

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## Nixon Takes Pay From Workers' Pockets

# STRIKE THE BOARD!



Families of 40 unionized farmworkers are living in tents after being evicted from homes. See story Page 20.

### Racists Aim To Bust Unions

## Wallace Embraces Ku Klux Klan

Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay recently travelled to Alabama, the state which George Wallace has governed for eight of the last 10 years. The following article is the third of a series on where Wallace really stands.

The Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, American Nazis, racists, anti-semites, union-busters; these are the forces that capitalism is bringing forward against the working class in George Wallace's campaign for the presidency.

Financed by the most reactionary sections of the capitalist class and supported by extreme right-wing and neo-fascistic elements, he is the spearhead of a full-scale attack on all the gains made by American workers during a century of struggle. The Wallace movement has as its objective the establishment of a dictatorial regime in which trade unions could not function and workers would be deprived of all their democratic rights.

Wallace poses the greatest dangers to American workers and must be exposed and defeated. But this can be accomplished only through the political mobilization of the working class in its own party—totally

independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

### LABOR PARTY

A labor party, based on the trade unions and equipped with a program that meets the needs of the working class, is the answer that must be given to Wallace. Whatever support he has gained among workers flows not from his own program—for Wallace has nothing to offer the working class but a terrible deepening of the attacks it now faces—but from the bankrupt leadership of the trade union bureaucracy that clings to the rotting Democrats.

However, a labor party guided by a perspective of

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The Government's offensive against the working class and its trade unions has entered into a critical stage. Nixon—acting in the interests of the employing class—has ordered a frontal assault on the trade unions with the objective of smashing all the rights won by workers since the creation of the CIO in the midst of the Depression.

See stories on Pages 4-5

The qualitative deepening of the attacks are the consequences of the trade union leadership's refusal to take forward their walk off the Pay Board with a political fight to smash it through general strike action and the formation of a labor party to fight for the interests of the working class. This new stage has revealed itself in the following developments during the past three weeks:

- The Pay Board ordered a 22 percent reduction of the wage increase negotiated by the ILA. Earlier, the Pay Board had ruled a cut in the wage gains made by the ILWU, from 16 percent to 10 percent.

- The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a company taking over a predecessor's employees is not bound by the original labor contract. The Court thus overruled the National Labor Relations Board.

- The Government is now ready to pass compulsory arbitration laws, aimed immediately against the transportation unions but which would be used as a weapon against all workers. Referring to the compulsory arbitration law the Administration is now preparing, Labor Secretary Hodgson declared last week: "We will live to see it enacted, and we won't have to live very long."

- The Justice Department filed suit against a New Haven local of the ITU, insisting that 39 of its members restore to their employers, wage increases they had received that were two percent in excess of the Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline.

What is posed in these developments is not merely a quantitative deepening of the attacks that began last August. It is not merely that the Government has done "one more thing" against the trade union movement. It is now clearly mobilizing the full power of the state with its self-serving legal system to strip workers of their fundamental rights.

The Government is now reaching right into the pockets of workers—forcing them to pay back their savings to profit bloated employers; it is telling workers that they will not be allowed to strike; the courts are ruling that every company merger or transfer abrogates the old contract; and it is

(Continued On Page 8)

## Support Bulletin Fund Drive!

The Workers League and Young Socialists now enter the final two weeks of the Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive. As of June 6th \$28,342.03 has been received towards the goal of \$40,000. It will take considerable effort to raise the close to \$12,000 which remains in the short time left.

This goal will be met if all branches as well as supporters of the Bulletin begin from the need to develop the Bulletin in this new period. Only the Bulletin fights to give the American working class a political lead in its struggle against increasingly vicious attacks by the capitalist class. This is why the money must and will be raised.

## Awami League To Jail Strikers

BY ED SMITH

Sheik Mujibur Rahman's crisis-wracked Bangla Desh government has ordered a crackdown on the activities of the pro-Chinese guerillaists, the Naxalites.

After seven members of Mujib's Awami League were murdered in the town of Rajshahi, the government blamed the Naxalites. Forty-six were arrested and large quantities of arms were reported seized. The operation was carried out with the support of the Stalinist Bangla Desh Communist Party and National Awami Party.

### CAPITALISM

Since its liberation from Pakistani control last December the new nation has slid into desperate economic straits. Mujib's Awami League has turned to the course of preserving capitalism by beating down the Bengali workers and peasants.

On May 28th a presidential order was issued prohibiting strikes and other "unfair labor practices" in nationalized industries and other state enterprises. The order forbids "compulsion or attempts to compel an employer or any officer or employee of the employer to sign any memorandum of settlement or agreement." The penalty for workers who fight for the right of collective bargaining is five years in jail, a fine of over \$1200, or both.

### AWAMI LEAGUE

The Awami League course has provoked opposition from broad sections of the Bengali people. In recent elections among the students, who were instrumental in the fight for national independence, Awami League supporters were swept out to be replaced by left-wingers. Mujib has not dared to hold new elections since independence, governing on the basis of the old elections held under Pakistani control.



10,000 British longshoremen walk out of meeting in Liverpool after deciding to continue their boycott of three firms.

## Tories Ready Army Against Unions

BY FRED MUELLER

The postponement of the national dock strike in Britain, scheduled to have begun earlier this week, until June 16, represents a treacherous betrayal of the working class by its trade union leadership.

A simultaneous strike by dockers and railroad workers, which should have started this week, would have dealt the Tories a powerful blow. But the decision of the dock leadership, which runs contrary to the demands voted by the rank-and-file, leaves the railroad workers in an exposed position.

The Government of Tory Prime Minister Heath is preparing for a massive confrontation; and are getting ready to use the Emergency Powers Act—which would authorize the use of troops to maintain "essential services"—in the event of a railroad strike.

What lies behind the Tories' frantic preparations for civil war

is the extreme worsening of the international economic situation: a severe slump in the British Stock Exchange, the swift rise in the price of gold to nearly \$60 an ounce, the deterioration of Britain's balance of payments, and the utter inability of the capitalist governments to solve the monetary crisis.

### BRINK

It is because of these conditions that the Tories are moving right to the brink. Edward Heath warned the working class last week: "Let no one ask this government to surrender. If there is anyone who still imagines that they can, for poli-

## Saigon Puppets Fear Workers Insurrection

BY DAVID NORTH

As the American imperialists continue their massive bombing of North Vietnam, the puppet regimes they are defending in South Vietnam and Cambodia are in the throes of a deep political and economic crisis.

Saigon officials are reportedly worried that street rioting and insurrection may break out in the capital if the worsening recession is not brought under control. With the collapse of leading industrial enterprises, the unemployment rate is soaring.

"Never have the streets of Saigon seemed more crowded with beggars, thieves, prostitutes and people merely hanging around for want of something to do," reported the New York Times last week.

The South Vietnamese economy, almost entirely dependent upon foreign—principally American—capital, is falling apart. Several days ago, the huge Raymond-Morrison-Knudson construction consortium which once employed 21,000 workers closed down all operations.

Apparently, the only expanding

enterprise in South Vietnam is the drug business. Alfred W. McCoy, a Yale scholar, told a Senate committee that the opium traffic is controlled to a large extent by Saigon officials in cahoots with the American government. Heavily involved in the opium business is President Thieu, former President Ky, and top South Vietnamese generals.

Lon Nol, puppet dictator of Cambodia, was declared the winner of "elections" held this week. But the attempt to give the government a legal facade will not cut much ice with workers who are bitter over the run-away inflation that has destroyed their living conditions.

Strikes by government employees for big wage increases have accompanied a large recruitment of volunteers into the Cambodian insurgent movement allied to the NLF. These forces have made dramatic military gains during the past month.

tical purposes, pick an easy fight with us, I must warn them: You've come to the wrong place. You're wasting your time."

### SLL

It is in this explosive situation, as the Tories attempt to destroy trade unionism in England, that the 14th National Conference of the Socialist Labour League stressed the crucial importance of the fight against centrism. SLL National Secretary Gerry Healy declared:

"The working class will fight—we know that. The working class may come reluctantly at first. They come with all their difficulties strapped on their backs.

"But they come on the scene propelled by a force, an objective force, which is the economic

crisis in the capitalist system.

"The question is this—Will the working class get what it is entitled to in this struggle?

"Nobody should be surprised to find the middle-of-the-road men and the professional centrists come onto the scene at this point."

### CENTRISM

Healy warned that centrism—which seeks to head off the movement of the working class—represents the greatest danger.

The SLL is today the only political force in England consciously fighting to make the Tories resign. It is now calling for the construction of Councils of Action to mobilize the trade unions, unemployed workers, and all political tendencies in the labor movement to put an end to the Heath government.

## Moscow Hails Sudan Hangman

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On the third anniversary of its coming to power in a military coup, the anti-communist butchers of the Numeiry regime in the Sudan have received greetings from Moscow Radio.

The greetings take no note of the events of July of last year. At that time the Sudanese Communist Party, led by Abdel Khabab Mahgoub, led a revolt against the Numeiry regime's repression of the working class, ban on political parties, and its proposal for a reactionary federation with Egypt and Libya.

Within days the revolt was crushed. Mahgoub and thirteen other CP leaders were brutally executed after kangaroo trials. A vicious repression was opened up against the Sudanese CP which continues to this day.

The Moscow broadcast does not make a single mention of all this. Instead it proclaims that the Numeiry regime made "a number of important changes." One of these changes was the in-

roduction of the death penalty for strikers!

Referring to the July 1971 uprising as "tragic events," Moscow Radio stated "reactionaries and imperialists were particularly active in their efforts to torpedo the co-operation among the progressive forces in the Sudan." In other words the Stalinists take sides with Numeiry over the bodies of their dead comrades and the repression of the Sudan workers.

The policies of Stalinism lead the Kremlin bureaucrats to extend their solidarity to these enemies of the working class. The American Communist Party has maintained silence on this shameful collaboration with the reactionary, military junta and the murderer of their own comrades.

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# Norwood Ranks Vow To Resist Godfrey Plan

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD—Auto workers here are going into their 10th week of strike against GMAD's union-busting management. On hearing of General Motors' chief bloodhound J. Godfrey's attack on their fringe benefits, to a man the pickets expressed the deepest rage against Godfrey and GMAD and determination not to knuckle under to this General Motors boss.

Godfrey had openly stated that the fringe benefits, "pensions and subsistence pay, insurance, workman's compensation" stood in the way of totally breaking the workers' resistance to unbridled speed-up. Godfrey said, "All these high benefit plans take desire away."

Jim Young, Chairman of the UAW 674 shop committee states that G. M. "late Friday and yesterday made minor manpower concessions but nothing even close to being acceptable." Young in his written report to the membership said that "Flint Area delegations from local unions in that area would be coming to Norwood on Sunday, June 18th as a show of support in our strike."

When asked about the situation in Lordstown, Young told the *Bulletin*, "The fires are burning again in Lordstown. Work standards (speed-up), grievances and disciplinary cases are piling up and there is a general kick-up all over again according to the Lordstown shop chairman."

## DEMANDS

Young stated the demands of the Norwood local against GMAD are a local agreement that includes local wage rules, overtime agreement, shift preference, and 82 general demands. On the 82 general demands, Young stated that they were "demands settled in prior agreements pertaining to working conditions and we want these settlements reinstated."

The second major area of union demands is the settlement of

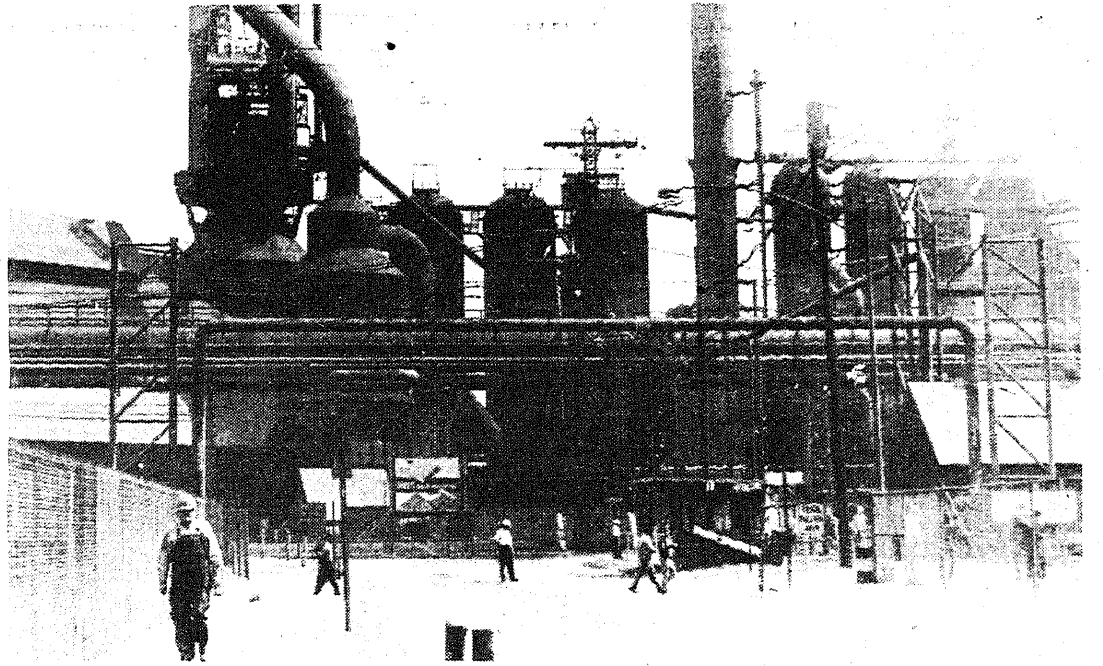
Paragraph 78 work standard grievances (speed-up). Young estimated that there were 825 such grievances. Since GMAD took over at Norwood it was earlier estimated 1200 workers were eliminated while production was maintained at original level. When asked how many additional workers the union was demanding, Young said only that committeemen were having from 9 to 11 meetings simultaneously at departmental level with management and that the work was broken down into elements and not in numbers of workers.

## DESCRIPTION

In the union hall an official GM job description for ONE worker is posted on the wall. The job description for this one worker is six sheets long and has 98 elements to it!

Clearly GMAD's all out attack on previously won local agreements and working conditions represents unbridled union-busting. GM's profits have soared to history shattering levels.

To put value back into the dollar, GM turns to super-exploitation of the working class and an all out drive to smash the living standard of the workers. Only the power of the working class and their trade unions can smash this all out attack. Only the unity of all GM auto workers in strike action can bring this brazen giant to heel. The rank and file workers must demand that the unions break with the two parties and build a labor party to nationalize GM under workers' control.



Union leaders are backing from fight but many Bethlehem Steelworkers at Sparrows Point, Maryland are demanding continuation of last week's one-day strike against cuts in incentive pay.

# USWA Ranks Plan To Renew Strike

BY MARY GREGORY

BALTIMORE, June 2—Coke oven workers at the Sparrows Point, Bethlehem Steel installation met yesterday at the USWA Local 2610 hall to discuss walking out after a week "cooling off" period.

At the meeting the rank and file were calling for a plant-wide walkout or a sit-down strike, in defiance of their leadership.

## WALK-OFF

After last week's one-day walk-off, coke oven workers went back to work, giving Bethlehem one week to meet their demands. The walk-off was in response to a cut in incentive pay. Bethlehem has made no new offers. Zone committeeman John Fair, a so-called "left" leader, backed President

Casey Robinson, telling men to keep working.

## DISGUSTED

Many members left disgusted. One worker told the *Bulletin*: "We should have never listened to our so-called leaders when they told us to go back to work. Last week was the crucial point. The company saw us go back and now they figure they've got us. The union officials promised us they'd stick by us, but now they tell us to stay on the job even though the company hasn't

moved one inch. I knew this was coming. We all knew it was coming. They've even refused to go to the other departments in the plant to get us some support. It makes me wonder just which side they're on, anyway."

The present Abel leadership set the union up for unemployment and speed-up through last summer's contract. This contract met much resistance last summer. Now that the companies are trying to enforce it, the resistance in the rank and file is growing.

# Detroit Labor Head Backs Humphrey-Wallace Slate

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—The tremendous dangers of the refusal of the trade union bureaucracy to mobilize for an alternative to Wallace is being made even more clear by developments within the labor movement itself.

Last week, Tom Turner, Black president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO

Council, openly proposed in a public press conference that Alabama Governor George Wallace be nominated as the Democratic Party vice-presidential candidate on a ticket led by Hubert Humphrey.

Turner, a former official of the United Steel Workers of America, now representing over 300,000 AFL-CIO members in Michigan's Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties, advocates Wallace as Democratic vice-presidential candidate on the basis of Wallace's overwhelming victory in the Michigan presidential primary three weeks ago.

Turner explained in his public statement that the Democratic Party must draw the lessons of the showings of Wallace, McGovern and Humphrey. McGovern's poor second place behind Wallace in the election, he said resulted from the fact that "many white workers fear McGovern as an ideological extremist who seems to support the erosion of many of their traditional values—respect for law and authority, patriotism, family solidarity."

Because of this, he stated that the Democrats must nominate Humphrey, a candidate with "broad centrist appeal." Wallace, despite being "irrevocably tainted" by bigotry and

extremism would then bring in the white workers.

In an interview with *Bulletin* reporters, Turner provided the logic for this reactionary endorsement of the most dangerous enemy of the labor movement today. The Democratic Party, he said, is a coalition of the working class, the Black and other ethnic communities, and the "middle class" liberals, each of which has their own interests.

## SCHISM

"The challenge for the Democratic Party, to me, is to analyze the widening schism in our coalition. If the coalition is irreparably smashed there will be little or no chance of beating Richard Nixon in the fall," he stated.

Turner went on to say that "If Senator McGovern should be the Presidential nominee out of the convention, the only way that I can see of McGovern winning is to have a guy such as George Wallace as his running mate, which could go on to defeat Richard Nixon. And that's the name of the game—defeating Richard Nixon in November."

Turner, who personally led the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO in suicidally backing Humphrey in the primary last month, denied (Continued On Page 18)

# Riot Cops Seize 150 Workers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, June 6—One hundred state and local police armed with shotguns and riot guns converged on the picket line set up by the Building Construction Trades Council in front of the Altemose Construction Company headquarters here today. Over 150 union members were arrested.

On Monday June 5, 1,000 members of the Building Construction Trades Council picketed the Altemose Construction Company site in Valley Forge. Ten pieces of equipment were burned.

Altemose has been hiring non-union labor at below union wage rates and assigning union men outside of their job classifications in an attempt to bust the construction union. About 90 state police were called to the site but no arrests were made Monday.

On Monday evening Judge Vincent A. Cirillo issued an injunction barring picketing within a mile of the site. Cirillo stated: "The scene at the construction site resembled a war zone in the aftermath of a concentrated bombing attack in World War II. It amounted to the total destruction of the building site. It was virtually a military as-

sault...The courts will not tolerate such disregard for law and authority. They have forfeited their right to picket by violating the court's order and engaging in violence, threats, arson, malicious mischief and vandalism."

Today, at 8:40 a.m. sharp, Sheriff Delaney arrived at the site and using a bullhorn read Judge Cirillo's injunction:

"It is now 8:40 and if you don't leave within 15 minutes you will be arrested. Any one of you within a mile of here will be arrested. This order will be carried out to the fullest extent."

A man who identified himself only as a union business agent told the sheriff "If you put us in the wagon we will go. We will not be arguing with anybody."

## FRISKED

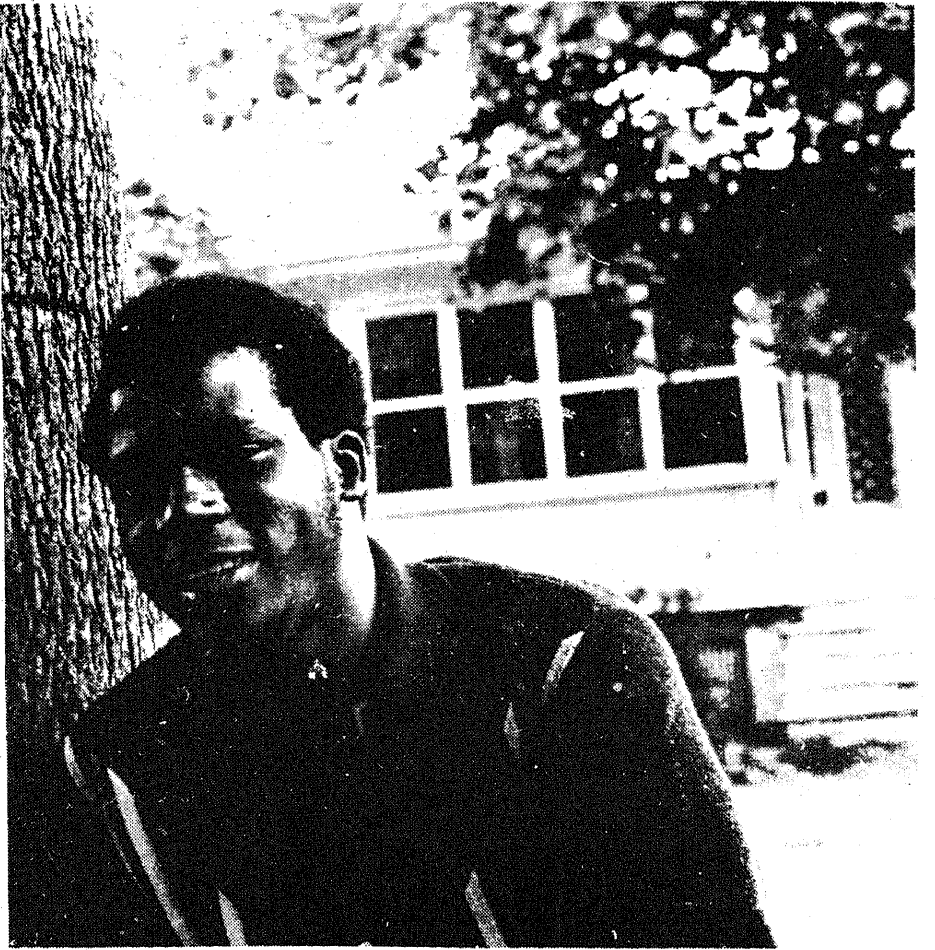
They kept marching until the 15 minutes were up and then the sheriff said: "Your time limit

has expired, your 15 minutes are up. Everybody here is under arrest and charged with contempt of court. Please move to the buses."

They peacefully moved toward the three buses. They were frisked and the police attempted to get as many names as possible. The pickets did not say anything to the police and appeared to be in a jovial mood.

According to the lawyer for the Building Trades Council, non-union contractors and subcontractors do not pay the same rate as union contractors. He said that the rates are about \$1.50 an hour less for non-union craftsmen.

The contractors are using non-union labor to lower wages and break the construction unions. The contractors are receiving the full aid in this from the government and its courts and police.



# ITU: PAY BOARD REACHES INTO WORKERS' POCKETS

BY SHELIA BREHM

WEST HAVEN, Conn.—“I’m going to go to jail before I pay mine back. And I’ll put my family on welfare, that’s what I’ll do. I’m getting a little disgusted. I’ll tell you one thing—I’m not going to vote anymore. Who is there to believe or support,” said one member of the International Typographers Union.

The 39 members of ITU Local 47 here face an unprecedented law suit by the Cost of Living Council in an attempt to literally take money out of their pockets.

The suit charges that Local 47’s wage increase of 7.45% is “unlawful” because it exceeds the limit dictated by the Pay Board. If this ruling is upheld in the courts, these 39 workers will be forced to pay back all wages over 5.5% since last December! The suit is also demanding a fine of

\$2,500 against the union.

Samuel Brian, a member of Local 47, told the Bulletin:

“I think it’s an act of treachery. To do this to people trying to make a decent living for their families is another example of how this country squeezes the little man.

“It’s undemocratic, how they allow the big corporations to get by with exorbitant prices and profits.

“I think this is a setback for the labor movement. It’s an illustration that there should be a

rehauling of the very structure of the labor movement altogether.”

“The principle involved here could be a major one,” stated the New York Times on May 31st. Clearly this government has set into motion its entire legal apparatus against 39 unionists to establish a precedent that can be used against the entire labor movement to rob workers of their pay and strip them of their basic collective bargaining rights, and the right to strike itself.”

## Stop Pay Board Robbery!

The criminal refusal of the trade union leaders to fight Nixon’s Pay Board now threatens the livelihood of millions of workers. As money is literally being faken out of the pockets of workers in West Haven, the labor leaders sit back and do absolutely nothing. The International leadership of the ITU sits in its plush offices in Denver and dismisses it as a “local matter.”

What is at stake in the action against the 39 members of the ITU is the very existence of the trade unions. If Nixon and the Pay Board can rip up contracts, can legally rob workers of wages they have earned, then the unions as organizations to defend the wages and conditions of the workers are destroyed.

Humphrey and McGovern stand 100 percent together with Nixon and the Pay Board. They are making a lot of promises but when it comes to workers being robbed of their wages, they are silent. Wallace is leading this campaign as he has done for so many years in Alabama.

The rank and file of the unions cannot tolerate this situation. It is they who are now being forced to starve so the big corporations can fill their coffers with super profits.

The rank and file must demand that the entire labor movement be brought out in general strike action to smash this Pay Board.

We must at the same time prepare OUR alternative to the Pay Board and the government which stands behind it. This means fighting in the unions NOW to construct a labor party responsible to the working class and dedicated to a program in the interests of the working class.

Meanwhile the Democrats and Republicans in the Connecticut state legislature voted themselves a 50% increase in salaries. While the Department of Justice declares the \$1.95 increase for the ITU members to be “unlawful,” it is completely silent about this and about the 30-40% hikes the corporation heads got this year, and their soaring profits. It is these corporations that determine the “law of the land.”

In the struggle to build the unions, over 100 years ago, workers also confronted the government, its laws, and its courts. Injunctions to stop union activity before or during a strike were issued at the request of the property owners.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, a measure originally intended to limit the excesses of big business, was viciously used against the Danbury Hatters Union in 1908. A federal court levied fines totalling over a quarter of a million dollars against individual members of the union, charging that the Connecticut workers had tried to force an open-shop employer into line by the use of the boycott.

### COURTS

With the use of the Taft-Hartley Law against the dockworkers strike recently, these courts are being called on again to fill the requirements of the large corporations to break the fighting strength of the American workers.

The complete arrogance and viciousness of the government is now in the open for every worker to see. Today, the full force of its courts are mustered against a 39 member local whose wages are already \$2.00 an hour below the average wage. The government is determined to fine the union and its members thousands of dollars, only to prepare to fine much larger and stronger unions millions of dollars, and to dictate to workers the terms of the sale of their labor.

The international leadership of the ITU cannot be trusted one bit to lead a fight against this calculated drive to break the unions. They have already come to the aid of the courts by stating, “This is a local union matter.”

This is precisely what the government is counting on, so as to

hide the real political nature of the law suit and its implications for all unions.

Recently, the ITU leaders of Local 18 in Detroit voluntarily agreed to pay back wages when the local employers’ association protested the union’s 16.5% wage increase to the Pay Board. The Local 47 leaders are now hinging their case on the courts, the same courts that levied the fines against the Connecticut workers in 1908.

### RIGHTS

The vast majority of the capitalist newspapers do not even mention the case. The New Haven Journal-Courier did not deem it necessary to even cover the case where workers in this very city are affected.

As Samuel Brian stated: “I think that any time the livelihood of people is in jeopardy it is a national, no, an international matter...This should be important because if they can do this to us, then what’s to stop them from striking elsewhere—at another local?”

If the labor leaders allow Local 47 to remain isolated they will be guilty of siding with the employers, their Pay Board, and their courts against the basic rights of unionism.

The New Haven Central Labor Council and the Connecticut State Labor Council must fight for strike action against the Pay Board. Any retreat now will strengthen Nixon’s hand.

There is only one answer that workers have to defend their unions and everything that has been won, and that is the building of a labor party. The Democrats and Republicans, who set up the Pay Board, are now preparing to use the legal apparatus to lynch the unions.

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# LAUNDRY: IMPOSE POVERTY WAGE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—

The reduction of the recent wage agreement of Local 141 of the Laundry and Dry Cleaning workers here, is one of the most vicious attacks by the Pay Board on any union. It shows the intention of the government to push down low paid workers even further below the poverty level while prices and corporate profits skyrocket.

Local 141 which has a membership of 2200 in the tri-state area employed at seven Pittsburgh area commercial laundries, recently negotiated a 40 cent an hour increase to bring them up from their current starvation wage of \$1.94 an hour to the "huge" sum of \$2.34 an hour. This however, was too much for the Pay Board, which is allowing an increase of only 13 cents, to \$2.07 an hour!

More than 500 Local 141 members protested this decision at a rally on the steps of the Federal Building here, called by the union.

At the rally, the International union pledged full support and local leaders charged that the government's action was designed to "lock service workers into permanent poverty."

A meeting of the local is being held here this Sunday, June 10, but so far, the policy of the leadership has been to file an



500 Laundry & Dry Cleaning Local 141 workers demonstrated against Pay Board's decision to cut an already small pay increase.

appeal. Mrs. Amy Ballinger, Secretary Treasurer of the local told the Bulletin: "The only thing we can do is keep pressuring those people. If they don't listen to us there's nothing we can do."

### STRIKE

At the same time Mrs. Ballinger said that the workers were "up in arms." She admitted that the workers were anxious to strike after the cut, but were held back by the leadership which told them that "a strike would be use-

less. Management gave us the increase. It was the government that took it away."

For the workers to accept the Pay Board cut however, is to put this money into the pockets of the employers and allow the Pay Board to move toward the goal of the destruction of the labor movement. It is the workers and not the management which has to suffer.

The only "pressure" the Pay Board can possibly understand is

the power of the entire labor movement. This means a strike by local 141 backed up by mass support including general strike action by the entire Pittsburgh labor movement. This is especially urgent now, as the United Steelworkers Union of America, the key to the Allegheny County labor movement, now faces the threat of a reduction of its second year wage agreement by the Pay Board.

The bankruptcy of the policies

of the union leadership is revealed in the fact that Mrs. Ballinger is a member of the Pittsburgh City Council and the Democratic Party which together with the Republicans is responsible for the Pay Board. The attacks of Nixon and the Board have now reached the point where a basic change is an absolute necessity—a complete break with these parties and the formation of a mass labor party based on the unions.

## A&P: BOSSES SUE TO TAKE BACK PAY

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE—Members of Meatcutters Local 117 here reacted angrily to the court order last week forcing ITU members in Connecticut to accept a retroactive pay cut.

"This is too much," said one man. "Do you know what that means? It means that you've got to pay the man to work. As far as I'm concerned it means fascism. It's just the same thing Hitler did. And if we sit around and take it we'll all get it. We need decisive action."

Warehouse workers repre-

sented by Local 117 were the first to have their contract cut up by the Pay Board. The 22 percent wage increase negotiated with the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company was cut to seven percent over a 16 month period.

However, it looks like the courts and A&P are not finished with the meatcutters. Another man told us: "You've certainly come to the right place. The day

the judge signed the papers approving the pay cut, the company filed suit to recover the back wages. And they'll probably get them.

"I've worked for these people for 50 years and every penny we won we deserve. Some of the grocery workers out here don't make the money the meatcutters do, so the company is using that to justify cutting the

pay of the meatcutters. That's not right. The only change to be made is equalizing everyone's pay upwards."

### ISOLATED

In relation to the attempt by the union leadership to isolate the ITU men, a Local 117 member said: "Sure, they're being isolated. And that's not just wrong, it's criminal. A&P is getting ready to do the same thing to us. The headline on the Bulletin has a lot of truth. That's where they started the whole thing (the Pay Board). They aren't just out to break auto, but all the

unions. "I kind of thought when most of the unions withdrew from the wage freeze board that Nixon would back down. Well he didn't, so we've got to dump him. It doesn't make any sense to me to support Humphrey. I'd certainly support a labor party but it would be awfully hard to build. As far as these men who have to pay back money goes, if they aren't defended, Meany should be impeached. We can't take this lying down anymore. No union man can. And we know that better than most, because we're next."

## ILA: PAY BOARD REJECTS GLEASON APPEAL

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, June 6—The Pay Board today rejected the appeal by the International Longshoremen's Association against the slashing of the East and Gulf Coast wage agreement. If this decision is allowed to stand, the wages of ILA members in the port of New York will be knocked down by 22%, from 70¢ to 55¢ an hour.

Not content with taking cash out of the pockets of the ILA, the Board is trying to push the men into the mud. The Board is demanding that the new work rules negotiated in the contract be implemented on July 1st or even the miserable 5.7% wage increase of the second year of the contract scheduled for Oct. 1 will not be approved.

The road of appeals, of stalling and delaying tactics followed by Thomas Gleason, head of the ILA, is at a deadend. There can only be one answer to the Pay

Board decisions. Strike! A July 1 strike deadline must be set to win a new contract with the goal of the full 70¢ wage increase and no implementation of the new work rules. Emergency meetings of every ILA local must be held to prepare a campaign to bring out the West Coast and the rest of the labor movement in support of the ILA.

These decisions by the Pay Board mean not only the destruction of dockworkers' standard of living, but a gang-up by the government and the shipping bosses to use the new work rules for massive unemployment and

the wiping out of the GAI (Guaranteed Annual Income). These decisions if allowed to stand will mean slavery on the docks.

The ILA has worked for eight months without a contract while the government and union leaders connived to split and divide East Coast and West Coast. Now they are told they have to accept a contract that is not even the one supposedly voted for.

The Pay Board decision shows that the Nixon government with the full support of both Democratic and Republican parties and George Wallace is using the

Pay Board not only to hold down wages, but to also put more profits in the employers pockets through increased productivity and massive unemployment.

The new rules, which the shippers have admitted will save them millions of dollars on the guarantee payments, are the cornerstone of their plan to eliminate 90% of the men from the docks without the guarantee in the port of New York.

The new rules are for them the "foot-in-the-door" toward the outright elimination of the GAI and the massive unemployment on the docks that will result when the containerization plans in Brooklyn, Staten Island and New Jersey are completed.

The future facing the ILA ranks if the shippers and the government have their way is seen in the situation facing the "Spencer men," former em-

ployees of Spencer Corporation. The Spencer Corporation went out of business eight months ago.

These men are members of a separate local of the ILA whose job involved working on the barges (lighters) in the port. Because they were put in a special local, they were left out in the cold without any GAI at all. When the company closed down, these men were left with nothing. The ILA leadership has not lifted a finger to get them the seniority status they are entitled to in order to receive the GAI.

The shippers plans can be stopped. A strike now would immediately open up a movement for the West Coast to go back out and win its full increase especially now when the financial basis for the payment of the ILWU guarantee has been suspended by an NLRB ruling.

# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## Stalinism, Not Trotskyism, Paves Way For Wallace

The attempt by the YWLL to link Trotskyism to the Wallace movement indicates the treacherous role of the Stalinists in attempting to revive all the lies, distortions, and slanders upon the revolutionary movement on a greater scale than during the 1930s.

In the June 2nd and 3rd issues of the Daily World two articles appear on the strategy of the YWLL mapped out at its convention for the elections.

The articles attack the "Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party" quoting from a speech made by Roque Ristorucci at the YWLL convention: "He contended that the SWP only helps Wallace and Nixon by its policies of placing the main attack against liberal candidates like Abzug, Dellums, Chisholm and McGovern in an attempt to narrow the people's choice to themselves and Wallace."

In the 1930s the Stalinists paved the road to fascism and the defeat of the working class by tying the workers in a Popular Front with the capitalist class. To carry out this counterrevolutionary policy Stalin framed up the members of the Bolshevik Party that had led the victorious October Revolution just like the frame up and trial of Angela Davis. In the Moscow Trials Lenin's comrades were forced to make confessions that they were spies and in league with the fascists. Stalin slandered Trotsky and called him an agent of the fascists. These trials were used to exterminate almost the entire Bolshevik Party.

Today the CP and the YWLL seek to revive these lies as they build a Popular Front to keep the workers and youth tied to their enemies in the Democratic and Republican Parties and prevent the building of a labor party.

The attack on Trotskyism is combined with the defense of the capitalist politician McGovern. "We should not say that there is no difference between McGovern, Humphrey, Wallace in referring to the Socialist Workers Party which lumps all of them together. We must show McGovern's limitation and the need to build independent formations to keep McGovern honest."

The attack upon the SWP-YSA is actually directed at the Workers League and the Young Socialists which alone are campaigning for the building of a labor party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

The construction of a labor party will mean a fight by the workers and youth against the YWLL and all the other friends of the capitalist class.

## Brooklyn Gang Throws Firebomb At YS Dance

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—The real reactionary character of the formation of gangs was expressed on Saturday when a fire bomb was hurled at three members of the Young Socialists and Workers League at a dance sponsored by the Brownsville YS.

This action taken against the building of a revolutionary movement flows from the very perspective that these gangs are based on which is a total hostility to the turn by other sections of youth to politics and the revolutionary theory of Marxism.

The firebomb that was thrown expresses the disregard for the workers and youth in the building whose lives were jeopardized.

### SITUATION

The gangs are creating the situation where this summer with the enormous rate of unemployment youth will be fighting each other. All of these gangs are united against the revolutionary movement of youth that is fighting the attacks of the government.

This attack came after discussion and disagreement with the article written in the YS page last week on gangs. But the attack gives even more substance to that article in which we stated that the turn of youth to these gangs was reactionary and that they would be used as a weapon

by the government against the revolutionary movement.

### POLITICAL

The formation of gangs comes at a time when the attacks upon the living standards of youth point out all the political questions facing the working class. These gangs are formed for the purpose of turning the youth away from politics, disarming them at a critical time. The leadership of these gangs persists in suppressing any political discussion by either putting it aside or coming out in open defiance of it.

This was sharply expressed at a meeting last week when one leader stated:

"What do we care about what happened in World War II... It has nothing to do with us today. We don't need politics, we'll leave the politics to you and we'll do our own thing. If you had a revolution tomorrow I'd be against it."

This expresses the complete backwardness of these gangs at a time where in the prisons the question of Marxism and the history of the movement are being studied.

As one young woman stated at the meeting:

"You people act like savages going around killing each other. This is exactly what they want to see."

In talking with another leader he said:

"Nixon hasn't done a thing to me, he's down there in Washington. He doesn't have anything to do with it."

When asked who was responsible for the conditions in the ghettos he clearly stated:

"The people did all of this, they broke the windows and the buildings. If you were to put up new buildings under your system, I would give them two years before they were torn down again. As long as you have Blacks, Puerto Ricans and whites you're going to have this."

### SLANDER

This is a slander on the workers and youth in these communities. It is the same line that Wallace pushes in which everything is the fault of the working class, saying that working people enjoy living in this filth. The ghettos are caused by this system which can't provide de-

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## Jefferson Students Denounce 'Leaders'

BY KIKI MENDEZ

BROOKLYN—The elections for student government held Wednesday in Thomas Jefferson High School blew up in the face of the administration.

Students objected strenuously to the questions prepared by the reformist leadership class and insisted on questioning the two slates themselves at a quickly called assembly. Neither slate, S.H.A.F.T. or United Students, had answers for the political questions raised about the conditions in the school. One student stood up angrily and said:

"Stop making these idle promises, we want to know what are you going to do now."

The candidates answered at every point blaming the students for the conditions in school. The turn out for voting was very small expressing the discontent of the students, while at the same time showing the growing militancy against the budget cuts that are destroying the education.



Indian youth stand in courtroom after being arrested by police in Minneapolis.

## Minneapolis Tactical Squad Terrorizes Youth

BY A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Police here deepened their attacks on gatherings of youth early Saturday morning, May 27. Sixteen persons, most of whom were of American Indian descent, were arrested by cops

brandishing nightsticks and nearly outnumbering the gathering itself.

Although the capitalist press reported that 75-100 persons congregated in a south Side parking lot, people on the scene who spoke to the Bulletin reported that the number was only about

25. Twenty-five police in a dozen squad cars including the "Special Operations Division" were hardly civil.

### BRUTALITY

One woman was seized by cops and pushed against the hood of a patrol car several times, receiving numerous bruises on her face and a broken nose. Her mother said, "They weren't

doing nothing, weren't dancing or anything, like the paper says," referring to the quote of two officers who said the crowd was "doing Indian tribal dances and yelling and screaming at the top of their voices."

The week before, the Minneapolis Tactical Squad viciously attacked another South Side party, beating youth only for the purpose of terrorizing them.

# Young Socialist

## 1972: CARICATURE OF STUDENT PROTEST

BY PAT CONNOLLY AND ED SMITH

The student movement of this year was not a repetition or continuation of 1968 or 1970, as the revisionists saw it, despite the recurrence of certain forms of protest activity among the students.

The experience of the students in the previous movements has driven home the bankruptcy of student protest. This lesson had been reinforced by the development of the capitalist crisis after Kent State. Nixon's new economic policy announced last August 15 was a declaration of war on the working class.

The fundamental thrust of the Cambodia-Kent State upsurge—which had already seen the postal workers' strike and occurred in the midst of the Teamsters' wildcat—was the struggle to go beyond the limits of student protest. This took the form of trying to bring the labor movement into the war protests and culminated in a massive march organized with a number of unions in New York near the end of May.

With the fundamental attacks on the labor movement, particularly following August 15, 1971, what is now posed is bringing the political questions like the war into the movement forward by labor to answer these attacks by capitalism. These attacks are bringing the labor movement into a political confrontation with capitalism. In this period this must take the form of great strike struggles and a political break by the working class with the capitalist parties.

The YSA saw the 1972 student struggle as a simple linear development from 1970. That is,

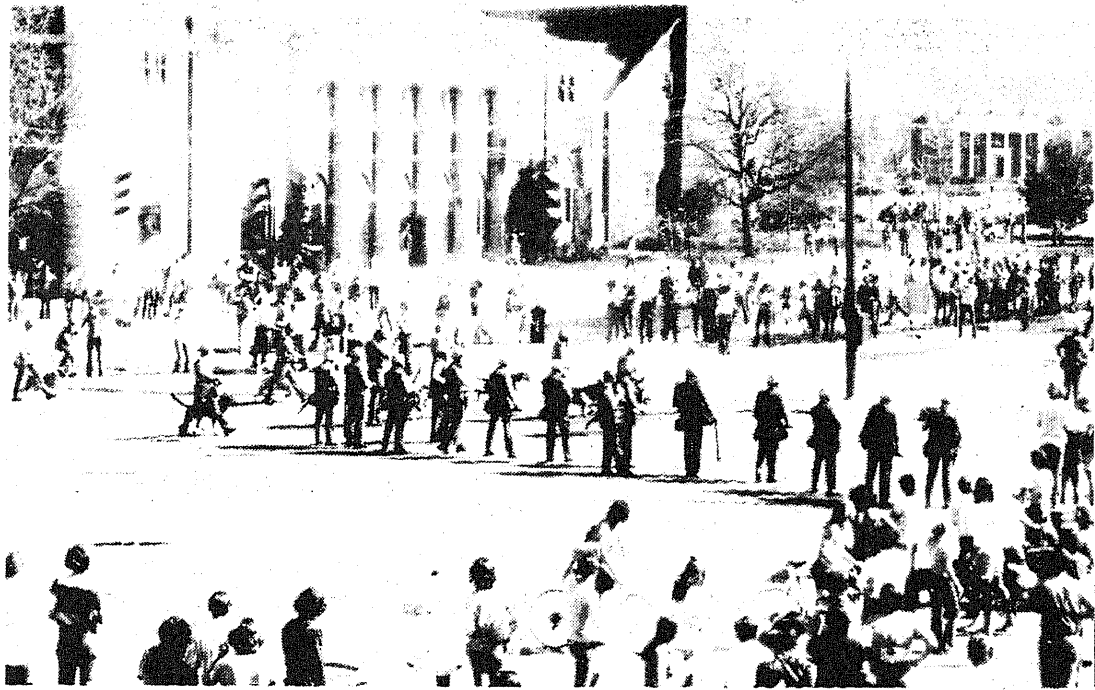
it simply saw a repetition of the Cambodian kind of student protest activity and therefore sought to recreate the "anti-war university." Almost immediately the YSA was forced to face up to the utopian character of this assessment as National Guard troops moved in before anyone could seize anything.

In actuality, the developments were of a spiral character within the upward curve of the class struggle itself. Cambodian protests represented a negation of the 1968 Weatherman tactics in that a massive movement of students replaced the confrontation trashing politics of 1968 and these masses of students were searching for a way to develop student protest which related to the movement of the working class.

But the Cambodian protest was still student protest. It could proceed no further than it reached in May-June 1970. Having come to its limit it fell in on itself. Thus the 1972 events took the form of a return to 1968.

However, this return was only in form similar to 1968. It was not a circular development but a spiral development in that the return was on a lower level than the original experience. The return took the form of a caricature of the great events of Columbia, 1968.

At the same time this degeneration of radical protest activities of students must be placed within the fundamental context of the changing relations of classes—Nixon's intensified war against the working class



University of Maryland was a major scene of student protests against Nixon's new bombings. Here, also, PL-SDS degenerated into "trashing" and adventurist activities which betrayed struggles.

and the fundamental political crisis this has thrown the entire working class into. Thus a conflict developed between the degenerative movement of the radical protestors and the broader movement of students attracted and effected by the political questions facing the working class as a whole. It is from this class perspective that the Workers League and Young Socialists drew its strategy. The YSA and PLP were dragged down by the downward spiral of the student protest movement.

### COLUMBIA

Columbia University in New York was the scene of one of the largest protests among students against Nixon's escalation. Following Nixon's speech announcing the bombing of the North, hundreds of students marched down Broadway, ending in a confrontation with police.

A student strike was for several days 100 percent effective. The students' support of the strike, called by the various radicals and revisionists, was an expression of their outrage not only against the war but all the questions raised by the capitalist crisis.

But the students did not have the perspective of rebuilding the student protest movement. Their experiences during 1968 and Kent State had taught them the bankruptcy of such an orientation. This immediately put them in opposition to the revisionists whose whole perspective was one of student protest.

The Columbia strike started completely effective, with a tremendous display of militancy on the part of the students and the participation of hundreds at strike meetings. But in contrast to 1968 and Kent State, at Columbia after the first few days the protest went into steep decline.

Among a small strata of students, adventurist moods

grew up fueled by the collapse of the protest movement and the refusal of that movement to confront the political questions involved in penetrating the working class. These moods were adapted to by the strike leadership, particularly PL-SDS. Groups of students engaged in

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## Bridgeport Youth Seek In Vain For Jobs

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—As unemployment soars in Connecticut the youth are finding it almost impossible to find jobs even on a part-time basis this summer. Bridgeport, an industrial city, has an unemployment rate of over 11 percent.

A high school student from Bassick High School in Bridgeport was bitter about her experiences in finding a job for the summer. She said:

"One employer told me that he only wanted drop-outs. I couldn't believe it. I thought we were supposed to go to school and get an education so we could have decent jobs and now they're telling us they want drop-outs."

Another youth from Harding High School in Bridgeport told the Young Socialist: "I have applications in all over Bridgeport and I still don't have a job. I want to go to college next year to a school down South. I need three thousand dollars and I can't even find a job. Last year I worked at ABCD, a federally funded poverty program, but they say the funds are cut out this year. Everything

is bad; there are no scholarships to look forward to either. How can we get a good education if nobody gives you a chance?"

In New Haven, Marian Davis, a 20 year old student at South Central Community College was recently laid off at Seaman's Rubber Company when the glove department closed down. She said:

"It is the youth between the ages of 18 and 26 that really have no future. With workers who have 20 or 30 years of seniority losing their jobs what is there for the youth? We do need a labor party to fight for the youth because the Democrats and Republicans are not for us. But we're not pushing the older workers out of work. There must be full employment for everybody."

## Hartford Students Protest Massive Budget Cuts

BY A YS REPORTER

HARTFORD—Over three hundred students of Koseiuzsko Junior High School refused to enter classes last week as a protest against the massive budget cuts which the Enfield Board of Education recently announced.

The Board plans to slash 1.23 million dollars from the total budget of next year, a measure which will create a sharp deterioration in educational opportunities in the district, as well as eliminate the entire sports program for students.

### MARCH

The action of the Junior high school students was joined later in the week by high school and elementary school students in a march on the Enfield City Hall. On Memorial Day a large contingent of local students marched in the town's parade carrying placards protesting the cuts and chanting "No

budget cuts" and "Education is important. Don't cut it short."

The "Diggs Plan" which was recently elaborated in a closed session of the East Hartford Board of Education calls for the cutting of the budget by 10% through the firing of teachers and teacher aides with further cuts of special programs and price hikes in the food service. The immediate effects of the plan will be the elimination of 25 elementary school teachers and the laying off of guidance personnel, substitutes, secretaries and janitors. The newly instituted Work-Study Program for the town's high school students is to be eliminated before it was really begun.

**We Demand:  
Jobs For All!  
Build a  
Labor Party!  
Demonstrate  
June 22 3p.m.  
505 Sutter Ave.,  
B'klyn**



Sponsored by the East New York-Brownsville YS

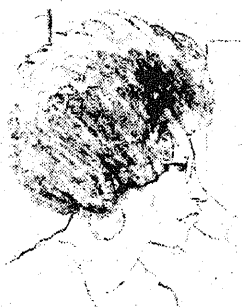
# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Angela Is Free! The Dangers Ahead

Leo Branton, chief attorney for the defense for Angela Davis, stood up and applauded the judge after the verdict of not guilty was read. He stated that the job done by the judge was "an extreme credit to the judiciary." Commenting on the case to the press, Branton added that the case "was not a frame-up in the traditional sense...."

These statements of Branton are consistent with the way he and Attorney Howard Moore, Jr. conducted the defense in the trial. These defense methods were fully supported by the Angela Davis Defense Committee and the Communist Party.



Angela Davis

During the trial the defense attorneys made appeal after appeal to the need to acquit Angela in order to prove the fairness of the American judiciary system. It consistently functioned to

keep all political issues out of the trial. In the end it even blocked Angela herself from testifying.

When the prosecution brought in the relationship between Angela and George Jackson in order to try to make it appear as some uncontrolled relation of "passion," the defense could only counter with moral outrage. It refused to expose the real content of that relationship as a political one of two revolutionaries exploring all the programmatic questions facing the working class today.

The acquittal of Angela Davis proves conclusively that what was involved was precisely a FRAME-UP in the traditional sense of the term. The United States Government through the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Attorney General, with the aid of Ronald Reagan and the State of California, sought to connect Angela Davis with events they knew full well she had nothing to do with. If this is not a frame-up—what then is?

Angela Davis was not framed up because of her individual characteristics but as part of a whole turn on the part of the capitalist class to repression against the working class. Therefore the importance of her defense was likewise not only to free the individual Angela but to prepare the working class politically for the attempts at repression already in progress and to come.

This is why it was so essential that the defense of Angela Davis be a political defense which exposed the political character of the frame-up the government directed against her. On this basis the case could have been taken directly into the trade unions, as was done with the Haymarket Martyrs and Sacco and Vanzetti, to expose the class nature of "justice" in the United States as well as to bring forward the power of the working class as a class against the government during the trial.

George Jackson understood this and repudiated his own defense committee when it came under the domination of the Communist Party. He wrote:

"For the few moments mental gratification it affords me, and as an example to you who have obviously been led to believe that negotiations with a pig are possible, and than an appeal to arms is just taking life too seriously. The objective of all our activity is in the end the creation of the people's army—not an acquittal here and there."

While Jackson posed this question within his own

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## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

slicing wage increases won after the most difficult battles.

All these actions, which strike at the jugular of the trade unions, expose the bankruptcy of the attempts by the leadership of the AFL-CIO to avoid a political confrontation with the Government. At every point, the labor bureaucrats have sought to minimize the significance of the Pay Board and the full implications of the Government's attacks on the trade unions. They have approached the Pay Board with the aim of finding its loopholes, rather than with a program to defeat it.

These bankrupt and dangerous policies flow from the bureaucracy's refusal to break with the two capitalist parties—the Democrats and Republicans—and mobilize the working class independently in a labor party.

On August 15, 1971, Nixon announced the implementation of Phase I, the 90-day wage freeze. Behind this action was the explosive crisis of the capitalist system, which could no longer survive without seeking to destroy the trade unions. The depth of the crisis expressed itself in that same speech on August 15, as Nixon ended the convertibility of the dollar into gold. What this signified was the actual collapse of the Bretton Woods agreements, upon which the entire post-war boom and era of class stability in the advanced countries had been based.

While being forced, therefore, to challenge the working class, Nixon did so with a tremendous fear of its power. He could only carry out the assault on the working class with the collaboration of the trade union leadership. As the past period has shown, it has been the vacillations and retreats of the bureaucracy that have paved the way for these latest sharp attacks by the Government. The unwillingness of Meany and the rest of the trade union hierarchy to fight Nixon stands in sharp contrast to the actions of the ranks themselves, who in the course of the past ten months have recalled their traditions of militancy in defense of their standard of living.

The immediate reaction of the AFL-CIO leadership to the wage freeze was one of public anger. UAW President Woodcock said "This means war," and Meany warned that the freeze represented a step down "the road to fascism." But before long, talk of compromise was in the air. Woodcock stated that "the real problem" would be what came after the freeze.

American workers gave a far different answer to the freeze. West Coast longshoremen continued their strike, the ILA shut down East and Gulf Coast ports, New York phone workers defied the CWA International and continued the strike against Bell, 80,000 workers closed down the coal mines. All these actions demonstrated the determination of the ranks to fight back

against the Government.

It was the decision of the UAW, AFL-CIO, and the Teamsters to join the Wage Board established under Phase II that strengthened the Government's hand against the trade unions. In spite of the experience of such boards during World War II and the Korean War, when workers saw their living conditions slashed by soaring prices and Government control, Meany, Abel, Woodcock, Smith, and Fitzsimmons agreed to become part of the apparatus to police the workers. Consciously, they sowed the illusion that the Wage Board could somehow be fair, that the Government would make exceptions in its guidelines. They pointed to the acceptance of the coal miners' settlement as proof that the guidelines would not be rigidly imposed.

But the fact was that Nixon permitted the coal settlement to go through because he wanted to postpone a confrontation with the working class until after the union bureaucracy had been brought into full collaboration with the Board. Once this had been accomplished, the Government dared to slash the aerospace contract from a 12 percent increase to 8 percent. This action was not fought. The trade unions remained on the Pay Board for another four months. Not until the Pay Board cut the West Coast longshoremen's increase, won after a 116-day strike, did the AFL-CIO and UAW leave the Board.

However, the task of smashing the Board by calling for general strike action in defense of the ILWU contract was avoided. Rather, the attitude of Meany was that each union would have to live with the Board to the best of its ability.

These retreats have created the conditions for today's attacks. The Pay Board is now becoming what Nixon always intended it to be: the apparatus for the destruction of the contracts won by the working class. At the same time, the Government is preparing to abolish the right to strike—a development that was posed by the very institution of the Pay Board. For it is clear that a Pay Board—which exists to regulate the income of workers—is incompatible with the ability of labor to use its power to fight for its wages.

Referring to NMU President Joseph Curran's statement that no-strike legislation in the transportation industry is unconstitutional, Labor Secretary Hodgson declared: "The trouble with such verbiage is that it runs head on into the facts. Strikes are not mentioned in the Constitution, and the Supreme Court has repeatedly refused to buy arguments for an unfettered Constitutional right to strike."

This is a clear threat by the Government to outlaw strikes. And it is a threat that the Government means to carry out. Already it is laying the ground for the coming battle over this question. The recent Supreme Court decision abolish-

ing the unanimous 12-man jury system and replacing it with a court martial set-up, where a conviction can be obtained by a vote of two to one, is designed for use against union militants and trade union leaders—perhaps even for George Meany himself.

Meany stated last week that the Government's interest in proposing no-strike laws "lies exclusively in arming employers and disarming unions." If such laws are passed, he added, "The freedom of labor... would be ultimately be submerged in tyranny."

He is absolutely correct. Now the question every worker must ask is "What is Meany going to do about it?" He has pledged that the labor movement will "fight it by every means at our command." Such a fight requires general strike support for all unions now faced with attacks by the Government. A determined fight presents great opportunities for the working class. The weakness—not the strength—of the capitalists is exposed by the fact that they must mobilize the full power of the state against 39 workers to make them give their wages back to their employers. However, if it is not stopped by labor, the Government will consolidate its position and the isolated attack against the ITU will be the future for the whole trade union movement.

Millions of workers are ready to do away with the Pay Board. The ILA, whose members face the loss of hard-won gains and the very break-up of their union, would be assured of the support of all workers in a fight against the Government. The ILA could jump to the lead of the whole trade union movement by striking against the cut in its contract.

This fight to smash the Wage Board must be taken forward politically through the building of a labor party to fight for a socialist government.

The growth of the Wallace movement, which exists to destroy the trade union movement and has already mounted a vicious legal assault on the UAW to silence its opposition to Wallace, is a weapon in the employers' arsenal for use against the working class.

There is no other way. Contrary to the claims of the trade union bureaucracy, the labor movement cannot expect to be defended by either George McGovern or Hubert Humphrey, who in the course of four television debates in California had not one word to say against the Pay Board or anti-strike legislation—because they support all these measures. Instead, these so-called "friends of labor" sought to out-do each other in praising George Wallace and wishing for his speedy recovery.

We say that the time has come to break with them and their bankrupt party. Let labor depend on its own strength, its own labor party, with its own socialist program.



BY DAN FRIED  
THE RECENT CONVENTION of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Atlantic City was undoubtedly the most important labor gathering in the United States since Nixon announced his wage freeze and removal of the gold backing for the dollar on August 15, 1971.

Although the top leadership under UAW President Leonard Woodcock sought to avoid real political discussion, sought to avoid facing up to the question of the labor party raised by the Workers League, this question was raised by a number of delegates, including an open call to build a labor party by Pete Kelly, Chairman of the United National Caucus (UNC).

Woodcock also attempted to contain the split within his own bureaucratic apparatus which erupted after West Coast Region 6 Director Paul Schrade was defeated for re-election. This was triggered by International Trustee Ann Le Febvre, a self-acknowledged member of the "Woodcock Team," who took the floor to denounce what the Wall Street Journal had already reported—the gang up by Woodcock, and two Executive Board members (Ken Bannon and Pat Greathouse) against Schrade. Woodcock heatedly replied, openly attacking Schrade, who then got the floor in rebuttal. The battle was out in the open, and the skeletons in the closet began rattling.

The Communist Party, both at the convention itself, and in its post-mortems in the Daily World, took Schrade's side and attempted to play up the split in the bureaucracy as a split between the more conservative "bread and butter" forces led by Woodcock, versus the more "progressive" forces who continued the traditions of Walter Reuther and his "social vision," represented by Fraser, Mazey, Edwards, Madar and of course—Schrade. That is the way Sam Kushner, writing in the May 5 Daily World, saw the line-up of the bureaucrats.

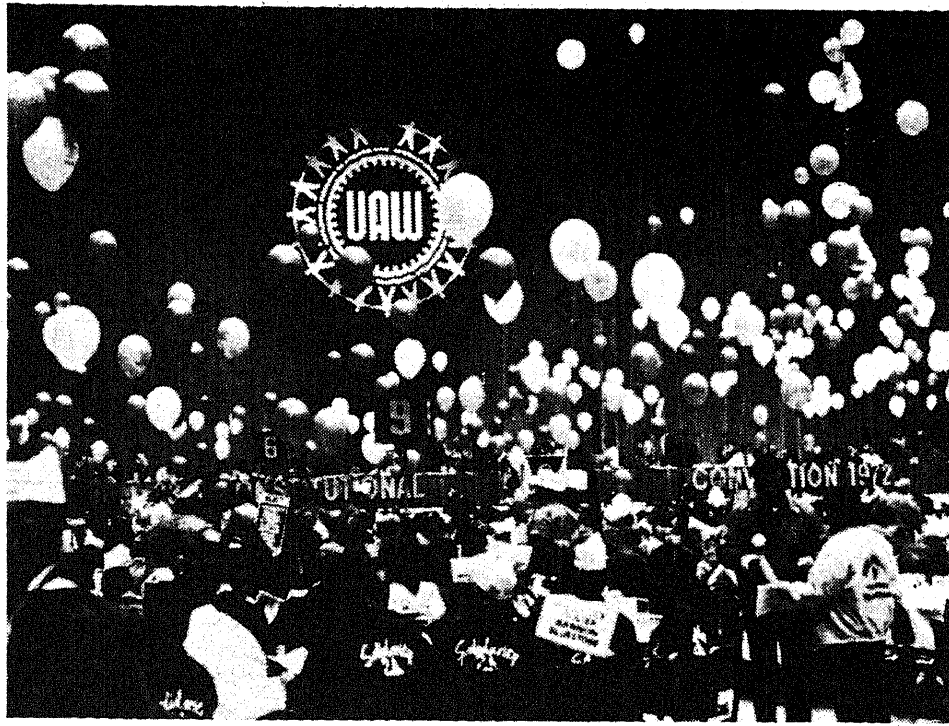
While splits and divisions within the labor bureaucracy must be analyzed with the greatest care—and we intend to do just that—both the Stalinists and the revisionist ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party distort and lie about Schrade in order to justify support for him. They see this fight completely separate from the discussion on unemployment and the labor party which took place at the convention and from the struggle of the rank and file against that unemployment and the Pay Board, particularly on the West Coast where it is so sharp.

The SWP, in an article in the May 12, 1972 Militant by Lee Smith, puts this in the most extreme form, with a simple repetition of the assertion by the Schrade group which was echoed in the New York Times that: "The issue was right-wing opposition to Schrade's positive role as an activist in social movements, not a militant opposition to his role as a bureaucrat."

#### STALINISM

It is of great importance to examine what the Communist Party has to say in defense of Schrade, their stand on Woodcock and their role at the convention in order to see clearly how Stalinism attempts to divert all rank and file movement against the bureaucracy into reformist, capitalist channels.

To begin with, the Stalinist coverage of the convention was almost totally taken up with the speeches of notables such as Cesar Chavez, Ted Kennedy, Bella Abzug—all their liberal favorites. In their post-mortems, they are preoccupied with the divisions within the bureaucracy. Needless to say, they barely mentioned the call by UNC co-Chairman Pete Kelly for a labor party, nor Woodcock's remark that maybe the U.S. labor movement should consider the Canadian political set-up, nor the discussion on unemployment and the labor party that the Bulletin



# Stalinism and the UAW

reported.

The major interest of the CP in the UAW convention was to see it as a vehicle for the Stalinist line of a liberal "coalition" against Nixon around the issue of peace. This, they spell out in the demand that Nixon "set the date" for withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina and in the backing of a coalition government in Vietnam. It is on this basis that they highlighted every statement of Woodcock that corresponded to this policy and have such great admiration for Schrade who is on the national "set-the-date" committee.

But as a whole, according to Rick Nagin's article in the May 4 Daily World, the convention "was lacking in excitement and was not really related to the vital issues facing the union...Woodcock lacked the flair and charisma of the late Walter Reuther." The main point in Nagin's article is that "a conscious effort was made by the Woodcock forces to consolidate the position of those committed to class peace." Nagin sees this effort as directed against Paul Schrade who in an earlier article he had said represented "the most advanced sector of the UAW leadership."

#### WHIPPLE

Nagin again agrees with the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, stating without any evidence or elaboration, that: "Schrade was defeated by Jerry Whipple, a conservative."

The New York Times article that broke the story in the press on the opposition to Schrade had said it was a struggle of "conservatism" vs. "liberalism" and quoted an alleged supporter of Whipple as saying that Schrade is for SDS and "we're for defense."

Bulletin reporters at the convention, however, were unable to find any leaders or rank and file delegates from the Whipple caucus who supported such a position. On the contrary, rank and file delegates from North American Rockwell Local 887 were particularly outspoken against the Pay Board and the Vietnam War.

The North American Rockwell local, the home local of Paul Schrade, which was regarded in the past as Schrade's power base, had in fact become the center of the opposition to Schrade. This change came about when the economic crisis of massive

unemployment and the Pay Board cut enraged the rank and file against the leadership of the International represented by Schrade.

But the view that Schrade stood "Against class peace," and that is why he was ousted by "conservative" Jerry Whipple is refuted by the Stalinists themselves the very day after the May 4 Nagin article, when Sam Kushner, writing in the May 5 Daily World stated "Jerry Whipple...president of the region's third largest local since 1951 and until two months prior to the convention was chairman of Schrade's caucus." We leave it to the Daily World editors to explain how this "conservative," whom Schrade supporters told reporters for the capitalist press was an "Archie Bunker" had but a short time ago been one of Schrade's key lieutenants.

Writing from the West Coast, Kushner is undoubtedly being more careful in his characterization of the new leadership, desiring to keep the door open for the Stalinist elements to make a rapprochement with Whipple, now that Schrade is out. Thus, he directs his fire at Woodcock and completely ignores the movement of the rank and file against Schrade that has blossomed over the last two years—a movement which Local 887 President Henry Lacayo and Whipple and the rest of their group latched on to in order to try and save their own skins.

Daily World writer George Morris at least hints that there was a lot of rank and file dissatisfaction with Schrade on the West Coast. But he does so in a dishonest attempt in order to justify Schrade. Morris writes in the May 4 Daily World: "There is widespread rank and file dissatisfaction today in most unions and much of it is directed against officials. In the UAW, local and regional leaders have the thankless task of holding down the anger and even 'wildcat' spirit among their members over conditions for which the general officers in Detroit are mainly responsible."

We are already beginning to feel pangs of sorrow for Mr. Schrade who had the "thankless task" of putting down the wildcat spirit of the ranks. With the same logic, we might say that South Vietnam's premier Thieu has the "thankless task" of putting down the Indochinese revolution,

on behalf of his masters in Washington, who are "mainly responsible" for the conditions that the Vietnamese people are rebelling against.

Morris continues:

"The situation in the aircraft and aerospace plants, the major section of the Western UAW Region, illustrates the problem. After prolonged negotiations the UAW won a contract. But the Pay Board cut a big slice of the gains. After some loud rhetoric from Woodcock, what did the UAW do? It brought suit against the Pay Board. The dispute is now sidetracked in litigation that may take a year or more. The workers are minus what they won. Their anger, of course, is directed against the UAW officers, including the Western Regional Director. Opponents who have been unsuccessfully angling for the job in several conventions find it convenient to make factional hay but the really responsible general officers are untouched."

Morris concludes:

"Schrade lost...because Woodcock's group paid LESS attention to the real grievances of the workers and more to settling scores with opponents within the leadership."

Morris omits the fact that the battle against Schrade at the convention was conducted in opposition to the International Reps in Region 6 who were loyal to Schrade and were swarming over the Region 6 delegates on the floor and who, according to rank and file delegates, tried every low trick, including offers of money and women, to get the delegates to support Schrade. So, whether or not Woodcock wanted to see Schrade dumped, the battle against Schrade was directed against the International Reps who are an integral part of the bureaucratic apparatus over which Woodcock presides.

The truth is that this convention took place in a new period, in which the conflicts could not be peacefully settled as in 1968 or earlier conventions at which Schrade survived the opposition. The truth is that the dumping of Schrade represents the movement of the rank and file against the attacks of capitalism. This movement will increasingly be directed against Woodcock and the top leaders of the International bureaucracy itself. The handwriting is on the wall. There is no doubt that Woodcock would have preferred a compromise, but above all he did not want to openly oppose a full scale revolt which he might not have been able to stop.

The obvious question that flows from what Morris has said is: What is the record of Schrade and of the Communist Party in fighting against the policies of the "general officers in Detroit?"

It is necessary to examine the conditions facing the aerospace workers which have evolved since the 1968 UAW convention. Last fall, Schrade himself disclosed that "about 200,000 aerospace jobs have been eliminated in 1967 in California alone," and added that: "It is time to stop dismantling the world's highest skilled workforce."

The UAW in the Los Angeles area has been harder hit by unemployment in the past two years than any area in the country. In 1970 alone, 10 plants in the Los Angeles area with UAW contracts shut down, laying off a total of 3,545 workers. The total membership of five key UAW locals—Chrysler, North American Rockwell, McDonnell-Douglas, Bendix Electrodynamic and Ryan Aeronautical—dwindled from 48,054 in 1968 to 27,126 in March 1971 and is even lower today. UAW membership at the company where Whipple drew his major support, a company which contains many Black and Chicano workers, North American Rockwell, dropped from 30,000 in 1966 to less than 9,000 in 1971. On top of that, the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) funds at North American and other plants ran dry.

The thrust of Schrade's program against unemployment during this period, which Region 6 spelled out in a brochure at the convention, amounted to pleading with the government and U.S. business to take stronger measures against foreign competitors such as Japan. This program attempted to pit American auto workers against their Japanese and European counterparts. On this question he has been even to the right of Woodcock, who is more careful about advocating protectionist measures. At the same time, Schrade has stood 100 percent with Woodcock in refusing to take up a fight for 30 for 40 and for nationalization of industry through a fight for a labor party.

Schrade, it must be remembered was a



very close friend and associate of Robert Kennedy, and has consistently made militant statements only to use his influence to hold together the Democratic Party. He has provided a left cover for Woodcock with whom he has basic agreement on political questions.

#### PAY BOARD

Adding insult to injury, the aerospace workers were the first section of the labor movement to have a new contract cut down by the Pay Board. Prior to the action by the Board, Schrade issued a militant threat, which was reported in the *New York Times*, and then buried by the capitalist press:

**"If Nixon and the Pay Board's program is to prevent working men from getting what they are owed, there should be a general strike and a new labor party."**

Schrade's statement reflected the tremendous turmoil and anger amongst the rank and file. Even if Schrade had no intention of fighting for this perspective, the statement itself was too strong for the Communist Party. Although it was reported privately at that time that the *Daily World* was aware of the statement, they ignored it for a full week, only to put a tiny note on it into the *World*, after the *Bulletin* had given it front page banner headline treatment. We wrote at that time (*Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1971):

**"If Schrade is serious, he will bring his proposal for a general strike and a labor party into the UAW Special Convention together with a motion for Woodcock to resign from the Pay Board."**

But at that Special Convention, neither Schrade, nor any of his supporters in Region 6 opposed Woodcock in any way, and to our knowledge (while Schrade himself was not a delegate) all voted for Woodcock's position of remaining on the Board. This was despite the fact that shop meetings at the Fremont General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant had voted for a policy of general strike prior to the convention, and there was a growing movement for a general strike amongst West Coast UAW ranks.

When the Pay Board announced its decision to cut the contract from 12.3 to 8.4 percent, Woodcock proposed to take the case "to the courts" and Schrade had nothing to say. Meanwhile, the ranks were up in arms. Reflecting this pressure, North American Local 887 President Henry Lacayo, who is allegedly the man behind the throne of the "conservative" Whipple caucus, said that he favored a nationwide walkout because:

**"This blow against our members will be felt by all workers if we take this lying down."**

Bill Leslie, Administrative Assistant of Local 887 told the *Bulletin*:

**"Our leaders and members feel strongly that the Pay Board does not have the right to do this...Action is long overdue for working men and women to stand up for themselves and call a nationwide strike."**

George Morris sees the defeat of Schrade as a drift of the UAW toward Meany, away from the program of "revitalization"—of Mr. Reuther's reformist vision—which Morris identifies with the Alliance for Labor Action. Morris complains:

**"The UAW's convention two years ago gave full endorsement to the ALA and Reuther's role in it. But Woodcock apparently assumed that the ALA was buried with Walter Reuther. He conveniently forgot about it."**

Morris reveals his true colors—what he really likes about Schrade is not his militant talk, but his role as a pro-Soviet liberal, a fitting successor to Reuther whose career in the UAW was dedicated to taming the "wildcat spirit" of the UAW ranks and preventing the development of real Marxism in the union. What Morris likes in particular about Reuther was his "conversion" in the mid-60's to support of the Stalinist line of peaceful co-existence, and his ability to give a left cover to the Democratic Party.

But the evolution of the rank and file opposition to Schrade tells the story far more accurately of the changes in the UAW since 1968. The spontaneous demonstrations of hatred for the Pay Board among aerospace workers, the bitterness of older workers robbed of their pensions by plant shutdowns, the rebellion of the production workers against calculated speedup symbolized by the Lordstown strike and the current battle at Norwood—this is the new reality of the UAW which is tearing the UAW apart.

Beginning with the 1970 GM strike, Schrade's role as a cop for the bureau-

cracy against the rank and file auto workers earned him the hatred of militants on the West Coast even though this was entirely ignored by the *Daily World*.

#### FREMONT

This was sharply revealed during the 1970 General Motors strike at the Fremont, California GMAD where the pent-up anger of the workers, sparked by the younger workers, erupted in an attempt to stop General Motors from moving recently assembled trucks out of the plant. As reported in a dispatch from Fremont, dated Sept. 15, 1970, "more than 100 workers convinced the driver to turn the truck around, especially when bottles began breaking through the new windshield." A company guardhouse was also burned down, a mass of workers later burned a garbage truck leaving the plant, and a silent ambulance plowed into an unwary worker, who was standing among a crowd of workers at the gate.

The shop chairman John Herrera, at that time a loyal lackey of Mr. Schrade, had not organized any picketing and had refused up until the very last minute to call a mass meeting of the plant. When the meeting finally did take place, "The International representative was booed down by the rank and file. He finally gave up trying to speak. Workers gave a huge cheer when one speaker called for striking 'in the old fashioned way,' that is, shutting the whole industry down."

The next day Herrera said that "both the union leadership and the Fremont police had investigated the previous night's incident and had concluded it was caused by 'Berkeley rabble rousers.'" Herrera and Schrade then attempted to call off night picketing because of "student troublemakers" and threatened with arrest any person handing out leaflets on the public street next to the plant.

The Oct. 13, 1970 *Bulletin* featured an interview with a Fremont auto worker who told of the growing receptivity of the younger workers at the plant to socialist ideas and lively discussions of the various radical papers. He also explained why the leadership had set up a security guard around the local union office, following the events on the first night of the strike:

**"Paul Schrade, Regional Director and John Herrera must appeal to the Bay Area Mobile Tactical squad. Two hundred of these cops were called out on September 18 in full riot dress in order to protect these bureaucrats...Herrera has issued press statements in which he has attempted to link up the recent bombings that occurred at both the GM plant in Fremont and Ford plant in Milpitas to 'inflammatory literature distributed to workers outside the plant by Socialist Workers Party and SDS.'"**

Herrera further set up a liaison committee with the Fremont Police and Bay Area Mobile Tactical Squad to intimidate the militants.

Schrade's role as the real culprit was exposed in an article by a UAW Local 1364 member in the Nov. 2, 1970 *Bulletin*:

**"The leadership of our local, following the orders of Regional Director Paul Schrade, has established a virtual dictatorship over our local by abolishing all membership meetings, and issued directives to discourage or refuse support from 'outside groups.'"**

When Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party showed up to offer support,

**"He was introduced to everyone who wanted to shake his hand, to the obvious embarrassment and nervousness of our local officers..."**

Newton made an offer for the BPP to return the next day, prepare a meal and feed all the strikers. This they did,

**"Took over our strike kitchen and prepared an excellent dinner, serving 600 auto workers who all seemed to be quite pleased, to the nervous displeasure of our local leadership."**

**"Paul Schrade has decided that feeding the striking auto workers has become a political weapon in the wrong hands and has ordered our strike kitchen closed down to only coffee and donuts which will be supplied by the union."**

Next, the majority of the local Executive Board, voted at a secret meeting to allow GM management to construct a six foot extension—to a new height of 12 feet—on the fence surrounding the plant, topping it with barbed wire. To add insult to injury, the local leaders and International Rep. J. Santos agreed to have local striking UAW members from the maintenance department, build the fence!

A Local 1364 member reported in the Nov. 2, 1970 *Bulletin*:

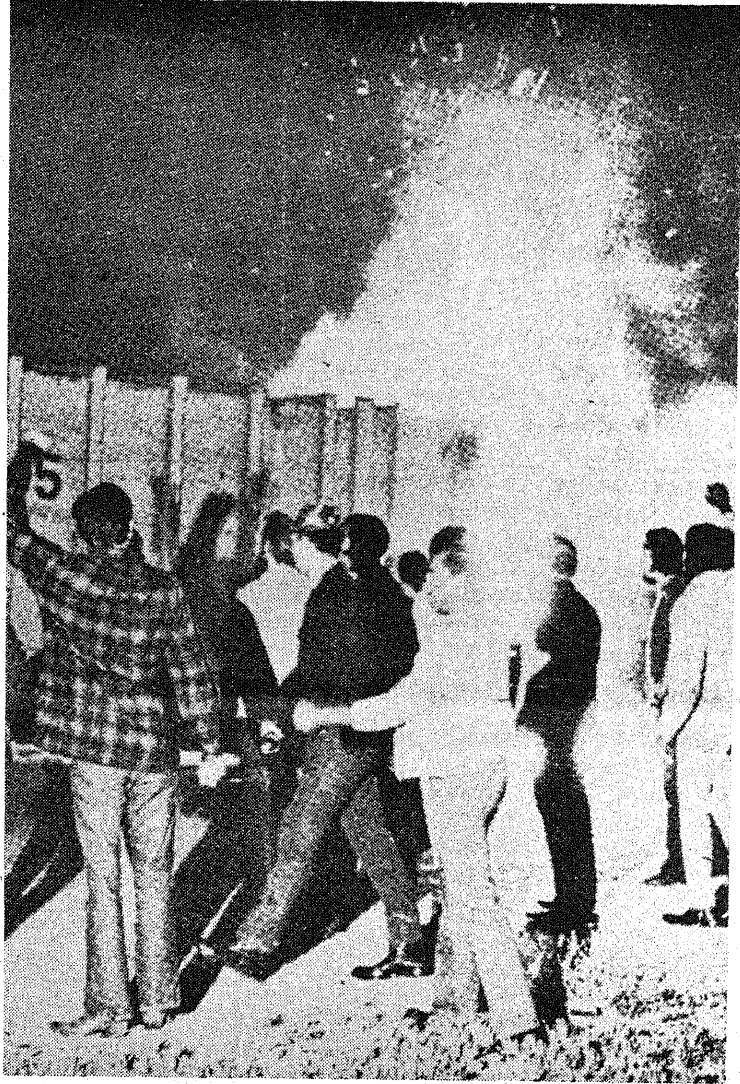
**"As the vote was recorded, Herrera picked up the phone and called Los Angeles to report the result to Schrade, who is the real culprit behind pushing this through for the GM management."**

#### CHRYSLER

Now we come to Mr. Schrade's role in putting down the "wildcat spirit" of the rank and file at Chrysler's Maywood, California assembly plant which shut down on July 9, 1971, laying off 1,200 workers. According to Chrysler, the 39 year old plant had "become uneconomical to operate."

Just prior to the 1970 GM strike, this plant had been shut down by two wildcat strikes organized by the rank and file and a section of the local leadership. The strike, which was over the firing of militants, charges of racism, speed-up, and compulsory overtime was only ended, according to the article in the June 7, 1971 *Bulletin*:

**"With the shameful assistance of...Paul Schrade. Schrade threatened the ranks that the International would take over the**



Left, auto workers at Fremont GM plant rallied outside plant supported Whipple at recent UAW convention (from W

local and put it in trusteeship, guaranteed them no financial assistance whatsoever to sustain the wildcat. He launched a vicious red-baiting attack on the Progressive Labor Party for passing out leaflets and selling their newspaper at the plant and outside the union meeting."

When the plant shutdown was announced, Schrade pleaded with Chrysler to "reconsider their cruel and deplorable decision," and proposed that Chrysler should perfect their productive techniques in order to better compete with foreign producers. Schrade, the hero of the Stalinists and the revisionist SWP, who have continually built him up as a spokesman for "peace," is absolutely bankrupt in fighting unemployment.

Schrade has dropped all talk of nationalizing industry, accepting instead the inevitability of layoffs and speed-ups under capitalism. When the Chrysler plant shut, he and the International leadership offered some proposals for higher seniority workers to move to the Midwest to bump their fellow workers in those plants.

In a brochure distributed at the recent Atlantic City convention, entitled "Chrysler Come Home," Schrade solidifies himself with the protectionist wing of the labor movement, most strongly represented by I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, in a campaign against "foreign imports," and in particular against the manufacture by Chrysler of sub-compact in England and Japan.

Schrade's program is to take jobs of Japanese and European auto workers away

by offering in effect to have American auto workers cooperate with the employers in greater productivity. Thus he writes in the brochure:

**"We need decision making powers to force corporations to compete effectively by vastly improving production systems and car quality and design."**

Let's face it Mr. Schrade. As long as GM and the other capitalist firms produce the cars, they will only "compete effectively," and "improve production" by more and more speed-up and bigger and better layoffs. That is exactly what the ruling class and Nixon, backed up by Henry Ford with his talk about the "Japs," by GM and its films about the danger of foreign imports, have in mind. They are saying:

**"If you want to keep your jobs, you're going to have to sacrifice."**

All Schrade and the UAW bureaucracy try to do is to dress up this program of the ruling class with "union participation," and a claim that the UAW has worked hard "with our brothers and sisters overseas to take wages and benefits out of

competition." This is so much baloney. Their program is: "Our brothers be damned, buy American" and boycott Chrysler overseas products (Dodge Colt, Plymouth Cricket) until "Chrysler comes home."

Not only is this program, like the proposal to "break up GM" into two or three companies utopian as long as you have capitalism and the corporations control the government, but this is a program which the ruling class itself is now carrying out. It is designed to force the Japanese and European capitalists to the point of massive layoffs and depression in those countries, a destruction of world trade, and an inevitable collapse of the U.S. capitalist economy in a bigger crash than 1929!

At the same time, this program is a substitute for the kind of battle against unemployment that begins with the needs of the auto workers not the employers, based on the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, retirement after 25 years at any age with \$750 per month, and the nationalization of industry under workers control. Rather than demanding the formation of a labor party to fight for this program, Schrade, like the rest of the UAW leadership supported by the Stalinists, looks to liberal Democrats to "curb monopoly."

#### WOODCOCK

To our knowledge the *Daily World* has hidden the real story on Paul Schrade, and twisted and turned in every way to protect

him. But while the Communist Party, appears to side with Schrade against Woodcock, to them this is simply a means of putting pressure on Woodcock to follow a more "progressive" line. Their role from the time Woodcock took office has been to cover up for his betrayals, placing him in the camp of the "progressive" labor bureaucrats as opposed to the "conservatives" headed by George Meany. That is why their big complaint against Woodcock for opposing Schrade is that this represents a drift toward Meany.

What the Stalinists are unable to explain to this day is that Woodcock, with the full support of Emil Mazey, hung onto the Pay Board until the very end after Meany walked off, and left only because of dissonance with the leadership which feared a widespread revolt, especially among the aerospace workers if he had stayed. So, on one of the most fundamental questions facing the U.S. labor movement, Woodcock was to the right of Meany.

Despite the Daily World's swipes against Woodcock, a week after the convention, DW Detroit correspondent Wil-

us about the issue of peace. We have a fine resolution on peace. It has a lot of wonderful things in it, and we have moved on peace.

"As a tribute to the brother who just spoke, the brother who says he was defeated in this union—I do not think he was defeated in this union, because he recognized peace long before the majority of us in this room did...I would like for this convention here and now to go on record, in line with the resolutions we've adopted, in line with the speakers we've heard and cheered, of sending a telegram directly from this convention, we instruct our officers to do this in the name of this convention, to set the date NOW for getting out of this horrible mess in Vietnam and restoring the United States as the leader of peace and decency in this world. Thank you."

Perhaps the most significant action of Mr. Roth at the convention, was his voting for the Woodcock Team, even though he had participated in the caucus meeting of the United Action Caucus which ran Jordan Sims and Pete Kelly against Wood-

"...Many delegates had questions about the issue itself, since the referendum exists in some of the most bureaucratic run unions."

Nagin said that the UNC candidacies were "entirely symbolic."

An article in the April 22 Daily World by William Allen reporting that:

"Leonard Woodcock will head a UAW delegation to the Soviet Union in July..." sheds more light on the relation of the Stalinists to Woodcock.

"Undoubtedly," continues Allen, "there will be discussion of the nearly half-billion dollars worth of orders U.S. auto parts companies are seeking to get from the Soviet Union. The Ford Motor Co. it is learned, seeks to get a machine tool order of over \$300 million destined for the Kama plant."

Allen sees this development as a way of reducing unemployment in the U.S. auto industry. The auto barons will make their profits, the Soviet economy will be helped out and everybody supposedly will be happy. This is the Stalinist model of "peaceful coexistence" which they see being established with the help of Woodcock and other "progressive" labor leaders to maintain the power of the Soviet bureaucracy AGAINST the Soviet working class, and IN OPPOSITION TO the struggle of the international working class for socialism.

UE CONVENTION

The Stalinist perspective of drawing Woodcock into an alliance together with "progressive" bureaucrats associated with the Communist Party in support of liberal Democrats was clearly expressed in the report by the Daily World, Sept. 2, 1971, of a speech by Woodcock before the national convention of the United Electrical Workers (UE). They stated that he issued a call for the "creation of a new progressive coalition to turn this country around..."

The article then reports how Woodcock is opening the doors of this "progressive coalition" by welcoming the Stalinists and their supporters into it:

"Woodcock talked briefly about the split in the labor movement 20 years ago when the CIO, succumbing to a red-baiting drive in the nation, drove out the UE, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the other militant and progressive unions from their ranks.

"We should never have been split asunder. We in our union helped in the splitting of the labor movement." However, he emphasized labor's need today is unity."

At a labor conference in St. Louis the previous spring, in response to a proposal from the floor by a Workers League member that labor take up the fight for an independent labor party, Woodcock denounced this as a "romantic illusion," and counterposed to it, a "new creative coalition" to support someone like McGovern.

After the New York Times published an article on the St. Louis conference, George Morris, while failing to mention the question of the labor party, "corrects" the Times for giving the impression that "several students" associated with the Workers League, who advocated a general strike against the Vietnam war, "typify the general student attitude." Morris instead hastens to solidarize himself with Woodcock's perspective: "That efforts be concentrated on getting members of Congress to vote denial of funds for the war in Vietnam." (Daily World, April 22, 1971)

What Morris left out in his zealotry to defend Woodcock and attack the Workers League which he identified as "some sort of 'nuts' blind to realities and not serious" was that Woodcock was sharply attacked by rank and file workers at this conference. One of them, a Black worker from the GMAD plant in St. Louis, told how he had been fired by GM for opposing racist practices and pointed out that Woodcock had done absolutely nothing about the situation.

Throughout the 1970 GM strike, while their man Schrade was trying to hold the UAW rank and file in check, the Daily World followed every twist and turn of Woodcock in preparation for overcoming rank and file opposition to the contract. Throughout the strike, the Workers League, beginning with the needs of the auto workers, had posed a fight for \$1.25 an hour first year increase.

Workers League supporters proposed a resolution favoring rejection of the GM contract offer, proposing instead, a fight for the \$1.25, 30 and out at \$500 at any age

at a Stalinist backed TUAD conference. They were supported in this by several auto workers from the Tarrytown and Linden Assembly plants. At this point, the Stalinist sponsors of the conference began to panic, and only through the greatest effort were they able to prevent a vote on this resolution, arguing that the conference had no business to "tell the GM ranks how to vote." Their attitude was typified by the statement of one of the participants the next day who asked:

"Can you imagine this conference going on record in condemnation of Leonard Woodcock?"

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

As we have pointed out, not only the Stalinists, but the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, together with most of the "radical left," rally to the defense of Paul Schrade and assert in the Militant, without offering any evidence, that the opposition to Schrade at the convention was composed of "right-wing forces."

The article by Lee Smith comparing Woodcock unfavorably to Reuther, who is noted, "actively backed him against the right-wing opposition in Region 6," which "Woodcock actually supported the right-wingers backing Whipple." Such was the conspiracy, according to Lee Smith, against Mr. Schrade who was opposed because of his "active endorsements of movements such as the antiwar movement."

If Mr. Smith had taken the trouble to talk to the Region 6 delegates who supported Whipple, and these included many rank and file workers who were not very impressed with Schrade's activities in "outside" movements, he would have learned that they were opposed to Schrade because they felt he lacked concern over the problems of unemployment, speed-up and the Pay Board. Perhaps to Mr. Smith this constitutes "red-baiting" and "right-wing."

But it is clear that Smith was not really paying much attention to the convention. Actually, according to Smith's article entitled "Business as Usual" at UAW Convention," nothing much happened except a movement to the right reflected Schrade's defeat.

But we must wonder if Smith in fact was even present at the convention. He reports that it was a "five-and-a-half-day convention" when everyone who was there knew it was cut off a full day early, lasting four-and-a-half days. He reports that the Lordstown and Norwood GM strikes were not even brought up until the third day and then only by Senator Kennedy in a "demagogic" speech, when in fact, the question had been brought up earlier when Woodcock specifically called on the President of the Lordstown local, Gary Bryn, to speak in order to cover up the disarray agreement concluded at Lordstown. In addition, Smith seems unaware of the exchange which erupted on the floor, between Woodcock and Schrade on the first day of the convention!

In dealing with the opposition to Woodcock represented by the United National Caucus, Smith dismisses them and the other delegates who supported the referendum vote as "not bringing any programmatic issues to the floor." Even more than the Stalinists, Smith echoes the Woodcock argument that "the referendum vote is a fake issue, a gimmick," that other unions such as the Steelworkers have the referendum, and "look how bureaucratic they are."

What Smith missed, or perhaps chose to ignore, is that the leading elements of the UNC themselves, Jordan Sims and Pete Kelly, felt the referendum issue by itself was inadequate and on the basis of that need to fight for a program decided that it was necessary to run against Woodcock and Mazey. And the central programmatic point, which Kelly stressed on the floor of the convention itself on two occasions, was the need for formation of a labor party! For more information on what actually took place at the convention we refer Mr. Smith and Militant readers to the reports and the interview with Pete Kelly in the May 1 and May Bulletin.

Smith instead looks for programmatic issues abstracted out of the actual struggle at the convention and the struggle for leadership against Woodcock. Thus, while omitting entirely the important discussion on unemployment and political action which erupted at the convention which raised the question of the labor party, he reports the resolution entitled "Convene Congress of Labor," submitted to



side plant gates during 1970 strike. Right, Auto-Aerospace delegates who (from Western region) argue with Schrade supporters (right).

liam Allen was headlining Woodcock's denunciation of Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese waters, quoting the entire statement in the May 11 Daily World. To the delight of the Stalinists, Woodcock endorsed "a reasonable coalition" government, which of course will maintain capitalist interests in Indochina.

At the UAW convention the Stalinists had no interest at all in building an opposition to Woodcock, but were above all concerned with getting Woodcock to demand that Nixon "set the date" for withdrawal of all U.S. forces. They are willing to cover up the worst betrayals of Woodcock, of Harry Bridges, or any other labor leader so long as they can get the backing of these bureaucrats for the Kremlin line of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism.

This was apparently the basis upon which Norman Roth, a delegate from Chicago Local 6 (International Harvester), functioned at the convention. As could be expected Rick Nagin's report in the April 28 Daily World reported most favorably on Democratic Congresswoman Bella Abzug's speech to the convention and noted that: "Following Rep. Abzug's address, Norman Roth, leader of the Local 6 delegation came to the speaker's platform and pinned a UAW peace button on her."

Following Paul Schrade's reply to Woodcock on the last day of the convention, Mr. Roth took the floor on a point of order and stated:

"Brother Woodcock, this morning every speaker we had, major speakers, spoke to

cock and Mazey. Roth voted for Woodcock, stating on the convention floor:

"I cast my vote for the Woodcock slate. However in discussion with our delegates we feel the leadership has not moved fast and far enough on the War, Racism and Political Repression."

Later Roth told the Bulletin that he might have voted for the UNC candidates, but that a UNC member had told him there was a split in the caucus and that Kelly and Sims had decided to run despite the previous agreement of the UNC to decline the nominations on the basis that the referendum was the central question. Roth justified himself by saying:

"You can't go back to your membership and tell them that you voted for something that was double-crossing itself."

It must be remembered also that Kelly had openly called for the UAW to support the formation of a labor party at the convention and attempted to get the floor to demand that the UAW set a date for a one day strike against the war to be followed by the rest of the labor movement.

Mr. Roth and the Communist Party, however, supported Woodcock because they have a perspective of working with him as part of a "peoples' coalition" with liberal Democrats against Nixon.

Despite the collaboration with the UNC in backing the "League of Caucuses" prior to the convention on the minimum program of support to the referendum, the Daily World ends up echoing the Woodcock line on the referendum, in Rick Nagin's May 4 report:

resolutions committee by Local 719.

But while there are some important and correct programmatic points raised in this resolution, a statement on the resolution by Local 719 delegate Terry Kendal, quoted by Smith, shows that Kendal does not even take the resolution seriously: "I'm for everything in it, 1,000%—but I don't think it's very realistic. Our union and the Teamsters couldn't even get together on a program to do less than what's in it (the resolution)."

"According to Smith:

"Kendal said that while his local had

adopted the resolution unanimously, it had been done in a routine fashion along with a number of other resolutions and without discussion."

"Kendal told the Militant," Smith reports, that "he didn't see much of a prospect of any significant support to such a program in the UAW in the near future," and quotes him as saying: "When you go to a peace march you can count the auto workers there on your hands. It's a shame but that's the way it is now."

The pessimism that Kendal's statements reeks with is really the pessimism, not of the working class, not of the

workers at Lordstown and Norwood who have to fight GMAD but the demoralization of tired old radicals like the Socialist Workers Party which sees the "kind of program the UAW really needs" presented by Kendal, not a something to fight for, but as a fig leaf to cover their capitulation to Schrade, and to Woodcock. The "opposition" by the SWP to Woodcock is as phoney as that of the C.P.

To the SWP, bureaucrats like Schrade are really to the left of the workers, whom they see as not "enlightened" enough to walk on peace marches with the likes of Lindsay and McGovern.

The SWP, having abandoned Marxism, simply repeats the false counterposition of "bread and butter" issues versus political action.

Only the Workers League posed a consistent struggle for Marxist leadership against Woodcock at the convention, fighting for the understanding that the only way to defend the unions, to take forward the fight for "economic" demands is through a political solution—the construction of an independent labor party by the labor movement, opening up the struggle for a socialist America.



From left to right: Paul Schrade, ex-western regional director, UAW President Leonard Woodcock and new western director Jerry Whipple.

## UAW Militant Sees Year Of Turmoil

The following is an interview conducted in Atlantic City immediately following the recent United Auto Workers convention, with a young Black auto worker from Region 9 who is associated with a rank and file group that has overturned the old leadership of his local.

**Bulletin:** As you say, the referendum question at the convention was very important—that is, the right to vote directly for President and the other International officers.

**Auto Worker:** It was very important to the UAW membership, to the rank and file, because the way they have it set up through a delegate system, is very contrary to the average member who works on the line, because he has no say so about his national leadership. In fact, the national leadership seems to care less about the local rank and file membership. The only thing that they care about is delegates, to take care of them in some way so that they can be sure about their support at the conventions and what not.

As I was saying, the procedure of the bureaucracy at these conventions is very contrary to every member of the UAW, because they have it set up so that if the delegate doesn't preplan for the floor days ahead, he will never get the floor to air his views.

This itself is denying the rights of the member to talk about his conditions and what he suffers under in the plants. The only thing the top leadership wants to know is: "Do I have your support?" And if they have your support, they'll yield the floor to you.

**Bulletin:** What you are saying is that there has to be some sort of national movement, which will really represent the workers in the shops, against this situation, against the bureaucracy itself. The question of democracy in the union relates to the need of the workers to change their conditions in the plants. What are these conditions and needs as you

see them?

**Auto Worker:** As I see it, it would take a long time to go into all the issues but I'll go into some of them. First, the grievance procedure is totally contrary to the hourly worker. When you use the grievance procedure, they have no limit time on when the grievance should be exposed. It can go on for two or three years while the worker continues to suffer under what the grievance was all about, such as speed-up, harassment and abuse.

The company tells us that they have the right to do what they want and we have the right to a grievance procedure, but the grievance procedure is a long, drawn out thing.

**Bulletin:** Has there been an increase in grievances, harassment and speed-up say in the last six months, since the contract?

**Auto Worker:** The conditions are worsening in the GM and the Ford plants. It's still getting worse.

**Bulletin:** What do you think about the Lordstown strike settlement?

**Auto Worker:** The locals throughout the UAW should have some type of communication with each other, unity, so that when the problem comes up they can relate it to each other and work closely together to solve the problem. When the company starts a new "work assignment" or procedure in one plant, they'll move it across until they use it in all the plants through the whole system.

We need the type of unity among ourselves to fight it when it starts in one plant. We have lackey leaderships, who look out for themselves, who are of no use

to us but only serve the company. Now there is a new group of young workers who have a lot to say about this kind of leadership we've had in the past. Between now and next year you'll see a lot of turmoil within the UAW.

**Bulletin:** Yesterday there was a discussion on unemployment, the closing of shops, and in relationship to this some of the delegates brought up the question of political action. They said that we have not been getting anything from the Democratic Party but a stab in the back after they took union money for their campaigns and made a lot of campaign promises.

Two delegates said we should consider withdrawing from the Democratic Party and field our own candidates, labor candidates. This raises the question that we as socialists have raised very sharply at the convention, the need for a labor party based on the unions, to take the step like they did in Canada, only it would be a much more powerful step here. How do you feel about that?

**Auto Worker:** I agree with it. There is no difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. They work closely together. I agree with George Wallace on this point. There's no such thing as two parties.

**Bulletin:** Wallace does not want a party based on labor. In fact, he is out to destroy labor.

**Auto Worker:** I agree with him on the similarities between the two parties. I have no agreement with him politically. I would never have anything to do with him politically, because he's trying to destroy the only mass organization that the people have to protect them, the trade union.

**Bulletin:** The reason for these increasing attacks, the speed-up, the layoffs, the Pay Board, all comes from the fact that in order to maintain their profits the employers are now trying to take away what the workers have gotten through their unions, and that in the process of taking it away, to move to destroying those unions altogether.

This means they will use their power against us politically, and that's why we raise the need for a labor party. Do you feel that this is what is developing, that the

economic situation has given rise to new attacks on workers conditions and workers rights?

**Auto Worker:** The Pay Board was to get various labor leaders to come into the house of the government. They would still be sitting up there if they had not gotten so much criticism from the members. I read something the other day where one or two of the labor leaders is thinking about returning to the Pay Board. They use the Pay Board to appease some of the labor leaders, to give them a piece of the pie.

It was right to walk off that Board. In fact they never should have gotten on it in the first place, and what they should have done was to get together themselves and call for a national work stoppage in this country, until prices were rolled back to where the average household could purchase things.

But they did what the system wanted to do. If they had said: "Roll back the prices or we will stop production in this country," it would have rolled back. The guidelines were already set for them anyway.

**Bulletin:** If workers allow the Pay Board to come in and threaten their contracts, as they are now threatening the N.Y. Telephone workers, the real power of the trade unions is threatened. In other words, labor leaders have withdrawn from the Pay Board but the Board still stands. How can the Board be smashed?

**Auto Worker:** Since they have withdrawn from it, they have to organize a work stoppage, a complete work stoppage in this country. That's the only way to put pressure on this government. And that means a work stoppage in every plant and cooperation in every plant.

**Bulletin:** Don't you think this would cause more of a crisis within the Democratic Party than there is now?

**Auto Worker:** Well who's trying to save the Democratic Party? They've never showed any promise, it's useless to try to save it or salvage it.

**Bulletin:** In our opinion the Communist Party is trying to salvage it by boosting McGovern, to save the liberal Democrats.

**Auto Worker:** I don't know too much about the Communist Party but if they think these people are to the left, if they think it's worth saving, well maybe it's to the left of them, but not to the left of masses of people. The Democratic Party is in opposition to the masses of people.

**Bulletin:** Deception plays a major role in keeping the workers from going against the system. If the labor bureaucracy and the Communist Party were not there, workers would go against the Democratic Party. The system wouldn't stand very long if the bureaucracy wasn't here to mislead. Some pose as "left" to get support from the masses.

This is what happened in France, where the workers had a general strike and closed down everything in May-June 1968. The Stalinist leadership was not revolutionary. They got the workers back to work rather than set up a workers' government.

**Auto Worker:** They educate us here that anything socialist, nationalist or communist is a threat to overthrow the entire government here, that it will take your home which you don't own, and prevent you from buying a home, which you can't afford anyway, that it's dangerous. Well under the present system you can't buy and don't own anything anyway. You only get in debt and become slaves.

Call it anything you want, the only way to change anything here is through a complete work stoppage, a general strike. Every country has had these general strikes but the U.S. Once we have it, we can move to nationalize these big monopolies such as ITT and General Motors.

We can snatch everything away from them and nationalize it. When we get them, everything else will fall in line because we'll have gotten the big Daddy.

**Bulletin:** So you believe we should nationalize and operate them under the control of the workers?

**Auto Worker:** Under the control of the workers themselves. All profits would go back into circulation to benefit the masses and not those few families.

## Ted Baker Books

# The Scottsboro Frame-up And The Communist Party



The nine Scottsboro youth are escorted from jail to courthouse during frame-up rape trial in 1930's.

### SCOTTSBORO: A TRAGEDY OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH. By Dan T. Carter. Oxford University Press, 1971. 431 pages, \$3.95.

The Scottsboro case was the most explosive political trial of the 1930's in the United States. Nine Black youth, ages thirteen to twenty, were openly framed on charges of rape.

In 1931, in the depths of the depression, the ruling class in the South was on the edge of hysteria, fearing that the wretched conditions of both Black and white workers and sharecroppers would drive them to break down the historic barriers of racial prejudice and unite in struggle against their common enemy. Throughout the South, lynchings and legal frame-ups of Blacks became the political weapon to create hysteria in order to maintain the racial divisions.

The Scottsboro case was the most spectacular example of the terrorism of the American courts in the thirties. But its historic significance goes far beyond this, for in the Scottsboro case the courts were not allowed to railroad their victims to the electric chair, but were challenged by a political defense.

Despite the domination of the American Communist Party by Stalinism, it jumped into this case with its legal arm, the International Labor Defense. The Scottsboro case became a household word throughout the world through the defense campaign of the ILD. The historic significance of this case lies in this campaign, the way it reflected the world Stalinist movement, and in the eventual capitulation of this campaign.

Dan Carter's book is extremely well written, and is backed by thorough and meticulous research. Carter writes the book as if he were an eye witness to every event in the case, from the scuffle on a freight train in northern Alabama that sparked off the case, to his description of the day by day struggle in the courtrooms of Decatur. He is able to write in this style without detracting from the accuracy of his account because of the depth of his research. Every possible document relating to the "Scottsboro boys" was read and used in Carter's book.

#### WEAKNESS

Despite the great strength this gives Carter's account, it does have an important weakness in that Carter is interested in describing the case and its participants for their value in themselves, not as part of the larger struggle of social classes

taking place outside the courts. Because of this, Carter's account of these forces is only incidental to his account of the case, and at some points, particularly at the end of the book, he omits the development of the class struggle from his account when it would give valuable insight into the case.

Essentially Carter refuses to take a class side in the case, and as a result refuses to draw any conclusions from the case either about its broad social implications, or about the policies of the ILD. However, Carter's careful research does overshadow his attempted neutrality.

Throughout the major portion of the trials, the ILD controlled the defense, and Carter's attention to this is the most important part of the book, for it reveals as a mirror the "Third Period" of the Comintern, and in particular the development of the American Communist Party in this period.

#### DEVELOPMENT

Carter's book traces the whole development of the ILD's intervention into the case from the decision of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern to adapt the ultra-left policies of the "Third Period," and in particular its decision that the American party adopt the Black Belt theory.

The book traces this policy from the Congress in Moscow through the length of the trial. With the beginning of the "Third Period," all opposition to the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern had been stamped out of the American Communist Party. In every area of struggle the CP dutifully carried out the sectarian policies of the Comintern.

In the trade union movement, the theory of "social fascism" resulted in party members being withdrawn from AFL unions and setting up independent "Red" unions. On the Black question, the CP adopted the Black Belt theory, which ignored the whole economic development of the United States and declared the predominantly Black counties of the South to be a "Negro homeland" which was endowed with all the characteristics of a nation.

#### SECTARIAN

The program of the Black Belt theory was "self-determination," which like the other sectarian policies of this period served to artificially divide the working class, and in this case served to further divide the already existing divisions.

In carrying out this turn the CP was forced to pay close attention to political developments among Blacks in the South. This is what led to the ILD's intervention in the Scottsboro case.

The ILD had a history of providing a militant, international class defense for all those it defended. It had gained wide respect for its defense campaign in the

1920's of political prisoners such as Sacco and Vanzetti. It was these traditions that it brought into the Scottsboro case, only now it was burdened with the new, sectarian policies of the Comintern.

The ILD gained control of the case through a very aggressive campaign to provide the best legal defense and to win the confidence of the defendants and their families. The Black ministers and the reformists of the NAACP, with their perspective of respectability and of allowing the case to follow the pattern of previous legal lynchings, was completely swamped and discredited. But once the ILD had won this battle for control of the case, its real problems began.

#### SUPPORT

The ILD found that throughout the North, particularly in the big city ghettos, the case gained immediate and wide spread support. Rallies and demonstrations were held throughout the cities of the North, and the courts were inundated with letters and telegrams from ILD supporters. In the court the ILD lawyers attacked the unconstitutional Jim Crow court system, which, by barring Blacks from voter registration, also barred them from sitting on juries.

Thus the CP, through the ILD, and despite their sectarian policies, was able to mobilize masses in a movement against the legal weapons by which the bourgeoisie divided the working class in the South.

But the CP was virtually unable to go beyond this. All its attempts to actually organize the party in the South ran up against the fact that their own program of "Black self-determination" encouraged the racial antagonism among southern workers.

Attempts to organize sharecroppers' unions in Alabama continually floundered on the ability of the Southern ruling class to use this policy to turn white sharecroppers against the Blacks organized by the CP. The same fate befell organizing drives in the cities, particularly Birmingham.

This contradiction, between the actual needs of the working class and the CP's policies, caused continual dissension within the CP. The leadership of the party, bound firmly to Stalin, continuously criticized those involved in the defense and party work in the South for under-emphasizing the self-determination demand. But those under criticism were completely unable to counter the leadership's policies because they themselves were tied to Stalinism, and refused to make any appraisal of the roots of this contradiction.

#### RESOLVED

None of these problems were resolved by the ILD or the CP. Throughout the case, from the early trials in Alabama, to the Supreme Court, and back to Alabama,

through a period where the working-class was beginning to organize itself in the CIO, through a defense that mobilized tens of thousands in the streets, the CP was unable to deal with its fundamental theoretical problems and as a result they were unable to make their defense campaign any more than a militant protest campaign.

These results in the Scottsboro defense campaign were the general results of all "Third Period" policies. During the time when the working class in Europe faced the question of taking power or being destroyed by fascism, and in the United States was about to organize itself into mass industrial unions, the Comintern had doomed itself to being a protest and propaganda movement, rather than the revolutionary leadership the working class needed.

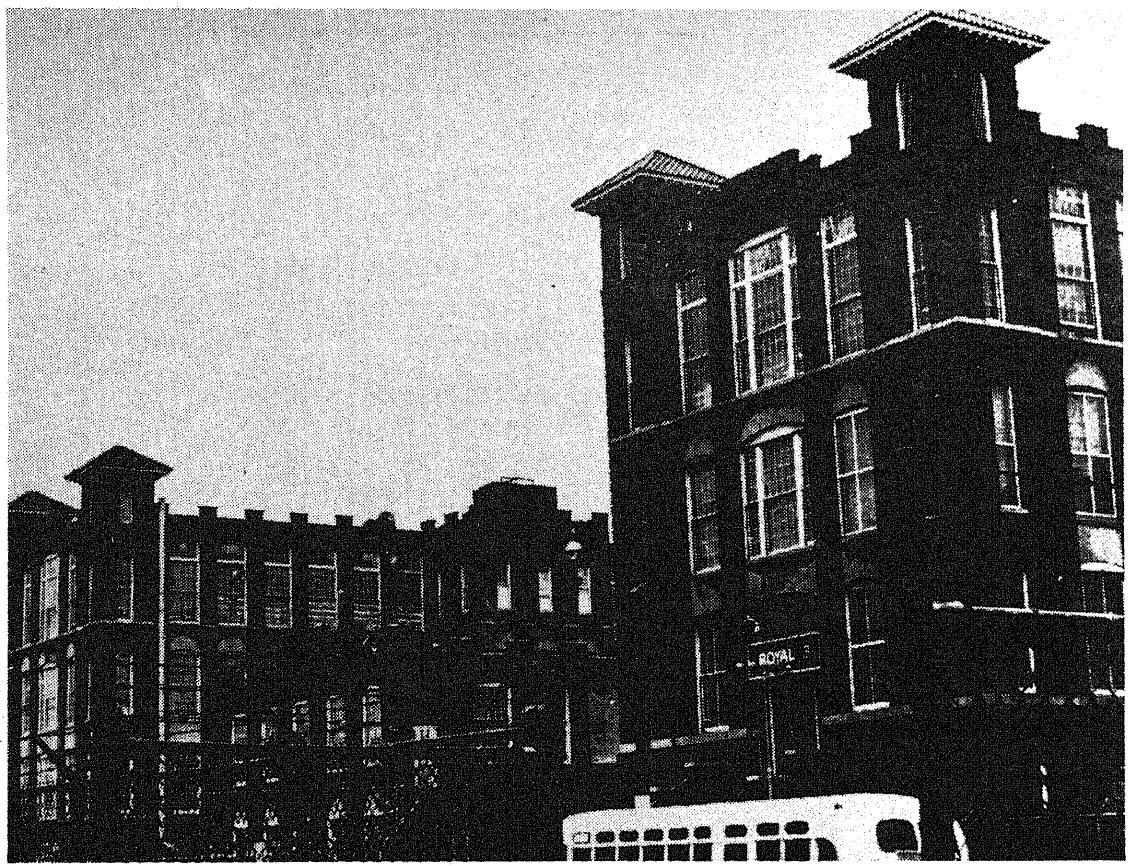
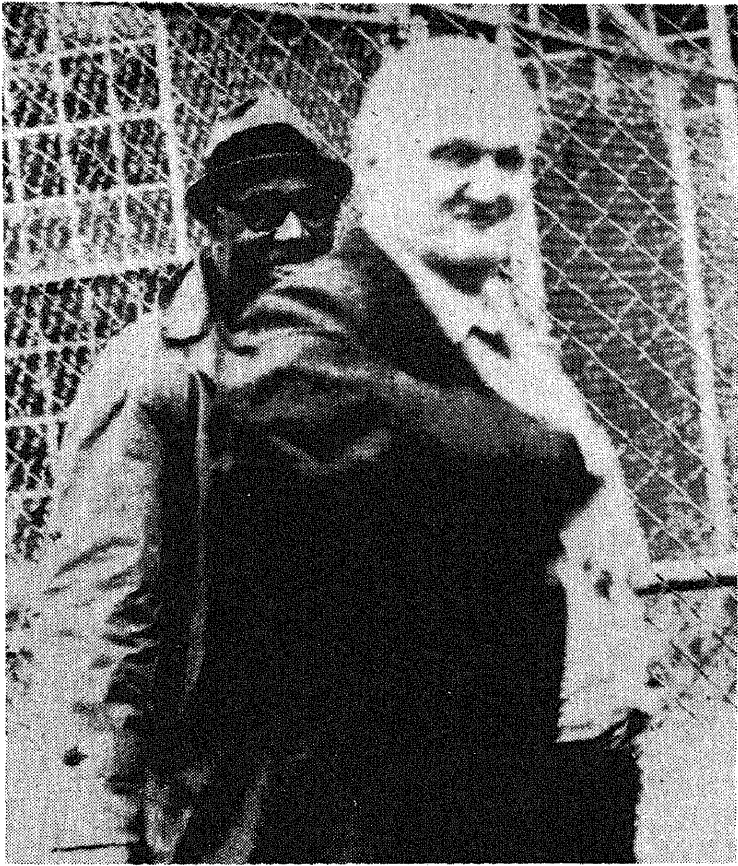
In Germany these policies resulted in the splitting of the working class, allowing Hitler to take power, and pulverize the workers' movement. The Comintern's reaction to this was an abrupt and empirical turn to the right. Unable to evaluate the treacherous policies which the leadership itself had perpetrated, the Comintern went over from "social fascism" to the most blatant form of class collaboration practiced to that date, the Popular Front.

In the Scottsboro case, this resulted in the virtual handing over of the case to the reformists of the NAACP and the liberal "Interracial Commission" (made up of Southern liberals devoted to making segregation fair) who the ILD had previously called "fascist." The name of this capitulation was "the Scottsboro Defense Committee." Its defense policy soon became one of backroom negotiations with the Governor of Alabama for a pardon. The protest movement was handcuffed, and even the political attack that had been made against the Jim Crow courts was dropped.

#### ROTTEN

In the end, a rotten deal was made. Four of the victims were freed, while the other five were kept in jail for up to fifteen years. The case, and the political issues surrounding it, were quickly swept under the rug, the Jim Crow courts of the South remained, and the working class of the South remained largely divided and unorganized. With every opportunity to build a movement in the South, the CP had failed, going from protest to the abandonment of the class to its enemies.

Scottsboro is an invaluable page in the history of the American working class and the Communist Party. Despite the method of its author, Dan Carter, it provides valuable insight and information that is available no where else. This book should be read by every reader of the *Bulletin*, particularly in light of the campaign of George Wallace, and in light of the Communist Party's present defense campaign of Angela Davis.



# Royal Scraps Workers After 40 Year Struggle

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

In June 1970 more than 3000 workers, members of Local 937 of the United Auto Workers, were employed on the production line at Royal Typewriter Company's plant in Hartford, Connecticut.

In a letter addressed to the Royal workers the company president assured everyone concerned that the Hartford plant would continue to be the chief center of Royal Typewriter for years to come.

In President White's own words:

"Royal has made a strong commitment to future growth. We are entering an exciting era of new and better opportunities for the future. Our plans see Hartford continuing as our principle United States manufacturing facility and as our world wide headquarters..."

Besides all these assurances of security for those already working in the Hartford plant, White promised the opening up of even more jobs through a consolidation of national Royal operations into the Hartford area.

In closing, White paternally declared: "I assure you that the long range interests of the people who make up the Royal family will always be a primary consideration in our planning."

## LIQUIDATED

Exactly two months after, Royal Typewriter issued a special announcement: the Hartford plant was to be liquidated entirely. All facilities would be moved to Great Britain. All 3000 workers involved in production were to be thrown out on the streets.

In June 1971 the mass layoffs began. The production force of 3000 was cut in half in a few months. On May 5, the gates of Royal shut for the last time.

President White had lied straight down the line. As one worker told the Bulletin: "We all thought Royal would be here forever. I thought I would retire here."

With Royal goes the last of what was once a booming type-

writer industry in the city of Hartford. Where the large Olivetti-Underwood plant once stood, there is now an empty lot. The massive Royal plant itself has been sold to the Episcopal church.

## TYPICAL

Thousands of typewriter workers who have spent their whole lives in this industry now face the certainty of never finding comparable work in their lives. One worker told the Bulletin: "I have built typewriters for 45 years. Now there aren't any more typewriters. Where can I go from here?"

This situation is typical of the entire labor force at Royal, which for the most part consists of older workers. "This industry has had more lifetime employees than any other in the city. It's nothing to have thirty or forty years in this plant," explained one worker with over twenty years service in the plant.

What the Royal workers face in Hartford is a long and growing unemployment line, due to layoffs in every branch of industry located in Hartford.

## SMASHED

For Litton Industries, the massive conglomerate of which Royal is only a small section, the closing of the Hartford plant is a calculated maneuver in the international scramble to preserve shrinking profits. For the Royal worker the loss of his job means the breaking up of his life. All his plans based on security have been smashed.

One worker with 23 years service at Royal had this to say: "They told me ten years ago that someday I would be working a four day week. They said that my kids would go to college for free for the first two years—just like they do in high school. Now I will not be working at all. Without a job—how can my kids go to college. Now I can't even pay the

mortgage on my house.

"There is just no sympathy or remorse from the company. They just squeeze you like a lemon until there is no juice left. And if they get tired of you...they just can leave. That's what Royal is doing."

What forces Litton Industries to shut down its Royal operations is the depth and intensity of the capitalist crisis. And, as the closure of Royal demonstrates, it is the working class which is being asked to pay for the capitalist crisis.

The drive for profits is nothing new to the workers at Royal. Today, however, it has taken away their very livelihood.

## BRUTAL DRIVE

Since 1952 when the company took on government contracts for bomb fuses and rifles for the Korean War, there has been a continuous and brutal drive to speed-up and develop production at the expense of the workers.

Most importantly, what one worker labelled "the brainstorm of automation," which began 15 years ago, brought on terrible conditions in the plant.

First, as always, automation meant unemployment.

With rod cutters the work of fifteen was now done by one. Handscrew work was replaced with screw machines through which five workers could take the place of the pre-automation 20. At the same time an assembly line system was introduced. Whereas before automation each worker was assigned ten or eleven machines daily on which he performed a few operations, the line brought on a system in which the machines were pushed down the line at a speed which was decided only by the greed of the bosses and the endurance of the workers.

Furthermore, workers were no longer paid a straight hourly wage but on the basis of piece

work. Plant conditions became intolerable. One worker recalled:

"There was a lot of bickering in the plant. The company foreman was always on your back all day long. A lot of the women couldn't take it. I saw a lot of them have nervous breakdowns.

"I saw at least a half dozen people carried out with heart attacks. They'll never see their pensions. It was the change from one system to another. They just couldn't take it."

At the conclusion of the transformation to automation, Royal's work force had dropped from 6000 to 3000.

The whole history of Royal in the last two decades and the life of the individual worker employed in the factory was summed up in this way by one worker with over 25 years in the plant:

## BATTLE

"With Royal everything was always the hardest battle. Our wages are terrible. I've been here 25 years and I make \$3.00 an hour and the guy who has been here the longest only makes \$4.00. We were promised a pension which we could get in a lump sum or monthly. Then one day the company announced that we weren't getting a pension after all.

"We had one woman who was with the company for 27 years. She was fifty and so she put in for a pension. The girls planned a going away party for her and everything. Then the company announced that she wasn't getting that pension. That woman was crying. She was hysterical.

"The contract was written in such a way so that the company could squirm out of the pension. You know—in a contract the word if can kill you. Well, we struck for six weeks in 1968 in the longest and hardest winter we ever had. We got that pension. It has been the same with everything else.

"You asked about medical insurance? Well, one time the company tried to make us pay part of it ourselves—\$40.00 a month. They didn't get away with that either but we've got the lousiest medical insurance anyway."

The history of the Royal workers has been one of constant struggle. Now they are being thrown out of the factory they have spent years in. The leadership of Local 937 and the

International UAW posed no way forward for the Royal workers against the closure and the previous attacks of the company.

The International limited itself to advising the union not "to antagonize the company" in the pathetic hope that some members of the company's board would have a "change of heart" and decide to remain in Hartford. In other words, the International advised the workers to do absolutely nothing in defense of their jobs. The Royal closure was not even mentioned in the International newspaper.

## POLITICAL

When the closure was announced the first reaction of many workers was to strike. But more and more there was a realization that as one worker put it: "This thing has to be fought in Washington."

It is clear that both the Democratic and the Republican parties will do nothing for the Royal workers. At Royal the binding relationships between the bosses and their political mouthpieces in the two capitalist parties are especially noticeable.

The president of Litton Industries which is closing the Royal Hartford plant is Roy Ash. Who is Mr. Ash? He is an intimate friend of Richard Nixon, chairman of the president's advisory council, and once a serious candidate for a top cabinet post. The government's reaction to Royal's move to England was to grant it a \$17.1 million dollar tax rebate as a going away present.

## DISGUST

Royal workers expressed disgust with both capitalist parties. In relation to the presidential primaries one worker said: "All the Democrats and Republicans want to talk about is busing. What is all this talk? I need a job. No one wants to talk about that. Without a job I can't even send my kids to school. I can't even pay for the damn bus."

Another worker when discussing George Wallace said: "He has to be smashed. He's out to bust the unions. Down in Alabama they get below minimum wage. That's what he wants for the whole country."

(Continued From Page 1)

struggle against unemployment, speed-ups, wage cuts—in short the conditions prepared for workers by capitalism in crisis—would point the way forward.

The Alabama governor is not "just another candidate" for the Democratic presidential nomination. He is not merely more conservative than Hubert Humphrey or George McGovern. His campaign should not be abstracted out of the crisis in which the economic system is engulfed.

#### CLASS WAR

Wallace is not a representative of the politics of compromise but rather of class war. He is the authentic voice of a capitalist class that must prepare for a showdown with the labor movement. It is in this context that we can understand the significance of his close relationship with the extreme right.

Just as he seeks to play down his connections with the leading financial interests of Alabama and other parts of the South, George Wallace is careful to keep his ultra-rightist friends in the background as much as possible. But the fact is that the Wallace movement has been a polluted swamp of the most reactionary anti-working class elements in the entire country. He has protected, encouraged and used these forces.

"It was something like a police state here in Alabama during his first term," a state AFL-CIO official told the *Bulletin*. "He became governor and all of a sudden you had the Klan and what-not crawling all over."

The connection between Wallace and right-wing extremist organizations like the Klan was developed out of his bitter opposition to integration. While he did not have a reputation as an arch-segregationist early in his career, he decided after a defeat in the 1958 gubernatorial election that he would have to strengthen his ties with the right-wing in order to be a political force in Alabama.

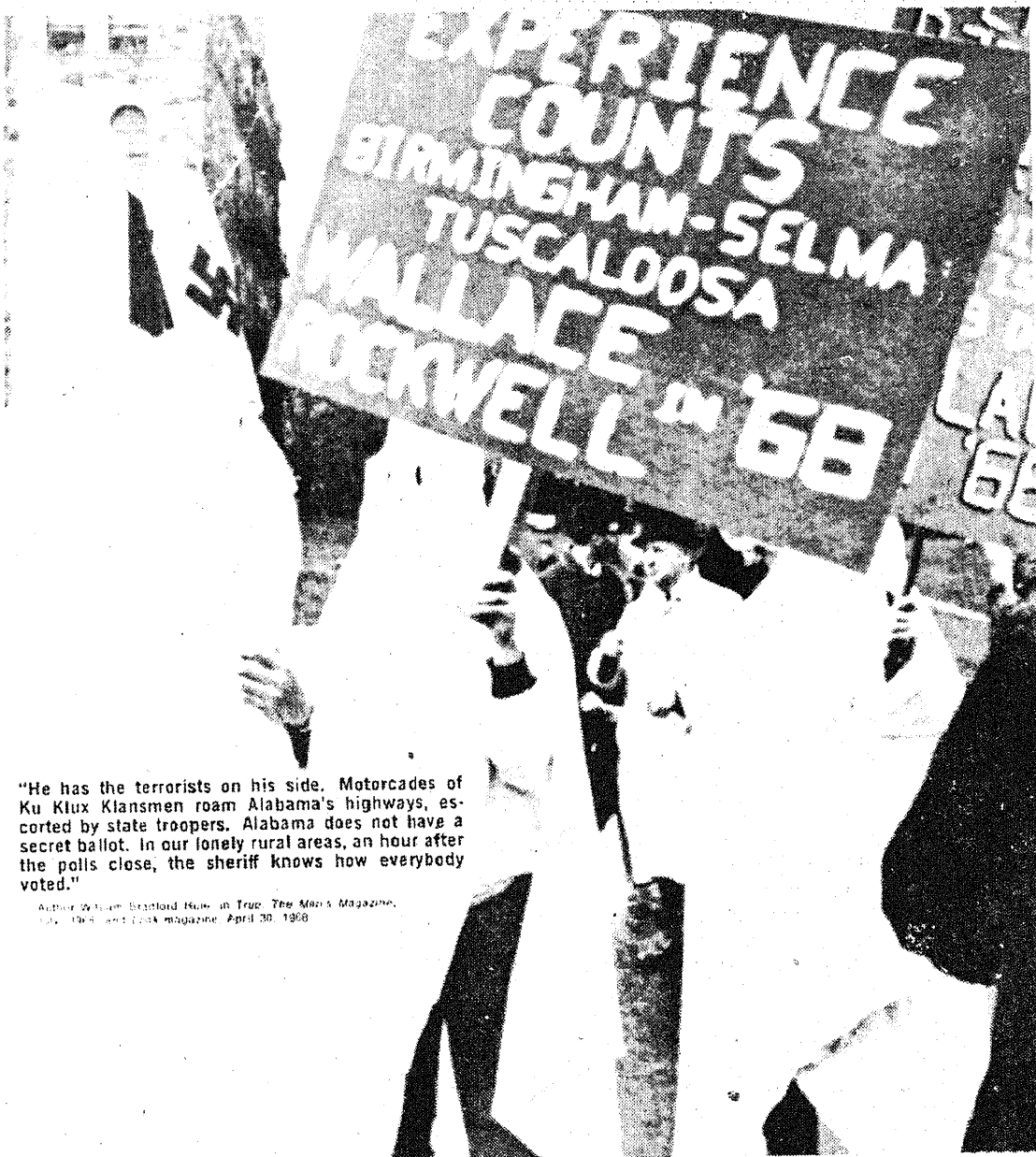
So Wallace vowed: "I will never be out-niggered again." He kept his promise. A supporter described Wallace's political style after 1958: "Old George just got up there and looked mean and started yelling and shaking his fists, taking the white man's part against the nigger."

In his inaugural address after winning the gubernatorial election in 1962, Wallace declared: "I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." Within a short time, he was to become the symbol of white supremacy by standing in the doorway at an entrance to the University of Alabama to prevent Black students from registering.

Within the framework of the general hysteria whipped up by Wallace against integration, it was possible for the Ku Klux Klan to operate more openly in Alabama than it had for a long time. A virtual reign of terror began against Black leaders and civil rights workers, which was climaxed in the murder of Viola Liuzzo on an Alabama highway by three members of the Klan.

Another aspect of this terror which is rarely discussed was its use against the Alabama labor movement. Wallace increased the size of the state highway patrol which was led by Al Lingo, a supporter of the Klan. One of its principle functions was the criminal harassment of union organizers.

Because the real purpose of racism is to split the working class, Wallace was not about to



"He has the terrorists on his side. Motorcades of Ku Klux Klansmen roam Alabama's highways, escorted by state troopers. Alabama does not have a secret ballot. In our lonely rural areas, an hour after the polls close, the sheriff knows how everybody voted."

Author William Bradford Huie, in *True: The Man's Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 4, and *Look Magazine*, April 30, 1968.

## Where Wallace Really Stands

sit quietly and allow these divisions to be breached by unions organizing Black workers.

A trade union official who participated in the 1965 organizing drive told the *Bulletin*:

"While we were organizing Black workers, the union hall was frequently harassed. Police would ride around it. One time we feared that a bomb had been placed in the car of an organizer. The state police wouldn't even check the car. I called the Governor and asked if a union man doesn't have protection for his life.

"All this racism was used to keep the unions weak; to make it so that if you signed up a white, you couldn't sign up a Black, and vice-versa."

Wallace attempted to use the segregation hysteria to intimidate and break up the Alabama AFL-CIO. During the period of the Selma to Montgomery march, the state AFL-CIO president, Barney Weeks, was trailed by plainclothesmen from the highway patrol.

Because the leadership of the Labor Council supported integration, Wallace fomented racism to encourage union locals to break with the Council. In some cases he succeeded.

Under these conditions, elements like the Klan were allowed to flourish. A brochure was distributed throughout the state entitled *K.K.K. Brings Real Facts To The Surface* which declared: "The time has come to awaken and re-organize the Invisible Empire as a secret fighting force and to work with all those hundreds of organizations who are for America and we must list and as time goes on maybe kill those Communist collaborators

who would sell us into Slavery.

"The NAACP, AFL-CIO through the use of the Negro have become the greatest enemies of our country. This whole group is run from the secret side lines by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith one of the largest Commie spy rings in the world and it can be said that this Un-American Kike group controls many thousands of our high officials in the Government and Our trusted preachers." (emphasis in the original)

It is a force like the Ku Klux Klan, which issues a publication that calls for putting AFL-CIO members on a death list, that finds a base within the Wallace movement. It is for this reason that we warn trade unionists that George Wallace is not "just another candidate" and that his campaign should not merely be watched with concern but fought politically with a labor party.

Naturally, George Wallace does not publicize his connections with the Klan. But he supports the Klan and the Klan supports him. Wallace once declared: "At least a Klansman will fight for his country. He doesn't tear up his draft card. But the Klan, it's just innocuous in size and they're just concerned with segregation, not subversiveness."

This "innocuous" organization was responsible for around 40 major bombings between 1960 and 1965, had significant influence in the state highway patrol, murdered civil rights workers, and terrorized trade unionists. The situation became so severe that in 1965, locals of the Mississippi AFL-CIO declared that its members were arming themselves to fight off

the Klan.

A report released in 1965 first revealed the ties between Wallace and the Klan. In that year, Wallace began his drive to change the state constitution in order to be able to serve more than one term as Governor.

The report, prepared by Attorney General Richmond Flowers, found that "Alabama Klansmen have recently devoted most of their political activity to supporting Gov. George Wallace's succession bill, now before the Alabama Senate."

The Attorney General stated that his investigation into the Klan "had absolutely no support of high state officials in Alabama" who obviously did not want the connections exposed.

Two years later, as Wallace was preparing for his 1968 presidential campaign, the Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard, Robert Shelton, praised Wallace: "We stand behind his principles and beliefs, his decency, morality and integrity...things lacking in our national government today."

At the Klan convention that year, which was attended by more than 1000 people, the dominant theme was support for Wallace. About 25 percent of the audience was dressed in robes and hoods while speeches were given in support of the Wallace campaign.

Once the national campaign was underway, Wallace played down his relations with the Klan. It was for this reason that the Klan did not publicly endorse the Wallace candidacy. In the course of the campaign, an incident occurred which brought out the conscious effort of Wallace to conceal from the public his support among right-wing ex-

tremists.

The American Broadcasting Company filmed George Wallace at an Alabama fundraising affair shaking the hand of Robert Shelton. Wallace suddenly noticed the cameraman and ordered the film seized. His bodyguards approached the cameraman and warned: "We are going to take the film. You can make it easy on yourself and give it to us or we'll take it."

When asked about the incident, the Klan's Imperial Wizard said: "I don't see that there's any issues involved. I was there and paid my money to support him just like everybody else."

Surrounded by the Klan and other reactionary forces, Wallace was able to consolidate his power in Alabama, and serve the interests of his big money backers by fomenting racism and holding down the working class in the state.

"I noticed that fear was working for Wallace," wrote William Bradford Huie, a journalist opposed to Wallace. "When Wallace bumper stickers appeared on my neighbor's car, she explained, 'Yesterday about dusk when I stopped at a traffic light, two men came up and waved the Wallace stickers. I was afraid not to let them put them on. They might take my number and knock out my windshield or slash my tires. I feel safer with Wallace stickers on my car.'

"He and his supporters spread fear in Alabama. White people think it's dangerous to be against Wallace."

As we have pointed out before, Alabama workers suffer under some of the most difficult conditions in the entire United States. They earn less than the workers of 48 other states, they receive fewer benefits, their children receive the poorest education, and their unions must contend with a savage "right to work" law.

For these conditions to be imposed on the Alabama working class and maintained even in the face of a powerful offensive by labor in the state, required the use of George Wallace and the bands of anti-labor hooligans that he helped to develop.

Now, in the Wallace campaign for the presidency, these forces are being directed like a gun at the entire American working class.

An official of the Alabama AFL-CIO told the *Bulletin* that if Wallace were president: "Big industry would be running this country."

Let us amend this statement. Big industry has always run this country.

The point is that because of the crisis of capitalism, a certain section of big business now seeks to run this country in a different way than it has been run.

George Wallace is beginning to emerge as the candidate of a capitalist class that is suggesting that there is nothing in the Constitution that guarantees the right to strike—as the Secretary of Labor noted recently, that is telling workers to pay back their wages—as the Pay Board has just ordered members of an ITU local, that is planning to speed-up and lay off thousands—as GMAD Boss Joseph Godfrey has threatened.

This is what George Wallace represents to the working class. And he can be fought only if he is recognized as a weapon of the capitalists. This will mean that workers will defend themselves not with the McGoverns and Humphreys, but with their own strength mobilized in their own political organization—the labor party.





# Hotel Ranks Demand End To Poverty Wages

BY JOHN HILL

NEW YORK—Over 20,000 workers of the New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council, AFL-CIO, walked off their jobs last Thursday and marched throughout New York City to a rally at Madison Square Garden.

The demonstration was called to warn the employers that the union will strike to break the deadlock in the negotiations. The union's demand for a \$125 minimum pay and \$100 pension has fallen on deaf ears. The hotel bosses have refused to grant increases, claiming that "business is slow" in the hotel industry so that they are unable to pay workers a \$125 minimum.

Presently 20% of the hotel workers receive less than \$91.85 per week. They receive an incredibly low pension of \$60 a month at 65 years of age after 25 years of work.

The Hotel and Motel Trades Council has not been on strike in over 38 years, due to a no-strike clause in the contract. As one

worker put it, "Our contracts are too long (3 years), the no-strike clause has prevented us from striking for over 30 years."

One worker told the *Bulletin*: "Nixon isn't the only one that's held down our wages. It's the damn union leadership that held it down. After all, Nixon wasn't president 30 years ago when the no-strike clause was written in our contract."

Simansky, a vice-president of one of the locals, when asked how the union will confront the Pay Board, stated, "We'll cross that bridge when we get there. Besides, the Hotel Industry is a small business, the Pay Board's more concerned with basic industry."

### DRASTIC

However another worker felt differently about the union's plan

to fight the Pay Board.

"I think the Pay Board is unconstitutional. If we go on strike it's going to be political, since we're in the middle of elections. I think the union has to fight stronger—we may have to do something drastic."

When asked exactly what he meant by "drastic," the worker stated "Well, we just have to move out altogether—all labor to fight the Pay Board."

### STRIKE

One union captain summed it up by saying: "If the bosses don't give us what we want we'll strike. We got another 'idea' for Nixon's Pay Board. If they don't agree with us the whole 'thing' will go on strike—we'd be better off with a labor party anyway."



Pictures on this page show some of the 20,000 Hotel workers who marched in New York to support their contract demands.

# Connecticut Throws Unemployed Off Rolls

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD Conn.—In a state with one of the highest unemployment rates in the country, Governor Thomas Meskill announced that every name on the state's unemployment compensation rolls is going to be checked in search for people who are not eligible for jobless pay.

At the same time he announced intensive one-day "job bank" programs to put unemployed people in jobs "that are going begging." Meskill said that the State Labor Department sent job notifications to 11,333 unemployed claimants in April and nearly half of them failed to respond. Only 1,666 were actually placed, and 1,285 refused to accept the jobs offered.

Meskill said, "Statistics such as these warrant a complete review." And with complete arrogance, he added, "Support for a worker genuinely unemployed is vital, but we must not let the system be overstrained by those not truly qualified for benefits."

Meskill is threatening the thousands of workers who have

been thrown out of work due to plant closures that they either accept the lowest wages or starve.

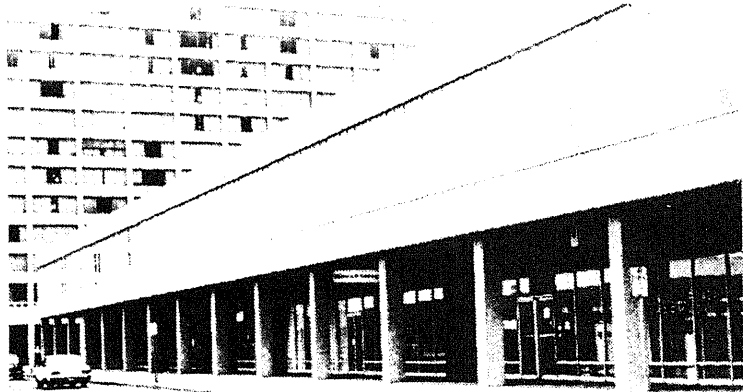
## SHUTDOWN

Meskill will not find it easy to ram starvation wages down the throats of workers who had union wages prior to the shutdown of such plants as Royal Typewriter in Hartford, Dyna-Truck in Bridgeport, MB Electronics in New Haven, and countless others.

The state had to borrow federal money a few months ago to replenish its depleted unemployment compensation funds. The right to collect unemployment compensation is in jeopardy as Meskill searches for a way to balance his budget.



42 striking chemical workers at NL Industries in St. Louis were arrested last week for keeping out scabs.



June 23-24 "Labor For Peace" Conference will meet at St. Louis Teamsters Union Local 688 headquarters shown above.

# Union Officials Back Labor Peace Meeting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The largest gathering of representatives of the U. S. labor movement to call for an end to the Vietnam war will assemble here in the "Labor For Peace" Conference. The Conference will be held at Teamsters Local 688 headquarters in St. Louis on June 23 and 24.

The list of sponsors includes Leonard Woodcock, President of UAW; Harold Gibbons, Vice-President, Teamsters; Jerry Wurf, President, AFSCME; Harry Bridges, President, ILWU, and Cesar Chavez, President, United Farm Workers. Virtually the entire International Executive Board of the UAW, in addition to Woodcock, are now sponsors of the conference.

The depth of the movement of the working class, against the mounting attacks of the bosses is indicated by the large number of union leaders from many unions who have come out in support of this conference. It is the power of this movement which forced the break-up of the Pay Board when many of these same leaders were forced to back down in their original cooperation with Nixon's wage freeze.

The political crisis facing the union bureaucracy, traditionally backing the Democrats, is clearly revealed as none of the "anti-war" Democratic politicians has been publicly invited to attend.

At the same time, the policy of the American Communist Party and its newspaper the Daily World, which is giving the con-

ference the strongest support, is to bring this conference and those leaders and rank and filers who attend, into a force to hold the Democratic Party together around the candidacy of George McGovern. The CP is now on the McGovern bandwagon and doing their best to head off any movement for an independent labor party.

It is this movement for the labor party that the Workers League and Young Socialists will fight for at the conference as the only way to end the war and defeat the two parties responsible for the war and all the attacks on the working class.

St. Louis auto workers at the GMAD plant here who have organized the Local 25 Rank and File Committee will be taking up this fight at the conference and at the same time demanding that the UAW leadership take up a real fight to shut down all of GMAD.

The Rank and File Committee will be holding a meeting on Sunday, June 25, at the Sheldon Memorial Meeting Hall to take forward this fight. Speaking at the meeting will be Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the Bulletin, who will speak on the UAW convention, the fight against the Pay Board, and the building of a labor party in the U.S.

# Cops Arrest Strikers At St. Louis NL Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, May 30—Forty-two strikers at N. L. Industries were arrested here when they formed a mass picket in order to prevent scabs and supervisory personnel from entering the plant.

One worker yelled to a supervisor in a car, "You're taking my job." The pickets who were arrested were herded into police wagons and taken down to the central police station where they were booked.

One striker commented, "They shook us down like we were a bunch of criminals." The workers have been on strike since March 28th and are members of Chemical Workers Basic Union 1744 and Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, Local 5225.

For the rest of the day police cars were assigned to watch the entrance to the plant. Eight

hours after the arrests there were four pickets and eight police cars on the scene. As one man said, "What happens to crime in St. Louis when eight police cars are assigned to watch four people—does Harry Moon have drag, or not?"

Harry Moon is the plant supervisor. "The workers in Canada ran him out and now he is trying the same thing down here. When he came here he said he was going to break our union. He said he was the boss and you'll work as I say or not work at all," one worker reported to the Bulletin. The company has stated that it

will not grant pay increases nor will workers be granted any specific number of hours to work. They want the right to use anyone, any place, anytime.

The strikers have said that money isn't the issue, they are just trying to protect the gains they have made over the past thirty years.

They are fighting against preferential treatment, unsafe working conditions, and speed-ups. What the management is doing is forcing the workers at N. L. Industries back to the sweat shop conditions of the twenties. At this point they are using the police to aid them.

# Detroit Cuts School Jobs 60%

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Members of Detroit Board of Education Employees, AFSCME Local 345 and the Classified Custodians Local 706 demonstrated last Tuesday, during a meeting of the Detroit Board of Education, against the Board's attempts to make its employees pay for the bankruptcy of Detroit's educational system.

Local 345 members, representing 4,500 food service and bus attendants, picketed for a full eight hours in front of the Board of Education headquarters.

These non-teaching employees plus the school's custodial workers are facing the brunt of a city-wide campaign against public employees. While contracts of other sections of city workers have been ratified on time, Local 345 members, whose last contract expired in January have come to a dead end in seven months of fruitless bargaining with the city.

The central issue at stake in the bargaining has been the city's determination to cut 40 to 60 percent of its educational employees from the payroll in an attempt to alleviate a \$40 million educational deficit.

Because of the projected cuts, the city has denied 345's members full time status, making those being laid off ineligible for

any form of unemployment compensation. Those workers already laid off, some of whom have up to 30 years seniority, will face no other alternative than a \$50 a week welfare dole.

Those lucky enough to keep their jobs face the prospect of the continuation of the old contract under which the Education Employees have already gone for more than three years without cost-of-living adjustments. At the same time members of the Board of Education recently received another "raise," putting their gross well above \$20,000 annually.

Nathaniel Smith, president of Local 345, described the situation facing his membership this way: "We're being forced to subsidize the school system. It's a union-busting campaign. They put substitutes in regular positions and won't let us collect union dues. Now they've begun to fire them. Pretty soon we won't

have anything. It can only be considered union-busting.

"But you have to go all the way up to Nixon. It's part of a campaign against organized workers being done by everybody from the White House on down. We're getting to the point where the lowest echelon of the working man will be squeezed into begging for a job on his knees. But an American working man will never beg. If things keep going like this it will eventually lead to a workers' revolution in this country, and that will be a sad day. But we can't continue to support a government that turns its back on the workers."

When asked about the construction of a labor party to defend the interests of the workers against the Republicans and Democrats, Smith replied: "It could well reach that point that one day the American worker could get his grits together and form a labor party."

# GANGS...

(Continued From Page 6)

cent housing for working class youth.

In the meeting when the same question came up one YS member answered:

"The conditions which exist today exist because of the bankruptcy of capitalism. In order for a few rich families in this country to make a profit the government has to attack the living standards of the working class. The Democrats and Republicans are responsible for the slashes in the budget, in welfare and education."

## REACTIONARY

The gangs stand for something else, they stand with the government against the YS. They encourage the most reactionary conception that there really is no need for a political fight, that they can do without it. One

member expressed this when he said:

"All we have to do is take over the community. We have enough people..."

## POLITICAL

This is a political question in itself, the question of who really owns the community and runs it. In capitalist society private property falls into the hands of a very few people. The role of the government or state is to make sure that this relationship lasts. This is what the police are there for, to see that the relationship in which a class made up of about sixty families remains with everything while the millions of workers and youth get nothing.

Because of this relationship the working class is the revolutionary class with the potential of overthrowing the government. Any movement outside that of the working class is

doomed to failure. The attempt to take over a community is suicidal. This can be seen looking back on the attempt of some squatters to take over a new housing project. The police moved in with riot gear and brutally removed the squatters with no difficulty.

As long as any movement is separate from that of the working class it will be crushed. The gangs are not only separate but are against it.

## ENEMY

The question that the entire working class must understand is who is their real enemy. The gangs see their enemy, as one member put it, "Those youth who don't have their heads together." To them the enemy is the other youth.

This is done purposely to cover up the real enemy, the De-

mocrats and Republicans who encourage the use of dope, slums, budget cuts, unemployment, Atticas and riot on down the line.

## ATTICA

Those are the people that the gangs are covering up for—the class that murdered George Jackson, and the brothers at Attica. It is that class which the YS is fighting to mobilize workers and youth against. The labor party will break the working class from their enemies the capitalist politicians.

On June 22 the YS will hold a demonstration, the first of a series against unemployment in Brownsville. We urge every youth to join us and help build this demonstration in which trade unionists will speak against unemployment and for the construction of a labor party.

# DETROIT AFL ...

(Continued From Page 3)

that any of the Democratic presidential candidates themselves pose any threat to the American working class.

Turner is only carrying out the logic of the trade union bureaucracy's endorsement of McGovern and Humphrey as lesser evils than Wallace. Precisely because of that his announcement for Wallace has sent waves of fear through the trade union leadership in Michigan. The day after Turner's endorsement hit the street, UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey branded the statement "shocking."



George Wallace

Mazey, who is personally backing McGovern, told reporters for the capitalist press "I don't agree with Tom on this. I think that if there has to be a coalition that can defeat President Nixon it has to be a combination of the forces of Sen. McGovern and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey."

## DISASTROUS

He went on to say that "putting Wallace on the ticket would be disastrous for the Democratic Party." Mazey, one of those directly responsible for the collapse of the union leadership in the face of Wallace's Michigan primary victory, knows full well the disastrous consequences of continued support for the Democratic Party by the union movement.

Already Wallace supporters in Michigan have begun a harassment of UAW-backed delegates to the Democratic state and district conventions. Wallace's "national labor coordinators" have begun to direct this campaign at the UAW itself, considering court action to halt UAW and other unions' support to Wallace's Democratic opponents, and organizing a petition drive in the UAW to "make the union leaders realize they've lost the rank and file."

The only alternative to Wallace's increasing union-baiting attacks is a complete break from the Democratic Party and the construction of a labor party in the 1972 elections. Both Turner and Mazey are completely opposed to this.

The ranks of the union movement, however, have different ideas about the labor party and about Turner's endorsement of Wallace. One worker at the Ford Rouge Assembly Plant in Detroit put it this way: "Turner doesn't need to be no leader. He shouldn't be a leader—not and go for Wallace. No way. I say turn them both down."

Another Rouge worker said that he had heard that Turner wanted Wallace. "Well," he said, "I've heard that, but I don't go along with none of it. We've got to get rid of Turner, just throw him out. He ain't no good. He's doing the same thing that Wallace does. I don't care whether he's Black or white." When asked about the construction of a labor party, he said: "That's right. I'm for that 100 percent."

# STUDENT PROTEST...

(Continued From Page 7)

building occupations and confrontations as a substitute for any fight for political understanding and isolated from the mass of students.

This gave the university administration the opportunity to move in with court injunctions, arrests, and vicious police beatings. Furthermore, right-wing sections of students seized upon the isolation of the protest movement to re-emerge and actually cleared several buildings of protestors.

## PL-SDS

The role of PL-SDS at Columbia and on the campuses generally at this time must be taken up. PL-SDS had made its greatest strength by breaking with the old New-Left-Student Power leadership of SDS typified by Mark Rudd and the Weathermen. To many students SDS's policy of forming a "Worker-Student Alliance" seemed a working class alternative to student powerism.

But PL-SDS never broke from Stalinism. The Worker-Student Alliance was seen basically as a method of organizing the middle class students. PL-SDS was opposed to a policy of breaking the students from the middle class, to a fight to bring the political questions and Marxism into the struggles of the working class. The Worker-Student Alliance (students lending their support on picket lines in exchange for workers endorsing the abolition of ROTC on the campuses, etc.) was actually the "working class"

cover of PL-SDS for what was nothing more than a continuation of the bankrupt student protest students were looking for an alternative to.

## POPULAR FRONT

The Worker-Student Alliance was actually a form of the Stalinist popular front "bloc of four classes" theory. The students were viewed as a separate class—actually a section of the middle class—which would form a bloc with the workers. Such a bloc could only be formed on a program common to both classes. This meant on a capitalist program. What is actually required is the fight to break the working class from such alliances to establish its political independence through the construction of its own party—a labor party.

Following the split in SDS, PL-SDS followed out the logic of its protest perspective. The Worker-Student Alliance was turned into the campus worker-student alliance, turning even further back into a reactionary campus perspective.

## PROTEST

By this year, PL's refusal to break from the Stalinist policies of protest and class-collaborationism led it to drop any pretense of a break from student protest and a turn to the working class. This year's Boston SDS convention was completely turned around the demand of "Fight Racism," protest against racist textbooks and medical ex-

periments, a complete liquidation of any turn to a fight for socialism into pure liberalism.

At Columbia and at every other campus around the country at which it had any influence—University of Maryland, University of Minnesota, Boston University—PL-SDS ended up encouraging all the backward tendencies among the students who in their frustration and inability to find a road to the working class responded with bankrupt and dangerous confrontations and adventures. PL-SDS became the leaders of the "trashers."

## BANKRUPT

Through its refusal to break from the protest perspective of Stalinism, PL-SDS ended up back with the Rudds and student powerites it had originally broken from. Its bankruptcy is a reflection of the bankruptcy of Stalinism.

The Pabloites of the Young Socialist Alliance also played a most reactionary role in the campus events. Unlike PL, which represents a Stalinist tendency, the YSA broke from the Trotskyist movement. Because of its Marxist past, its connection with working class history, the YSA tried to avoid the worst of the confrontations and adventures. But the YSA is a centrist tendency. It has broken from Marxism and its movement is toward adaptation to Stalinism.

## PRAGMATIC

The YSA started as pragmatists. They saw what was "happening" on the surface and orientated themselves to making the greatest gains they could out of that. The problem was that the immediate surface movement of student protest was actually a bankrupt movement that based itself on a thin layer of students.

The mass of students, as we have said, were actually moving in a different direction, looking for an alternative to protest. Basing itself on this thin layer of protestors, the YSA found it impossible to really fight these layers when they turned to adventures.

## REACTIONARY

In fact in certain cases the YSA actually went over to supporting and leading such adventures. At Brooklyn College, the YSA went from issuing a joint strike call with the reactionary JDL to leading a dangerous and utterly reactionary attempt to blockade

a nearby highway. Through these actions the YSA hoped to divert the students from the Marxist policy put forward by the Young Socialists.

## REFUTED

The policies of the YSA have been completely refuted by the test of objective events. Not only has student protest been completely ineffective in opposing the war in Vietnam, it has been futile in stopping attacks on students on the campuses. After all the protest and furor over the Kent State shootings in 1970, the bourgeoisie went on this year to use the National Guard and police on the campuses on a far greater scale than ever before. The student protests over Kent State did not stop the capitalists this year from shooting students at the University of New Mexico and Wisconsin. The capitalists respond not to student protests but to an objective crisis.

## THE CRISIS

At the same time masses of students face fundamental attacks on their right to go to college and get an education at all. Egged on by the breakdown of the capitalist economy, the capitalists are literally throwing thousands of students off the campuses with massive tuition increases, scholarship and aid cuts, and shutdowns of entire schools.

Those forced out of school, as well as those lucky enough to complete their education, face a situation where it is impossible for youth to find a job, to find any future within a decaying capitalist society.

The revisionists have proven in action their complete inability to deal with any of these questions. Now great numbers of students must turn to the Young Socialists.


## HISTORY

Only Trotskyism is able to bring forward the rich history of Marxism, the October Revolution and the fight against its degeneration into the struggles of the youth today. The road forward for the students does not lie on the campus. It lies in the struggle to break from student powerism, from protest and Stalinism and revisionism and turn toward forging a new, revolutionary leadership in a working class now entering into a showdown with Nixon and the whole capitalist system.

This is the road of the Young Socialists.

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## West Coast News



University of California arrested Groulx (above) and 15 other union leaders when they sat in at U.C. President Hitch's offices.

# UCal Jails Labor Heads After Sit-in

BY TED BAKER

**BERKELEY**—The University of California has escalated its attacks on the striking campus union to the point of arresting 18 union members over the past week in two separate incidents.

On Wednesday, 16 people, including Central Labor Council head Robert Groulx, the business representative and president of the Building Trades Council, and six other union officials, were arrested on charges of trespass. The 16 were arrested after a sit-in from 11:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. in U. C. President Charles Hitch's office.

This action is part of the attacks by the Government on the trade unions, and must be fought by the California labor movement. The arrests come just as the Food Employers Council prepares to purge Teamster militants and Nixon carries out savage attacks on the dockers.

### SIT-IN

The sit-in was called as a last ditch effort to bring Hitch to the bargaining table before Groulx and Childers go to court for contempt of court citations issued under the injunction which has handcuffed the strike from the beginning. On Tuesday, they telegraphed Hitch that they would like to meet on Wednesday, and receiving no reply called the sit-in.

Eight of the 16 arrested were held overnight in a Berkeley jail, while the other eight were allowed to go free on their own recognisance.

### COURT

On Thursday, the court heard pleas of those arrested and six more were freed on their own recognisance, while Groulx and

Childers elected to remain in jail and are now at Santa Rita prison farm. According to official union spokesmen at a union rally following the hearing, they were remaining in jail as a way of publicizing the University's refusal to "negotiate in good faith." He reported that the union leaders were demonstrating that arrests could not end the "dispute."

### PROTEST

There is no doubt that Wednesday's sit-in was a desperate continuation of Groulx's policy of turning the strike into an impotent protest, in order to delay a confrontation with the courts. But while Groulx may be tailing student protest, he faces a jail sentence because of his role as a labor leader. From the beginning of the strike Groulx, Childers and attorney Victor Van Bourg, have insisted on calling the strike a "protest" in order to evade the court injunctions against the strike.

### POLICY

The original justification for this policy was that it would prevent arrests. Now 16 unionists have been arrested due to this policy, and two more have been arrested while trying to stop scab deliveries on their own.

Once Childers and Groulx finish their present sentence the union faces a showdown over the original injunction. The past protest policy must be ended and replaced by a policy of stopping deliveries, and mobilizing labor to shut the university.

# Teamsters Call AFL-CIO Meeting On Bottlers Fight

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

**SAN FRANCISCO**—While Teamster officials continue to meet with federal mediators in an effort to end the 6 month old bottlers strike the movement of the ranks is shaking up the labor bureaucracy.

The situation is now so explosive that an emergency meeting of AFL-CIO officials has been called in the Bay Area. An emergency telegram signed by Stan Jensen of IAM Local 68 and James Herman of ILWU shipping clerks Local 34 has been sent out to all unions.

### EMERGENCY

The telegram states that the meeting is being called to alert labor to the danger of the Food Employers Council's actions over the last six months and to discuss emergency action of the entire labor movement in reply.

It is now vital that the largest possible number of workers be in attendance at the conference to demand that the leadership mobilize all of California labor in defense of the Teamster ranks with general strike action. Only in this manner can the vicious offensive of the Food Employers be defeated.

The Food Employers Council is holding out for a thorough purging of union militants refusing to re-hire those "implicated in illegal action." The Council is modeling its tactics after those of the Bell Telephone Company. After the seven-month strike of New York phone workers, Bell used a clause in the contract to throw union militants in the CWA out of work. These tactics are a revival of the blacklisting and witchhunt techniques of the 1930's and 1950's.

The ranks are determined that not a single striker will be victimized and that any return to work will be with the union intact. This was the meaning of the mass rank and file meeting last week which set up a "general strike committee" to carry out the fight to bring out the Teamsters in support of the strikers.

The bureaucracy is well aware of the real threat to its power represented by that meeting and there is no doubt it is pointing to it in an effort to get the employers to agree to a return without victimization.

The Food Employers Council has just settled with the bottlers

## FARMWORKERS...

(Continued From Page 20)

terminated to fight it out until the entire Salinas Valley is organized.

The union contracts mean that the employers must apply for their labor directly to the union hall where men are dispatched. The strength and confidence that comes from these new conditions in the fields is what enables families such as these to stay together and fight.

The UWFOC leadership attempts to hold the ranks back with its fasting, prayers and no-strike boycott policy. Right now Chavez has built up McGovern as another Kennedy, providing huge support to his campaign.

It is only in a break from these policies and a turn to the strength of the labor movement through a fight for a labor party that millions of farm workers will be brought into the organized labor movement.

in the L.A. area without a strike and on very minimal terms. The Bay Area strike was used to warn off the L.A. bottlers and the contract down there secures a steady supply of scab beverages for the Bay Area.

The employers intend to go as far as they can in setting up the union for destruction. The Teamster bureaucracy knows very well what they have in mind. They are in possession of a secret letter from the Food Employers on preparations for taking on Teamster members at the Arden Dairy in the East Bay. This contract expires in August.

The letter speaks of plans to run adds in the newspapers for 100 warehousemen and 20 class A drivers. Arden would operate with scabs, injunctions and armed guards along the lines of the strategy pursued in the bottlers strike.

So far the bureaucracy has not even seen fit to publicize this information, hoping to rely on their policy of pressure and negotiations. The only reason the employers dare to prepare for such action is the spineless policy of these so-called leaders who refuse to shut down Bay Area trucking.

## EDITORIAL

(Continued From Page 8)

perspective which at the time did not yet see the real movement of the whole working class, he correctly stressed that the defense of victims of class repression must be seen as part of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and not simply as a matter of seeking the acquittal of an individual. It was issues like these that George Jackson discussed with Angela Davis in the period of her correspondence with him.

We must also note that the defense not only succeeded in severing Angela Davis' case from that of Ruchell Magee but by conducting the case in a manner which obscured the real political character of the events surrounding Angela Davis, George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers it has weakened the position of Ruchell Magee who now faces trial under conditions far less favorable than Angela.

We cannot conclude, as does the Communist Party, that the acquittal was due to "the rising democratic spirit among the people, which is increasingly asserting itself against the policies and leaders of pro-fascist reaction and war who resort to blatant racism and anti-communism to impose their disaster course on the country."

The trial took place at a point in history when the working class in every country is moving powerfully against capitalism. The offensive of the NLF occurred during the trial while the British miners' strike took place during its preparation. Now the American working class prepares for a frontal clash with the Pay Board over the very future of the trade union movement itself. It is this movement of the working class and the wide support workers gave to Angela Davis which was decisive—not the prayers of the liberal preachers or the demagogic speeches of the politicians.

Does anyone think for one moment that the American Government fears the whimperings of the McGoverns, Dellums, and Chisholms? Or was it mortally in fear of masses, of millions of workers pouring out into the streets in all the major cities of the world enraged over a conviction as they did during the Sacco and Vanzetti case?

Any illusion that the working class has defeated reaction or that reaction in the future can be defeated with the methods of the Angela Davis defense must be bitterly fought against. During the very trial itself the U.S. Supreme Court removed the historic democratic right of Americans to be convicted by their peers only through unanimous decisions. The U.S. Supreme Court thus moved a long way down the road of abolishing the jury system itself.

Now similar illegal conspiracy trials are in progress right across the nation. In New York the prisoners, whose only crimes have been to protest inhuman prison conditions, stand on trial as the Tombs Seven. Juan Farinas, whose only crime was distributing a leaflet opposing a war all now recognize as criminal, has already spent over two and a half months in a Federal Penitentiary.

Jail cells are right now being prepared for trade unionists who defy the capitalist class' decision to actually take their pay out of their pockets and give it to their employers.

Angela's victory is the victory of the world working class. The lesson of this victory is to prepare now against new conspiracies, new attacks.

This preparation demands above all a repudiation of the anti-working class approach of the Angela Davis Defense Committee and of her defense lawyers who consciously acted to disarm the working class before what they will face, keeping the political meaning of the trial out of the trial itself.

# West Coast News

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## Growers Evict Farmworkers From Land In Attempt To Bust Union Drive

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SALINAS—"Because of the union we stay together. Before we would have been scared but not now."

These are the words of a young UFWOC member thrown out of his trailer home by Pic'n Pac in Salinas. He speaks for approximately 40 families evicted from homes many had occupied for 6 years and forced to literally live in the streets.

These workers lived in a trailer camp, forced to pay Pic'n Pac as much as \$45 a week for the privilege. In 1970 UFWOC won a contract giving them the right to remain in the trailers and reducing rent to \$18 a week.

Pic'n Pac got out of the deal by selling its land and the trailers to separate individuals. The new owner of the camp moved immediately to evict the farmworkers and sell off the trailers.

Despite demonstrations and demands on the government for help, absolutely no aid was given. The workers did everything possible to defend their homes preparing to resist on the day of the eviction order.

### COPS

The authorities held off and waited till the men were at work. About four weeks ago the men were at work. About four weeks ago the tactical squad descended on the camp early in the morning. Women not yet dressed with children still asleep were told that they had ten minutes to get out.

When the children tried to

resist they were pushed around and one adult and eight juveniles were arrested. The families were forced out with clubs, allowed to take nothing with them and forced to spend the next night in their parked cars.

The next day they were allowed to remove their belongings one at a time from the trailers.

### TENTS

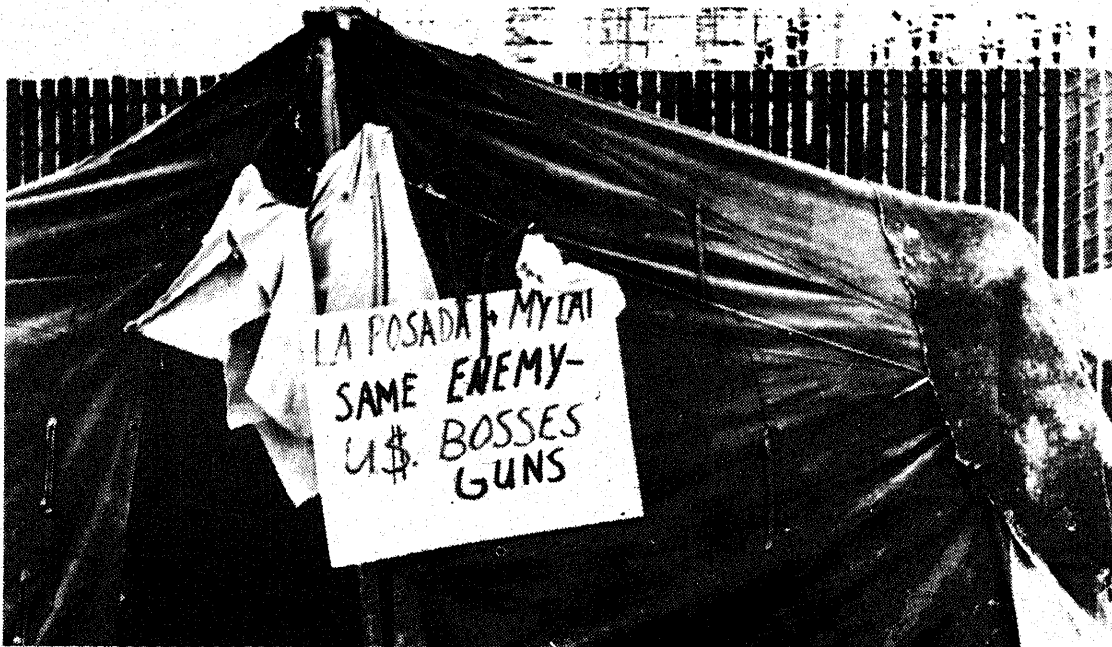
Since that time over 200 people have lived in tents right across the street from their old homes. There are no washing facilities, cooking is done on charcoal broilers and four toilets are available for all these people.

For the first two weeks the families were destitute because the men could not work for fear that the police would return and run them off.

A great deal of assistance was provided by workers in San Jose who brought down charcoal, food and extra blankets.

The children are picked up in the morning by a school bus and facilities are provided at the school for washing.

The Salinas City Council has now met and declared the families a "public nuisance" guilty of harassing the public. As one worker said, "We have lived here for six years and they don't even consider us part of the community."



The only "assistance" the families have gotten is from Senator Tunney who has arranged to have them relocated to Camp McCallum, a World War II army prison camp abandoned since after the war, with absolutely no facilities except barracks in a completely run down condition.

The government has generously allowed them to move in for three months after which time they are again to relocate.

These attacks are designed to harass and break the union. The Salinas Valley growers are extremely worried with over 2000 workers now under contracts.

### UNION

Every worker in the union speaks about the new union conditions with a paid medical plan and wages which while not high are a fortune compared to the old \$1.65 an hour. They are de-

(Continued On Page 19)



Top, one of the tents farmworkers' families are forced to live in. Their children may face bleak future so that bosses can profit.

## McGovern Squeaks Through As Wallace Rolls On

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Despite a campaign financed by millions of dollars, a barrage of TV and radio propaganda and an army of volunteers canvassing virtually every precinct, George McGovern was unable to win a majority in the California primary.

With 80% of the precincts reporting, McGovern finished with approximately 45% of the vote to Humphrey's 38%. George Wallace, who was not on the ballot and did not campaign here, has already received 6% in a write-in

vote. This high vote on a write-in is proof of the inability of the labor bureaucracy to fight Wallace with the pitiful policy of support to McGovern and Humphrey. Only a labor party can stop Wallace.

While Humphrey based his campaign on demagoguery stolen from Wallace and reactionary appeals for more defense spending to solve the unemployment problem, McGovern was unable to differentiate himself. The whole campaign and the televised debates between Humphrey and McGovern revealed that on all the fundamental questions facing the working class these candidates stood together.

McGovern's inability to gain a majority reflects the lack of enthusiasm in the working class for either of the two candidates.

The primary took place in a state where aerospace workers and dockers have had their wage increases slashed by the Pay Board, where unemployment is one of the highest in the country and where the employers are doing everything to break the Teamsters union. In the midst of the campaign the head of the striking union at the University of California at Berkeley was arrested and thrown into jail and

the big food corporations conspired against the farmworkers, forcing them off their land to live in tents.

On these questions, the fundamental questions facing workers, none of the candidates had a word to say. They showed throughout this campaign that they stand together with Nixon on the Pay Board, unemployment and the attack on the unions.

### WALLACE

The Bulletin spoke with a number of workers at the Hunters Point polling place. A construction worker told us: "I'm against Wallace. If I voted for him, I'd be cutting my own throat. I'm from Alabama, and the way he's treated us down there is the way he wants to treat us here."

A city fireman said: "The whole thing is so negative. The only people who do win the elections are the big corporations. They pick the president."

A nurse's aid, a member of Local 250, said: "The candidates are almost the same. I don't hear too many candidates talking differently. They all talk about the war but I doubt if any of them

will stop it. The unemployment rate is too high and I hope I don't have to go on welfare. Taxes take up everything. By the time they take it out of your check, nothing's left.

"The city is cutting down more, even though we need more people. A lot of supervisors told us to vote for them but they voted against us. The union was wrong on their recommendations. When you need 'labor candidates' they're not there."

As the primaries move into their last phase, it is Wallace who is gaining. This shows the complete bankruptcy of the labor leaders' refusal to pose a real alternative to Wallace through their continued support to McGovern and Humphrey. Wallace now is leading in popular votes in the primaries and is running second to McGovern in delegate votes.

### LABOR PARTY

The results of this primary drive home the urgency for the labor movement to break from the Democratic Party and to construct a labor party to represent the interests of the working people and not the corporations.

# Bulletin

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him. But while the Communist Party, appears to side with Schrade against Woodcock, to them this is simply a means of putting pressure on Woodcock to follow a more "progressive" line. Their role from the time Woodcock took office has been to cover up for his betrayals, placing him in the camp of the "progressive" labor bureaucrats as opposed to the "conservatives" headed by George Meany. That is why their big complaint against Woodcock for opposing Schrade is that this represents a drift toward Meany.

What the Stalinists are unable to explain to this day is that Woodcock, with the full support of Emil Mazey, hung onto the Pay Board until the very end after Meany walked off, and left only because of dis-sension with the leadership which feared a widespread revolt, especially among the aerospace workers if he had stayed. So, on one of the most fundamental questions facing the U.S. labor movement, Woodcock was to the right of Meany.

Despite the Daily World's swipes against Woodcock, a week after the convention, DW Detroit correspondent Wil-

us about the issue of peace. We have a fine resolution on peace. It has a lot of wonderful things in it, and we have moved on peace.

"As a tribute to the brother who just spoke, the brother who says he was defeated in this union—I do not think he was defeated in this union, because he recognized peace long before the majority of us in this room did...I would like for this convention here and now to go on record, in line with the resolutions we've adopted, in line with the speakers we've heard and cheered, of sending a telegram directly from this convention, we instruct our officers to do this in the name of this convention, to set the date NOW for getting out of this horrible mess in Vietnam and restoring the United States as the leader of peace and decency in this world. Thank you."

Perhaps the most significant action of Mr. Roth at the convention, was his voting for the Woodcock Team, even though he had participated in the caucus meeting of the United Action Caucus which ran Jordan Sims and Pete Kelly against Wood-

"...Many delegates had questions about the issue itself, since the referendum exists in some of the most bu-reaucratically run unions."

Nagin said that the UNC candidacies were "entirely symbolic."

An article in the April 22 Daily World by William Allen reporting that:

"Leonard Woodcock will head a UAW delegation to the Soviet Union in July..." sheds more light on the relation of the Stalinists to Woodcock.

"Undoubtedly," continues Allen, "there will be discussion of the nearly half-billion dollars worth of orders U.S. auto parts companies are seeking to get from the Soviet Union. The Ford Motor Co. it is learned, seeks to get a machine tool order of over \$300 million destined for the Kama plant."

Allen sees this development as a way of reducing unemployment in the U.S. auto industry. The auto barons will make their profits, the Soviet economy will be helped out and everybody supposedly will be happy. This is the Stalinist model of "peaceful coexistence" which they see being established with the help of Woodcock and other "progressive" labor leaders to maintain the power of the Soviet bureaucracy AGAINST the Soviet working class, and IN OPPOSITION TO the struggle of the international working class for socialism.

UE CONVENTION

The Stalinist perspective of drawing Woodcock into an alliance together with "progressive" bureaucrats associated with the Communist Party in support of liberal Democrats was clearly expressed in the report by the Daily World, Sept. 2, 1971, of a speech by Woodcock before the national convention of the United Electrical Workers (UE). They stated that he issued a call for the "creation of a new progressive coalition to turn this country around..."

The article then reports how Woodcock is opening the doors of this "progressive coalition" by welcoming the Stalinists and their supporters into it:

"Woodcock talked briefly about the split in the labor movement 20 years ago when the CIO, succumbing to a red-baiting drive in the nation, drove out the UE, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the other militant and progressive unions from their ranks.

"We should never have been split asunder. We in our union helped in the splitting of the labor movement.' However, he emphasized labor's need today is unity."

At a labor conference in St. Louis the previous spring, in response to a proposal from the floor by a Workers League member that labor take up the fight for an independent labor party, Woodcock denounced this as a "romantic illusion," and counterposed to it, a "new creative coalition" to support someone like McGovern.

After the New York Times published an article on the St. Louis conference, George Morris, while failing to mention the question of the labor party, "corrects" the Times for giving the impression that "several students" associated with the Workers League, who advocated a general strike against the Vietnam war, "typify the general student attitude." Morris instead hastens to solidarize himself with Woodcock's perspective: "That efforts be concentrated on getting members of Congress to vote denial of funds for the war in Vietnam." (Daily World, April 22, 1971)

What Morris left out in his zealotry to defend Woodcock and attack the Workers League which he identified as "some sort of 'nuts' blind to realities and not serious" was that Woodcock was sharply attacked by rank and file workers at this conference. One of them, a Black worker from the GMAD plant in St. Louis, told how he had been fired by GM for opposing racist practices and pointed out that Woodcock had done absolutely nothing about the situation.

Throughout the 1970 GM strike, while their man Schrade was trying to hold the UAW rank and file in check, the Daily World followed every twist and turn of Woodcock in preparation for overcoming rank and file opposition to the contract. Throughout the strike, the Workers League, beginning with the needs of the auto workers, had posed a fight for \$1.25 an hour first year increase.

Workers League supporters proposed a resolution favoring rejection of the GM contract offer, proposing instead, a fight for the \$1.25, 30 and out at \$500 at any age

at a Stalinist backed TUAD conference. They were supported in this by several auto workers from the Tarrytown and Linden Assembly plants. At this point, the Stalinist sponsors of the conference began to panic, and only through the greatest effort were they able to prevent a vote on this resolution, arguing that the conference had no business to "tell the GM ranks how to vote." Their attitude was typified by the statement of one of the participants the next day who asked:

"Can you imagine this conference going on record in condemnation of Leonard Woodcock?"

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

As we have pointed out, not only the Stalinists, but the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, together with most of the "radical left," rally to the defense of Paul Schrade and assert in the Militant, without offering any evidence, that the opposition to Schrade at the convention was composed of "right-wing forces."

The article by Lee Smith compares Woodcock unfavorably to Reuther, who it is noted, "actively backed him against the right-wing opposition in Region 6," while "Woodcock actually supported the red-baiters backing Whipple." Such was the conspiracy, according to Lee Smith, against Mr. Schrade who was opposed because of his "active endorsements of movements such as the antiwar movement."

If Mr. Smith had taken the trouble to talk to the Region 6 delegates who supported Whipple, and these included many rank and filers who were not very impressed with Schrade's activities in "outside" movements, he would have learned that they were opposed to Schrade because they felt he lacked concern over the problems of unemployment, speed-up and the Pay Board. Perhaps to Mr. Smith this constitutes "red-baiting" and is "right-wing."

But it is clear that Smith was not really paying much attention to the convention. Actually, according to Smith's article entitled "Business as Usual" at UAW Convention," nothing much happened except a movement to the right reflected in Schrade's defeat.

But we must wonder if Smith in fact was even present at the convention. He reports that it was a "five-and-a-half-day convention" when everyone who was there knew it was cut off a full day early, lasting four-and-a-half days. He reports that the Lordstown and Norwood GM strikes were not even brought up until the third day, and then only by Senator Kennedy in a "demagogic" speech, when in fact, this question had been brought up earlier when Woodcock specifically called on the President of the Lordstown local, Gary Bryner to speak in order to cover up the dismal agreement concluded at Lordstown. In addition, Smith seems unaware of the exchange which erupted on the floor, between Woodcock and Schrade on the final day of the convention!

In dealing with the opposition to Woodcock represented by the United National Caucus, Smith dismisses them and the other delegates who supported the referendum vote as "not bringing any programmatic issues to the floor." Even more than the Stalinists, Smith echoes the Woodcock argument that "the referendum vote is a fake issue, a gimmick," that other unions such as the Steelworkers have the referendum, and "look how bureaucratic they are."

What Smith missed, or perhaps chose to ignore, is that the leading elements of the UNC themselves, Jordan Sims and Pete Kelly, felt the referendum issue by itself was inadequate and on the basis of the need to fight for a program decided that it was necessary to run against Woodcock and Mazey. And the central programmatic point, which Kelly stressed on the floor of the convention itself on two occasions, was the need for formation of a labor party! For more information on what actually took place at the convention we refer Mr. Smith and Militant readers to the reports and the interview with Pete Kelly in the May 1 and May 8 Bulletin.

Smith instead looks for program abstracted out of the actual struggle at the convention and the struggle for leadership against Woodcock. Thus, while omitting entirely the important discussion on unemployment and political action which erupted at the convention which raised the question of the labor party, he reports of the resolution entitled "Convene a Congress of Labor," submitted to the



ates during 1970 strike. Right, Auto-Aerospace delegates who (Western region) argue with Schrade supporters (right).

liam Allen was headlining Woodcock's denunciation of Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese waters, quoting the entire statement in the May 11 Daily World. To the delight of the Stalinists, Woodcock endorsed "a reasonable coalition" government, which of course will maintain capitalist interests in Indochina.

At the UAW convention the Stalinists had no interest at all in building an opposition to Woodcock, but were above all concerned with getting Woodcock to demand that Nixon "set the date" for withdrawal of all U.S. forces. They are willing to cover up the worst betrayals of Woodcock, of Harry Bridges, or any other labor leader so long as they can get the backing of these bureaucrats for the Kremlin line of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism.

This was apparently the basis upon which Norman Roth, a delegate from Chicago Local 6 (International Harvester), functioned at the convention. As could be expected Rick Nagin's report in the April 28 Daily World reported most favorably on Democratic Congresswoman Bella Abzug's speech to the convention and noted that: "Following Rep. Abzug's address, Norman Roth, leader of the Local 6 delegation came to the speaker's platform and pinned a UAW peace button on her."

Following Paul Schrade's reply to Woodcock on the last day of the convention, Mr. Roth took the floor on a point of order and stated:

"Brother Woodcock, this morning every speaker we had, major speakers, spoke to

cock and Mazey. Roth voted for Woodcock, stating on the convention floor:

"I cast my vote for the Woodcock slate. However in discussion with our delegates we feel the leadership has not moved fast and far enough on the War, Racism and Political Repression."

Later Roth told the Bulletin that he might have voted for the UNC candidates, but that a UNC member had told him there was a split in the caucus and that Kelly and Sims had decided to run despite the previous agreement of the UNC to decline the nominations on the basis that the referendum was the central question. Roth justified himself by saying:

"You can't go back to your membership and tell them that you voted for something that was double-crossing itself."

It must be remembered also that Kelly had openly called for the UAW to support the formation of a labor party at the convention and attempted to get the floor to demand that the UAW set a date for a one day strike against the war to be followed by the rest of the labor movement.

Mr. Roth and the Communist Party, however, supported Woodcock because they have a perspective of working with him as part of a "peoples' coalition" with liberal Democrats against Nixon.

Despite the collaboration with the UNC in backing the "League of Caucuses" prior to the convention on the minimum program of support to the referendum, the Daily World ends up echoing the Woodcock line on the referendum, in Rick Nagin's May 4 report: