conference from the Trotskyist Fraction of the Comunismo Group of Spain.**

We, militants of the Trotskyist fraction of the Comunismo greet enthusiastically your assembly.

Comrades:

During November and December of 1970 the Spanish workers, mobilized to save the life of Izko and his comrades who faced the death sentence from Franco's military tribunal, dealt a tremendous blow to the fascist dictatorship. The stoppages, strikes, and demonstrations, the united fight of the workers made the Franco regime retreat.

The Spanish youth were there, in the front line of the struggle, as in France, as it is everywhere in the fight against capitalism.

Comrades:

This is no accident. In Spain the majority of primary, technical and university education is held in the hands of the Jesuits and the Church, the enemy of youth and culture. Franco's "new law on education" is designed to strengthen even further the instruments of capitalist reaction, that is religion, against the youth and workers.

For years the police have occupied the universities in Spain without being able to keep down the students who during the last two months have continued and spread their strikes, their meetings and demonstrations.

In our country an immense majority of young workers and peasants are excluded from the most elementary education. The "new education law" which the ministers promise will mean free education is a law which closes the schools and throws the teachers onto the unemployment lines.

The peasant youth is forced to abandon the countryside and vegetate in the cities or abroad. The young workers can't find work before doing their military service under the heel of despotic and fascist army officers of Franco's army. Emigration, and more and more unemployment are the only perspective of Spanish youth.

It is not by chance if in Spain as everywhere else the youth, joining with the working class, are in the forefront of the mass struggles against Franco's government and capitalism.

But comrades, there is more. The dead end program of the Spanish Communist Party of Santiago Carrillo and the most savage capitalist repression of the dictatorship have broken an entire generation of Spanish militants. The young fighters in our country carry on their shoulders the great burden of an underground struggle. And today the youth, in addition to their will to fight capitalism want a complete transformation of the policies of defeat which have been forced on the workers and students by all the Stalinist, reformist and labor bureaucrats.

Especially after the struggles against the war tribunal of Burgos, young militants are openly confronting their leaders in numerous places; they are demanding a more determined attitude and are organizing independently to fight for socialism and for a political revolution.

Comrades:

We, the militants of the Trotskyist Fraction of the Comunismo Group have intervened in the recent struggles as part of an organization more and more connected to the Unified Secretariat of Mandel and Frank of the French Communist League. This organization has responded to the workers' struggles by an ultra-left capitulation and with contempt for the

workers movement.

Our organization, the Group Comunismo, instead of bringing the powerful movement of youth into the workers movement, cultivated illusions in a youth struggle isolated from the workers movement. They were thus incapable of proposing to workers and youth a program and an organization to fight capitalism.

We are a Trotskyist Fraction because we rebelled against this policy and we were excluded from Comunismo by its Pabloite leadership as soon as we proposed a fight for a workers alliance of the whole class, of the youth and peasants against Franco's dictatorship, for a workers government.

We are the Trotskyist Fraction of Comunismo Group because we are fighting the leadership's connections with the Unified Secretariat, because we demand a congress of the two fractions where an assessment can be made which the Pabloites refuse to make of our experience and because we see this task as part of our effort to construct an organization of Spanish Trotskyists who will fight to build a revolutionary International.

Comrades:

The youth have a great role to play in building this party if it organizes to fight for socialism and against the capitalist governments. Spanish youth has its role to play in the construction of the international movement.

The young militants who in Spain have begun to organize for socialism are already posing these questions. They saw the international workers and youth support their fight against the Burgos death sentence; they saw the workers and youth of Poland confront Gomulka who sent coal to Franco to break the miners strike.

How do we organize to fight imperialism and its allies? This is the question of many Spanish youth.

We think we express the feelings of the most conscious section of Spanish youth in giving you our enthusiastic support in your fight for socialism. Our Trotskyist Fraction is on your side and answers the call of the AJS, of the British Young Socialists and of the German Junge Garde and other organizations for the international assembly of youth in Essen July 3rd and 4th.

## Bolivia

**THE FOLLOWING ARE greetings to the Essen Conference from the youth of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Bolivia, headed by Guillermo Lora.**

Your proposal to build the Revolutionary Youth Organization has our complete support. The movement of youth which seeks to free itself from the grip of Stalinism and to find the road of revolution, as well as the present absence of a political leadership capable and clear in its theory, flexible and determined in its practice, makes the building of such an organization an urgent task.

We enthusiastically join in this task and give our total support to its carrying out and we will do everything in our power to make it a success.

The text of the call is correct but limited. We would like to suggest that in a future text the references and explanations concerning the class struggle and the situation of youth in backward countries be developed, and also that a central place be given to the slogan the United Socialist States of Latin America.

In the present text, we think that the analysis of the role of youth in political and social struggles is much too brief. Dealing, as it does, with a call to

world youth it could be amplified. Finally, there is little said about the general crisis of youth today, its roots and its unconscious expressions.

Fighting besides the POR in the struggle to find a positive outcome of the revolutionary process going on in our country, a process which today is expressed in the strengthening of the power of the Popular Assembly, we salute your assembly whose success will reinforce our whole struggle.

• Long Live the Assembly of May 22-23!

• Long Live the Essen Assembly!  
• Long Live the Construction of the Revolutionary Youth International!

## Tunisia

**BELOW IS A statement from a Tunisian comrade to the recent AJS Conference supporting the Essen Conference.**

I am Tunisian and I think I should declare this before the young fighters assembled by AJS for the socialist revolution.

I think, in effect, that the struggle of French workers and youth against their government helps the struggle of the masses in Magreb and in Africa. The comrade from Dahomey who spoke before me was a thousand times right: the class struggle exists in Africa, this struggle is nourished by the struggles which go on everywhere else in the world whether it is in France or in Poland. But also those who fight in Africa fight for the French and Polish workers. The African workers and youth are fighting today their own bourgeois and corrupt governments, despite the support of the Stalinist bureaucracy to these governments.

They are fighting, as in March 1965 in Casablanca, as in June 1967 in Tuni-

sia, like all the students and workers in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Senegal, the Ivory Coast and throughout the African continent are fighting today.

The road to the victory of the socialist revolution in Africa is the same: as shown by the fight of the Senegal and Ivory Coast students and workers to preserve their union organizations, as seen in the struggle of the Algerian students against the abolition of their union, UNEA, as seen in the struggle of Tunisian students against their government despite the betrayal of the UGET leadership.

Comrades, the way forward is the road of the Irbid Soviet.

What is necessary for the workers and youth of Europe, that is, the Revolutionary Youth International, is also necessary for Africans. This is why I think that the International Essen Assembly is a decisive step in the construction of the RYI and in the construction of the Fourth International. This is why I resolve before you and before the African comrades present in this room to fight to make the Essen Assembly for the United Socialist States of Europe also the Assembly for the United Socialist States of Africa, for the universal republic of soviets.

• Long Live the AJS!  
• Long Live the RYI!  
• Long Live the Fourth International!  
• Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

## Brussels

**AT THE RECENT AJS Conference the following statement of support for the Essen Conference was read by a member of the Marxist Study Circle of Brussels.**

It is in this difficult situation, but

The Essen Assembly will draw together  
Below, from left to right: British Young



rejecting illusions and facility which lead inevitably to capitulation, rejecting illusions but defining itself in relation to the fundamental interests of the working class and of the youth, that a handful of militants under the initiative of the OCI, began to build the Marxist Study Circle of Brussels.

These are the same militants who were contacted by the Red Pioneers from the AJS last December and took up the fight for the Revolutionary Youth International. Already dozens of Belgian youth have responded to the call for the Essen Assembly.

Thus, in the name of the Belgian Preparatory Committee for the International Assembly of Youth at Essen which emerged from a meeting of 39 militants May 2nd, I greet the Revolutionary Youth Assembly in France.

- Forward to the RYI!
- Everyone to Essen July 3-4!

## Germany

THE FOLLOWING IS an interview with a militant of Junge Garde, the youth organization of the German Trotskyists. It appeared in the French newspaper Informations Ouvriere. The Junge Garde is one of the sponsoring organizations of the International Youth Conference in Essen, Germany.

*What is the political situation today in Germany after nearly two years of "little coalition"?*

The bourgeoisie is seeking to get everything it can out of the participation of the Social Democracy in the government in order to preserve its profits at all costs. It is similar in certain respects to the situation in 1928 when the Social Democratic government of Hermann Muller was instructed by the bourgeoisie to carry out an anti-working class policy, only to then be swept aside and be replaced by the Nazis.

The Social Democratic government relies on the union bureaucracy for this anti-working class policy and attempts by every means to disorganize the will of the workers to fight. The wage agreements signed by the union leaders entail increases which are below 9% except for the Lufthansa workers who sustained

a long and difficult strike.

*How have the workers and youth reacted to this policy of the union leaders and of the SPD?*

In printing there was a series of savage strikes and at Hanover, for example, general assemblies of the workers denounced the signing of the agreement.

The same is true in the chemical industry where there were demonstrations. Negotiations have reached a dead end unless the leadership wants to call a strike.

Among the youth, the Social Democratic policies create a certain disgust that is exploited by the ultra-lefts. They isolate the youth from the class struggle and make the Social Democratic workers responsible for the betrayal of the bureaucracy.

*How have the German Trotskyists and the Junge Garde intervened in this situation?*

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*What is the connection between this activity and the international assembly at Essen?*

At the Frankfurt meeting on May 23, the 150 youth who were there, militants of the Junge Garde, of JUSOS (Social

Democratic Youth) labor youth, university and high school students and unorganized youth unanimously adopted an international resolution in which they resolved to fight in their different cities to bring more youth to Essen.

*What are the specific aspects of this fight in Germany?*

It is obviously concretized in the struggle to reunify Germany, for a single socialist Germany and for the United Socialist States of Europe. It is necessary to find the appropriate forms to make the slogan of a reunified Germany live among the youth. In the East as in the West, students have the same problem of selection. Of course, because of the conquests of October there is a better professional education in the East. But there also, youth are threatened with unemployment and they have no future. The proof of this is that in East Germany as in the West drugs are widely used by youth.

*How are you organizing the campaign for Essen?*

At the end of this week, we are holding an educational seminar to arm the cadres of this campaign who were recruited at the May 23 meeting. After June 10, there will be systematic leafletting, posters, and meetings.

On the anniversary of June 17, 1953, when the German proletariat marked the beginning of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, we intend to hold three preparatory meetings, at Frankfurt, Essen and Berlin around the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe.

Our objective is to bring 500 youth to Essen at the beginning of July. We are absolutely certain that the campaign for the assembly, that the assembly itself will be a powerful lever to take our program to a new level, to make a big leap ahead towards the construction of a Revolutionary Organization of Youth and through it the construction of a revolutionary party of the German proletariat.

## E. Europe

THE FOLLOWING GREETINGS come from the Liaison Committee of Eastern European Students. They were given at the recent AJS conference.

The Liaison Committee of East European Students, including Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Hungarian youth, founded at the conference of Eastern European students held in Germany December, 1970, sends fraternal greetings to the Assembly of Revolutionary Youth organized by AJS May 22 and 23 in Paris.

Our objectives are the same as yours. Students of Eastern Europe, where the bourgeoisie was expropriated, we are fighting the bureaucracy which has usurped the conquests of October, we are fighting against imperialism. This struggle unites us; because you fight for socialism, the Stalinists want to silence you at La Courneuve with violence and terror just as the Stalinist bureaucracy sent its tanks against the workers and youth of Gdansk who marched on the party headquarters singing the "Internationale;" just as the bureaucracy imprisons and fabricates infamous trials against the Prague militants who refuse to disavow their loyalty to socialism.

Today, when we celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Glorious Commune, we the Liaison Committee, declare to this assembly, that just as 100 years ago with the Polish communard Dombrowski, commander of the National Guard and the Hungarian communard Frankel, Commissioner of Labor, that the fight for socialism is one and indivisible, that the attempts of the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie to separate us will fail.

The Liaison Committee, with the AJS, has launched the call for Essen. We, young students and workers of Eastern Europe will be present at your side at the International Essen Assembly to forge the indispensable weapon for unification

and the victorious development of our fight for socialism: The Revolutionary Youth International.

- Fight for the International Commission of Inquiry!
- Down with Normalization!
- Long Live the Polish Workers Councils!
- Forward to the construction of the RYI!
- Long Live the Socialist States of Europe!

## Peru

THE FOLLOWING GREETINGS to the Essen Conference come from the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party of Peru.

We bring our greetings and support to the International Assembly at Essen, which we consider an important step in the reconstruction of the Fourth International. In this sense, the POMR, in our fight against the Velasco government and its ally, Stalinism, considers that the assembly will propel us forward to build our party.

- Long Live the Essen Assembly!
- Long live the construction of the Revolutionary Youth International!

## Brazil

THIS STATEMENT OF support to the Essen Conference was issued by the Bolshevik-Trotskyist Fraction of Brazil.

The Bolshevik-Trotskyist Fraction of Brazil greets with great revolutionary satisfaction the call for an international assembly of revolutionary youth organizations at Essen July 3-4. As you know, our group which is fighting for the construction of a revolutionary world leadership of the proletariat, the Fourth International, was severely affected last year by the repression of the Brazilian military government.

In this work of reorganizing our ranks, a close contact with the vanguard of the proletariat and of youth is indispensable. In this sense, the fight for the revolutionary youth organization plays a decisive role.

In Brazil, the fragile structures with which capitalism tries to contain the young workers and students will certainly not resist the impact of the next revolutionary mobilization of the masses. The youth reject the spectacular methods of the petty bourgeois centrists and are patiently preparing for the direct confrontation with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Youth will not submit to no future, to unemployment and misery, the only alternatives offered by a decadent regime.

The only possible answer is their revolutionary organization as part of a revolutionary organization of the exploited masses within the framework of the fight for the primary needs of the proletariat, for the right of independent organizations of the masses, for the total and complete expulsion of imperialism and for socialism.

The objectives of the Essen Assembly are the objectives of the Bolshevik-Trotskyist Fraction. The youth who fight today worldwide refuse to be cannon fodder for Capital, will refuse to bend down before the whims of mediocre bureaucrats and counter-revolutionaries, and are marching in a logical and intransigent way towards its revolutionary world organization.

We fraternally greet the comrades who will meet in Essen. We are certain that as a direct result of the struggles of workers and of the revolutionary youth over the recent period, the Assembly will be an important step forward towards the construction of the International Revolutionary Youth, towards the construction of the Fourth International.

- Long Live the Essen Assembly!
- Long live the Revolutionary Youth International!
- Long live the Fourth International! Forward!

Trotskyist youth from all over the world. g Socialists; Bolivian POR; French OCI.



# ings from:

world youth it could be amplified. Finally, there is little said about the general crisis of youth today, its roots and its unconscious expressions.

Fighting besides the POR in the struggle to find a positive outcome of the revolutionary process going on in our country, a process which today is expressed in the strengthening of the power of the Popular Assembly, we salute your assembly whose success will reinforce our whole struggle.

- Long Live the Assembly of May 22-23!
- Long Live the Essen Assembly!
- Long Live the Construction of the Revolutionary Youth International!

## Tunisia

BELOW IS A statement from a Tunisian comrade to the recent AJS Conference supporting the Essen Conference.

I am Tunisian and I think I should declare this before the young fighters assembled by AJS for the socialist revolution.

I think, in effect, that the struggle of French workers and youth against their government helps the struggle of the masses in Magreb and in Africa. The comrade from Dahomey who spoke before me was a thousand times right: the class struggle exists in Africa, this struggle is nourished by the struggles which go on everywhere else in the world whether it is in France or in Poland. But also those who fight in Africa fight for the French and Polish workers. The African workers and youth are fighting today their own bourgeois and corrupt governments, despite the police repression, despite the support of the Stalinist bureaucracy to these governments.

They are fighting, as in March 1965 in Casablanca, as in June 1967 in Tun-

sia, like all the students and workers in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Senegal, the Ivory Coast and throughout the African continent are fighting today.

The road to the victory of the socialist revolution in Africa is the same: as shown by the fight of the Senegal and Ivory Coast students and workers to preserve their union organizations, as seen in the struggle of the Algerian students against the abolition of their union, UNEA, as seen in the struggle of Tunisian students against their government despite the betrayal of the UGET leadership.

Comrades, the way forward is the road of the Irbid Soviet.

What is necessary for the workers and youth of Europe, that is, the Revolutionary Youth International, is also necessary for Africans. This is why I think that the International Essen Assembly is a decisive step in the construction of the RYI and in the construction of the Fourth International. This is why I resolve before you and before the African comrades present in this room to fight to make the Essen Assembly for the United Socialist States of Europe also the Assembly for the United Socialist States of Africa, for the universal republic of soviets.

- Long Live the AJS!
- Long Live the RYI!
- Long Live the Fourth International!
- Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

## Brussels

AT THE RECENT AJS Conference the following statement of support for the Essen Conference was read by a member of the Marxist Study Circle of Brussels.

It is in this difficult situation, but

rejecting illusions and facility which lead inevitably to capitulation, rejecting illusions but defining itself in relation to the fundamental interests of the working class and of the youth, that a handful of militants under the initiative of the OCI, began to build the Marxist Study Circle of Brussels.

These are the same militants who were contacted by the Red Pioneers from the AJS last December and took up the fight for the Revolutionary Youth International. Already dozens of Belgian youth have responded to the call for the Essen Assembly.

Thus, in the name of the Belgian Preparatory Committee for the International Assembly of Youth at Essen which emerged from a meeting of 39 militants May 2nd, I greet the Revolutionary Youth Assembly in France.

- Forward to the RYI!
- Everyone to Essen July 3-4!

## Germany

THE FOLLOWING IS an interview with a militant of Junge Garde, the youth organization of the German Trotskyists. It appeared in the French newspaper Informations Ouvriere. The Junge Garde is one of the sponsoring organizations of the International Youth Conference in Essen, Germany.

What is the political situation today in Germany after nearly two years of "little coalition"?

The bourgeoisie is seeking to get everything it can out of the participation of the Social Democracy in the government in order to preserve its profits at all costs. It is similar in certain respects to the situation in 1928 when the Social Democratic government of Hermann Muller was instructed by the bourgeoisie to carry out an anti-working class policy, only to then be swept aside and be replaced by the Nazis.

The Social Democratic government relies on the union bureaucracy for this anti-working class policy and attempts by every means to disorganize the will of the workers to fight. The wage agreements signed by the union leaders entail increases which are below 9% except for the Lufthansa workers who sustained

a long and difficult strike.

How have the workers and youth reacted to this policy of the union leaders and of the SPD?

In printing there was a series of savage strikes and at Hanover, for example, general assemblies of the workers denounced the signing of the agreement.

The same is true in the chemical industry where there were demonstrations. Negotiations have reached a dead end unless the leadership wants to call a strike.

Among the youth, the Social Democratic policies create a certain disgust that is exploited by the ultra-lefts. They isolate the youth from the class struggle and make the Social Democratic workers responsible for the betrayal of the bureaucracy.

How have the German Trotskyists and the Junge Garde intervened in this situation?

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The Essen Assembly will draw together Trotskyist youth from all over the world. Below, from left to right: British Young Socialists; Bolivian POR; French OCI.



ESSEN



# The Road from Liege to Essen



French Trotskyist youth organization, Revoltes, marched in Liege demonstration, 1966.

Ceylonese Trotskyists rally in support of Farinas before Coalition began bloodbath.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

**THE HOLDING OF** the International Youth Conference in Essen, Germany on July 3-4 will represent a critically important step in the struggle to construct a Revolutionary Youth International which in turn is central to the construction of the Fourth International.

The struggle to build a new youth international has been a central task of the International Committee throughout the whole period of struggle with revisionism. This theoretical struggle, which has occupied so much of the attention of the International Committee, has actually laid the basis for this international youth movement while this movement in turn has delivered material blows against revisionism.

It was precisely in the 1961-63 period of struggle against the SWP's return to the camp of Pabloism that there emerged in England a sizable youth movement within the Labour Party led by the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League. This youth movement was fashioned in a battle not only against the right wing Labour Party bureaucracy but against the Pabloite and state capitalist revisionists which bolstered this bureaucracy.

Following the development of the Young Socialists as a youth movement independent of the Labour Party, the French Trotskyist movement, the OCI, was able to make major gains among Stalinist youth, forming the Revoltes youth organization.

#### APRIL CONFERENCE

It was at the April, 1966 International Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International that plans were laid for the international collaboration which has resulted in this Essen Conference.

It is important to note that that conference was preoccupied with a sharp theoretical struggle with the Robertson Spartacist group and the French Voix

Ouvriere group. At issue was the very continuity of Marxism through the Fourth International. The VO group saw no such continuity and refused therefore to recognize the International Committee as the continuator of the struggle for the Transitional Program begun by the Fourth International in 1938. It therefore turned its back on the whole political capital gained by the Trotskyist movement in the struggle against revisionism beginning in 1952.

Robertson blocked with the VO group on this question and carried out the logic of its position by pitting his own individuality against the International Committee as a whole and its whole history. He simply walked out of a session of the conference and refused to return when so requested by the IC. He then refused to apologize for this action precipitating his break from the International Committee, a break which has led him further and further away from Marxism.

The April 1966 Conference was a critical turning point for the Workers League. On the basis of the political position of the IC Conference and its decisions, the Workers League launched the *Bulletin* as a printed paper in the fall and held its founding conference.

Only this political and theoretical struggle against this attack on the continuity of Marxism made it possible for the International Committee to proceed with the construction of an international youth movement. Point 13 of the "Report of the Commission on Rebuilding the Fourth International and the Tasks of the International Committee" declared:

"The International Committee will set up a youth commission working under its direction and consisting of representatives of the Young Socialists and Revoltes. The immediate tasks of this commission to be:

(a) Convening of an international conference of revolutionary youth organizations;

(b) Organization of mass participation in the Liege demonstration against NATO and the Vietnam war in October 1966."

#### LIEGE

The next important step was the Liege

demonstration. This demonstration was called by the Young Guards of Belgium, a group dominated by Ernest Mandel and the Pabloites. The youth led by the International Committee welcomed the invitation to participate and the British Young Socialists brought 500 youth to Belgium to be joined by 400 from the French Revoltes organization. This made up almost half of the entire demonstration.

The march was not without incident for the Pabloites had invited a small contingent from the Belgian Stalinists to participate. The Stalinists threatened to pull out unless the IC contingents lowered their banners commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. This the IC supporters refused to do and the Pabloites even threatened police action. Nonetheless the march was held with the banners and the YS and French youth contingents chanted "Long Live the Fourth International" in French as they marched through the workers sections of Liege.

It is significant that among the sponsors of the Essen Conference are revolutionary youth from East European countries. The building of the International Committee in East Europe would not have been possible without the principled stand against Pabloism and Stalinism at Liege in 1966.

#### YOUTH ASSEMBLY

The next important step was the International Youth Assembly held in August, 1967 for a full week under tent on the South Coast of England. Some 800 youth from 12 countries participated. The Workers League sent its first major international contingent of 16 to the conference.

An important struggle took place at the Assembly with a group of German students who reflected the petty bourgeois anti-Leninist outlook of Marcuse and Dutschke. Also significant was the presence of a representative from Ceylon where the Revolutionary Communist League was just in the process of formation. These comrades have recently faced imprisonment and the banning of their press under the coalition government.

The Assembly took a principled stand

on the international crisis and the necessity to prepare now for revolutionary struggles. The Assembly hoped to hold a Conference in 1968. However instead came the May-June events in France, a dramatic confirmation of the whole perspective of the International Youth Assembly and the International Committee of the Fourth International.

#### LE BOURGET

May-June led to an important development of the French Trotskyist movement of the revolutionary youth of that country. Out of this development grew the AJS (Alliance of Youth for Socialism) which has spread rapidly among young workers in France. In February 1970, these youth staged a mammoth rally of 8,000 at Le Bourget Airport.

In the interim the British Young Socialists together with the Socialist Labour League have been able to launch and maintain a daily newspaper, the first Trotskyist daily in the world. In February, 1971 over 4,000 British youth attended a mass anti-Tory rally at Alexandra Palace. These two events were important parts of the preparation for the Essen International Youth Conference.

It has been the principled theoretical struggle for Trotskyism against revisionism and Stalinism which has made it possible to take these important steps in the construction of a revolutionary youth international. At the same time precisely because of the intense crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of the class struggle it has brought about, the Transitional Program must be concretely taken into the trade unions and among youth where the basis for mass parties in every country can be laid.

#### SUPPORT

The Workers League supports and will participate in the Essen Conference in this spirit. It has been our long participation in this international struggle which has made it possible for our movement to develop in the past period. This in turn lays the basis for the development of a serious revolutionary youth movement in the United States as well.

# FILMS

LOU BELKIN

**LITTLE BIG MAN.** Directed by Arthur Penn. Based on the novel by Thomas Berger. Starring Dustin Hoffman, Martin Balsam, Jeff Corey, Chief Dan George, Faye Dunaway.

It has become quite fashionable for the middle classes, particularly the reformists and do-gooders to take up causes for the "underdogs" those "poor helpless souls" who are victims either of fate or circumstance or great big government powers, or what is most ghastly—of "public indifference." Joining these syrup-tongued forces are the revisionists and Stalinists who provide the theoretical cover for reformism and seek to obscure the fundamental class issues.

Such a recent cause celebre has been the Indians. Following upon the classic exposes of Laura Bellamy (*Century of Dishonor*—1887) or Oliver LaFarge (*Indian Civilization*—1929) have been a spate of literary, artistic and filmic outpourings, each seeking to blame the white man for the troubles being visited upon his "helpless" red-skinned brother.

It is interesting to note that the development through American film of cowboy and Indian yarns has proceeded from outrightly and outrageously racial filth in the early teens, such as *Savage Cherokees* (Vitagraph Production) through the typical yarns of the twenties and thirties, in which white women invariably were attacked, and by implication raped by savage Indians who were always Hollywood extras dressed up, tinted and made up like Sioux, Cherokees or Cheyenne.

The cowboy heroes such as Johnny Mack Brown had Indian sidekicks who were reformed savages, had found Christianity, and had gone to schools for white children only. And of course there was the Lone Ranger whose buddy literally betrayed his peoples to soldiers and government forces time after time. We learned to respect the tenacity and common-sense virtues of Indians, but also to fear them, particularly when they were "likkered up" with "devil-juice."

Preceded by the great John Ford westerns, came the boom period of the fifties. The colonial struggles and the civil rights movement, which were actual harbingers of the ferocious class battles and profound world crisis of today, saw the easing up, in television and film, of the stock-in-trade portrayals of Blacks and Indians. Indians began to assume a certain identity, were even portrayed as being excellent farmers and hunters and occasionally capable of thought. Always, though, the central class questions were resolved. Reformist allegations of white genocide practiced against red Indians were always central to story-line. The Union Army forces that fought Indians were, along with Geronimo, equally guilty; but somehow the audience had to feel sympathy.

## CLASS

What was and is completely ignored is the class genocide first practiced by the bourgeois farmers and early slavetraders who utilized Indians as slaves and stole their land by force or by smuggling in virulent diseases in blankets and perishable goods. With the enormous expansion of young capitalism in the 1870s and 1880s Indians' land was no longer taken over for farm produce but taken over in order that large factories or enormous mechanized farms might take root and develop.

## YARN

With *Little Big Man* we get the cowboy-Indian film that not only plagiarizes all the dialogue, set-ups, Panavision color qualities and blood-letting violence from the past, but not wishing to be accused of not being "with it" has added a few touches from the contemporary scene—particularly the middle class revulsion for Vietnam. The film is a real yarn, in the Buntline tradition—the story of Jack Crabb, the only white survivor of

Custer's Last Stand, fought in South Dakota.

Mr. Crabb recounts for a young academic the story of his life which is completely directionless (as is the film) and director Arthur Penn (Bonnie and Clyde) episodically goes along with the narrator. Flashback and dissolve must assume new meaning for us because you see Crabb was captured by Cheyenne at age 10 (his homely sister, not particularly appealing to the Indians, makes her escape) and lives with the "human beings" only to find his way back to white civilization (which actually is quite awful).

Crabb goes back to the Indians and sees that a Cheyenne rival has married his former wife (a dominant female like his sister). He returns to Custer. After a particularly vicious and bloodthirsty raid by Custer which leaves blood-strewn Indians dead a la My Lai, our hero goes back to the Cheyenne and takes an Indian wife. The Indians are moved to what they believe is a permanent home. But the soldiers attack and kill his wife and children and all men, women and children in the reservation. His hatred for Custer grows and grows.

## CUSTER

The Battle at Little Big Horn finds Crabb a scout in Custer's army. Custer doesn't trust him, knowing Crabb's attachment for the Indians, and in what must be the most humorous episodes in the film asks Crabb's advice, does the op-

posite, and dies a tragic death—cursing, sputtering, announcing his intention for the presidency before two arrows happily find the mark.

Have I left anything out? In between Penn treats us to Crabb's sister, who can handle a gun as well as any man, a minister's wife whose hypocrisy forces Jack to give up religion, several bouts of Crabb as a gun-slinger, and in what every Pabloite should relish—a homosexual Indian who fights for his rights, but alas is the only homosexual in the Cheyenne nation.

Star of this epic (2 hours and thirty minutes) is Chief Dan George, a 101 year old who plays Grandfather and adopts Jack as a son. His aphorisms are amusing and touching. He is not at all bothered by directions and is hardly mannered. Which is more than we can say for the rest of the cast—which is truly a caricature.

The film has its moments of fun and Dustin Hoffman who is the anti-hero farce figure is quite adequate as Jack Crabb, but of course nothing is resolved. We get a glimpse into the life of the Cheyenne nation and Penn definitely depicts human beings who love, hate, show jealousy, sexual prowess, tenderness and great wit.

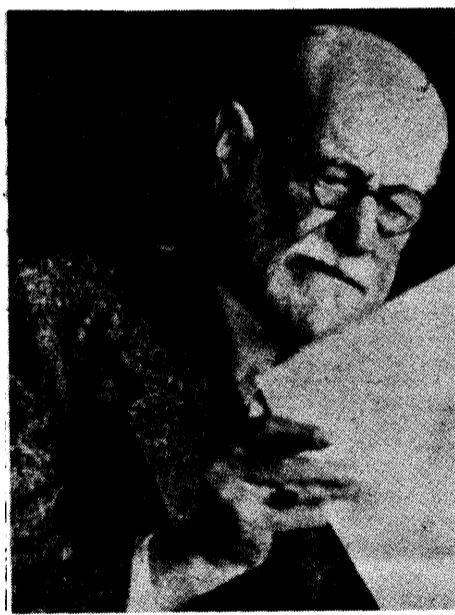
But alas, the director puts Crabb outside of society and classes and events happen as though willed by fate. But multi-million dollar productions in this period will bare only what is palatable and not controversial.



Dustin Hoffman

# BOOKS

STEVE DAMON



Sigmund Freud

**THE CRISIS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS: ESSAYS ON FREUD, MARX, AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** By Erich Fromm. New York. Holt-Rinehart-Winston. 1970. 161 pages.

Psychoanalysis, as developed by Sigmund Freud, was an ideological blow aimed directly against socialism. Psychoanalysis explains all the destructive manifestations of capitalism, in particular imperialist war, through a "death instinct" supposedly innate in man. In this way it not only exonerates capitalism but makes socialism impossible.

Speculative system that psychoanalysis is, it can be and has been revised in any number of ways. One of the boldest of the revisionists is Erich Fromm, who not only revises psychoanalysis but "re-constructs" it on an entirely new basis.

What Erich Fromm does appears to be the opposite of Freud. While Freud develops a conception of "human nature" which is incompatible with socialism, Fromm comes up with a different list of instincts, such as relatedness, rootedness, and transcendence, which can only be satisfied under socialism. But the

purpose of all this is to do away with the class struggle and depict socialism as the outcome of universal human needs, in reality the needs of the petty bourgeoisie.

Fromm has written a whole series of books on this theme. *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis*, which includes some of Fromm's earliest writings, differs from the rest of his very repetitious series only in that it contains more material on the fundamental theoretical basis of his system, in connection with the relationship between psychoanalysis and Marxism.

## MARX

Because it deals with these questions, by far the most important essay in this volume is "The Method and Function of an Analytic Social Psychology: Notes on Psychoanalysis and Historical Materialism" first published in 1932. In this essay Fromm lays the basis for what he purports to do in all his later works—to supplement historical materialism with psychoanalysis. This is Fromm's verdict on historical materialism as it was developed by Marx, that is before it was "supplemented" by psychoanalysis:

"Marx and Engels postulated the dependence of all ideological processes on the economic substructure. They saw intellectual and psychic creations as the material basis reflected in man's head. In many instances, to be sure, historical materialism could provide the right answers without any psychological presuppositions. But only where ideology was the immediate expression of economic interests; or where one was trying to establish the correlation between economic substructure and ideological superstructure. Lacking a satisfactory psychology, Marx and Engels could not explain how the material basis was reflected in man's heart and head."

The central question of philosophy is the relationship between matter and ideas. For the materialist ideas can only be explained on the basis of the motion of matter. What Fromm is saying, on the other hand, is that such an explanation may "work" in very simple instances, but it is actually no explanation at all. A full explanation must, according to Fromm, be based on psychology, or the explanation of ideas in

terms of ideas.

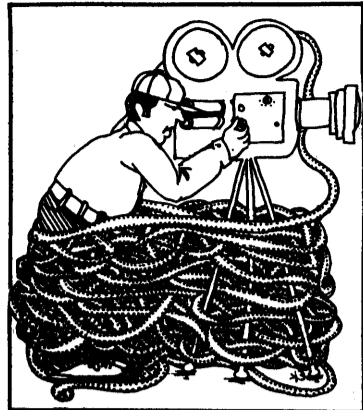
Of course Fromm goes to great pains to show that psychology, and especially psychoanalysis, is materialist. He argues that psychoanalysis starts not from consciousness but from material forces, "drives," which lie behind consciousness. The point, however, is that these "drives," whether they are conscious or not, whether they are Freud's death instinct, Fromm's need for relatedness, or any of the psychoanalytic variations, are all ideas. Freud developed his whole system explicitly on the basis of innate ideas, and no matter how his disciples try to cover this up, their systems retain the same implicit assumption.

## CONSCIOUSNESS

Fromm's assertion that Marxism needs to be supplemented by psychoanalysis because Marxism alone does not show how the substructure is reflected represents a complete repudiation of everything biological evolution teaches us about the role of consciousness. Consciousness developed as a product of a higher organization of matter because it helped the organism to survive. It could only aid man in adapting to his environment if it reflected that environment.

Fromm propounds a view which is directly counter to these absolutely established scientific truths. Fromm would have us believe that for some reason man developed a consciousness which reflects not matter but his "drives," and matter only insofar as it is related to these "drives." These "drives" are not of course man's real material drives, such as hunger and thirst, but the psychoanalytic instincts. Matter therefore becomes a thing-in-itself, not directly accessible, but only accessible through the prism of the "drives."

When Fromm speaks of a crisis in psychoanalysis, he is not attacking the idealist method of psychoanalysis. He is merely arguing about the particular set of instincts which are the "real" instincts. Fromm is asking for a more Social-Democratic psychoanalysis, one which can appear to be "humanist" and even "socialist" while in fact denying the class struggle, the only force for socialism.



## Hollywood

# The Golden Years Are Over

years produced their share of good films and unemployment was minimal.

During the boom period of the fifties, foreign films started flooding the American market, television came on the horizon, but there was always sufficient capital to weather the storm. In fact, as late as ten years ago, 250 films were made in Hollywood. Additionally, the television boom provided work for actors and technicians, producers and script girls.

During the mid-sixties, the boom showed signs of cracking. Film producers decided to venture overseas with runaway productions where union rates were as little as one sixth the prevailing Hollywood rates. The inflationary monetary trends were suddenly reversing. By the late sixties the banks were pulling out of Hollywood for more lucrative investments overseas.

The late sixties saw major studios fold, and saw the turn towards independent low budget pictures shot on location with unknown actors, few technicians, highly portable panavision color cameras, lighting and complex sound equipment.

### UNEMPLOYED

By 1971 85% of the members of IA (International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees) Electrical Technicians Local 728 were out of work. The crisis in Hollywood is now further reinforced by the crisis in television. Networks have dropped hundreds of staff members, eliminating big-budget musicals and dramatic specials and were recently ordered by the Federal Communications Commission to lop off 30 minutes of network prime time every night.

Unemployment in the industry has risen drastically. 62% are

unemployed in IA Costumers Local 705; 60% of IA Grips Local 80; 57.5% of IA Script Supervisors Local 871.

The union bureaucrats have completely capitulated to the producers and banks. They have tried to cut down wage rates for members by offering certain concessions to producers of pictures budgeted under a million dollars. Now pressure is being applied to unions to widen the concessions to multi-million dollar productions. Ronald Reagan, along with the union bureaucrats, begged Nixon to push through a 20% tax reduction for pictures shot in America. Nixon was sympathetic, but...

The crisis gripping Hollywood and television is reflected all over Europe as the crisis of capitalism deepens. In Britain, the British Broadcasting Company is cutting staff by 50-60%. The British film industry

propped up by French and American capital, like Hollywood, is falling apart at the seams.

### NATIONALIZATION

In this context we must welcome the recent decision of the British Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians Union which voted overwhelmingly for "nationalization of the entertainment industry under workers' control." In the current situation the struggle must be waged by America's film workers against the attempts by the employers to destroy all hard won rights, wages and conditions, by taking up the demand for nationalization of the entertainment industry under workers' control and as part of the American labor movement's fight to build a labor party and expropriate the Warners, the Skouras's, the producers and the banks for good.

BY LOU BELKIN

For some time now, the fabled structure that was Hollywood, formerly producing 250-300 films a year, and creating stars and superstars, has begun the long plunge down.

During the golden years of the twenties, and even during the thirties, Hollywood was a magic name. Big pictures, big investments, big studios and full employment characterized the glitter and the gloss. During the forties and fifties, perhaps the quality of movies was not the same but the war and post-war

## CP & Abel . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

The Daily World is obviously trying to take the steel ranks for a ride.

### LINED UP

They followed this up in their April 1st report of the Basic Steel Industry Conference, under the heading "Steel Unions defy Nixon wage lids." This is how the Daily World then lined up behind Abel to try and promote the can settlement in basic steel. At that time, they still saw the main issues as "democracy" and grievance procedure.

This continued late into May, with the May 20 issue of the Daily World stating that: "At a press conference this morning, I.W. Abel, USWA president, called for a 'substantial' wage increase as the top priority item in the union's demands along with restoration of a cost of living clause..."

"In recent negotiations with the can industry, steelworkers won wage increases of some 31 per cent. Union spokesmen have viewed this as the wage pattern for a basic steel settlement..."

"Steelworkers have been preparing for a probable strike in basic steel ever since the union convention last fall. The anger expressed there ran from a demand for the right to strike on grievances to the right to vote on contracts."

### ANGER

But with the signing of the aluminum pact along the same lines as can and auto, the anger of the steel ranks began to really build up, and the CP had to make themselves look good. A slight shift could be noticed in the Daily World of June 2, which said that "The pressure from the steel locals has been for what appears a more substantial wage

raise than seems possible under the 31 per cent formula. The demand is for more liberalized and substantial pensions and an unlimited cost-of-living escalator."

On June 9, that paper reports that "the workers are standing their ground without flinching and will demand a wage settlement equal to that of the can and aluminum workers 31 per cent."

### SHEEHAN

This is reported as the statement of USWA legislative director Jack Sheehan, reported without comment or criticism. All along, the CP has been holding up the GE and auto settlements as models for the steelworkers to follow, even though these laid the basis for the can and aluminum pacts.

But they can no longer get away with openly saying these things, so they have put on a very militant face as of June 10. While the CP now raises a program of demands, the question is how are they going to be won.

The CP perspective of pressure on the bureaucracy, of the rank and file forcing Abel to act in their interests is a perspective that will lead to defeat.

Abel's real base is the continued existence of capitalism, and he will do whatever is necessary to preserve that system. He will only go so far under pressure from the ranks, and will then attempt to impose a sellout.

It is therefore important that the CP does not say a word on what must be done as the needs of the steel ranks conflict more and more with the needs of this system.

### LABOR PARTY

This is why the CP has not raised the demands for a labor party which will move to nationalize the steel industry, without compensation and under workers' control.

To do this would mean a clash with Abel, as well as with the so-called "progressive" section of the USWA bureaucracy such as Odorcich and Younglove, with

whom they have set up a very cozy relationship.

This is why they propose to line the steel ranks up behind Abel to fight for \$2 an hour, something Abel is incapable of.

### RACISM

This is why, despite all their talk of fighting racism, they endorse the formation of Black and Chicano caucuses in the unions, caucuses which by their very nature accept the existence of racism among the white workers,

Talking about \$2 an hour is one thing, winning it and winning it in the first year of the contract means a perspective of war with the bureaucracy in the union, the shattering of the bureaucracy, and the building of a completely new type of leadership. This means a sharp clash with the bureaucracy AND their Stalinist allies, as the only way to build a real rank and file movement in basic steel.

## Vietnam Report . . .

(Continued From Page 3) sense in VN (Vietnam) capable of assuring Diem (President Ngo Dinh Diem) of our readiness to join him in a military showdown with the Viet Cong or Viet Minh. To relate the introduction of these troops to the needs of flood relief seems to me to offer considerable advantages in VN and abroad. It gives a specific humanitarian task as the prime reason for the coming of our troops..."

Johnson of course deepened the

war with the U.S. more and more faced with defeat. It is clear from the Johnson documents that the main aim of the U.S. in Vietnam was to avoid what McNamara termed a "humiliating U.S. defeat," and to preserve the interests of imperialism there. As the Times reports reveal the Administration was fully aware that their puppets in Saigon could not compete politically with the NLF. "Therefore," remarks the Times, "any attempt to negotiate

a compromise political settlement of the war between the Vietnamese themselves was to be avoided because it would result in a Communist take-over and the destruction of the American position in South Vietnam."

### JOHNSON

Above all Johnson carried out a thorough propaganda campaign to deceive the American working class, lying at every single point about the actual activities of the U.S. in Vietnam and its plans. All the decisions were made by top sections of the ruling class developing more and more the form of a military-bureaucracy that stands above the state.

These tendencies have only been deepened under the Nixon Administration as the capitalist class is faced not only with the offensive of the worker's and peasants in Southeast Asia but the movement of the American working class against the employers and the government's attempts to drive back their living standards. The means of deception, the by-passing of bourgeois democratic forms which underly the conduct of the war in Vietnam are now strengthened for the war at home.

This is the meaning of the

moves by the Nixon Administration from its beginnings against the press and the news media. As Trotsky pointed out the Bonapartist dictatorship while it seeks to become "independent" of society does not cease being the "clerk" of the capitalists. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss and rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face.

These are the developments that the New York Times reacts to, to the sharp movements to the right and to dictatorship. The New York Times and a section of the capitalist class it represents react because all the old forms which held the capitalists and the working class together are breaking down. While the Times supported Kennedy and Johnson, now their instrument for influencing the government is curtailed.

### FEAR

Together with Nixon they fear and stand against the working class. The same day the Times screams against the suppression of free speech it advocates the suppression of the strike movement and the trade unions in New

York City. The Times fears the crisis that is being precipitated by the direct confrontation with the working class in a battle the entire capitalist class can very well lose. It fears the break up of the bureaucracy's hold on the trade unions and the unions' political ties to the capitalist parties. It seeks to head this off through the old forms.

The Times represents that section of the capitalist class which more and more sees the impossibility of conducting a losing war in Vietnam at a time when it must open a war against the American working class at home.

But the lesson of the Vietnam Report is that the class lines have been drawn, there cannot be any more compromise between the two classes even if it means Nixon has to step on a few toes. The old forms under which the capitalist class ruled, the constitution and the Congress, are being tossed to the winds.

This serves as a sharp warning to the American working class that only by breaking its political ties with capitalism and launching an independent political struggle against the government can it defeat these plans.

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## Chile

# Allende Veers To The Right

of Interior who sent troops against peasants occupying land in 1969. The massacre that followed, in which 10 were killed including children, earned him the hatred of the workers and peasants.

He represented the right wing of the Christian Democrats, which is opposed to any cooperation with the leftist parties and openly advocates wiping out all revolutionary groups.

Immediately following the assassination, Allende declared a state of emergency. All cars entering the capital are stopped, individual liberties can be revoked and the press can be censored.

A few days later the Communist Party and the Socialist Party issued a statement accusing the CIA of engineering the killing. The Revolutionary Left Movement, which has organized the land seizures, met with Allende and also accused the CIA.

### CRACKDOWN

At the same time the Christian Democrats have seized on the assassination to attack the government. They have demanded Allende conduct a crackdown on the left and have accused the federal director of the investigation, a member of the Socialist Party, of having connections with the Popular Workers Vanguard. They have literally accused the coalition of encouraging the assassination.

Suddenly, all talk of the CIA was dropped and the Rivera Calderon brothers, former members of the Revolutionary Left Movement, were accused of the killing.

After they were found and shot, leaflets were "discovered" in which they took responsibility for the killing. The leaflets had never been distributed.

The Communist Party maintained that the Calderon brothers were used as "mercenaries" and that the plot was the work of right wing extremists who had infiltrated their organization.

Allende in a similar vein denounced the Popular Workers Vanguard as "false revolutionaries allied to criminals, infiltrated by the right wing."

### CURB

The assassination, regardless of who did it, is being used by Allende as an excuse to clamp down on the left wing and to put an end to the revolutionary initiatives of the workers and peasants. Allende knows that unless he can curb these forces the United States will consider him a very unreliable ally and will seek to topple him.

Allende, by sending out the police not to arrest but to gun down the Calderon brothers, is doing the bidding of the Christian Democrats.

After invoking the state of emergency Allende declared: "I reiterate categorically that I will maintain democracy and liberty. I will fulfill without vacillation my duty to maintain order, internal peace and the law."

### CEYLON

These were almost the exact words of Madame Bandaranaike, head of the coal-

ition government in Ceylon, after she used the same emergency powers. Her campaign to exterminate a Maoist youth organization was just the beginning of repression against the whole working class. As in Ceylon, there will never be a return to bourgeois democracy in Chile.

The gradual nationalization of the U.S. copper holdings in Chile is only tolerated as long as it does not threaten imperialism's basic interests. Once the workers and peasants go beyond the slow reforms of Allende, then imperialism and its allies in the Chilean bourgeoisie bare their fangs and prepare for civil war.

### EXPOSE

The events in Chile expose once more the real meaning of the Stalinists' slogan of "peaceful roads to socialism" and alliances with sections of the national bourgeoisie. Allende's Popular Front which was to be the model that every Communist Party was urged to follow is already falling apart.

The Popular Front, which does not prepare for a revolutionary seizure of power, will mean defeat after defeat to the working class. The crisis of imperialism cannot make room for reforms that will appease the workers and peasantry. The collaboration of the Socialist Party and Communist Party with the bourgeoisie leaves the working class at the mercy of the fascists. Allende will do their bidding until they have no more use for him.

BY MELODY FARROW

Two members of the Popular Workers Vanguard of Chile, accused by the Allende government of assassinating Edmundo Perez Zukovic, were shot and killed by the police in Santiago, Chile.

The machine gun killing on June 8th of Zukovic, a leader of the right wing section of the Christian Democratic Party, has triggered the beginning of the end of Allende's Popular Front government, proclaimed by the Soviet Union just a few months earlier as a "model" of socialist construction.

Class tensions that have been deepening as peasants made direct land seizures are now exploding to the surface. Allende must now make a sharp turn to the right or face a military overthrow.

Zukovic was the hated former Minister



BY FRED MUELLER

Inflation is skyrocketing. Labor Department figures released this week show that inflation in the month of May rose at a faster rate than in the previous four month period, with consumer prices rising by six tenths of one percent.

This leap in inflation comes right on the heels of last month's announcement of increasing unemployment. What this means is that the capitalist class is forcing the workers to pay, through unemployment and higher prices, for their crisis.

At the same time Nixon is preparing more direct attacks on wages and on the trade union movement. This is the meaning of the preparation Nixon is making for the upcoming steel strike, where he will fight to impose a settlement on steel which will break the wage offensive.

It is absolutely clear that the May currency crisis solved absolutely nothing for American and European capitalism. Everywhere the system is sliding rapidly towards the biggest collapse since the 1930s.

### BANKERS

The Bank for International Settlements, beginning its 41st annual meeting in Basel, Switzerland on June 14th, issued a call for all out war on the working class.

The BIS, comprising the central banks of 30 countries, warned that the major cause for the persistent and unchecked inflation is "leaping wages." It insisted that "public opinion" had to be alerted

## Economy

# Bankers Call For Wage Freeze

to the "realities of the problem" immediately, with the development of effective incomes policies in both the public and private sector to break the back of the international wage offensive.

But the international bankers went further. They rejected in the strongest possible language any suggestion that it was up to Japan and West Europe to come to the aid of Washington and its growing balance of payments deficit.

The United States is not a member of the Bank for International Settlements. Through the BIS the Europeans have now thrown down the gauntlet to Washington, just weeks after equally strong statements by American Secretary of the Treasury Connally and Secretary of State Rogers on the necessity of help from Europe on the payments crisis.

The Europeans insist that Nixon take steps to deal with the payments problem, with higher interest rates and an incomes policy.

Nixon and the American capitalists know this war is inevitable. While they prepare they continue to try to throw the crisis onto their European allies, through the dumping of excess dollars leading to inflation and currency revaluations like those which took place in May.

### TENSION

Behind the quarrel is the deepening and irreversible crisis manifested above all in the pressure on the rate of profit. Tensions between the major imperialist powers are at their highest point in 25 years as they all must prepare for tremendous class confrontations.

The open argument over monetary problems has its counterpart in the preparation for trade war. In the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, "the U.S. government is getting ready for a new cold war—against the rest of the free world."

Inflation is fast approaching the runaway point all over Europe. It has now reached annual rates of 7% in Switzerland, 9% in West Germany, 6% in France and 9.5% in Britain.

Inflation is behind the collapse of a number of capitalist giants and the precarious positions of firms like Lockheed.

While Congressional hearings ramble on concerning the Administration's proposed \$250 million loan to Lockheed, Treasury Secretary Connally warns that a delay of as much as a few months on this loan could precipitate the bankruptcy of this aerospace giant.

### LOCKHEED

The government claims that a Lockheed failure would have a very serious effect on domestic airlines which have millions tied up in down payments for the notorious Tristar airbus, which precipitated the collapse of Rolls Royce earlier this year.

The wage offensive of the working class is the biggest obstacle in the path of the capitalists. In the face of the gravest political risks the government, acting for the employers, must now move to break this offensive, to deepen unemployment, to open up the path to depression, and

above all to destroy the trade unions.

More than five million unemployed are required by the capitalists. Every week more and more workers are being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed and onto the welfare rolls. The summer job situation facing youth is the worst in many years, and the ghettos are at the boiling point. The capitalist government consciously seeks to pit Black and white workers against each other, using the aid of the trade union bureaucracy to push the workers back.

Now Nixon hopes to secure a deal in the steel industry contract which will help to break the wage offensive. This follows his moves to freeze construction wages, which the capitalists are already boasting has led to a significant slowing in wage rises.

The explosive economic situation poses enormous tasks to the working class. In order to defend its gains won over decades of struggle against the onslaught of the employers and their governments internationally, the road of political struggle, of the construction of a labor party, must be taken.

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## Georg Lukacs

# The Fashionable 'Marxist'

persuading young intellectuals that they can be "Marxists" without upsetting the Stalinist bureaucracy or the imperialists with whom the bureaucracy "peacefully co-exists."

That is why Lukacs, even though supposedly in political retirement for some 40 years, felt obliged to speak out against the Chinese Communist Party when it made formally correct criticisms of "peaceful co-existence" but politically has said nothing about the Hungarian Revolution in which he joined the government of Nagy and was briefly exiled to Rumania.

The suppression of that revolution by the Soviet bureaucracy, like the subsequent invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, and the struggle of the Polish workers in 1970-1971, merit Lukacs' attention, even though he knows, for instance that in 1956 the Communist Party of China gave full support to Khrushchev's suppression of the Hungarian Revolution.

The fact is that Lukacs never broke from his idealist background. Son of a wealthy Budapest family, before the First World War he was a prominent member of the idealist school of German philosophy and sociology.

The essential aim of all these thinkers was to discredit Marx's materialist conception of history, to prove that certain eternal properties of the mind, forms of thinking, were the real forces of history.

When Lukacs joined the Hungarian Communist Party at the time of the abortive Hungarian Revolution of 1919, it was without changing his opinion on these matters.

In November, 1918, writing in a magazine devoted to the first anniversary of the October Revolution, Lukacs wrote:

"Is it possible to arrive at good by evil means, to arrive at freedom by way of oppression? Can a new world order be created if the means for its creation are indistinguishable, except technically, from those of the old order?..."

"Bolshevism bases itself on the metaphysical assumption that good can come out of evil, that it is possible to arrive through lies at the truth. The author of these cannot share that belief."

Only a few days after this openly idealist attack on the October Revolution, Lukacs joined the Communist Party!

### LENIN

It is small wonder that Lenin was very rough in his characterization of Lukacs' writings two years later, and hit the nail on the head. Commenting on Lukacs' article in the journal "Kommunismus", Lenin wrote (June 12, 1920):

"G. L.'s article is very left-wing, and very poor. Its Marxism is purely verbal, its distinction between 'defensive' and 'offensive' tactics is artificial, it gives no concrete analysis of precise and definite historical situations; it takes no account of what is most essential (the need to take over and to learn to take over, all fields of work and all institutions in which the bourgeoisie exerts its influence over the masses, etc.)." (My emphasis—C.S.: Lenin "Collected Works," Vol. 31, p. 165)

"Purely verbal" Marxism is of course not Marxism. And if we consult Lukacs' own account of his intellectual and political evolution, the same idealism, the same separation of theory and practice, is absolutely clear.

He conceives of every step in his career purely in terms of the books he read and the discussions he had.

In describing his youth and early manhood, he does not even mention the struggle of the Hungarian working class, but only the ferment in the intellectual circles with which he was acquainted.

He never turned to the struggle within the workers' movement as the sources for the enrichment and development of Marxism.

For example, having supported Stalin's gross revision of Marxism, the theory of "socialism in one country," and accepted the bureaucratic purges which followed from these, Lukacs found himself horrified

by the ultra-left turn taken after 1929 by Stalin, a turn which proved responsible for the victory of Hitler.

Lukacs was in Berlin in the years 1931 and 1932 but remained a bitter opponent of Trotsky, who was struggling for the policy of the united front.

### RETIRE

Not only did Lukacs refuse to face up to the principled theoretical question of the connection between "socialism in one country" and these international betrayals; he actually took the decision at this time to retire from politics.

Let us take the evidence out of his own mouth. In his 1967 preface to "History and Class Consciousness," his most famous book, Lukacs says:

"In the debates in the Russian Party I agreed with Stalin about the necessity for socialism in one country and this shows very clearly the start of a new epoch in my thoughts." (p. 28)

This is most revealing, and has the virtue of frankness. We have seen that Lukacs was a thorough-going idealist and open opponent of October, that Lenin denounced his "Marxism" as "purely verbal" (1920).

And now Lukacs tells us quite correctly, that if there was any great change, it came with the start of a new epoch, the Stalinist epoch!

All Lukacs' pretenses of criticism of Stalinism are within this framework, just as all the opponents of Trotskyism, of revolution, always revert to support of Stalin on this fundamental question.

During the years of Hitler's rise, Lukacs tells us that:

"To clear my own mind (!) and to achieve a political and theoretical self-understanding I was engaged at the time on a "genuine" left-wing programme that would provide a third alternative to the opposing factions in Germany.

"I never succeeded in solving it to my own satisfaction and so I did not publish any theoretical or political contribution on the international level during this period."

### "GRAVE DEFECTS"

He claims that he did contribute criticisms within the Hungarian Party, but he was threatened with discipline. Finding himself in a minority, he took a decision which explains everything about his theoretical and political position, then and now.

For all his high talk about theory, he is what Trotsky called a "worshipper of the accomplished fact." Thus, Lukacs writes:

"My internal, private self-criticism came to the conclusion that if I was so clearly in the right, as I believed, and could still not avoid such a sensational defeat, then there must be grave defects in my practical political abilities.

"Therefore, I felt able to withdraw from my political career with a good conscience and concentrate on theoretical matters. (On the eve of Hitler's accession to power!—C.S.) I have never regretted this decision."

If Lukacs tries later to say, therefore, that his literary work in subsequent years (in the USSR and Hungary) was "really" oppositional, no one will be misled, for Lukacs effectively consigned theory to the study...and left Stalin to get on with the job. It has rightly been said that Lukacs was really the eminence grise of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Of course, Lukacs did not actually "withdraw" from politics. We will quote only one of his many execrable services to Stalinism.

Adding his intellectual reputation to the chauvinistic propaganda of Stalin in 1942, Lukacs wrote:

"The German people, made drunk by demogogy, whipped forward by terror, plaything of its bestial instincts, went staggering to its ruin."

We know that the admirers of Lukacs, who like to present him as a great Marxist thinker, even the greatest of our time, will be offended by this concentration on the

political career of their hero.

They do not like to face up to the question: what can be the meaning of Lukacs' "contribution" to Marxism, given this subservience to the counterrevolution?

The fact is, of course, that his philosophical writing, above all in his "History and Class Consciousness," 1924, remained on a fundamentally idealist basis.

For Lukacs, Marxism goes right back to Hegel, in the worst sense, and becomes a closed system, not a method for struggle to change the world.

The central parts of "History and Class Consciousness" constitute a rejection of materialism. Man's practice, in transforming an objectively existing material world, and creating a human world based on production, is lost in what Lukacs calls the "totality" of the fetishistic unconsciousness created by bourgeois society.

For Lukacs, therefore, the only worthwhile "activity" is intellectual effort to explore the meaning of this totality, and not the revolutionary struggle to develop theory through the material life and death struggle of the working class in all its contradictory relations.

### "HUMANISTIC"

We are left only with a "humanistic" ideal of some man free from alienation. Marx's basic discovery that "in changing circumstances, men change themselves," that through revolution men summon up and negate all their past—all this is lost on Lukacs.

The dialectical "totality" of which he speaks is a purely mental totality. He rejects Engels' conclusion: "The unity of the world consists in its materiality."

This was the philosophical basis, despite all the insistence on "self-criticism," for Lukacs' acceptance of Stalinism.

It enabled him to present the Party (as in his book "Lenin") not as a developing unity of theory and practice in contradictory relation with the working class, but as a fixed star, justified in imposing its guidance on the working class by any means, leaving the opponents of Stalinism a purely ideal and sentimental mode of protest.

These were the fundamental lines of the life of Georg Lukacs. His services to the counterrevolution are now at last ended.

But there will be many candidates for his mantle, seekers after the role of scholasticizing Marxism in order to divert young Marxists from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The working class has, however, emerged from the period of great defeats which sustained the Stalinist bureaucracy and its time-servers like Lukacs.

If the opponents of revolutionary Marxism now seek to promote Lukacs as a great Marxist, it is above all because they fear and resist the real development of Marxism through the building of the Fourth International.

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**BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER**  
 GEORG LUKACS, founder-member of the Hungarian Communist Party, world-famous writer on literary criticism and philosophy, died on Friday, June 4, aged 86 in Budapest.

The international bourgeois press has showered him with posthumous praises since then. Clearly they find his brand of "Marxism" congenial. Especially in the last few years, the writings of Lukacs have begun to appear in English, and his ideas have become very fashionable in "new left" and middle-class discussion circles.

Since 1956 in particular, many ex-communists and reformists have sought some Marxist-sounding formula which excuses them from fighting against Stalinism and building the alternative revolutionary party and the Fourth International.

The secret of Lukacs' "success" in these circles is that his career and ideas provide the model for precisely that kind of politics.

When he died, having failed ever, to condemn the liquidation of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the 1930s Lukacs had in his latest writings shamelessly tried to excuse his decades of silence, and even to put himself forward as some battler against Stalinism.

In the preface to his book "Writer and Critic" (revised 1970), Lukacs says:

"It is not hard to see today that the main direction of these essays was in opposition to the dominant literary theory of the time.

"Stalin and his followers demanded that literature provided tactical support to their current political policies."

The last sentence is undoubtedly true, but Lukacs goes on:

"As everyone knows, no open polemics were possible at that time."

The phrase "as everyone knows" is a crafty sleight-of-hand. It was also a phrase much used by Stalin himself, and it was intended to mean "Don't let anyone dare challenge this."

Lukacs, of course, knew very well that not just open polemics but a life-and-death struggle against every aspect of Stalinism, in the USSR and internationally, was being conducted by Trotsky and the Left Opposition, who paid with their lives.

The path taken by Lukacs would have left future generations of youth and workers abandoned to find their own road, unaided, to the continuity of Marx's, Engels', and Lenin's theory and practice.

It was only the conscious, organized opposition of Trotsky which inspired this continuity.

Lukacs, when talking about literature, likes to use impressive words about the human condition and the spirit of revolution, but these contrast sadly with his own character, which was always that of a political jelly-fish.

In the same preface we have already quoted he says: "Conscious resistance breaks the magic circle restricting and degrading men."

This can only mean that Lukacs himself, like all those who refuse to struggle against the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, remain "restricted and degraded."

The cult of Lukacs today preserves this restriction and degradation. It is done by



# CTA Turns To Courts As Wage Freeze Hits

**BY A CORRESPONDENT**  
PLACENTIA, June 15—Today, over 600 education workers in the Placentia Unified School District felt the brutal result of the CTA (California Teachers Association) leadership's reliance on blacklists, court suits, and petitions to the state legislature for "more state tax district" and "binding arbitration" to defend their interests: a total wage freeze!

The general financial crisis experienced by all Orange County municipal governments is especially severe in the city of Placentia. The condition of that city's economy was strikingly indicated last month when the Placentia Fire Department posted a single job listing for a fireman and received applications from 330 men, including a number of former aerospace workers.

Placentia's high rate of unemployment is also reflected in the city's budget—in the gap between revenue and expenses. Thus, last April, the trustees of the city's schools faced a projected deficit of \$803,223 in their \$10.6 million operating budget for 1971-2.

## STRATEGY

The trustees' strategy was simple enough; it was to get the teachers' leaders to orient their ranks around a courtroom defense of the contract negotiated last September, demoralize the teachers with the threat of layoffs by lottery, and finally to present them with the wage freeze as an "equitable alternative" to the layoffs. This strategy was concretized in the following sequence of moves by the trustees:

November—The trustees unilaterally altered one of the provisions of the contract. As originally worded, the altered provision required that grie-

vances be submitted to a panel whose decision would be "final and binding" on the trustees. This was changed by the trustees to read "advisory." The predictable response by the CTA leaders was to file a court suit to have the original wording restored. This kept the teachers involved in the court suit until early last month when Orange County Superior Court Judge William Lee threw out the suit, ruling moreover, that the entire contract was "unenforceable" since "state law does not provide for negotiated contracts..."

April—The trustees announced that 35 teachers and 15 administrative personnel would be laid off—maybe!

May 6—The trustees announce that maybe fewer than 35 will be laid off; announcement to be made on May 14—the last possible day!

May 10—The trustees announce that no one will be laid off; they also instruct Superintendent Murrell Miller to give "priority ratings" to several possible budget cuts, one of which is a wage freeze. This is supposed to be prepared for a meeting on May 13. Then silence until June 13—a whole month!

June 13—The trustees announce that "current budget curtailments have not yet been completed," but will be at the meeting on Monday, June 14. Contract proposals are also to be considered at that meeting.

June 15—At 1:57 this morning, after a six-hour meeting, the trustees contemptuously inform the PUEA's negotiators that "it is not possible for the board to consider anything other than a salary schedule fixed at this year's level..." And Supt. Miller explains that "the suspension of all step increments of the district's 600 employees will equal \$250,000—the amount still deficit in the 1971-72 budget!"

The CTA leadership earned the contempt. And is still earning; for they have announced they will appeal Judge Lee's ruling on last year's contract to a higher court!

# Roofer: 'I Won't Be A Slave'

SAN DIEGO, June 17—The following are comments made to a Bulletin reporter by roofers of Local 45 in San Diego. Their recently negotiated three-year contract poses a direct threat to Nixon's wage guidelines for construction. At this writing, the contract has not yet been acted on by the Wage Stabilization Board.

**BULLETIN:** How do you feel about the contract just negotiated for Local 45?

**ROOFER:** Personally, I'm not too happy with it. As an actual wage increase against inflation, it isn't that much. Most of it is just to reach a level comparable to what other construction unions already have. And our local is the lowest paid of all the roofers in California.

**BULLETIN:** In any case though, the percentage increase is much more than the 6% level Nixon wants to maintain in construction. If the review board rejects this contract as inflationary and negotiations are reopened, are you willing to accept a smaller increase?

**ROOFER:** Of course not. We'll be outright cheated with anything less than this contract. I think we should have gotten even more.

**BULLETIN:** What will you do if the contract is rejected?

**ROOFER:** Go right back out. Eighty percent of the local would be on the picket lines right now if that happened, and the rest would follow pretty fast. We just can't afford a contract less than this one.

**BULLETIN:** But that would eventually be a strike against the Federal Government.

**ROOFER:** Well, that's too damn bad. If we can't negotiate a contract then that makes us nothing better than slaves, and I don't want to be a slave.

**BULLETIN:**—There is a long history of the use of Federal troops against strikers. It was threatened, for example, in the recent strike in New York where the bridges were opened.

**ROOFER:** Nobody can force us to work. We have to stick together. That's the main thing. If we stick together, we can win.

**BULLETIN:** The roofers are not an isolated case. Nixon is

preparing to beat back the steel workers this summer. That, and the construction wage freeze are part of a whole strategy to force down workers' living standards, and stop these large wage gains.

**ROOFER:** I think you are right, but Nixon doesn't have enough power to do that.

**BULLETIN:** But he isn't alone. The Democrats and Republicans in Congress are preparing anti-union and wage-freeze legislation to help him do it. In such a situation, would you support the formation of a Labor Party to fight for the interests of workers?

**ROOFER:** Yes, I would. I've always voted Democratic, but I won't support anybody who is out to bust the unions.

**BULLETIN:** There is a growing general strike movement in the country. Several unions have already issued a call for it. Would you be in favor of such a strike to halt government attacks on workers' living standards?

**ROOFER:** I wouldn't be opposed to it. If that is what needs to be done, then I'm willing to do it. I'll do whatever is necessary to protect my rights.

# San Jose City Union Pact Cuts Pay

**BY ALEX CRAIG**

SAN JOSE—One of the city's largest employee unions here was dealt a resounding setback last week at the hands of the City Council and its cohorts in the union leadership.

The three month negotiations of the Operating Engineers Union (OEU) Local 3 and its representative Michael Womack centered around none of the demands for strike and impasse action which characterized the union's fight last year. Such a perspective vis-a-vis the financial crisis of the city opened the door to the type of defeat the OEU was handed in their new contract.

Among the central features of

this pact is its "no-strike" clause which not only forbids the union to walk out but also allows the city to reopen the contract and rescind portions of whatever the contract gained. These "gains" amount to a 4% fringe benefits package which represents Womack's and the city's apology for the fact the city is so bankrupt it can offer no across-the-board pay increases for the coming year. Whatever savings made by the 4% worth of fringes will be quickly exhausted by inflation, meaning the contract represents a cutback in real income for the union members. The sellout is iced by the loophole enabling the city to renegotiate and suck back even the fringe package from a union hamstrung by a "no-strike"

agreement.

The sellout itself sharpens the crisis in San Jose. It strengthens the 2% wage ceiling proposed recently in the new municipal budget on all city contracts coming due this fiscal year. Cries are now raised in the City Council for wage guidelines for the half-dozen other municipal employee groups here whose contracts expire soon.

The new pact is clearly designed on all fronts to insure that the burden imposed by the deepening financial crisis in San Jose be unloaded on the backs of all sections of city labor. It is the City Council's statement of agreement with the perspective of the international capitalist class, which reads "class war."

# INTERVIEW: CROWN Z. WORKER ATTACKS CONTRACT

In an effort to squelch any attempt at a wage offensive on the part of workers in the pulp and paper industry, Crown Zellerbach locked out some 5500 workers in three West Coast states in April. A month and a half later 80% of Crown Z employees in the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers voted to strike.

During the month-long strike support was gained from the ILWU, Teamsters and Printing Specialties. But the ranks were diverted into a futile attempt at a boycott, with enthusiastic support from the Communist Party, rather than centering on preventing any attempts of the leadership to sellout—by fighting to continue the strike and to call on the rest of the pulp and paper mills to shut down.

As a result, they were forced to accept a two year contract giving a mere 7% increase each year, along with minor improvements in the pension plan, health and dental plans, and vacation time. Attempts will be made by other industries such as Fibre-



Retired pulp and paper workers picket Crown Zellerbach headquarters in Portland, demanding a 10% increase in pensions.

board to use this contract as a pattern, but the ranks can break this pattern if they learn the lessons from Crown.

The following is an interview by a Bulletin reporter with a woman who works in one of the Crown plants:

**BULLETIN:** Why do you think the company locked you out?

**WORKER:** They said it wasn't a lockout but it was. The company said we terminated the con-

tract and we did, but we have done this repeatedly in the past and have kept right on working and they kept right on negotiating, but this time they were afraid they wouldn't get an orderly shut down so they locked us out.

**BULLETIN:** How do you think most workers feel about the 7% and the pension?

**WORKER:**—Myself, my family and my friends all voted no. We're obstinate that way! The

pension plan is raunchy, as far as I can see it. It's a very poor pension plan. It may be one of the best in the paper industry, but it's still raunchy!

**BULLETIN:** What about conditions in the plant now? Is there any speedup or layoffs?

**WORKER:** They always push you. As soon as the contract goes through, they push the hell out of you awhile, and then after awhile you slack off anyhow, you know. Even the younger people that were just hired, they're all working. But there's some people still that aren't working. Like there is one woman who was laid on and off four times in one day! And she's got fourteen years! She switched from one department into another one, so in a new department you start at the bottom, and this does happen. It is kind of nerve racking to be told not to come in, then to come in and on like that.

We women got equal pay, but we still don't have our rightful place on the seniority list....I'd like to have a paid lunch hour. The old contract said you had

to work eleven hours before you could have a meal. Some of these jobs, you cannot eat on the job. So you have to eat on your ten minute break. We work a straight eight hours.

**Picnic & Discussion**

**Strategy & Tactics**

**Lecturer**  
**Jeff Sebastian**

**Sunday July 11**  
**9:30am**

**Lake Temescal**  
**Oakland**

**For Information**  
**621-1310 or**  
**431-9858**

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN | WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 | PHONE 415-621-1310

## CSEA Faces Budget Cuts

BY A CSEA MEMBER

As the July 1 deadline for the passage of the state budget approaches, 110,000 state workers find themselves in an extremely dangerous position.

Governor Reagan is determined to grant no pay raises

whatsoever and his budget calls for huge cutbacks in all the major departments of the state. This means that the attrition of jobs and sporadic layoffs now under way will turn into a massive loss of jobs after July.

### CAMOUFLAGE

In an attempt to camouflage this attack, Reagan continues to play demagogic word games

with leading Democrats over the cost of welfare and the "tax revolt" of property owners.

The proposed budget of the Democratic majority includes a 5% cost of living increase for state workers and less drastic cuts in state departments. These Democrats are being hailed by the bureaucrats of the CSEA as the saviors of the state employees. However, just last week a "moderate" Democrat

proposed a compromise budget whereby 5% would be lopped off the Democratic budget across the board.

### LAYOFFS

This means as does Reagan's budget no raises and plenty of layoffs. There is nothing more to the Democratic-Republican bickering than an attempt to find the most efficient way to cut wages, jobs and services.

Three months ago 10,000 state workers demonstrated their willingness to fight this budget at a CSEA rally in Sacramento. Since then the CSEA leadership has attempted to turn the meaning of that rally into its opposite. Instead of seeing the Sacramento action as the beginning of a general strike movement these bureaucrats are doing their utmost to see that there is no repetition of that militancy.

Just two weeks away from the passage of this vicious anti-labor budget they have launched a "write on" campaign. These sellouts crawl into the hole of a letter writing campaign. They are posing themselves as the Victor Gotbaums of California labor.

### GUARANTEE

A fight must now be taken up in every CSEA chapter to force this leadership to stand firm for a guarantee against layoffs and an across the board increase of 10%. This means preparation for statewide strike action on July 1.

## Bridges Retreats Before PMA Lockout

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Dockers must draw the lessons of the last week. The PMA lockout here was a declaration of war. By refusing to accept the withdrawal of "steady men" and dispatch from the hall the employers were serving notice that they intend to return to the conditions before the 1934 general strike. The arbitrator's decision and the return to work only postpone the showdown.

The coming struggle on the waterfront is no ordinary strike. It is a key test of strength between the employers and their government and one of the most powerful disciplined sections of the labor movement on the West Coast.

At stake in this fight is the right to a job in the face of automation and deepening recession, the right to the dispatch hall, and the wage offensive of the working class. A defeat for the ILWU opens the road for a massive onslaught on the wages, conditions and job security

of every worker on the coast. Dockers must win the forty hour guarantee, a big wage increase, and the preservation of all jobs, working conditions and rights. None of these demands are matters for negotiation.

Every labor hating employer and politician is out to smash the longshoremen. A victory can only be won in a fight to shut down every port in ILWU jurisdiction and to answer all strike-breaking attempts with the mobilization of the labor movement.

### CRIMINAL

It is absolutely criminal that in the middle of a lockout Bridges answers the PMA with a special supplement to the Dispatcher scaling down dockers' demands. Particularly vicious was his arbitrary decision to lower wage demands to 85c and 75c instead of the dollar each year originally endorsed by the ranks.

This rotten sheet also makes clear that the number one demand on Bridges' list is the continuation of the CFS agreement with the perspective of employing thousands as steady men at inferior wages in the container freight

stations.

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Every one of these proposals is a kick in the teeth to dockers. There must be a return to the original demands of the caucus and Bridges must be mandated to

stick with them or get out of the way.

An all out fight must be taken up particularly in the shop stewards committees to see to it that every port is shut down, to stand by the forty hour guarantee and the original wage demands. Proposals must be put to the Teamsters for a joint fight to preserve all cargo handling jobs. CFS must be completely rejected for a fight for one contract at longshore wages with every job dispatched from the hall.

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LOS ANGELES, June 1—Governor Reagan's campaign to divide employed from unemployed workers by demagogically counterposing funds-for-wages to funds-for-welfare was given a boost today by the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors.

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Referring to the county auditor's estimate that there will be one million persons on the welfare rolls in Los Angeles County by June 10, Hahn asserted that, as a result, "Property assessments are going up 30% in certain sections of the county

and 200% in others." Therefore, continued Hahn, "If there ever is a time for wage and price controls, it is now."

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As the Bulletin has reported, the counterposing of wages to the cost of welfare is only one barrel of the shotgun that Reagan is aiming at California's state, county, and municipal employees. The other barrel is his campaign to whip up reactionary hysteria against California's 2,290,000 welfare recipients among over-taxed homeowners by specifically counterposing funds-for-welfare to funds-for-education, and generally, by blaming the property-tax squeeze on both welfare recipients and the wage demands of government workers.

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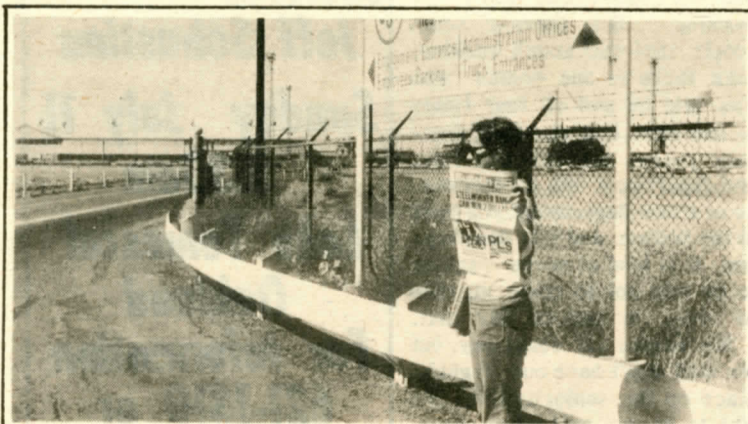
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