USWA Head I.W. Abel Tells The Bulletin:

"Maybe this convention will force us to have a labor party..."

BY DAVID NORTH
MIAMI BEACH—"I think we have just about reached the point to have a labor party," stated I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, in an exclusive interview with the Bulletin held Thursday morning.

"The Democrats take it for granted that we are going to come around and support them sooner or later," Abel told this reporter as we discussed the Democratic National Convention in his 12th floor suite in the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach.

"Who says we can't go somewhere else?" he asked.

Only hours earlier, speaking before several thousand delegates at the third evening session of the Convention, Abel brought the developing break between the labor movement and the Democratic Party into the open as he announced the Democrats and their prospective presidential nominee, Senator George McGovern.

Abel addressed the Convention for just about three minutes; more than the one minute that the Democratic Party leadership had planned to give him.

"I told them that they were crazy if they thought I would just go up to the podium to take a bow," said Abel, explaining the events that led to the speech that stunned the Convention. "I still didn't get to say all the things I planned to.

"I felt that something has to be said, and I tried to lay things on the line at the convention."

SUPPORT

Throughout our interview, Abel was repeatedly interrupted by telephone calls from all across the country expressing support for his denunciation of the Democrats.

I asked Abel if he thought the AFL-CIO would break all precedents and refrain from supporting the Democratic candidate.

"As of now, I would say that we will not support McGovern," he replied. "I am opposed to endorsing him."

Abel gave his reasons for supporting that labor may bolt the Democrats and form its own party.

"Labor has been treated poorly at this convention. I am a member of the platform committee, and since the convention started, I have not been consulted about anything. That is, except when they started to talk about money."

"I don't think you can trust any of these politicians. Look, one of the delegates here used to be in the steelworkers union. When he ran for office as a Democrat, we supported him and helped him with funds. Now, except for when I got together with him and talked about old times, one wouldn't even know he had any connections with the labor movement. Sure, he has what we would consider a good voting record. But when the chips are

What we think

McGovern

The CP and 'New Politics'

The revolt at Miami Beach represented by the near break of the American labor leaders and the majority of trade union delegates there with the Democratic Party, poses more sharply than ever before in the history of the U.S. labor movement, the actual formation of a mass in-

Meany Comments On Labor Party

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Following a three hour meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, President George Meany announced to a press conference that: "The AFL-CIO will refrain from endorsing either candidate for the office of President of the United States.

He said that this decision of the Executive Council had passed by a vote of 27 to 3, with only A.F. Grandpiron, President of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Paul Jennings, President of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees voting against.

Meany said that these "Circumstances call rather for the maximum concentration of effort upon the election of Senators and Representatives whose records commend them to the working people of America." He added that the decision of (Continued On Page 18)
**George McGovern Boasts of His Anti-Labor Record**

United States Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry
Washington, D.C. 20510

May 29, 1979

Dear Mr. Geilhaus:

I appreciate knowing of your opposition to Section 222 of the President's Postal Reform Bill, H.R. 17076. It has been my feeling that public employees should have the right to join a union, but that membership should not be a mandatory incident of their employment. I have other serious questions about this legislation and I am glad to have your views.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

(signed) George McGovern

D.B. Geilhaus
600 East 18th
Yankton, South Dakota 57078

United States Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry
- Washington, D.C. 20510

Sept. 12, 1968

Dear Mr. Larson:

Thank you for your letter for September 11th, and for enclosing the materials on the right-to-work issue. As you know from my vote in 1966, I favor reenactment of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. While I have not reached a final judgment on the Federal Employees Freedom of Choice Act, my inclination is to support it.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

(signed) George McGovern

Reed Larson, Executive Vice President
National Right to Work Committee
1900 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

George McGovern's efforts to prevent the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act were focused on behalf of labor unions. His stance on this issue was consistent with his larger commitment to workers' rights and the fight against anti-labor legislation. McGovern's advocacy on this matter reflects his deep-seated support for workers' rights and the importance he placed on the principle of collective bargaining.
FOUR DAYS THAT SHOOK MIAMI BEACH

BY DAVID NORTH

MIAMI BEACH—When J.W. Abel, president of the United Steel workers, rose to speak before the Democratic National Convention shortly before midnight last Wednesday, he brought into the open the development that had been boiling beneath all the events in Miami Beach.

His denunciation of George McGovern and the “new politics” revealed that the labor movement stands on the verge of a historic break with the Democrats and the establishment of its own party. Not since the 1931 Convention of the UAW, when nearly a majority of the delegates voted to form a labor party in order to answer Truman’s vicious attacks on the trade unions, has the working class stood closer to a clear break with the Democrats. It is precisely this movement toward a labor party, expressed in a distorted manner by the trade union bureaucrats who attended the Miami Beach Convention, that the Stalinists and middle class centrists attack when they accuse George Meany and Abel of opposing McGovern from the “right.”

BLATANTLY

These groups blatantly line up with the “progressive” Democrats and the New York Times in rejecting the emergence of McGovern’s new coalition against the working class.

It is impossible to understand the character of the split that began to emerge at the Democratic National Convention without beginning with the period in which the Convention has been held and grasping the nature of the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party—as it emerged under Franklin Roosevelt—is essentially the capitalist party of liberal reforms, existing through concessions to the working class and a close relationship with the trade union bureaucracy.

In every period of crisis, that relationship has been threatened as the working class sought to establish its political independence from the Democratic Party. The very decline of capitalism, which first led to the very rapid construction of industrial unionism, has constantly posed the breakup of the New Deal coalition.

MOVEMENT

Particularly in the late 1950’s and 1960’s, when the working class faced the government head-on in its battle for unions and against anti-union legislation, there was a tremendous movement for a labor party. No return by the Democrats would have been sufficient to keep American workers tied to them. It has only been the treacherous role of the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists that prevented the formation of a labor party.

The Democratic Convention met at a time when the new Old Deal coalition was being torn apart in the face of the most powerful movement for an independent American labor party in history. This movement flows first of all from the enormous crisis of international capitalism.

It is no longer within the capacity of the corporations to make concessions to the labor movement. Every gain made by American workers must now come under attacks planned and supervised by the government.

DOOMED

Nixon’s August 11, 1971 decision to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold and the subsequent devaluation of the dollar closed forever the era of compromise between big business and the labor movement. Moreover, these economic developments doomed the Democratic Party—which has based its existence as a party of compromise upon convertibility of $35 into an ounce of gold.

Secondly, the movement for the labor party flows from the unprecedented strength of the American working class as it meets the attacks of big business. From this strength comes the ability of the labor movement to actually go onto the offensive and pull forward its own alternative to deal with the crisis.

As the Democrats assembled in Miami Beach, already the conditions existed for an explosion in the very first speech to the convention. Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence O’Brien came out and said that it would be futile to make any promises to the working class in this period, because none could be kept. Instead, he advised the Party to speak only of “austerity” and “sacrifice.”

Neither during the opening session of the Convention nor during the sessions that followed, did the Democrats actually outline an economic program different from that of Richard Nixon. Not one candidate denounced the Pay Board, let alone proposed its suspension.

The total inability of the Democrats to meet any of the fundamental demands of workers received many expressions in Miami Beach itself. The hundreds of Black workers who were brought to Resurrection City II by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were brutally ignored by the Democrats.

Ralph Abernathy’s demand that the Convention would find space for the SCLC inside the Hall was never seriously considered. As for the economic demands made by the SCLC and the National Welfare Rights Organization, they were either ignored or denounced.

Hours before his nomination, McGovern declared that he opposed a $500 annual minimum income. All the liberal delegates at the Convention heard the appeal for the $600 income—and voted it down.

ASKEW

The blatantly anti-working-class character of the Convention was revealed in an incident which received hardly any comment in the press. Florida Governor Reuben Askew delivered the keynote speech at the second session of the Convention. Askew was the darling of the Convention, and also the well-known, five-star—besides Kennedy—for the vice presidential nomination under McGovern.

For about 30 minutes, Askew spoke with unrestrained demagoguery. While he called for the formation of a “coalition of protest” against poverty, the farm workers picked outside the convention hall, carrying posters that denounced Askew’s ties with the farm interests that have all but enslave agricultural laborers. The farm workers soon advanced from chants simply against Askew to slogans attacking the Democrats as a whole.

By Wednesday morning, after two sessions of the Convention, members of the AFL-CIO were openly threatening to withhold their endorsement to the Democrats and nets were circulated—later confirmed—that J.W. Abel was discussing the prospects of a labor party.

OPPOSITION

By Wednesday, it was already clear that the Democratic Convention was in the hands of McGovern, and that the labor leadership would have to go back to the ranks not only without any program to meet the needs of workers but with a candidate with a rotten anti-communist record.

It was in the Pennsylvania delegation—which was composed of many trade unionists—that opposition to McGovern was strongest. J.W. Abel and Woodcock, president of the UAW and actively campaigning to become his vice president, appeared before the delegation. He called upon the trade unionists to forgive McGovern’s support for the anti-communist to-work section of the Taft-Hartley law.

“I don’t know how it’s done in other unions, but I know when we have a particular situation when the action of one individual would make no difference and his doing what is asked would cause unnecessary internal problems,” Abel stressed. “It makes no difference—accommodate to the candidate.”

As Woodcock made this statement, angry muttering could be heard among the workers. “I don’t think Woodcock is telling the truth totally on McGovern’s great contribution to labor,” one delegate told the Bulletin.

Far from playing the “progressive” role for which the Stalinists praise him, Woodcock emerged at the Convention as the most right-wing of all the labor bureaucrats there. Not only did he champion McGovern, but he proposed himself as a viable vice-presidential candidate in order to establish a new link between the working class and the politicians of big business.

Woodcock realized that the ranks have just about had it with the Democrats. Justifying Woodcock’s obvious willingness to join the Democratic National ticket, his administrative assistant, E.J. Moran, told the Bulletin: “Without labor, the question of whether Nixon can be best or not is very critical.”

REACTION

The reaction among trade unionists to Woodcock’s unprecedented collaboration with the Democrats was tremendously hostile. “If Woodcock joins the ticket, this might just about force us to have a labor party,” said one trade union delegate.

Although Abel’s speech at the Convention ended with an endorsement of Sen. Henry Jackson, his denunciation of McGovern and the Democrats touched the fundamental issue: that the liberals are no less anti-labor than Nixon and have nothing to offer to the working class.

The Democratic Party is led by men like McGovern who, as Abel correctly stated, “tell us they’re far the working people and they turn around and vote for right-to-work laws and against minimum wage programs.”

As he concluded his speech, Abel declared: “Give us a candidate working people can endorse.

Such a candidate will not be found in the Democratic or Republican parties. It is not a question of personality but of principle. America needs only a party based upon the trade unions and a political program which can carry a program in the interests of the working class.

It is absolutely necessary that the AFL-CIO adopt the rich man’s convention in Miami Beach and support a labor party to construct a labor party for 1972. The labor party was discussed at Miami last week. Now it must be constructed and fought for.
Interview With Norwood Shop Chairman

We Won't Return To Old Conditions

The following is the final part of an interview with Jim Young, chairman of the UAW Local 674 at the Norwood, Ohio General Motors Assembly (GM) plant. The UAW has been on strike for Woodward Road for some 13 weeks.

Bulletin: What do you expect at the next UAW Convention?
Young: It's going to be a bit of a surprise to see the next convention. We don't go with a lot of preconceived ideas. As far as we are concerned, it's a lot of things we want labor to be at. We hope to see a lot of favorable people in the International leadership. I think we are going to see a lot of people there on administration. We don't know that. That's like our relationship.

Young: I've been around the organizational structure for 13 years. As I say, we've got some of the young ones up this weekend, but we are in a position now to work with people again. That's a new situation that we haven't had before. When we went on strike, we had no other choice. I don't know if we would have stayed in that position. I don't know if that half of the membership would have been as strong if we had not been throwing them out. We only had 17 people at one point on a 30-day DLJ deal, and after that the next stop is discharge.

But it is true, there are three guys out on the highway that a man can't just do his job supposedly, or what?
Young: They were charging re-employment for all the bad jobs, in the majority of the cases. The difference if you gave the order to "Come here and pick up my tool," they would charge me with refusal to do such a job assignment. It is not a job, I don't do it, so you throw me out. That is why they had to come in as managers as much as some managers as they were representatives in those plants.

The first thing they had to do was get rid of the present committee.
Young: This is what they had to do. In all the other GM plants when they took over. Once they get the present committee out everything else comes easy. Now the majority of the committee in the shop is the committee for a number of years. We don't have any new names on the committee that's been in the district for years and negotiated the agreements, even if you strike, they'll withdraw from the agreement. This is very common, too. Of the 100 companies that they are in.

Young: The strike ended in 11 weeks last year. And of course the membership of the union wants to know what's going on. I was out here yesterday, the day before the strike was finally ended, when we were rearing to go out. They say "We don't have anywhere to go out on Woodward Road, but if there's any settlement of any negotiations in the local had meetings? What can we do about the situation with the ranks?"

Young: Well, since the new standards are new, and new programs in Norwood, actually that is the position of the Constitution, we suppose to have an educational class plan. But since they've gone through the full program, they've torn down practice, they're not going to have a class. We have a new practice. We have the exception of our own local union of the rules, we have a point going to that. We have to run our own Woodward Road, so we are getting out, wanting to try to put out and trying to point this out and that in Norwood, if they don't have any standards, that everything is involved.

For the UAW, even if the auto

outside Norwood GM plant, a settlement without me, because I have no part of it. I was elected to represent the entire membership, that's what I intend to do.

Bulletin: What Godfrey says is part of it: "These workers don't want to work, their minds are on other things, let's face it, American workers aren't that different..."
Young: Yes, if we have to think at what's going on in Japan where they are working for $1.80 an hour. It's very clear what is happening. You take that statement, and the statements that they shut down Lordstown, that is, if they locked out and then opened it up for non-unions, they got 600 or 700 applicants or something like that, that what he is putting forward is a whole perspective of using mass unemployment, which is developing and which they intend to develop further, to completely drive down everything.

The corporations have got to go much further, they have to go much further. I think that's what Godfrey is saying. I think that's what's guaranteed to happen is tremendous explosions, which will be a tremendous job. The workers will fight back. Even in Lordstown, if there's any chances there'll also have to be a policy of the labor movement, a political policy for a labor party that can deal with this. The "right" that the corporations have by virtue of the capitalist state that they're part of, and the political structure, and everything else that they provide to people, put people out, anytime that a lot of profits must be taken away, that has to be countered by the rights of these workers to nationalize these industries.

They shut down the Ballantine brewery in New York. But the last shift, about 1,000 guys sat in. They sat in on that shift, which is the kind of thing that's going to be happening..."
Longshoremen Set To Explode Against New Work Rules

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

The crisis on the docks that exploded on both the East Coast and West Coast in the past year is far from resolved. New explosions are ahead.

The signing of new contracts on the East Coast operates as a stopgap measure to implement new work rules aimed at agitating the conditions and protecting the longshoremen who have won in past contracts, in particular, the elimination of the guaranteed income. In order to reap the full profits from the introduction of the containerization, the shippers have launched a full-scale war on the ILWU, as predicted by Nixon and Congress which has threatened special legislation against the dock strikes. The aim of these attacks is to eliminate upwards of 80 percent of the men from the docks and eventually to reduce the workforce of the docks on the East and Gulf Coasts to as few as four or five.

The go-ahead for implementation of the new rules in New York was given when the PB Board decided the first year's increase and demanded the implementation of the new rules by an exigency of work condition for the second year increase of 5.7 percent.

NEW YORK

An explosive situation is developing in the Port of New York with the beginning of the implementation of the new work rules.

The union leadership under ILA President Gleeson, Vice-President Asbury, and the Brooklyn Local and the local delegates are advising members to cooperate with their superiors.

There has been resistance to the new contract ever since the signing of the agreement, and throughout the TAB process. The opposition has been on two fronts. First, the LIWU and ILA officials accepted the pay cuts. Second, the PB Board's refusal to pay the increase in benefits which the union leaders have only encouraged the Nixon Administration. The decrease in the bonuses government to make new attacks.

A new wave of the crisis was opened 13 months ago with Nixon’s declaration of war on the U.S. international working class. Nixon and the freeze at the same time as he cut the links between the dollar and gold, attempting in part to throw the crisis onto European capital.

The wage freeze and Pay Board were designed from the very first in order to smash the organized power of the working class. For this reason, the government has used its powers cautiously at first, sitting up the situation, and then forcing the collaboration of the top union leaders in joining the Pay Board.

PAY BOARD ATTACK ENTERS 'PHASE III'

By Fred Mueller

As the 1972 election campaign begins, the U.S. working class faces an extremely critical situation. The capitalists and their government are attacking the labor movement from all sides.

The recent devaluation of the dollar, the wage freeze, the new war on the unions, and the agreement with the U.S. government, the government's move to the right in the face of the United Farm Workers' strike, are all designed to weaken the labor movement. There is a critical battle for the minds of the working class.

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DESIGNED

The approval of the miners' pay increase in one of the first actions of the Pay Board was only designed to lead to the destruction of the miners' union. As the miners' union moved over to the side of the bosses and the miners' union movement was subjected to new attacks, the Pay Board ordered the miners to return to work.

The miners' union is a new attack on the miners' union movement. The miners' union was destroyed because it was a mass movement of the working class. The miners' union is a new attack on the miners' union movement. The miners' union was destroyed because it was a mass movement of the working class.

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Boston

Longshoremen in Boston reacted angrily to the letter, and 14 men left the hiring hall to protest the agreement.

"The men never voted for any of these new provisions," said one of the longshoremen. "If this goes through any of us can leave the PB Board."

The delegate claimed that he had never seen the letter until the PB Board came into the office. He added that they could not lose the guarantee. "If anything goes wrong, I'll fight your appeal," he said. According to the delegate, an appeal would have a 50 to one chance of winning.

LEADERSHIP

The union leadership can give the capitalists a mandate for the election of a new council that will be less effective in the fight against the longshoremen's strike. The new council will be made up of men who are the leaders of the union movement. The new council will be made up of men who are the leaders of the union movement.

Meanwhile, the addition of new container facilities in Port Elizabeth, Port Jersey, Staten Island, and New York City will further strengthen the position of the longshoremen. This is the same as the longshoremen's strike.

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Longshoremen talk angrily outside Manhattan hiring hall about introduction of new work rules.
McGovern's Real Program is More Unemployment

The campaign of George McGovern represents a great danger to the workers and youth of this country. The record of McGovern as issues facing the working class is testi-
money of the class hatred which this man holds towards the trade union movement and the youth.

George McGovern, just like all the Democrats and Republicans, supports the Pay Board which is holding down wages, cutting wages, increasing the money out of the pockets of workers while the big corporations are making record high profits.

He also voted for keeping the right-to-work clause in the Taft-Hartley Bill which is one of the biggest weapons for union-busting that the government and from employers. Under this law, the emplees are compelled to recognize unions while the workers have the complete protection of the state and are encouraged to break strikes.

As the election nears, McGovern has switching his stand on the Korean War. He is now supporting the president's policy for keeping a residual military force in South East Asia. This means strengthening the hand of the imperialists who will cause the death of many workers from the US and Vietnam so that the ruling class can establish new markets for profits.

On the question of unemployment McGovern is complete-
ly contemptuous to the youth. When a bill to provide more summer jobs for the youth was before the Senate, McGov-
ern voted against it, knowing that this would force more youth into the streets.

The working people are not one of an evil man. They are the por-
tion of a ruling class which is bent on destroying the livelihood of millions of workers and youth so that their

The CP and the YWLL are complete traitors of the working class, who are busy in selling out to the bosses, to McGovern. At the Democratic Party convention the Stalin-
ists openly supported McGovern and attacked the labor movement for refusing to endorse him.

The powerful movement of the working class is behind the break between labor and the Democratic Party that took place at Miami. At that convention this was reflected in the growing hostility of the trade unions towards McGovern. It is the Stalinists who are desperately trying to keep this movement tied to McGovern. The headlines of the Com-
munist Party newspaper scream with lies like "Labor Rally and File Key to McGovern Victory."

It is McGovern and the entire Democratic and Repub-
lican Parties which continue to attack the living standards of workers and youth. Unemployment is the conscious plan of the ruling class to drive back and demoralize the working class and the two capitalist parties are implementing it.

There is no way out for the working class and youth unless we organize an independent working class movement to take up our demand.

But the youth, no matter how determined, cannot defeat capitalism, which is the enemy over to its core. What is needed is to bring a socialist understand-
ing into the working class. This is where the youth can play a central role.

As revolutionaries, the youth must fight new to bring out the whole working class, to break it from capitalism. This can only be done through the fight for the political indepen-
dence of the working class from the Democratic and Repub-
lican Parties and the building of a labor party based on socialist policies. It is through this struggle that a alter-
native of the Stalinist leadership will be built in the working class.

The youth, through joining the Young Socialists, can give the lead to the older workers in this fight against capitalism. There is no other revolutionary movement. Only the Young Socialists are leading the fight for the labor party by campaigning and calling on every section of the working class to take up this demand.

It is this perspective that we will put forth at the coming National Peace Action Coalition conference on the West Coast. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialists Workers Party have attacked in their press the role of the Stalinists as well as the YSA and the Young Socialists in fighting against the plans of the Stalinists to the workers and youth to the Democratic Party. This means voting at this conference to demand that the labor movement call a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party for 1972.

The Truth About The Long Branch Rebellion

BY KIKI MENDEZ

Last week a riot broke out between 250 youth and the police in Long Branch, New Jersey. The battle was over the youth staying in the streets after a curfew had been implemented.

For the past week, there have been many street fights between white and Puerto Rican youth. These clashes came over the unemploy-
ment, and lack of facilities in the town. As one youth told the Bulletin: "There is only one club in this town, we have been arguing with the Puerto Ricans over who can use the center."

Long Branch is a resort area where most of the finemmes come from tourist attractions. The crisis in capitalism has forced the tourist business to decline. This makes the chances of the youth getting a job hopeless.

It was the fights between the youth that the police used as an excuse to attack all the youth in the area. One girl told us that: "They do not care who they arrest because they threw every-
one in jail, it didn't matter whether or not you had been in a street fight." She went on to say that: "My cousin was arrested for ordering a pizza at night."

When the police were arresting everyone in the area, the youth began to see that fighting among themselves was not the solution to the unemployment. When the youth stopped fighting each other, the police took stronger action. As one youth said:

"We have no place to hang around, if we go bowling the police will arrest us. Now they will not allow us on the board-
walk, where else can we stay at?"

All the facilities in the town are closed to the youth. They can not stay in groups of five without getting harassed by the police. This is what happened when white and Puerto Rican youth met to discuss the street fights.

The city has tried to make it seem as if the fight has stayed on the level of white youth fighting Puerto Ricans. One youth ex-
plained: "Puerto Ricans are treated the same way we are. Last night all of us were ar-
rested without any charges."

On Tuesday night when several youth were holding a meeting, the police arrested most of the youths. One youth told the Young Socialists that: "We were having this meeting to see if we can unite to fight the cops. We were just talking about it when the police arrested all of us. Five policemen took this one guy and beat him up so badly that his eye was coming out. The police just threw him in jail and refused to call a doctor."

Six of the youth arrested on Tuesday night were held on $5,000 bail for being out in the street during the curfew. The govern-
ment is doing nothing to change the conditions in Long Branch.

The youth have gone to the councilmen to ask for their help. As one youth said: "I have been trying to get a hold of one of the guys in charge of this area to see what we can do about the lack of facilities. We asked for a pool but we never got it."

The parents, along with the youth, are fed up with these harassments. One told us that the parents were supporting the youth against the police.

The attacks on the youth in Long Branch are an example of what the government has in store for the youth. The youth cannot fight the government by forming gangs because this only divides the youth on the basis of race or area.

The only way to fight back is by uniting the youth in the struggle to build a revolutionary move-
ment against the government. This is the only way to unite the struggle of the youth and the working class against the govern-
ment.
"It's A Family Affair"

BY GIL GONZALEZ

BROOKLYN—On Saturday, the East New York Young Socialists held a block party to raise funds for the WS and the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. Over 200 workers and youth from the community of Ashford Street and Livonia Avenue participated and raised over $75. The party, which took place on the streets, included games and music. A large assortment of games and barbecue food, including chicken, frankfurters, watermelon, and salads, was served. The food was prepared and donated by parents of the Young Socialists.

The Young Socialists prepared the food for the party. The food included grilled chicken, sausages, and salads. The food was donated by parents of the Young Socialists.

The "Hit Nik" dart game was one of the more popular games at the party. The dart game was instructed by a young man who was playing in his own family. The arrangement was "Shaft" and "Soul Power" received tremendous enthusiasm from the youth.

The Young Socialists arranged for the dart game to be played in a small area within the party. The dart game was instructed by a young man who was playing in his own family. The arrangement was "Shaft" and "Soul Power" received tremendous enthusiasm from the youth.

At one point in the performance Gil Gonzalez, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, spoke to the audience on the government's attacks on the workers and youth and the tasks of the Young Socialists. He said:

"The Democratic Convention this past week reflects on the one hand the deepness of the crisis of capitalism and at the same time the necessity for the working class to break from the Democratic and the Republican Parties and form their own party.

POSED

"Today we have a situation where there are five million workers unemployed and conditions of housing and education are deteriorating by the day. What is posed to the big corporations is that, in order to preserve profits, they must throw the working class into conditions worse than the 1930's. It is because of these conditions that the construction of the labor party is on the agenda. Only the Young Socialists and the Workers League are carrying this forward.

Abby Rodriguez, Editor of the Young Socialists, spoke on the case of Juan Farinas. The building of the Young Socialists. Addressing the audience, he said:

"The problem that we are facing of unemployment and slums is that of capitalism. It is this system that works only for a few rich families while the masses of workers and youth get nothing. What is needed is a socialist society to replace capitalism.

"Young people will have to lead the fight for socialism because today there is nothing for us under capitalism. The few summer jobs that have been given pay only $40 a week while a pair of dungarees cost $10. It is the youth by joining the Young Socialists that will lead the fight against capitalism by fighting for the unions to build a labor party.

JUAN

"Juan Farinas has been in jail since March because he is a socialist and opposed to the war in Vietnam. For handing out a leaflet stating his political views, he was framed up the same way Angela Davis was. But the power of the working class freed Angela Davis and it is the working class who will free Juan Farinas. A collection was taken and everyone was urged to purchase the Manifesto on the labor party."
Fitzsimmons--
Scab Of The Year

Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the Teamsters Union, has announced that he and the executive board of the union are endorsing Nixon in the 1972 elections.

There is not a trade unionist in this country who does not realize that Richard Nixon is the man who drew up plans for the big corporations to freeze wages with the Pay Board, to lay off millions of workers and create unemployment, and to speed-up the lines in the plants, and prepare anti-union laws. The ranks of the labor movement are determined on one thing come November 7th and that is to defeat Nixon. Fitzsimmons, the only remaining labor leader on the Pay Board, has now become the number one scab.

His decision comes in the wake of the split in Miami between the Democratic Party and the organized labor movement. What was exposed at the convention was the basic impossibility of mounting any campaign against Nixon with McGovern.

Meany and Abel's hostility to McGovern only reflects the hostility of the millions of workers who will not buy McGovern in 1972. They know that behind McGovern's talk about reforms is his refusal to say a single word about the real issues facing American workers. His anti-labor record is clear.

The only way that Nixon can be defeated is through the building of a labor party now. This is what was raised by J.W. Abel and other union presidents and in the course of the convention.

Meany is now talking about neutrality in the presidential election and working to erect so-called "pass through" neutrality is a first in the history of the AFL-CIO and reflects the breakdown of labor's ties to the Democrats.

But neutrality means handing Congress and the Presidency over to Nixon. The question is not neutrality but throwing the whole lot of the Democrats and Republicans out.

All of the conditions have been created for this break down of the power, the finances and the power for now and constructing this party. What are we waiting for?

Rank and file trade unionists must fight for resolutions in their locals and now demand that the union call a congress of labor to build this party for 1972.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists will build a conference of trade unionists in the fall to carry this fight forward.

Sub Drive Takes A Leap

This past week has shown the largest jump in subscription work since the campaign began. We have received 1,500 copies as of July 11th, the day of the instinctive hit in the drive. Our goal is 5,000 subs by September 15th.

The reason for this, no doubt, is that the following week most of the Workers League will be taking a two-week break for our annual summer school. This means that we should have a good point to start in subscription work by now.

The following branches have reached this mark: New Haven, Bay Area, Portland, Boston, P. Greene, and East New York. Branches coming close to this mark include: Chicago, Hartford, Madison, S. Louis, Dayton, Upper West Side, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The branches have taken a real leap in sub work but because of a slow start, it is not clear when the next week most of the branches will reach the point. In any case, the one thing that is clear is that the instinctive hit in the drive.

We can definitely continue this subscription drive on time and in full. There is no reason to extending the circulation of our press on the basis of the political perspectives we have developed around the fight for the labor party.
IN DEFENSE OF TROTSKYISM
AN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO VILIFY OUR HISTORY
BY TIM WOHLFORTH

THE THEORIES OF DAVID FENDER

BEFORE WE PROCEED further with our anonymous author it is best that we deal with David Fender who has clearly had his influence on him. In fact in some ways Fender is even more outspoken than our anonymous author in his attacks on the history of the Fourth International. On questions of method the two have complete agreement.

Fender was one of the young intellectuals who entered the YSA and SWP in the period of the anti-war movement and student upsurge of the middle 1960s. He then spent several years in Europe working closely, so he reports, with Peng, old time leader of the Chinese Trotskyists, formerly with the International Committee, and currently with the United Secretariat.

While in Europe he wrote a criticism of the SWP's anti-war activity for the 1969 SWP Convention. Upon his return he devoted himself to inactivity within the SWP only to emerge prior to the 1971 convention with a small group around him in Boston. He then launched a bitter attack on the newly developed opposition group within the SWP called the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and formed his own faction called the Communist Tendency.

Fender writes in the founding document of this group: "No, the opportunities for the Trotskyists have not been lacking. The Fourth International must now take full responsibility for its own failures to provide a valid alternative to the crisis in leadership which was the basis for the founding of the organization. The crisis in leadership for the proletariat during the last 30 years since the founding of the Fourth International has ultimately been the crisis of the leadership of the Fourth International itself."

"This crisis in leadership has resulted in the complete fragmentation of the world Trotskyist movement. After the death of Trotsky the international Trotskyist movement failed to develop a competent leadership which could command the confidence and respect of the international cadres. The inability of the different Trotskyist parties, especially the International Committee, to provide a consistent Trotskyist analysis and program resulted in a good many splits and splits as events took them by surprise. In certain countries where the Trotskyist parties did manage to accumulate a certain number of cadres, in spite of their program—a natural occurrence under favorable objective conditions—these parties were ruined beyond recognition or washed away completely like sand castles after the first adverse wave. Such circumstances could not help but disorient even the best of comrades and raise protest from others. Alien class pressures rouse rampant and each sharp turn produced both reaction and galloping runaways. Some comrades identified the disastrous politics with that of Trotskyism and began to question the whole validity of Marxism itself. While other comrades were able to make telling criticisms of their political opponents, most of the time they too proved incapable of providing a Trotskyist analysis and program. In this whirlwind of dead-end politics, cliques and counter-cliques were common, and the heated internal debates ended almost invariably with organizational means being resorted to by one side or another. Bureaucratic expulsions and Simon-pure splits became the norm; until today the world 'Trotskyist' movement looks like an American junk yard containing every make and model of the last 30 years."

The tendency expressed by our anonymous author to break down the qualitative difference between the Fourth International and communism is here carried one gigantic step further. Fender breaks down the distinction between the Fourth International and Stalinism and the Social Democracy. His position is that the Fourth International, which had "no lack of opportunities," is as much responsible for the crisis of leadership of the world working class as the Stalinists and Social Democrats.

We do not view the question this way. We agree with the assessment made in 'The Transitional Program' that the crisis of leadership has been brought about primarily by the degeneration of the Communist International. This created conditions where the mass Communist Parties not only offered workers no real alternative to the traditional leadership of the Social Democracy but created great confusion theoretically in the workers movement which could not be cleared up with a snap of the fingers.

The question of the crisis of leadership is not a matter of opportunities here or there but of the fundamental lack of actually breaking millions of workers from the leadership of Stalinist and social democratic parties. It is this task which has fallen to the Fourth International and only the Fourth International. The Fourth International is to be judged not by its progress or lack thereof in a numerical sense in this period or that but by what it does to resolve this crisis politically and theoretically in each country.

Trotksyism is not only an idea but an actual movement constructed through the struggle to mobilize masses to prepare the socialist revolution. James P. Cannon and the American Trotskyist movement played a critical role throughout the long and difficult history of the construction of the Fourth International. He stood up for Trotsky in 1928, stood with Trotsky against the Stalinists revisionists in 1931, and defended Trotsky against Stalin in 1933. In this history the Minneapolis movement played a critical role. We dedicate this series in defense of the history of Trotskyism to the comrades of the Minneapolis movement. Through our words in this and succeeding issues we hope to give a glimpse of the actual life of this movement which was more than the squabbles of "sectarians and centrists."

In photo above 16 of the 18 Minneapolis Defenders who went to prison during World War II because they fought as revolutionists within the labor movement stand around a bust of Leon Trotsky. Standing left to right: Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, Edward Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coerver, Jake Cooper. Uncluding left to right: Max Gerlach, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, V.R. Donne, Carl Skjeldal, Grace Carlton.
The Fourth International has had to face some of the most serious setbacks in its history, but it has not been without its successes. It has managed to achieve some significant victories in its efforts to build a truly international workers' movement. Today, the Fourth International is stronger than ever before.

The Fourth International was founded in the early years of the 20th century to provide a theoretical and political foundation for the mass movement of the working class. Its main goal was to bring together the various socialist groups and organizations that were working to build a socialist society.

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Built a Labor Party Now!

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This pamphlet contains the basic arguments that the Workers League on the fight for a new socialist party and the program for that party to develop the socialist movement in the United States and in the government on the American continent. It is the basis for the CPSM's work in the 1962 elections with both the Democrats and the Republicans. You should make clear that you stand by the program which will win us the support of the masses and in the process of that struggle build a powerful new socialist movement in the U.S. We win by exposing and attacking the right wing of the American capitalist oligarchy and by building a powerful mass socialist party.

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The Struggle To Build The UAW

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS PROTEST Ford Brutality Ford Fascism

Mass Meeting BABY CREEK PARK—Skt and Woodlawn Saturday, June 5, 2 P.M.

Join Your Fellow Workers—all Out! All Out!

Top, leaflet distributed by UAW. Upper left, auto workers on sit-down strike show defiance of court injunction ordering them to leave plant. Upper right, trade unionists demonstrate in Cadillac Square to defend 1932 sit-down strike from injunctions. Bottom, pickets fight scabs going outside plant during strike against Ford.
The following article by Peter Jef-
freries was reprinted from the Workers 
World, the newspaper of the Socialist Labour 
League.

The decision of the Tory 
Government of Britain to "float" 
the pound, and thereby to bring to a 
period and decisive stage in capitalism's 
economic and political crisis. It marks 
the opening of a period which could see the 
rapid disintegration of the 
world monetary and credit system.

The Stalinists of the Communist 
Party are wrong to claim that the 
decvaluation decision is purely a British 
question, the result of Tory "mismanage-
ment". It is a general phenomenon which 
reflects and has already seriously intensi-

dfied the international crisis of 

The Schuolists of an international 
crisis of 

Alas, many of the leaders of 
financial and orthodox circles in the 
western world have not yet come to see 
the decision to float has to be seen in the 
light of the Nine months of August last 
year. What was the fundamental feature of 
there comes to play in the 
western world markets would undergo a 

deep and permanent crisis. 
tunities. The system of "fixed parities" 
should be established between all the 

currencies. The value of each currency 
was established in terms of the dollar 
and could fluctuate only around narrow 
limits, any change in the value of a 
currency had to be sanctioned by the 
International Monetary Fund.

The collapse of these provisions—
was gone forever—was to establish some degree of 
order and regulation in a system which in the 
19th century had been in a state of chaos.

But as we shall see, it was an aim 
which could never be realized. 
The arbitrary and contradictory 
laws of capitalism continued to operate 
and have now forcibly asserted themselves in the 
process of inflation.

All those revisionists, like Mardel 
and the Politburo, who wanted to 

declare the existence of these 

weakness.

But, despite the 
revisionists, to say 
that Britain is on the verge 

Dearth of money and 
credit.
Pompidou Forms Class War Cabinet

BY MELODY FARROW

On July 6th, President Georges Pompidou of France demanded the resignation of his Prime Minister, Chaban-Delmas, and formed a new government headed by Pierre Messmer, a traditional hardliner in support of the Gaullist party, Republic.

This sharp change, three years after the 1966 General Strike which forced De Gaulle to resign, is preparation for dictatorship and war against the working class.

Pompidou spelled out the policy of his new cabinet at a meeting at Elysee Palace where he told the ministers that: "The institutions must be maintained with the greatest energy."

Pompidou's new Prime Minister, Messmer, in his first telelivered address stated: "Thus we repeat the errors which led to the destruction of France and the disorders which surely lead to this."}

CRISIS

The change in government, coming at the same time as the resignation of Finance Minister Schiller in Germany was precipitated by the decline of the welfare state and the failure of the European Community. The French government has had to make major cuts in public spending. The U.S. seeks to solve its deficit in the balance of payments by forcing France to cut back exports. What the French government must now prepare for is a vicious trade war between Europe and the U.S. and between the EEC and Common Market countries.

The crisis has reached the stage where the trade unions are in a state of shock and have been forced to demobilize in the near future. The French ruling class is preparing to use the economic crisis to launch a vicious attack on the working class to halt and drive back its wages, to cut the living standard and buck its policies up with a police state.

Pompidou's announcement made clear in a speech attacking the formation of a "Popular Union" between the Communist Party and the Socialists for the 1973 elections. He hailed the role of U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

And a series of bank crises would instantly reflect back on every major European currency which is entirely dependent upon these financial institutions.

The devaluation is not unlike any other previous surging devaluation. In the past there is a question of giving British exports some temporary reprieve, as was the case recently as the November 1967 devaluation. Nobody has to be content with this concept of a world at ill.

The devaluation was forced on Pompidou by his Minister of Health in the unannounced nature of the world economic crisis and the strength and determination of the working class to preserve and extend the gains which it has made over the last 25 years.

This crisis cannot be patched up. For the capitalist class "transformation" and "stability" in the financial system cannot mean a return to Bretton Woods. The Bretton Woods agreement is dead for all time.

Billions of dollars of paper are now circling throughout Europe which nobody wants. This is the meaning of the West German and Swiss attempts to curt the entry of dollars into their economies. Order will only be restored if this mass of paper, claiming to represent value, is forcibly destroyed.

CHAOS

But such a destruction would mean chaos on every stock exchange and a crisis for every major monopolist and merchant bank in Europe.

Above all, however, it would mean an all-out immediate and vicious war against the working class.

Barber's measures have therefore posed revolutionary conditions immediately for the working class. It is either capitalist anarchy or socialism. This is the real, living, and urgent lesson which we must draw from the devaluation to fight the pound.

REPRESSION

The monetary crisis has forced Pompidou to bring this period to a close. The policy of the new regime will be to build up the state as an arm of repression against the working class and to intimidate the leadership of the Communist Party and Socialists into compromising the basic rights of the trade unions.

Valery Giscard D'Estaing told the Economic and Social Council that the first order of business for the regime would be to slow up the "excessive" rise in wages.

Shortly before the appointment of Messner, Pompidou had pardoned Paul Touvier, a Nazi supporter during World War II. Between 1945 and 1949 Touvier was condemned three times by the courts in Lyon and he never went to jail.

Touvier was second in command in Lyons of French fascist organization called the Milice. This group carried out the most brutal tortures and mass executions of thousands of Jews and resistance fighters in France.

The official pardon of a man like Touvier is Pompidou's sign to all the right-wing and fascist organizations in France to reverse their activities openly against the working class.

At the same time, Pompidou has appointed a Gaullist as new director of the state owned radio and television network.

Pompidou seeks to turn the network over to private enterprise and under the guise of "reform," prevent news programs critical of the government.

The government fears the coalition formed between the Socialists and Communist Party. In April, the referendum on entry into the Common Market was defeated by a combination of "no" votes and abstentions by wide sections of the working class and small farmers.

Rather than expose the plans of the government for dictatorship, the Communist Party is nervous that the ideology of war and the vague future socialism can be won peacefully. It attached Pompidou for "scaring" Parliament because he did not bother to inform them that he was changing Prime Ministers.

The more Pompidou unleashes the forces of fascism and dictatorship the more the CP and Socialists will turn to the Radical Party for help in holding back the working class from revolution. This is the reason why the CP General Secretary George Marchais: "We must create a wide doctrine of all working class, democratic and national forces around it. The program of the Popular Front no matter what their philosophical or religious convictions are who are opposed to the policy of the present regime and desire for deep democratic transformations..."

The Socialist Party is now deeply split on the issue of an alliance with the Radicals. The Directions Committee of the Party barely passed a proposal that would hand over 49 congressmen seats to the Radical Party in the 71 elections. Some of these seats are in areas where the Socialists is far more powerful than the Radicals.

Both the Socialists and the Socialist Party are opening the doors wide to a direct alliance with a section of the capitalist class. Their Popular Front is not a program for socialism but for begging concessions from capitalism.

One of the first actions of the CP after Messner's appointment was to request a meeting with him to "negotiate" the demand for a monthly minimum wage of 100 francs and retirement at 60.

In the fall, after vacations end, the working class will be entering a period of massive strikes for higher wages. The tremendous growth in that have impressed Britain and Italy this past year will now hit France.
HOW DIMITROV & THE POPULAR FRONT PAVED THE ROAD FOR FASCISM

BY ALAN BERENSON

In a recent issue of the Daily World, newspaper of the American Communist Party, a major part of the magazine section was dedicated almost exclusively to an extensive history of the life and career of Georgi Dimitrov and the Popular Front.

This policy was initiated internationally at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party in 1935 under Dimitrov's leadership. The article itself is written by William Weinstone, a veteran Stalinist, who was one of the founders of the American Communist Party in 1919. The American CP very rarely dares to pour real criticism upon fascism, excepting in the general line of thought and action, the vast majority of the members of the party are in complete agreement with fascism. Therefore, when it does, the occasion becomes of the utmost importance.

Today as world capitalism finds itself in its greatest crisis, the Stalinist bureaucrats of Moscow and Washington are working to strengthen and direct the most infamous representatives of imperialism, to use them to create and go beyond the betrayals of the working class in the 1930's. But there is a great difference between the 1930's and this period. The Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 took place in a period of great devaluation for the working class, for which Stalinism itself was responsible. Leon Trotsky has fought to bring into the international in a struggle against these defeats.

OFFENSIVE

Today, the international working class enters into an offensive against fascism with enormous strength and power accumulated by the struggle of the World Workers of 1930's. For this period that the Fourth International has been prepared.

It is in this context that we must see the CP's re-examination of Dimitrov. The editors of the Daily World go back over forty years to sing the praises of the man who presided over the liquidation of the Third International. Their “reasonable” approach to the historical questions, their attempt to write the history of the party for which Dimitrov was the spokesman—the Popular Front—the policy of Stalin before the 1930's, and the policy of the majority of the capitalists.

Giorgi Dimitrov (1888-1949) was one of the founding members of the Bulgarian Communist Party. But after the defeat of the Bulgarian Revolution, he was expelled to Germany. It was in Germany that Dimitrov first associated with the Communist Party when he stood trial as the main defendant in the Nazi Inquisit in the Reichstag Fire of 1933. The Nazi Party, shortly after taking power, set fire to the Reichstag themselves in an attempt to create a witch-hunt atmosphere through which they would be able to totally destroy the German Communist Party. But in this battle, their own newly won power.

Communists throughout the world were rounded up and assailed of arson and treason. Dimitrov, known as a leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was one of the first to be tried. He was acquitted.

Dimitrov was saved from execution only by the intervention of the Soviet government. It was then used the prestige gained by Dimitrov as a fascist to further its power to place him at the head of the Communist, which became a major portion of the article to endless praises of Dimitrov for his conduct at the trial. Weinstone writes: “Dimitrov's bravery was that of a revolutionary fighter, a Communist, a quality which he had cultivated in his revolutionary proletarian past....”

BETRAYAL

No matter how the process of his trial, Dimitrov at no point separated himself from Stalinist practices, as Stalinist tendencies, which enabled the victory of German fascism in the first place. As Trotsky wrote at the time when predicting that Dimitrov would be made the head of the Comintern: “The only reason for his sudden and unex- pected advance has been his position as an expert on the Nazi court. We all applauded it. But we couldn't exaggerate the things. Dimitrov proved for us to our advantage as a member of the Westphalian, as a Bolchevist in opposition to the Stalinist general line. He took upon himself all the scandalous policies of the epigones, in all its spirit, and he bears full responsibility for them.”

This was Dimitrov's political role in the 1930's. Weinstone, as did the article of the press of the period, Dimitrov's personal role in the party in a major role as the major proponent and “reformist” of the Popular Front which he advanced as a new international strategy at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The Seventh Congress took place in 1939 after an unprecedented delay of several years. As Trotsky explained at the time, the policy was to create the Comintern, all of the working strength of the forces of the Fourth International and the decision of Stalin and the Communist Party to institute the new strategy of the Popular Front.

FASCISM

The Seventh Congress took place in the wake of the victory of German fascism in 1933—a victory due to the same ultra-left policies consciously pursued by the Comintern. At the point where the unity of the entire German working class in both the Communist and Social Democratic parties was seen to be a principal goal of the Social Democratic Party. They refused to fight for the only policies which could have won the German workers away from the Social Democratic Party and prepared the road to power. Thus, he working class split and Hitler came to power.

From the policy of the most extreme anti-fascist, which the Comintern Congress swing sharply in the other direction, the policy of open political collaboration between the international Communist parties and the parties of the bourgeoisie. While both policies may appear as opposite, they were actually two sides of the same coin. In both cases, the Stalinist bureaucracy started only with the aim of preserving its own privileges through diplomatic maneuvers with the capitalist governments and refused to mobilize the workers in a struggle for power.

Weinstone describes Dimitrov's presentation of the Popular Front: “Dimitrov placed the united front of the working class against fascism and war as the major task of the working class and all democratic forces. He developed the Leninist concept of unity to include the mass of the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle. A People's Front, along with the united labor front. Moreover, he advocated the formation of a united front political party to overthrow fascism...and to create favorable conditions for an advance to socialism.”

PROCLAIMING

What the Popular Front actually meant was a complete capitulation of the working class to the will of the popular fascist parties. By agreeing to continue with the Popular Front, the Communist Party moved to the right in order to create a new Popular Front for the defense of the popular fascist parties of the working class against fascism. The CP followed the opposite course.

The Popular Front was instituted to stem the tide of the French workers' offensive. Leon Blum, the "socialist" head of the government, openly proclaimed that it was imperative that capitalism be maintained, that a struggle against it would only alienate the Radical Party and result not in revolution but fascism. As Trotsky explained, this was the same type of rhetoric employed by Kerensky in 1917 in warning that the destruction of the Provisional government would mean only the victory of Kornilov and the right wing.

The French CP entered into this treacherous alliance to give the bourgeoisie a breathing spell, which it desperately needed and skillfully used. The offensive of the French working class was snuffed out, as ordered by the Soviet bureaucracy in order to give up its ties with Fascism. Two years later, the Popular Front which paved the way for Hitler's parade through the center of Paris in 1940 and for the establishment of the Marshal Petain regime in France.

In the United states, the Popular Front found its expression through the open support of the American CP for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Following the victory of the Popular Front, the American working class moved towards the actual creation of its own political party—a labor party. It was the American CP which played a leading role in preventing the birth of that party.

Why the CP specifically revives Dimitrov today is made clear in the concluding section of the article. Weinstone explains that far from being a policy only for the 1930's—Dimitrov also called for the implementation of the Popular Front—this example should serve as a model for the confrontation of the Fascist movement in the United States, and far from being a policy only for the 1930's—Dimitrov also called for the implementation of the Popular Front. In the United States, the move for a labor party that would support against certain sections of the labor movement, including the highest section of the bureaucracy, was called for by the CP. It is the strength and power of the working class which now creates the greatest opportunity and also the necessity for the development of a Trotskyist leadership, which can consciously bring forward the lessons of the 1930's against Stalinism.
**Revolutionary Perspectives For Northern Ireland**

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**

The working class of Ulster is threatened with a massacre by British imperialist troops acting in league with the right-wing Ulster Defence Association.

All the talk by the Tory regime and its representatives in Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, about lasting peace in Ulster has been exposed as a calculated plot to smash the resistance of the Catholic workers of Ireland. To accomplish this, another 1,200 British soldiers were sent to Ulster recently.

British provocations forced the IRA Provisionals to end its two-week truce on July 9 and to attack the Tory government in London that bears full responsibility for the 31 deaths that have occurred during the past week.

Events have shown that the Tories used the truce only to establish a foothold for its troops in the Catholic ghetto and open the way for a bloodbath. The British imperialists viewed the truce as the fascist Mussolini viewed peace—as "only as an interval between wars."

**DESTRUCTION**

While the Catholic Church, Stalinists, reformists of the Irish Social Democrats, "Official" IRA, and middle class radicals bullied the truce in order to mislead Irish workers, Whitelaw went hand-in-hand with the UDA to prepare the destruction of the Provisional IRA.

This cooperation was illustrated in the incident at Lena-more housing estate which precipitated the end of the truce. The UDA had driven working class families out of their homes and had prevented these families from entering new apartments legally allotted to them.

When the IRA attempted to move the families into their new homes, the UDA disappeared and the British Army came in, put up barbed wire around the apartments and fired gas at the families. Immediately afterwards the British Army invaded the Catholic districts like Ardmonro, in Belfast, to "root out" the IRA.

No one at this stage should have any illusion that the British imperialists will treat the Irish workers any less brutally than the Koreans, Malaya, or other colonial peoples. What is being prepared in Ulster at this moment is nothing less than a full-scale pogrom.

**CUT OFF**

On July 16, the British army attempted to cut off the Catholic areas of Bogside and Creggan in Derry by installing a brick wall in the center of William Street, the main artery connecting the Catholic areas to the Derry shopping area. The army claim this would keep "bombers" and "terrorists" from escaping to Catholic areas.

The construction of the wall was stopped following a sit-down on the site by Catholic women. But the next day fifteen foot high barricades were put up by the Army to cut off the Bogside from the outside.

**DICTATORSHIP**

Meanwhile, the UDA pawns of British imperialism have dropped their cover of calling for a restoration of the Stormont parliament and now they openly demand a military dictatorship.

"We want military minds not political brains," say the UDA leaders who have been openly arming and drilling.

The UDA leaders have shown repeatedly their complete loyalty to IRA leaders which will be used for "liquidation purposes" if the IRA does not surrender.

Under these circumstances of preparation for pogrom the Trotskyist movement, by criticising the policies of the IRA which led to truce, fully supports the disruption by the IRA of the truce. The Provisional IRA is the only force among the Republicans, revisionists and reformists who stands up to the offensive of British imperialism against the Ulster workers.

**DEMAND**

At the same time, the Socialist Labour League of England and the Irish Trotskyists have made the center of their campaign—as they have from the arrival of troops in Ulster in August 1969 in opposition to every other political tendency—the demand that all British troops be withdrawn from Ulster.

To accomplish this the Tory government must be thrown out of office and a Labour government elected, pledged to socialist policies. These must include withdrawal of all troops and the right of self-determination of Ireland. By overwhelming Toryism, the British workers can deal a decisive blow for the Ulster working class.

**EXPOSED**

The religious campaign in Ulster has above all exposed the traitorous policies of the Stalinists of the Communist Party, as well the so-called "Marxist" Official Republican leaders like Beradette Devlin.

The British Communist Party's poster: "Morning Star set the tone the Provos' decision to end the truce was "wrong and wholly to be regretted...it gives the ultras and men like Prime Minister Faulkner excuses to oppose the introduction of genuine democratic reforms to win up demands for the use of force by the British troops against the IRA and to justify their own use of force."

The "Official" IRA said: "The resumption of offensive action will take the pressure off Mr. Whitelaw." Meanwhile Miss Devlin complained that: "They could have gone on the offensive without breaking the truce."

From the beginning, the Socialist Labour League and the Irish Trotskyists adopted an opposition perspective. The August 16, 1969 issue of the Newsletter (the Trotskyists' newspaper which was the forerunner of the Workers Press) carried the headline, "Withdraw British Troops Now!"

"The role of the army is set to ensure peace against 'extremists' but to impose military dictatorship. To act now against the intervention of the troops in Northern Ireland is the essential preparation for the coming struggle in the whole of Britain," stated the Newsletter of August 16, 1969.

**REVOLUTIONARY**

Only the Newsletter probed to the potentially revolutionary situation that underlay the sending of the troops. The Republicans and revolutionists saw only the splits in the working class, the attacks on the Catholic workers by the Paisleyites as the peaceful protest of the "civil rights" movement blow up. They turned to the capitalist state for salvation. But the fight back of the working class contained the possibility of turning the situation into its opposite. Defense committees were formed in the working class neighborhoods and in a number of areas those began to unite Catholic and Protestant workers against provocation.

In Belfast, shipyards and other factories, the Paisleyites were pushed aside and calls for united class struggles made. The troops were called in the day after Protestant working class youth moved into battles for the first time against the police. The SLL called for the formation of working class defense guards and a general strike in Ulster for withdrawal of the troops.

The Trotskyist paper Workers Press warned on October 26, 1971, in a front page article, "Sharpen the workers' offensive..." 'Sharpsville massacre'..." The Tories had already granted their Unionist friends internment of political prisoners and mass savage attacks throughout the country. But this would not be enough for the Tories.

**STRENGTH**

"The full strength of the working class movement should be mobilised to make the Tory government resign," the Workers Press warned. "Otherwise Sharpeville in Ulster is on the way."

The warning of Workers Press became tragically true on Jan. 30, 1972. Thirteen Irish workers were gunned down on a peaceful demonstration on "Bloody Sunday." By British troops—the same British troops the Stalinists and revisionists had claimed were necessary to prevent a pogrom. But the next step for the Tories was to suspend the totally discredited regime of Unionist Prime Minister Faulkner. What the Irish people had refused to accept and Stalinists had been calling for was granted—direct Tory rule.

We support the Provos in the battle of defense against British imperialism. But at the same time we record that only the Trotskyist movement can lead the Ulster workers to victory in a common struggle with British workers against capitalism in England and Ireland.
The Labor Committee is one of those groups which builds its politics on the basis of middle class struggle—but it is not a class struggle and but an ad hoc amongst others which will not determine the fate of humanity. Normally we have only one thing in common—their matters but their latest intrigues are not to be trusted. TV screen—comedy that is. Even Alfred Hitchcock would have a hard time beating the surprise ending to this one.

According to the Labor Committee's paper, their latest adventure into cops and robbers occurred on the Sunday evening of the recent conference of the Trade Unions For Action and Democracy, where they had set up a pickup tax.

"So few people had turned out for the Sunday TRM sessions that Labor Committee picket captains wondered whether the CP had removed the conference elsewhere to escape the embarrassment (1) of the picket line. Accordingly, mistake making the Wohlfurt delegation for a joint Hashville-CP group, one picket captain hailed a member of theross Wohlfurt through his group through six dollars worth of Chicago's South Side Wohlfurt & Company (frantically) (1) attempted to shake the tail (1)."

Needless to say the Labor Committee's Sherlock Holmes wasted six dollars as the Workers League's members were not trying to "shake the tail" but get to a Pancake House for breakfast before the conference began.

"We've got to talk to Bella about strategy." And the heavens thundered, the ground shook and the waves of Miami reached.

"It is now being said that no other than Henry Kissinger made an 11th hour call out to Fischer to urge him to play the third game for the sake of "America's Honor." It was Kissinger who masterminded the "ping pong" diplomacy of Nixon's trip to Peking and to Moscow. If Fischer loses now, they can't be thought of like a question of diplomacy."

"We've got to talk to Bella about strategy." And the heavens thundered, the ground shook and the waves of Miami reached.

"The position of labor over the years on the labor party has been very ambiguous. We didn't want to expel all of our energy running a labor party trying to run the country, when we were able to do it."

"We are tired of the politicians who demeuse big labor and labor bosses on Monday, and then come to us on Tuesday with their hands outstretched."

"We're afraid of people who are more concerned with their own interests than with the interests of America, despite our dissatisfaction with conditions, a better condition than workers have in any other part of the world."

"But if we get to the point when we can no longer bring those workers to the issue of America under the present two party system, you can bet your life we will seriously consider a labor party."

"Under pressure from reporters, he stated that he wouldn't vote for either George McGovern or Hubert Humphrey, and Newson and Meany then added "I only wish Norman Thomas were alive.""

Pennsylvania Young Socialists held statewide outing in Bethlehem last Saturday. Lecture and discussion centered around the problems with issues like war, economy, and the last one was for the issue of the Commonwealth Party."

ABE'S SPEECH TO THE CONVENTION

By DAVID NORTHR

All but the labor delegates listen in stony silence as I.W. Abel denounced McGovern and the Democrats in the strongest terms heard from the leader of a major union since John L. Lewis broke with Roosevelt in 1940.

"The three-minute speech delivered shortly before George McGovern won the presidential nomination, has received almost no mention in the capitalist press."

"We've got to talk to Bella about strategy." And the heavens thundered, the ground shook and the waves of Miami reached.

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INTERVIEW WITH I.W. ABEL

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56 And Unemployed—Caught In The Vise Of Aerospace Crisis

PALO ALTO—The following is an interview with a 56 year old worker who began working in the aerospace industry in 1940, and was suddenly thrown out of work in 1966 when his plant closed down.

BULLETIN: Where were you working?
Aerospace Worker: Hiller Aircraft in Palo Alto. I started work there in 1932, constructing helicopters from the Army and Navy. I worked on the engine line, putting the engine and all the components together.

BULLETIN: Where did the plant close down?
Aerospace Worker: It was closed down in February of 1966.

BULLETIN: When it closed down, did the company give any notice?
Aerospace Worker: Yes, we knew that they were going to close it down to Monterey, Maryland. Fairfield bought them out. Some of our people went over there, not too many. Seventy of them. It took them six months to make the layoff. It was a very difficult time for people to stay over there. Finally they laid us off. We went to New York, one by one to California.

BULLETIN: How many men were employed at the plant?
Aerospace Worker: Everyone lost their jobs, about 150.

BULLETIN: What were the conditions and wages at the plant where you worked?
Aerospace Worker: The conditions were pretty good.

BULLETIN: But when it came down to it, they closed it down and threw everybody out on the streets?
Aerospace Worker: Well, that's right.

BULLETIN: Someone told me since 1966, your experience looking for a job?
Aerospace Worker: I worked for Pan Am first and then moved over to Eastern. I thought I left in 1966 that to go back to Pan Am would be the same old thing. I'd have to catch up on the people. I don't know anything about them. So I went down to San Diego and Dulles, for about three months, in building maintenance. At that time they had 400 people on the payroll, then they were merged with SCM.

BULLETIN: Everything was going fine for about four months, then all of a sudden they laid me off and I have been looking for work ever since. I've been looking and making applications here and there. There are many contracts for building maintenance.

BULLETIN: Have you been able to get any job?
Aerospace Worker: No. I've been caught in the middle. I can't work for one company for two years and they lay me off. I worked for another company for six months. They folded. I worked for another company for a short time and they folded too. One day you come out to make an application and they ask you the reason why and you put down layoff and layoff and layoff. It's not my fault, because the running of the jobs just seems to last so long and that's it.

I have some applications now and I'm waiting. They told me they'd call me up. I want to see one of them the other day. She gave me confidence that there probably be something waiting for me. I made the application out and the year off it will then take two weeks before they can process it. I'm waiting. I'm looking for a job to be patient and wait for a job. So I called her up. I don't know if the people in that department saw my age there and figured I was too old for the job. Because I'm 66 years old.

When you're past 46 nowadays, it seems the chances for a job are pretty slim. I look at the board at unemployment, but the problem is that in building maintenance, you want a fellow to do building maintenance work, they want him to paint, they want him to do electrical work, they want him to do plumbing, they want him to do air conditioning. You have to be able to do five or six jobs and do them well, all of them, before you get the job. And then they only want to pay you about $150 an hour.

I'm getting very discontented over the whole thing. I've been paying my taxes, the same as everybody else, and just because I'm reaching a certain age, there should be something there for me to do.

BULLETIN: What has it been like, making do over these last eight years?
Aerospace Worker: Well I had money, but I've been taking money out of the bank to support my family. But that money I had put away, I had thought I put it away for when I would be retired. But I'm taking it now, so when I'm going to be retired what am I going to do with this keeps up?

BULLETIN: What kind of pension plan do you have?
Aerospace Worker: It won't be too good, because we didn't start until the last eight years I was at Hiller. When you're 65 it's going to go to a few more dollars. Because at the way the dollar has been devalued, it's just nice to have a little extra. That's what I have spending on it. And I pay my money out of it and I'm a little bit ahead on it for these few years.

The pay I get any price for a loaf of bread as a millionaire pays for it. I pay my taxes, but some years are baserats, they always seem to have a loophole. But there's no loophole for me.

BULLETIN: What sort of change has it made in your life not being able to work?
Aerospace Worker: I used to have to go to see a doctor because I had a nervous stomach. I now work in the industry. I want to be working too. I went back to work for 30 weeks when I replaced one fellow at SCM who was laid off. I had to make up for their work. But because I was working again.

The unemployment taught on TV, we have six million people out of work. There should be something done about it immediately. It has been going on too long. We have just been slowly, slowly creeping up. But with the new businesses and big industries, and everyday there's a merger there's a problem. It's a write off for a lot of these people when they don't act their business, it's a write off for me.

BULLETIN: In this economic year, what do you think the conditions are who running have to offer to people like yourself?
Aerospace Worker: The politicians always paint a nice picture, what they're going to do, how they're going to do it, and vote for you and me and you won't be. And after they're elected, you don't hear too much from them. We ought to be going to Congress and be able to help us, not just the top man, the one at the top. The people who work for the people that's making this whole United States.

BULLETIN: It was the Democrats who passed the legislation which enabled Nixon to enter the presidency and the Congressional leaders had raised a peep about the Pay Board's cuts in contracts, including aerospace, what kind of leverage do you think the Democratic or Republican?
Aerospace Worker: It's hard to say what too much in either Democrats or Republican. Whoever is in power, the government always seems to have their way and if they want to do, and you have to like it. I think there should be a radical change in the whole thing.

BULLETIN: Recently the Minnesota Central Labor Council has charged the labor movement to break from the Democrats and Republicans and construct its own, independent union.

Aerospace Worker: I think that would be a good idea.

BULLETIN: We think that a mass movement for a labor party could be constructed today, and that such a labor party would be able to fight for certain policies. Full employment, an end to all war, a peaceful foreign policy, increasing working conditions?

Aerospace Worker: I believe that the age of retirement, instead of 65, should be dropped down too. I don't think they take a man because he's over 60. O.K., if they don't want to hire him, why don't they retire him? Why don't they drop the retirement down to 55? But retire with an honest retirement, not peanuts.

Godfrey Men invade North American Rockwell

BAY AREA YOUNG SOCIALISTS hold party recently to raise money to help build the YS.

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—When GM boss, Joseph Godfrey, launched his cost-cutting program in 1959, he speeded up and all-out union-busting against the UAW he was pointing the way for other corporations.

Nowhere have the brutal methods of intensive exploitation developed at GM been more clearly validated than in the North American Rockwell aerospace industry.

Burlington begat the drive with a labor program that saw its累累 employment decline from a high of 10,000 in 1959 to 6,000 in 1965. This was accompanied by a campaign to extract every possible dollar from the workers.

"We found for example that a man was at his place of work only 36 percent of the time. He was working as a "nonproduction" worker," says President.

"He was going around to get tools, to do parts, to see the foremen from some modification engineer, to do nothing but build airplanes."

Under Godley's reorganization, Boeing claims that it has actually been increasing time at work to about 70 percent. Now North American Rockwell is taking the lead and it's no accident that the new methods are not only being copied from Detor, but are being introduced by auto industry.

North American's chairman and chief executive, William W. Rockwell Jr., former head of a Pittsburgh based auto industry supplier has lured on as president Robert Anderson a 35 year Chrysler man and Wallace B. Booth, a 25 year Ford man, as vice-president for finance.

CHECK UP

Anderson and Booth are introducing "operations analx" which includes intensive checkups on performance for all sales and production targets against rigid one-year plans with "corrective action" taken against any deficiencies.

North American Rockwell itself was produced as a merger between an automotive supply company and North American Aviation Inc. in 1957. "You don't get tougher control techniques than those of the auto industry," says James A. Boudoir aero- space analyst for Milchem, Jones and Temple.

"North American Rockwell has been able to apply them to a job shop."

DRIVING

North American is driving to produce below contract cost estimates. It has already received $5 million from the Air Force as an award for savings on the Minuteman III missile.

North American is bringing off these savings by reducing employment from 250,000 in 1967 to a present 73,400. Almost half of the executives and their secretaries have gotten the axe as well.

The grim reality behind these statistics are the leading aerospace stocks which dividends and dividends are the same as that in the auto industry. Reliability and safety go out the window as operations are geared to maximum speed. The three astronauts killed at Ellington and problems with the electronics are being used equipment provided by North American.

EXPLOSIONS

What the internalized "corrective action" means is that aerospace workers face a future on the job, if they are still working, very similar to that of workers in the auto plants. Big explosions are on the agenda in aerospace as well.

Another ominous sign for North America's workforce is that Godfrey and Anderson, well aware of the dim prospects for an auto labor party, are seeking to diversify into other fields such as the manufacture of small desk calculators. They have already switched into aerospace and electronics which presently account for a large percentage of sales but only a small percentage of profits.

B-3

Indeed, there is already talk at North American that if the company fails to get the Bell Helicopter contract that they are seeking the only space program on the agenda to save them. In the meantime, Ellington, Burbank, and Downey are numbered. As is the past the lives and jobs of North American workers is on the line, for very little in the decisions made by the " DRIVE" movement are binding on the workers.

If the auto "experts" have their way the next Lordstown and Norwood will be at North American, unless aerospace workers must prepare now to force the UAW and IAM to mobilize behind the defense of their jobs and contracts.
Los Angeles Trade Unionists Consider Labor Party

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Los Angeles—Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy voted that the Los Angeles section of the Union will meet this time on July 15. The meeting, which drew approximately 60 trade unionists, was called to present reports on the St. Louis Labor for Peace Conference and the Chicago Peace Conference.

From beginning to end, the meeting was marked by the straightforwardness of the unionists, who were supporters of the Workers League, in a fight for the independence of the working class through the construction of a labor party. This struggle threw the organizers of TUAD, who are influenced by the American Communist Party, into a desperate attempt to prevent a political discussion from taking place.

The TUAD conference in Chicago on July 3 revealed the sharpening crisis of the Stalinists in the face of the expanding class struggle and their efforts to restrict that struggle to pressuring the Democrats. This crisis was expressed more sharply in L.A. because of the concrete context of the split now developing between the labor movement and the Democratic Party.

According to the CP reporters, the Labor for Peace Conference was a blow to the Moscow-Lenin stone section of the labor bureaucracy. They went so far as to claim that the bureaucrat overtures of the CP vote for a strike against the war was only a tactical maneuver with leaders such as Harry Bridges holding out for more time to be prepared.

FIGHT

There was no mention of the fight for the labor party which dominated the conference, a fight which speaker after speaker was forced to at least imply, if not enough, the report did not even see fit to mention that TUAD itself had been forced to condemn the bureaucratic handling of the Labor for Peace Conference.

The report on the TUAD conference was a model of CP falsification. The speaker boasted of its broad representation and its determination to exert pressure on the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy. He claimed that a motion for a labor party was overwhelmingly defeated because the demand for a labor party was the most amazing, the strongest against racism in a fight for a political movement that could be built at this time.

When a supporter of the labor party demand rose to challenge these reports and to explain why the fight for a labor party, which represented the real needs of the working class, was at the very center of these conferences he was ruled out of order by the chairman.

Precisely at this point when the struggle for the independence of the working class had to be taken forward, a member of the factional Socialists rose to obscure the central issues. Challenged in his right to speak because he was not a trade unionist, this centrist sought to disrupt the entire meeting by a demand over the right of non-unionists to speak. His role was to provide the Stalinists with a cover to obscure the question of the fight for power by the working class.

Refusing to be diverted, the speakers supporting the Workers League continued the fight for the labor party. At each point the chairman intervened and ruled them out of order insisting that only questions could be asked.

MOVEMENT

The real movement of the working class was brought out sharply when an auto worker from the Southgate plant came forward to say that his union local had endorsed a labor party in 1936 and that now was the time to carry out the task of its construction.

The Stalinists then rose to attack him for bringing the struggles of the past into the present, insisting that he was living 15 years ago. At the time when the real lessons of the past were being brought forward, some of the very people who acted in the past to prevent the construction of a labor party once again sought to obstruct this development.

Spokesmen for the Stalinists proceeded to heap abuse on all the labor officials, particularly I.W. Abel, who were in a class with the Democratic Party maintaining that the Unionists should restrict themselves to the narrow and petty-bourgeois demands of the moment.

Despite these harassment, the trade union supporters of the Workers League made it absolutely clear that if the TUAD was determined to fight for a section-wide participation in Labor for Peace the League supported that fight without conditions. The chairman was so desperate that he was reduced to saying that he was being a racist for daring to challenge the chair.

The chairman refused to put the issue to the body for a vote for fear of being outvoted. The demands from the floor were so clear that the Stalinists finally had to agree to allow the Workers League to put forward the case for a labor party for five minutes without interrup-

Struggle Continues Over Safety At Milpitas Ford

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MILPITAS—The militancy of the Local 560 ranks exploded once more when 200 spray painters on the right shift staged a wildcat, bringing out the entire shift and shutting down production at the Ford Assembly plant in Milpitas.

The 560, a labor party local, had launched a nine-day strike Monday after a 27-day strike which forced Ford to guarantee to paint booths and safety grievances which the company had for as long as two years.

At the center of the strike was the demand by the spray painters that Ford clean up the paint booths and provide decent ventilation. In a vain drive to cut costs, Ford had reduced maintenance crews by half, permitting the paint booth to become virtual ovens in which the men could barely breathe.

Returning to work in the middle of a record breaking heat wave, the painters found the booths absolutely unchanged and simply re-

We were on a damn strike for 30 days. We go right back and it’s even worse. That paint booth where I work—You can’t stand the heat. You’ve got to put vaseline on your neck—because the paint and everything is unbearable.

CRIPPLING

The wildcat threw the local leadership into a complete crisis. Another strike would have been a crip-

The summary remarks of the TUAD leadership were directed entirely at the Workers League and the labor party in the tradition of Stalinist distortion. They claimed that TUAD did not endorse McGever when speaker after speaker had urged support for him.

They lied outright claiming that the support for the labor party was overwhelming when in reality it was 59-40.

The conference at this point was clear the farce for the working class struggle against the Stalinists and centrist.

This fight was the beginning of a struggle that will lead to the rapid development of the Union in Southern California.

a painter who told the Bulletin: “You see, they figured that we were going out and now were taking. So when we came back they could give us anything and we’d take it. They sneak out differ-

STRENGTH

Throughout the auto industry, similar explosions are taking place at the ranks of the class against the plans of the bosses, spelled out recently by GM head Joe Goffey, to break the UAW.

This is what is behind the crisis of the labor bureaucrats like Abel and McGever who are being put to the point of an open break with the two parties of big business.

But there must be no illusions that the methods of the back-stabbing bureaucrats who con-

LEADERSHIP

What is required is a new lead-

a unit hunting driving led by the government itself.

In the face of the tremendous strength and determination of the ranks here to break Ford’s attempt to bring the union conditions summed up forward.