

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Special Report
On SWP
Convention

Page 12

VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER FORTY-EIGHT (208)

AUGUST 23, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

SMASH NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE

Page 3 & 6



Above: Steelworkers in Gary, Indiana buy Bulletins while waiting for unemployment benefits. Below: Gary's unemployed youth express their willingness to fight for jobs.



FIGHT YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

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**Four Page Feature
On The Spot
Account Of
Civil War
In Ulster**

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USSR-India Aim Deal At Bengalis

BY MELODY FARROW

All the scurrying back and forth between Indian and Soviet diplomats during the last week has resulted in a "20 year friendship pact" between the two countries.

This cynical and disgusting deal being touted by the Soviet Union as a pact of "peace and cooperation" with "socialist" India unrelated to the struggle in Bangla Desh is in actuality the final stab in the back against Bangla Desh. Three days after the treaty was signed the key part of it was revealed as a provision that India would not recognize Bangla Desh as she had reportedly planned to



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

do August 9th. A joint statement worked out between the Soviet Union's Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and India declared "firm conviction that there can be no military solution and considered it necessary that urgent steps be taken in East Pakistan for the achievement of a political solution and for the creation of conditions of safety for the return of the refugees to their homes."

Bangla Desh is referred to as East Pakistan. There is absolutely no mention of independence for Bangla Desh, the overwhelming demand of the Bengali people.

The Stalinists of the Soviet Union were in a rush to sign the treaty which also provides for mutual assistance in case of attack, to head off the development of war between West Pakistan and India. Such a war could easily spark a revolutionary uprising throughout the entire sub-Asian continent, threatening to



Workers League contingent fights for independence for Bangla Desh at Stalinist dominated rally at UN.

sweep away all the reactionary regimes of Gandhi and Khan.

The Stalinists also see the treaty as a bolstering of their bargaining position with the United States based on their stand of "peaceful co-existence."

Indira Gandhi was coming under increasing pressure to move on the question of Bangla Desh. Belligerent Pakistan troops stand on the border between East and West Bengal. On August 9th one million Indian workers and peasants demonstrated in New Delhi in support of the fight for Bangla Desh. Although this demonstration was called by Ghandi's New Congress Party to support the treaty, the tremendous mobilization of the Indian masses has frightened the Indian bourgeoisie to death.

The Soviet-India treaty can only mean a sharp turn to the right by Gandhi and increased repression against the Indian people.

The struggle of the Bengali people has thrown all the counter-

revolutionary plans of Stalinism and imperialism into crisis and they are desperately trying to pick up the pieces again.

TRIAL

Yahya Khan has decided to go ahead with the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League which won 167 seats in last December's elections to the West Pakistan parliament.

There is no news of the outcome of the trial, scheduled for August 11th, which was to be held in a secret military court.

One thing is certain. Dictator Khan has failed to force Rahman,

jailed since March 26th, to agree to a deal and has now decided to proceed with his murder.

The Stalinists of the Soviet Union are trying to hide behind the cover of "humanitarian appeals for aid" to cover up their behind the scenes maneuvers.

The so-called "Friends of East Bengal" in New York, dominated by the Communist Party through the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice held a rally in New York on August 14th.

The rally attracted barely 100 people because these "friends" intentionally refused to work with the Bengali organizations in New

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MPI Turns Toward Electoral Coalition

BY MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

Recent declarations by Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI), and other leaders of the MPI, as well as writings in MPI's newspaper *Claridad*, indicate the possibility that the MPI will participate in the 1972 elections as part of an electoral bloc with the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueno.

This is part of a whole rapprochement with the PIP, which is an openly bourgeois and reformist formation.

This discussion on the question of electoral action is part of the "transformation" of the MPI into a "revolutionary socialist" party which will take place at their coming National Conference in November.

It is significant that the MPI is taking this turn at this time, which is marked by an intensification of the class struggle internationally and in Puerto Rico, where landless peasants and workers have been seizing tracts of land belonging to either the government or large landowners.

STRIKES

The peasants and workers have built communities of poorly built houses in these tracts. The reaction of the government has been to brutally remove the "invaders" and tear and burn down their houses. There has also been an intensification of strike activity among the working class.

But the policy of blocking with the PIP for the elections is an open betrayal of the interests of the working people in Puerto Rico.

It is not a question of whether or not to participate in elections. Traditionally, the more militant sections of the independentist

movement in Puerto Rico, have boycotted elections and participation in them was considered "counterrevolutionary."

The PIP split from the Nationalist Party, headed by Albizu Campos, in the late 1940s precisely on this question. For these groups, including the MPI, the boycotting of elections was a strategic question and was really only the other side of the coin of the PIP's reformism.

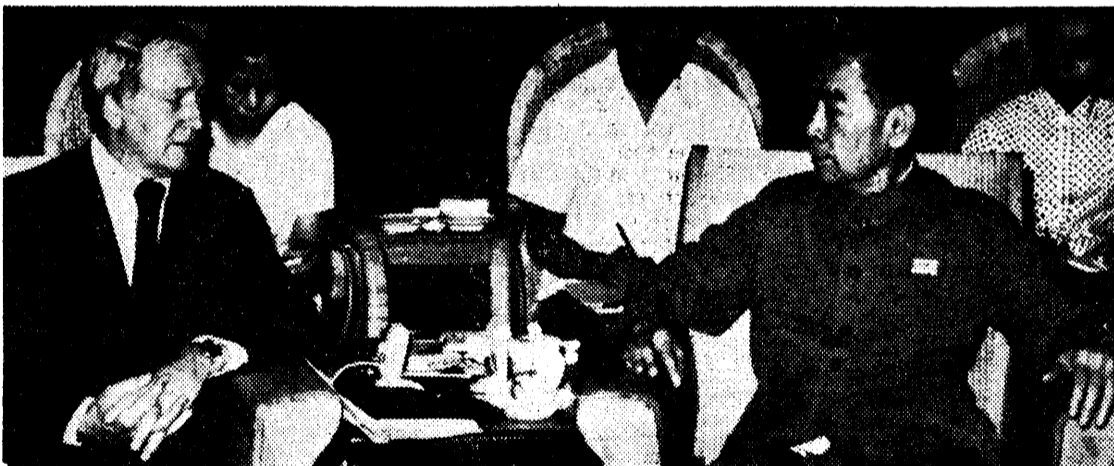
COALITION

For a revolutionary party, on the other hand, the question of participating in the electoral process is a tactical one, dependent on the particular circumstances at a certain period and if this participation advances the struggle of the working class. What is of strategic importance is fighting to maintain the political independence of the working class, through the program of the revolutionary party, even while participating in the electoral process.

But it is precisely this fight for the political independence of the working class that the MPI is boycotting. This approach towards the PIP on the question of electoral action is one more step taken by the leadership of the MPI towards the coalition politics that has led only to the defeat and massacre of the working people. It flows from the MPI's perspective of achieving independence first and then, sometime in the future, socialism.

The Workers League was attacked by MPI for raising these questions before, only to have the MPI leadership itself now confirm our warnings. This raises in a sharper way the need to fight against the policies pushed by the MPI. Only through this fight will the revolutionary party be built in Puerto Rico and amongst the Spanish-speaking population in the United States.

CHINA ANXIOUS FOR TALKS



James Reston (left), of the New York Times, speaks with Chou En-lai in preparation for new deals.

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

In preparation for Nixon's visit to China, the Chinese leadership has been lavishly entertaining a number of American journalists. The obvious purpose of these visits is to create an atmosphere of "friendship" between the U.S. rulers and the Mao bureaucracy.

Recently Chou En-lai held a rather lengthy discussion with James Reston on the upcoming talks with Nixon. Reston, of course, is not just any journalist but is a vice president and major commentator for the *New York Times*, voice of the Eastern big bourgeoisie.

In the interview Chou made clear the desire of the Chinese leadership to come to terms with US imperialism. The *Times* itself said the following about the interview in its editorial of August 10th:

"Even a preliminary study of

the wide ranging interview Premier Chou En-lai gave James Reston makes plain that the Chinese leader is anxious to present himself as a reasonable man—one with whom negotiations could be fruitful—although publicly he is not retreating a single step from his country's longheld positions. It is hard to read the interview without suspecting that there is more flexibility in Peking's positions than is conveyed by its propaganda slogans. Such hints, of course, can only encourage President Nixon as he prepares for his historic negotiations."

While Chou maintained that there could not be any deal worked out in the United Nations on the basis of two Chinas, he expressed the "flexibility" of the Chinese bureaucracy on the question of the Vietnam war. Vietnam, he said, is the "most urgent question."

While Chou claimed that the leadership would not become the

mediators in the Vietnam war, it is clear that it is prepared to exert tremendous pressure on the NLF for a settlement. What the Maoist leadership has in mind for Vietnam was revealed in Chou's proposals for a solution in Korea.

"To solve the Korean question, a way should be found to bring about a rapprochement between the two sides in Korea and to move toward a peaceful unification of Korea. That of course requires time. But this demand is reasonable."

This "rapprochement" to be achieved peacefully can only mean one thing in both Korea and Vietnam—that is the sacrifice of the years of struggle of the workers and peasants against imperialism and the setting up of a coalition government which will maintain the interests of capitalism in Southeast Asia.

So anxious is the Maoist leadership for a deal with the US

(Continued On Page 14)

Nixon Puts Freeze On Wages

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The devaluation of the dollar combined with Nixon's frontal wage freeze on the American labor movement draws to a final close the era of postwar prosperity and relative class peace that world capitalism had enjoyed for nearly 25 years. The capitalist clock is now being turned back to 1929 and the 1930s.

The economic measures were forced upon Nixon by the rapid deterioration of the position of the U.S. dollar in the days prior to his Sunday television announcement.

See editorial on the fight back against Nixon's freeze Page 6.

They include devaluation of the dollar, the imposition of a 90 day wage-price freeze and the imposition of a 10% surcharge on most imports entering the U.S.

Nixon effectively devalued the dollar by announcing Sunday night that the United States would no longer continue its commitment to back up its paper currency with gold. This now has the effect of floating the U.S. dollar on the world exchanges. After a certain period of fluctuation it will presumably find a new level now anticipated at 10 to 15% below its current rate.

No Trial For Kent Murders

BY ED SMITH

Nixon's Attorney General John Mitchell has announced that the government has no intention of prosecuting the murderers of the four Kent State students, shot by the National Guard while protesting Nixon's Cambodia invasion on May 4th last year.

Mitchell, while stating he agreed with the Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest which found the killings "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable," stated: "There is no credible evidence of a conspiracy between National Guardsmen to shoot students on the campus," and anyway, "there is no likelihood of successful prosecutions of individual Guardsmen."

Mitchell did not speculate on the prospects for the 25 Kent State students and faculty still under indictment for a crime of which everyone knows they are innocent.

Mitchell concludes this exercise in pious hypocrisy thus: "We can only hope that any type of recurrence can be avoided by this experience..."

In other words, we can stop the murder of workers and students if only we let the executioners go free!

No militant student or worker will be fooled a moment by the blood-stained rationalizations of this hack of Nixon's. The real task is to bring to justice the men behind Kent State and the whole war against the working class at home and abroad—Nixon and the entire capitalist class.

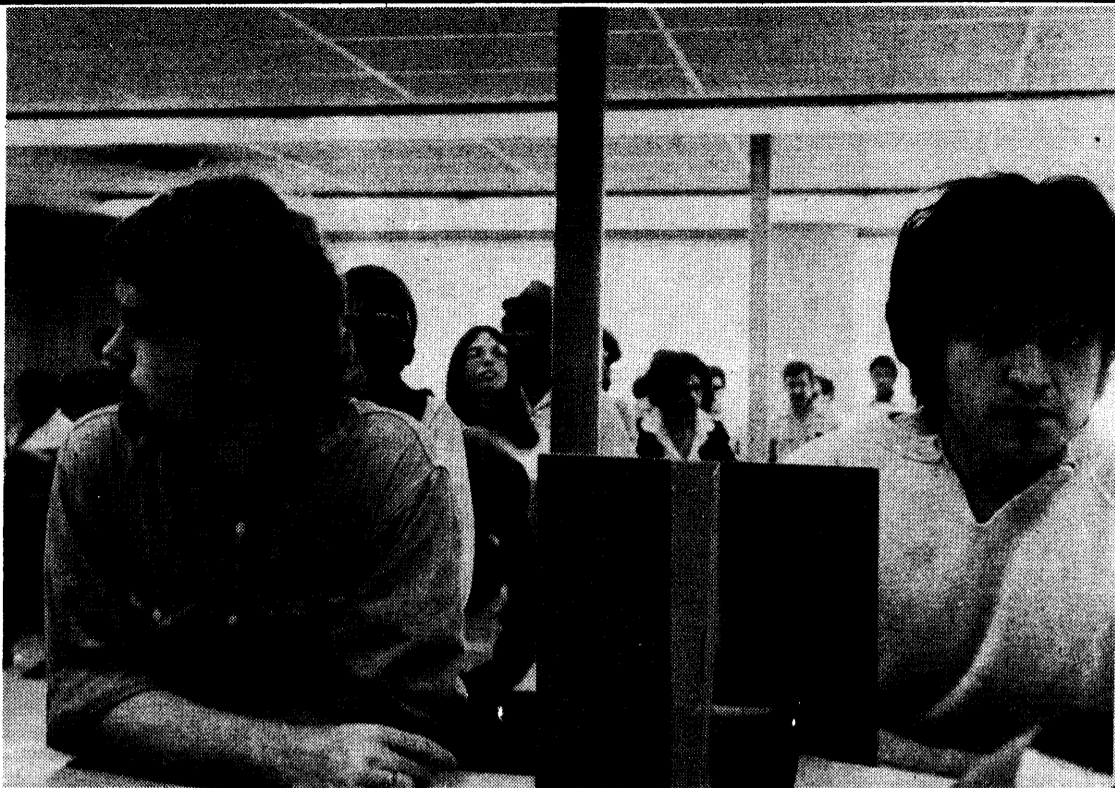
The wage freeze announced by Nixon officially blocks all new wage increases for 90 days. It halts all pay increments already negotiated and due to go into effect during this 90 day period. It activates the Office of Emergency Preparedness to enforce these measures with fines of up to \$5,000 and injunctions and establishes a Cost of Living Council which will submit recommendations to Nixon for the continuation of controls. This is expected to take the form of a wage-price board at the end of the 90 days.

The 10% surcharge imposed by

Miners Strike Over Wage Freeze

In what will undoubtedly be only the first in a series of many more such actions to come, some 300 United Mine Workers employees of U.S. Steel's coal cleaning plant walked off the job in protest against Ni-

xon's wage freeze announcement. The men are among the 500,000 U.S. workers whose pay increases Nixon wants to eliminate during his 90 day "temporary" wage freeze.



Two unemployed steelworkers wait bitterly for benefits at the unemployment center in Gary, Indiana.

Nixon against imports covers virtually all goods other than those like coffee that are already duty free and those like sugar which are already limited by quotas.

In addition to these measures Nixon also announced a series of tax revisions giving U.S. big business a fat 10% tax investment credit to purchase new "productivity" inducing machinery. This is to be paid for by slashing 5% of all federal jobs. Some 100,000 workers will

be thrown out into the streets.

ASSAULT

These measures constitute the opening of the most brutal assault that American capitalism has launched against the American working class in 30 years.

At the same time they constitute the most concerted drive that has been undertaken against European capitalism and against the European working class.

The first prong of this attack, the imposition of a wage freeze against American labor, must now threaten to completely change the whole relationship between Nixon and the American trade union movement in the direction of open class warfare on the order of the 1930s.

Nixon's wage freeze is openly nothing but a naked attack on the unions on behalf of big business and the banks. This is sharply revealed in Connolly's arrogant

defense of the exemption of profits and dividends from this freeze and in the 32 point jump in the Dow Jones average on Monday. Wall Street is now reveling in the fact that Nixon has decided to take on the unions.

Nixon is demanding that millions of American workers whose living standards are being chewed up daily by inflation simply give up wage increases either already won or now due for, or even under, negotiation.

In New York City Lindsay has now broken off talks with firemen, sanitationmen and 43,000 members of District Council 37.

35,000 striking CWA workers in New York, who rejected the sellout contract voted by the national leadership, are being told they must return to work with no wage increase at all.

The same thing is being said to 500,000 more workers in coal, (Continued On Page 14)

Nixon-Wallace Attack Busing

BY FRED MUELLER

A major political crisis is brewing for the Nixon Administration over the issue of busing of school children to enforce desegregation. Behind this crisis is the open war against American workers.

Seventeen years after the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, dual school systems continue to exist through most of the deep South. At the same time de facto segregation based on housing patterns is on the rise in the North. Last April 20 the Supreme Court declared, in a long-awaited ruling, that busing was allowed unless the distances were so great as to possibly affect the health of the pupils or the educational process itself.

Instead of ending the busing controversy this decision has only fueled it. Alabama Governor Wallace, just days after announcing that he expected to run again for President in 1972, cabled President Nixon urging that he seek a court ruling that busing for purposes of desegregation is illegal. Nixon's response was his now well-known warning on August 11 that Government officials who sought to impose any more than the "minimum busing" required by law would be fired.

Presidential press secretary Ziegler said in reference to the officials charged with these responsibilities, "They are going to be responsive. And those who are not responsive will find themselves involved in other

assignments or quite possibly in assignments other than the Federal Government."



George Wallace is at work again.

Wallace was quick to respond to this overture. He announced that he would "try to help the President carry out his wishes." Therefore he ordered the transfer of a white student from a predominantly Black school 22 miles from her home to a white school nearby. He also ordered the opening of an all Black school previously ordered closed by the courts to further desegregation.

Said Wallace gleefully on tele-

vision: "The President and I are on the same side... Attorney General Mitchell is opposed to busing, and Mrs. Mitchell is also opposed to busing."

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Richardson is rumored to be considering resigning over this controversy and local school officials are in a state of total confusion. Just one month before the opening of the fall school year they have no idea what "minimum busing" means, or even whether buses already ordered will be paid for by the Federal Government.

The result of all the confusion is expected to be what the New York Times calls "a shift to complete nonenforcement" of school desegregation orders "since few officials will risk their careers by testing how little busing is too much."

Behind Nixon's demagogic appeal against busing is the tremendous crisis facing American capitalism as the 1972 election approaches.

The busing issue has become the focus for the organization of racist elements. Wallace is using the issue to prepare for 1972, to mobilize fascist elements with his demagogic attacks on big government and the Eastern establishment.

Nixon is moving right in behind Wallace. The political pundits claim he is seeking to minimize Wallace's support but it is very plain that the result of his adaptation to Wallace is en-

couragement for a Wallace campaign. And indeed Nixon wants to build up Wallace to keep one foot in the right wing to use as a bludgeon against the working class.

But it is much more than a matter of Nixon's election maneuvers. The crisis forces him sharply in the direction of Wallace. He is openly encouraging the racists for the big battles with the working class. The employers so faithfully represented by Nixon confront the working class by trying to deepen every division they can.

Nixon's utter contempt for the capitalist courts themselves is another sharp warning. This "law and order" President threatens those in the government who propose to implement court decisions! He openly moves to turn the clock back 17 years and more. These actions are part and parcel of Nixon's strategy of class war. Racism is used in the way religious bigotry is now used in Northern Ireland to prop up the capitalist order. These moves go hand in hand with Nixon's announcement of a wage freeze.

The labor movement must demand the outlawing of racism and the removal of all racial barriers. Nixon and Wallace and all the capitalist politicians must be fought with the full strength of the labor movement fighting to organize the unemployed and unite the working class in the construction of a labor party.

ILA Ranks Must Defy Pay Freeze

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW YORK—Contract negotiations between the International Longshoremen's Association and the shipowners begin on Wednesday, August 18 here in the midst of Nixon's announcement of a 90 day wage freeze.

This direct attack on the living standards of the working class immediately throws the ILA contract onto a new level. If the longshoremen are to win anything now, it will only be through an out and out political struggle against not only the shippers, but against the government itself.

The maneuvers of Gleason, Scotto and the rest of the ILA bureaucracy must be seen with this in mind. For months, Gleason has been insisting that the ILA would not strike under any circumstances while at the same time, under pressure from the ranks, the ILA put forward a series of important demands, including a \$7.50 an hour base for wages.

SCABBING

Now the contradictions between these two promises that Gleason has made come into the sharpest conflict. The strike will have to be a political strike against Nixon and will have to seek active support from the rest of the trade union movement. Thus again, another policy of Gleason's and Scotto's making becomes absolutely reactionary—that of scabbing consciously on the West Coast longshore strike.

The struggle of the ILWU will now have an immediate and direct affect on the ILA. There could very well be a nationwide

longshore strike as of September 30th.

But everything Gleason does now will be in order to prevent such a happening. He would like nothing better than to abide by Nixon's wage freeze, thus taking himself off the hook of a strike struggle which could throw him and his crew overboard.

CAUCUS

These developments more than ever require the building of a leadership in the ILA which can fight back against the employers' and government's assaults.

The initiative now taken by longshoremen in the Port of New York to build a rank and file caucus therefore becomes of critical importance.

The recently formed Committee for a Decent Contract (CDC) intends to force the ILA into a struggle with Nixon and the shipowners and to actually fight for the basic needs of the rank and file.

The CDC has made the following demands in a recent leaflet which the ILA must win in the upcoming contract:

- \$7.50 per hour base pay, \$11.25 p/h 3-5 p.m. After 5 p.m., double time.
- One year contract
- Extend the guarantee to all men—increased as the average wage increases
- Vacation—4 weeks after 1

year, 6 weeks after 5 years, 8 weeks after 10 years

- Benefits—full benefits for all men including pensioners, regardless of seniority. Full hospital coverage for all men and their families.

- 20 years and out at \$500 per month, regardless of age—pro-rated for any member with 10 years of service or more, increased as cost of living increases

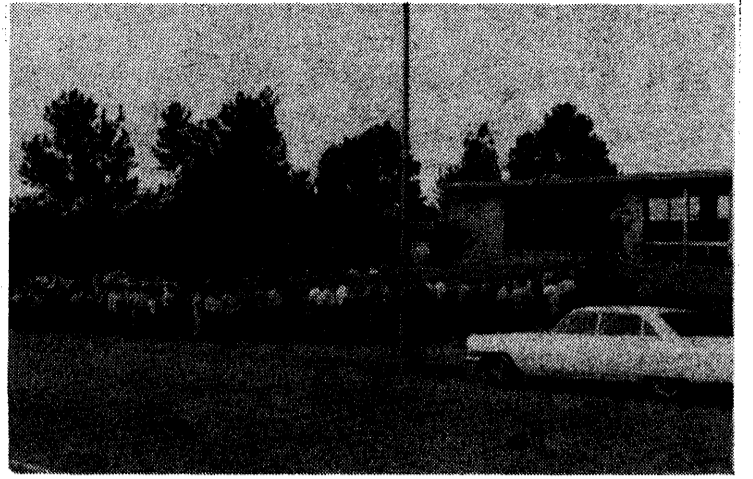
- No cut in gang size regardless of cargo handled
- 3% per ton divided among men as automation bonus.

PARTY

The CDC must take up the political questions involved in Nixon's wage freeze. Only the full mobilization of the labor movement to defend the longshoremen's rights to a decent living can defeat Nixon.

If the shipowners cannot provide a decent standard of living and full employment they must be nationalized without compensation under the control of the workers.

The only way the ranks can fight Nixon is to build a labor party now.



Hundreds of laid off steel workers line up in Baltimore for benefits.

Productivity Deal Slashes Steel Jobs

BY DAN FRIED

Anger and frustration with the sellout contract signed by USWA President I.W. Abel continues among rank and file steelworkers throughout the country. This is expressed at the two largest plants of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, at Bethlehem, Pa. and at Sparrows Point, Baltimore, Md.

Five thousand out of 15,000 men at the Bethlehem, Pa., mill were on layoff in the second week following the signing of the con-

tract, not including the men on vacation. Although some re-calls are expected this week, many of the men including those with five to seven years seniority do not expect to be recalled until next March if at all.

It is clear that the company plans to use the clause on "productivity committees" to the hilt in their drive to make these layoffs permanent and to further reduce the work force. The company plan calls for the replacement of at least two of the remaining open hearth blast furnaces with another new Basic Oxygen Furnace by 1973, as was also done after the last contract.

At that time, the new B.O.F. was brought in, two open hearths were closed, and thousands of jobs were lost including many men not directly involved in the open hearths production such as firemen, carpenters, maintenance, labor pool, etc.

Now the company intends a repeat performance as part of its "productivity" drive which will reduce the mill to a shell of its former self. The employers have gotten the complete agreement for this from the Abel bureaucracy, an agreement which is spelled out in black and white in the national agreement or the establishment of productivity committees. The function of these joint management-labor committees is above all to prevent any revolt by the ranks against these productivity job cuts and speedup.

ROTTEN

The contract represents an attack on all steelworkers, in all areas of wages and conditions. As one worker, a shop steward in the beam yards who now finds himself on layoff, put it: "The last two contracts were rotten, but this one is even rottener. My take home pay now is less than it was in 1961". Along with many other men, he felt strongly that there still is no right to strike over grievances.

A certain amount of the anger and frustration is expressed by some workers who feel that they should now dump the USWA and affiliate with some other union such as the Teamsters or U.E., or form their own union. However, these moves would solve nothing for the workers. It would only be running away from the fight and

(Continued On Page 14)

Sirabella Runs For Mayor On The Bosses' Ticket

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—Vincent Sirabella, President of the New Haven Central Labor Council, recently launched his campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for mayor in New Haven.

With a long history of betrayal and class collaboration within the trade union, Sirabella now seeks to extend this role to the political life of the working class.

This move by Sirabella comes at a very critical time. New Haven and Connecticut as a whole are a virtual powder keg. In strike after strike the union leaderships have been pushed to the wall by the ranks. In three major strikes in New Haven in the last year the leadership has ended up in jail.

At the same time unemployment in Connecticut now at 10.1% is the third highest in the country. The over 140,000 unemployed is well beyond the highest figures recorded during the depths of the 1930s.

It is these developments which are proving the bankruptcy of liberalism and breaking up the illusion of the Democrats as the "friends of labor". It is this which strikes fear in Sirabella. His campaign is an attempt to cover over the fundamental class questions by trying to maintain that the problems facing workers and

youth can be ironed out through cooperation with the bosses.

So on the number one question of unemployment, Sirabella promises that he will "vigorously seek new businesses and industry for New Haven, lobby for the city's unemployed in Hartford and Washington and speak out on the issue." This is complete rubbish, and fine talk for a man who two months earlier gave away 400 jobs at Yale. When the Democrats and Republicans are busy slashing budgets in both Hartford and Washington, Sirabella proposes friendly discussions with the bosses.

Workers and youth must not be fooled by Sirabella. The Democratic and Republican parties remain the bosses' parties with or without Sirabella. These parties are based on the continued existence of capitalism which can only be accomplished by smashing the unions and taking back all the gains of the last 25 years.

Nixon's announcement of an immediate 90 day freeze on wages now poses the political questions sharply. Nixon is fully backed by the Democratic party in his endeavors.

The ranks of the labor movement and the youth must now take up the fight demanding that the Central Labor Council take up the fight against unemployment and wage freezing by breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties and building a labor party.



Sirabella speaks to workers during recent Yale strike which he sold out. Now he plans bigger sell outs as Democratic Mayor.

Duluth Steel Plant Slated For Closure

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DULUTH, MINN.—The officials of USWA Local 1028 are still calling Abel's sellout a "pretty good settlement," while their ranks bitterly point out the major flaw, "...except that we're not working."

UNEMPLOYMENT

Just over a hundred men are working now at the U.S. Steel Duluth Works, with more than 2,000 drawing unemployment checks. With average plant seniority at twenty-two years, most of those who are working have a work record of thirty-six or more years.

"It's really a lock-out," one steelworker told us. "We're all scattered now, out of touch." The company, and its union apologists, are counting on just that to ram through the contract which nowhere near meets the needs of the workers, and probably to shut down the plant completely.

The old, inefficient Duluth Works, under fire for years as one of Minnesota's major polluters, is obviously in line for closing under the steel bosses' plans to increase productivity by sacrificing thousands of jobs at plant after plant.

It will take a determined fight by Local 1028 to throw these plans back in the face of U.S. Steel. And a rank and file caucus is needed now to lead that fight. A campaign of meetings and demonstrations must be held around the central demand, "Everyone back, rescind the layoffs, reopen the contract."

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jones
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Workers League Proposes A Program To Fight Youth Unemployment

THE TREMENDOUS GROWTH of unemployment in the United States combined now with Nixon's wage freeze requires a program of struggle which will bring together the mass of unemployed youth with the trade unions against the bosses and their two parties. Below we print the program around which the Workers League is presently fighting to organize youth. We urge all youth to write in their suggestions for additions or changes in the program.

World capitalism now faces its deepest crisis. In order to preserve their profits and their whole system, the capitalists are trying to drive the working people back to the conditions of the 1930s, back into poverty and misery.

Nixon and all of the Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington and in the state legislatures have shown whose side they are on by slashing budgets which have meant huge cuts for education, welfare, jobs, and health services. At the same time they have continued their war in Vietnam.

The youth have felt the full brunt of these attacks. The attacks on jobs by the employers and the government have created massive unemployment among the youth. Millions of youth are thrown into the streets to face unemployment, the war, welfare or the police, courts and jails.

At the same time it has become apparent that these attacks are not isolated but hit out at all sections of the working class, the unions, the youth and the unemployed workers. We understand therefore that it is only as a unified class that the fight against these attacks can go forward.

There is only one way out and that is to take up the fight now against the government's attacks. We must organize the widest campaign among the youth in the schools, in the communities, in the offices and factories against unemployment and for demands which meet our needs and not the needs of the capitalists.

We must organize demonstrations raising these demands in a fight against the government.

We must join our fight with the fight of the unions which are today in a life and death struggle with the bosses and the government, refusing to take cuts in wages and loss of jobs. We must demand that the unions take up the fight of the unemployed and the youth making this a political struggle to form a party which fights for the interests of the working people, the youth, the unemployed and the minorities.

We must fight for this program and demand:

JOBS

- For full employment! Jobs for all!
- Real training in school under unions and student control. On the job training at union wages. All youth have the right to learn a meaningful trade.
- Unemployment benefits upon leaving school. The government must pay us until we find a job.
- Equal pay for equal work. No discrimination because of age.
- For the thirty hour week at forty hours pay to provide full employment.

EDUCATION

- For an education that prepares us for a job. Rather than cuts in education we must demand that billions of dollars be put into the schools for more schools, smaller classes and more activities.
- Students and teachers have a common enemy. We must give full support to the demands of the teachers and their right to union wages and working conditions.
- Students must be guaranteed all democratic rights, to hold meetings, to form organizations, to distribute leaflets and petitions



Left: Soldier opposes war: Right: Youth in the Brownsville section of NYC talk of jobs to Bulletin salesman.

in the schools without official harassment.

- No cops in the schools!
- For free higher education for all. Youth have the right to a living wage while they are going to school.

WAR

- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina.
- The war in Vietnam is a class war, it is a war against the workers and peasants in Indochina and the workers and youth in the U.S. We must demand that labor call a general strike against the war.
- We must give full support to the struggles of our brothers in the army against the war and against the brass.

RACISM

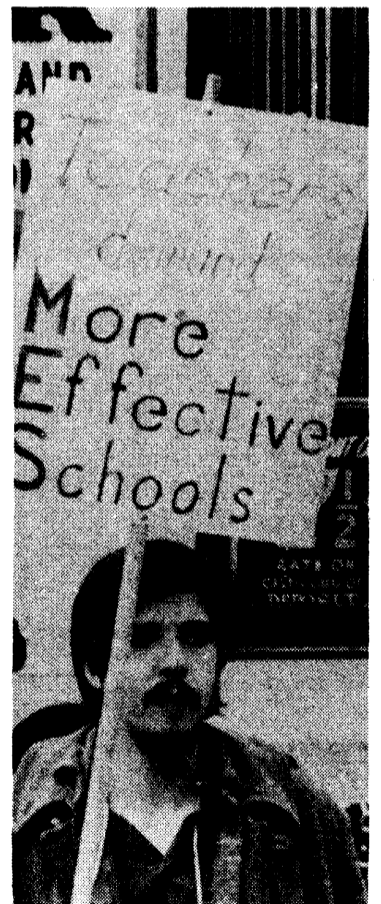
- No discrimination in pay. Minority workers must earn the same as white workers on the job. No discrimination in training, upgrading and working conditions.
- The unions must open their doors to all.

REPRESSION

- Free all political prisoners. The unions must take up the fight for all those victimized by the government.
- The employers and the government are now saying that in order for the corporations to make their profits wages must be cut and jobs must be slashed. We must answer this by saying that if they cannot provide a decent standard of life for all, then the working people will take over the industries and run them in their interests.

It is absolutely clear who is responsible for these attacks. It is the government and all the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties who rule in the interests of the big corporations and the banks. We must build our own party, a labor party, which is based on the power of the trade unions and a socialist program, which fights for the interests of youth, the employed and unemployed, the minorities against capitalism.

We must fight for the labor movement to call an assembly of labor, minorities and youth to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.



Teachers, youth unite for schools.

St. Louis Labor, Youth Hit Layoffs

BY JIM HAYS

ST. LOUIS—As a result of the growing economic recession of the capitalist system there have been massive layoffs in St. Louis area industries over the last few weeks.

Granite City Steel dismissed about 600 workers including 200 summer employees due to the surplus built up for the threatened

steel strike. Laclade Gas Company "locked out" 294 workers when the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union contract ran out on August 1st. The "laid-off" gas workers have been unable to collect unemployment compensation because the state claims they were fired due to "labor strife."

Instead of immediately calling a strike, the union bureaucracy has continued contract negotiations and taken up a sympathy

collection among union members for their "unemployed" brothers.

Meanwhile Wagner Electric Company faced with the "effects of a business slump," attempted to layoff a number of workers through changes in "work assignments." This was met with a massive wildcat strike by over 3,000 workers at Wagner's three St. Louis plants. The company, with the aid of the IUE bureaucracy, quickly obtained a court

order against this "illegal strike." Several Wagner employees have told the *Bulletin* that they considered the sellout contract rammed down the throats of the membership by the IUE leaders last year to be a sellout.

ANGRY

Youth unemployment is particularly high this summer and St. Louis Mayor Cervantes hoped to keep things "cool" by having the

Human Development Corporation create a few make-work "war on poverty" jobs for teenagers until schools open up again. However the job situation was so bad that the HDC was forced to hire many more youths than its meager budget would allow.

The youth were kept in the dark about the money shortage until

(Continued On Page 14)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Labor Must Smash Nixon's Wage Freeze

On Sunday night the lines of battle were drawn. Nixon, supported by every single politician in the Democratic and Republican parties, opened his guns against the American working class.

While the profits of the corporations are to soar, the wages of American workers are to be cut. Every instrument of the government will be used to insure this. Nixon's orders mean that there will be no more wage increases, government workers will join the millions already on the unemployment lines.

Not only have contract negotiations been called off, but Nixon's order denies the basic right of the unions to collectively bargain. This right was won by American workers after years of bitter struggle. The right of workers to organize and fight for their just demands, for a decent standard of life has been swept aside.

The ninety day limit is just the beginning. If Nixon's number is not called now, the wage freeze will be extended indefinitely. If he is not stopped now, it will mean the destruction of the trade unions and slavery for the working class, a return to the days before there were unions and worse.

Nixon has received the full support of the Democratic and Republican parties for the wage freeze including all those politicians the labor leaders claim are the "friends of labor." All the six "presidential hopefuls" in the Democratic Party agreed with the wage freeze.

McGovern the only announced candidate said the wage freeze was "four years overdue." Lindsay who has just made his switch to the Democratic party immediately suspended collective bargaining, saying that the wage freeze was a "step in the right direction."

Behind these politicians stand the big corporations and banks who they so faithfully serve. It is in their interests that they rule, not the interests of the working people. The whole purpose of Nixon's order is to protect the profits of these millionaires.

While workers' wages are slashed and federal employees thrown out of work, the corporations will get a big tax reduction to enable them to bring in new automated equipment to increase productivity and cut the work force. When Secretary of the Treasury Connolly was asked whether profits would be controlled, he replied "No." This is why the Stock Market soared the day after Nixon's announcement in anticipation of the profits that will flow in.

Mine workers in Gary, Indiana on Monday gave the answer to Nixon by walking off their job in defiance of these attacks. The labor movement will not allow its hard won gains to be wiped out.

The unions must not stop for one moment in the fight for decent wages and working conditions but must strike to win their just demands. The entire labor movement must defend the struggle of each and every union now by calling a general strike and shutting this country down.

We, the working people, must take up the fight immediately for a convocation of labor, minorities and youth to build a labor party which will represent our interests and throw the whole lot of the wage freezers out!



What we think

CP Flaunts Policy That Led To Sudanese Bloodbath

In the most disgusting display of cynicism the American Communist Party is using the heroic death of Sudanese Communist Party leader, Abdel Mahgoub, at the hands of the barbaric Numeiry regime to praise those very Stalinist policies which led to his execution.

In the August 14th issue of the Daily World the CP honors the "Hero of the Sudan" by printing a speech by Mahgoub to a meeting of "Communist and Workers Parties" in Moscow in 1969. This speech outlines the counterrevolutionary policy of the "national-democratic front," which was the basis for the Sudanese CP's support to and participation in the bourgeois Numeiry government. This opened the door to the bloodbath that is now sweeping the Sudan.

The editors of the Daily World say in their introduction to the speech: "The sham trial was abruptly terminated after Mahgoub's Dimitrovia stand, and after the prosecution's star witness, denied that he had seen Mahgoub at a meeting to plot the overthrow. Surviving Communist Party leaders told L'Humanite that 'the basic line of the Sudanese Communist Party was to create a front of democratic forces. Our party did not take part in the July 19 events.'"

Mahgoub and the other members of the Sudanese Communist Party were trained in the Stalinist school of class collaboration. He, as his speech clearly reveals, believed that

it was possible to co-exist peacefully with the Sudanese capitalist class and its armed forces in a "front of democratic forces." It was Dimitrov who after standing trial in fascist Germany enunciated this Popular Front perspective which led the working class into fascism and defeat in the 1930s.

But Mahgoub has paid for this fundamental political error with his life.

In Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Pakistan and Ceylon and now the Sudan the Stalinist policy of merging with the military-backed regimes has led to the torture and murder of millions. In Indonesia alone over one million communists were massacred as a result of this policy.

These disasters have not led to a change in the line of Stalinism. Instead the CP flaunts this line, wallowing in the blood of Mahgoub and his comrades.

Mahgoub's speech outlines the role of the Soviet bureaucracy: "Despite all the possibilities and internal resources of the Sudanese revolution, the material and moral support of the socialist camp plays the decisive role—above all in providing adequate conditions for preserving the new power and developing the revolution in the face of the counter-revolution and neo-colonialist intrigues."

The "material support" provided by the Soviet Union and East European bureaucracies was the machinery of terror and repression that has mowed down Suda-

nese CP members.

The "moral support" was the "socialist" cloak given to the Numeiry regime by the Sudanese CP and the Kremlin which played a big role in heading off a genuine left wing opposition in the early months of his regime.

Stalinism played the "decisive role" in the tragic events of today. The Kremlin could have saved Mahgoub's life. But the most it mustered were a few weak protests. The American CP contains a small box in this same article calling for protests to be sent to the United Nations while it defends the past policies which led to the present situation. What a fraud this is.

The Soviet bureaucrats and their faithful servants in the US could care less about the death of Mahgoub. What guides them is the preservation of the bureaucracy and its privileges against the offensive of the working class. Above all else they want to maintain their ties with the imperialists and the bourgeois nationalists.

The terrible lessons of the Sudan must be burned into the consciousness of every working class militant. The American CP's complete support to the policies which led to the Sudanese bloodbath mean only one thing—they are preparing the same defeats for the American working class.

It is only through the construction of the Trotskyist movement that imperialism and its willing Stalinist agents will be destroyed.

Editor's Notebook

The Guardian, after a flirtation with anarchist and Maoist trends and finally a split with such elements, has now settled down to its old game of tailing behind the American Communist Party politically. It is becoming more and more indistinguishable from the Daily World politically.

Having lost many of its older "progressive" readers through its political gyrations and the effects of age, it barely survives today without a real base and with a tainted and borrowed political perspective.

The Guardian has not found

time to even report the events in East Pakistan and the role of Mao in support of the repression of the Bengalis. Likewise it has refused to take any stand on the bloody repression of youth in Ceylon by a coalition government supported by both China and Moscow. More recently it reports on Numeiry's bloody repression of the Sudanese Communist Party but leaves out the previous support for Numeiry given by this party and world Stalinism.

In line with this approach the latest issue of the Guardian

features a major article by Irwin Silber defending Cuba's whole attack on Padilla. Silber attacks "the shameless exploitation of the 'affair' in this country by the Socialist Workers Party and its newspaper, the Militant." He sees Padilla as "an artist who would keep alive the soul-searching agonies of the bourgeois personality as it confronted a proletarian world." He then concludes that "no serious revolutionary can avoid this central fact: Padilla's conduct was counter-revolutionary."

Search the article as one can, all one can come up with as counter-revolutionary behavior on Padilla's part is Silber's opinion of Padilla's "soul-searching agonies" and that Padilla made criticisms of various aspects of Cuban society to men like K.S. Karol about whom Silber himself points out Cuba had to withdraw the charge of being CIA agents.

So for having an alleged bourgeois ego and for making critical remarks about Cuba, Padilla was arrested and through some means or other gotten to confess in the

style of the Moscow Trials to being a counter-revolutionary. This Silber considers to be a proper relationship between an artist and a government which claims to be socialist.

Let us take note that the key staff man on the Guardian is one Irving Beinin. Beinin was for years a member of the Socialist Workers Party splitting with Cochran in 1952. His political evolution must serve as a warning to the SWP which today has found its way back to the international collaborators of Cochran like Mandel and Frank.

Guardian Flops Back To Stalinism

ULSTER

We reprint below and on the next three pages a series of articles from the Workers Press, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain. The SLL was the only organization in England to oppose the sending of British troops in the first place. Today, along with the Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, it fights to unite Protestant and Catholic workers in a common struggle to free Ireland from imperialism and establish a socialist government there and in England.

BY MICHAEL BANDA

THE SINISTER conspiracy hatched last Friday in London claimed its first, but not last, victim on Saturday—28 year-old Harry Thornton.

The secret meeting between Prime Minister Edward Heath, Home Secretary Reginald Maudling, Defence Secretary Lord Carrington and N Ireland's PM, Brian Faulkner, and GOC, Gen. Tuzo, was only discovered when Faulkner was recognized leaving the country.

Immediately 2,000 troops—and not 1,000 as reported originally—were designated for Ulster. Obviously they were preparing for the Apprentice Boys march in Derry on August 12.

But within hours Harry Thornton lay dead—shot in the back of the head—and six children were orphaned.

There are now 12,000 troops in the North and there is every prospect their number will mount steeply before the year is out and as the repression is stepped up.

Whatever hogwash the army inquiry produces, there is little doubt about the political significance of Saturday's shooting and the subsequent wounding of more Belfast workers on Saturday night.

It is an integral part of a campaign of bloody intimidation, murder and foul lies, supplemented by Orange Order provocation, prepared by the Tory government.

Preserve

The Tory government, in its determination to preserve Mr Faulkner's jaded and reactionary regime at any cost short of outright military rule, must continue to escalate the military presence.

It does this because it cannot win the war against the IRA and because direct rule would alienate the 'Green Tories' in the South and upset the tacit coalition of right-wing Labour and Tories in Britain on Irish policy.

That is why, despite Maudling's optimistic assertion in March that the army was conducting a campaign against the 'terrorists' 'with great competence', the army needs another 2,000 reinforcements in August.

To prevent unity of Catholic and Protestant workers against military occupation, the Paisites, providing a pretext for leyites step up their activities the despatch of even more troops and increased repression.

As Workers Press pointed out on Saturday, there is a macabre logic to this process of repression, provocation and



Prime Minister Brian Faulkner

resistance — leading to increased repression, etc.

The army and the police will soon start interning so-called suspects and opening up concentration camps as the French did in the Algerian war.

And, as in Algeria — the right wing social democrats and the Stalinists provide the Tories and their Ulster allies with the weapons which will ultimately be turned against them.

Support

In March, Opposition leader Harold Wilson, who complains unctuously about Tory methods in relation to the Common Market, gave fulsome support to Heath by promising 'full backing to the present British government in the action the situation requires the mto take'.

He was preceded by former Home Secretary James Callaghan's sinister trip to Ulster to prepare the way for a Labour-Unionist coalition which now presides over the liquidation of Irish workers.

He also had the tacit support of the TUC and the 'left' union leaders.

But the work of these labour bureaucrats—who sent the troops there in the first place—would not be complete

without the opportunist intervention of the Irish Stalinists and their British cousins.

Instead of demanding and fighting for a policy of unconditional withdrawal of British troops and the resignation of the Tories, these hypocrites condemned the actions of the IRA, begged for a Bill of Rights from the Tories and pleaded that British troops 'be confined to their barracks'.

The murder of Harry Thornton must surely make every Stalinist party member think deeply about the role of Stalinism expressed in the wretched statement of James Stewart — assistant general secretary of the Six Counties in February 1971.

'At present the party does not consider it right to withdraw the troops completely without a simultaneous political settlement because in this case reactionary forces would launch pogrom against the ghettos of the population of Irish nationalist attachment.'

Reactionary

Who is organizing the pogroms against 'nationalist sentiment' today if it isn't the British army?

And what is the British army if it is not a reactionary force?

We conclude by repeating what we have always maintained: the only alternative to the resignation of the Tories and the election of a Labour government pledged to withdraw troops from Ireland is a military dictatorship in Ulster in alliance with clerical-fascist regime in Dublin and Powellite Bonapartism in Britain.

These repressive acts are inseparably connected with the passage of the Industrial Relations Act, the preparations to enter the Common Market and the vicious sentences in the 'Oz' trial.

Those like the Stalinists and centrists who try to erect Chinese walls between Tory policy in Ulster and Heath's actions in Britain are creating a fatal illusion and paving the road to disaster in Britain.

Ulster is Britain!

Let us make certain that Harry Thornton and countless others who have been killed by the forces of British imperialism in the last three years did not die in vain—by fighting for an alternative leadership in the working class and for a policy to force the Tories to resign.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

TWO YEARS after the military occupation of N Ireland the army and police have at last got the power to seize and imprison anyone without charge or trial.

They can pounce on any civilian without warning and keep him locked up on behalf of the authorities for as long as they like, without explanation.

Yesterday's enactment of the internment regulations of the Special Powers Act means that the working class in Ulster now live under a brutal police and military dictatorship.

One need only recall the statement of the S African racist premier Vorster, who said he would give the whole of his country's constitution for one clause of the Special Powers Act, to gauge the importance of this step by the Ulster regime.

Four years ago civil rights demonstrators faced police batons in Derry on the principle of one man, one vote.

Now the whole of the N Ireland working class is threatened with arbitrary arrest, concentration camps—indeed all the paraphernalia of the fascist state.

This has not yet emerged, but there are dangerous rightward trends.

The reactionary cleric Ian Paisley has already boasted that he will replace Prime Minister Faulkner and rule in Stormont.

This is no idle claim from a man who has excellent connections within the Royal Ulster Constabulary, for the more people fight for their liberties the more and more the state in Ulster and Westminster must back reaction.

We were right in Monday's Workers Press when we described recent events in N Ireland as a conspiracy hatched between the army, the Stormont regime and the Tory government in London.

The shooting of Harry Thornton in Belfast and the apparent severe beating his companion received was a provocation by the Ulster forces of law and order.

Rioting was bound to follow this attack on Ulster workers, and after the rioting came the mass arrests of Sunday night and Monday morning.

This violence, promoted by the authorities, was deliberately climaxed yesterday when internment was announced.

The real culprits behind this attempt to curb the people

of N Ireland by guns, murder and mass terror are however the Tories of Westminster and the top Labour Party bureaucrats who actively support their efforts.

These guilty men of the Labour Party carry the weight of death and terror in Ulster on their shoulders.

The situation there must be seen as a terrible warning to all British workers. They are not immune from such police and military oppression.

The root cause of the Ulster explosion is the economic crisis. The Ulster events are inseparably connected with this crisis.

The slump in trade, the collapse of capitalist profit margins, and now the dollar crisis itself, have promoted a near industrial collapse throughout the six counties.

But we know that Scotland, and huge areas of Britain in the North and Wales, face no less a future of impoverishment.

When the workers rise there and demand their right to a job and a living, does anyone imagine the ruling class will be any less brutal than it now is in N Ireland?

The Special Powers Act of the Westminster Tories is the Industrial Relations Bill, now an Act, which removes all trade union rights from every worker.

In times of mass unrest and unemployment—like that developing now on the Clyde—this Act will be used.

This is why we say that the struggles of the Ulster workers to overthrow imperialist rule is a central concern for workers in the rest of Britain.

Equally it is utterly impossible for N Ireland workers to smash imperialism without British workers forcing the Tory government to resign at Westminster.

We have always called on the trade unions, the TUC and rank and file trade unionist to mobilize to force this government out of office.

We now call on the trade union and labour movement to launch a campaign for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops from Ulster.

Make the Tory government resign is the demand of the hour.



BRUTAL BEATINGS IN ULSTER PRISONS

THE STORMONT government has announced that 230 of the 300 internees will be held in custody.

They will be detained in the four now-known camps: at Belfast Crumlin Road jail, Camp Magilligan, near Londonderry, Camp Balykinler, Co Down, and on board HMS Maidstone, the former submarine depot ship in Belfast docks.

The Unionist government refuses to disclose the names of the internees, although relatives will be informed later.

Many of the internees were whisked from their beds early on Monday morning wearing only pyjamas.

First stories of the horror conditions in the camps started to emerge yesterday.

One man said he had been kicked and beaten by soldiers as he was dragged from his house to the army vehicle.

Sean White (24), gave the details after his release yesterday. Mr White is a member of the Republican Club in Londonderry and a member of the Creggan Estate Housing Action Committee.

He also said he had been hit in the face with a rifle butt. Detainees got no sleep because soldiers 'were beating on the huts with their batons'.

He said he was interrogated in three three-hour sessions.

Anyone detained under the Special Powers Act of 1922 is made the subject of a special order signed by Mr Brian Faulkner in his capacity as Minister of Home Affairs.

The only possible appeal is to a tribunal presided over by someone appointed by . . . Mr Faulkner.

In the past 24 hours the open rioting which began on Monday has subsided into isolated shooting exchanges.

There are some areas of Belfast and Londonderry totally under the control of the community.

The army has put a clamp on news releases so that the precise death toll is difficult to give.

At least 20 people have been shot dead in the fighting, two in Belfast early yesterday.



Troops lead away James Quinn after he complains the Ulster Volunteer Force was burning homes.

TROOP TERROR IN ULSTER GHETTOS

FROM IAN YEATS IN BELFAST

PANIC AND FEAR continued to sweep N Ireland yesterday with more than 5,000 Catholics now over the border into the republic. In Belfast Protestants were fleeing Catholic areas after setting fire to their houses.

In London the Cabinet met under yachting Prime Minister Edward Heath. Reports afterwards said the government was reasonably happy with the way the situation was developing.

Protestant leader, the Rev Ian Paisley, made his first public move yesterday when he hammered on the doors of the Stormont demanding that Premier Faulkner 'pick up the main terrorist leaders who are still at large'.

Earlier, when Faulkner entered the building, he was greeted with chants of 'resign' and 'traitor' by Apprentice Boys who had been denied their traditional march.

In Dublin a cabinet meeting heard a report of Foreign Minister Dr Patrick Hillery's visit to Whitehall, but no statement was issued when the ministers broke shortly after lunch.

Throughout Belfast the Catholic areas are ringed by troops—at dusk road blocks are set up to seal them off completely while ingoing and outgoing traffic is subjected to stringent examination by the army.

Although there is no curfew, Catholics have been forbidden to leave their homes after dark and are liable to be shot out of

hand if they do.

During the day they are allowed to shop for supplies in their areas, but men and women with jobs in shops, offices and factories have been told to stay away.

The army make no effort to conceal that their aim is now to contain the Catholics in ghetto areas.

Catholics claim that all pretence of protecting them has been abandoned and that troops stand by while Protestant gunmen from the Ulster Volunteer Force—ex-B Specials—rake their homes with sniper fire.

They also say that the troops make no attempt to stop Protestants burning houses and accuse them of using animal brutality against women and children.

At lunchtime yesterday in Mountpottinger Road, Belfast, a young girl aged about 20, Christine Rooney, was run down by an eighteen-ton army truck. The driver refused to stop. The girl lost one of her legs.

We saw a middle-aged man walk to an army post in the short Strand area and heard him tell troops that Protestants were burning houses in Bryson Street.

Police using a nearby school as a headquarters shouted 'Arrest him', and soldiers immediately took the man into custody.

Minutes later a distraught Mrs Mary Quinn, clutching her little girl to her side, related a similar story.

OCCUPIED BOGSIDE

FROM IAN YEATS

DERRY IS at war. The British army has thrown a ring of steel around the Catholic ghettos. Patrols check shuttered shops in the town's streets for looters.

In war-torn Bogside people jump if a door slams. It could be Protestant snipers. It could be soldiers.

On Thursday night dark military figures were at every corner and doorway around lower Bogside, their automatic rifles pointed towards workers' homes.

Inside the ghetto area of Bogside and Creggan an elaborate alarm system had been improvised. Nobody worries too much about snipers. They have become commonplace.

But if the cry goes up, 'The soldiers are coming', dustbin lids are banged from beneath the walls of old Derry to the top of Creggan Heights. Whistles and bugles are blown while the men run to the barricades.

The British occupation army is the enemy. Tonight Catholic workers could be overrun and women and children killed or beaten.

While the Catholics waited tensely in the gathering dusk, bagpipes were playing behind the high walls of the old city.

The flags of the Orangemen fluttered from towers and buildings along the walls patrolled by soldiers. Thursday night was August 12. Protestants remembered the Derry Apprentices.

Squads of heavily-armed troops stood by while small groups of Protestants celebrated in side streets under their union flags and 'No Surrender' banners.

Behind the Bogside barricades sporadic sniper fire sent people running into their homes. Black smoke poured from burning cars among the flats of Westland St.

From time to time anxious groups gathered when someone sent yet another rumour on its way through the community.

By nine o'clock heavy rain was falling. As I walked into the Bogside, riot troops were leaving their barracks in Strand Rd, visors up, shields at the ready.

A man in front of me suddenly turned and stoned the advancing soldiers in a momentary fit of anger. 'Why don't they f-off instead of hanging around here,' he said.

Then he disappeared into the night.

Bogside's only pub, aptly named the 'Bogside Inn', began to take on an almost party mood as the night advanced. Sammy and his young wife Anne were having a drink in the packed bar.

'It's the dole day today. They've all got their money,' said Sammy who, at 28, hasn't worked for six years.

'There are not three men in this bar who are working,' said Anne.

As the rain fell more heavily, people relaxed. Nobody fights in the rain.

But someone had been told that the troops might try to take advantage of the weather and lift the barricades.

'That's their job. They'll have to do it some time,' said Sammy and he added, 'But they won't get past.'

Anne has three children under six. At night she said they are very afraid, but she told me:

'We've not had much trouble with Protestants here. We are in the majority and they are mainly businessmen and people like that. It's the troops who attack us.'

Said Sammy: 'The troops are just propping up the Faulkner government. In Belfast they are acting as armoured spearheads for the Paisleyites and Ulster Volunteers.'

'The UVF are the same as the Ulster Defence Regiment—all ex-B Specials. They are all armed to the teeth. You can see them walking about the streets with their guns. They get them from the rifle clubs.'

Thursday night in Bogside, everyone believed it was civil war. Few workers knew how the war would end or when.

'Lynch won't help us,' said Sammy. 'He doesn't want all the problems of housing and unemployment we've got up here.'

'The shortage of jobs is at the root of all the trouble. Faulkner's government are all big business men. All they are interested in is profit.'

'They're making the Catholic workers scapegoats trying to stir up the Protestants against them. It's men like Paisley who should be interned, not us.'



Above: Heath. Right: Hillery.



Her husband James, aged 40, had been on his way home for lunch when he was grabbed by troops.

Sobbing she told me: 'They arrested him just for saying the Protestants are burning houses. I've been to them, but they won't say where he is.'

Throughout the day Catholics are in the streets in their riot-torn districts, the men boiling with anger, the women close to tears.

They expect massive Protestant attacks any day.

Mobs waiting

Mrs Margaret Garland told me at her home in the Markets area of Belfast: 'If I'd got a good home to go to I'd go today. There are mobs waiting to attack us here.'

Many are bewildered why no one seems interested in helping them.

'Tell Mr Heath to leave his yacht and come and live up here for a day,' one woman shouted angrily.

And a man said: 'They should help us from the South. But the attitude Lynch takes is that they are all right in the South, so why should they put themselves out to help us.'

THE NIGHT ULSTER ERUPTS

A special report by Ian Yeats

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTIN MAYER

AN UNEASY quiet hung over Mountpottinger St, Belfast on Sunday night.

From time to time a shadowy figure appeared in a window. The street was empty. An army sentry smoked behind his sandbags on the corner of Beechfield Street.

Nobody went in or out of the houses. To go for a bottle of milk or a loaf of bread could mean death from an army or a sniper's bullet.

As the night wore on the lights went out in Catholic homes where few had slept properly for 48 hours.

Mountpottinger St and the people living in the predominantly Catholic district on either side had been spared the weekend violence which erupted in the Springfield Rd district on Saturday afternoon.

Police and soldiers were attacked after troops shot dead a father of six, Harry Thornton, the innocent passenger of a van which came under army fire after it backfired outside Springfield Rd Royal Ulster Constabulary Station.

By 3 a.m. the Catholic district around Short Strand, Mountpottinger St and Newtonards Rd had slipped into a tense, fearful sleep.

Whistles

Without warning at 3.45 a.m. armed troops broke down the doors of many of the homes and dragged men from their beds.

'The whole district was sleeping', said Mrs Margaret Garland, 27, and mother of three.

'The first thing I heard was soldiers putting the door in. They smashed the hinges off the doors with their rifle butts and just lifted the doors out.

'They told us they were going to search the house under the Special Powers Act and just dragged the men out whether they had done anything or not.

'The women blew the whistles and rattled the dustbin lids to give the alarm and then we started singing, shouting and blocking the road to give our men time to escape.'

The road to internment began in Belfast at 3.45 a.m. in Mountpottinger St, on the East side of the city.

On the other side of the city Catholics living in the Jamaica St district of the Ardoyne were shaken out of their sleep by the sound of army boots running along the street.

One man who dare not give his name for fear of arrest told me.

'I heard feet going down the street and I opened the blind and looked. There were two lines of soldiers going down on either side of the road.

'I lay quiet for a bit wondering what would happen. Then I heard the doors going in and the women squealing.

'I'm not a violent man but when I saw our men going down the road with their hands tied behind their backs it made me sick.

'My wife nearly strained a blood vessel holding me back.'

In a street off Springfield Rd Maurice Martin was sitting up with his wife and 15-month-old daughter waiting in fear for a Protestant mob to carry out an earlier threat to burn them out.

Describing the pre-dawn raids Maurice said: 'The soldiers pulled nine of them down the Kashmir Rd with ropes round their necks and bandages stuffed in their mouths.

'They didn't ever give them a chance to get dressed. Just lifted them from their beds. One was in his pyjamas, another in his vest and one man barefoot.

Barricades

'Women who tried to stop them were beaten with batons.'

By 5 a.m. in a series of pre-dawn raids throughout the six counties police and troops had arrested 300 men.

At Mountpottinger St barricades were thrown up to seal

off the districts. A dozen buses from Short Strand garage were hijacked and used to seal off the district.

In Jamaica St there were no barricades. Two hours after the arrests in E Belfast troops were still active in the Ardoyne.

At 7 a.m. mother of 13 Mrs Mary Braniff was lying across six of her children—Thomas, Theresa, Sheila, Geraldine, Anthony and Catherine.

Herself weeping from shock and terror she was shielding them with her body. With one hand she grasped the rifle barrel of a soldier standing over them pointing it at her own chest. The children had their hands over their mouths with fear.

A few feet away Mary's sister Ellen lay senseless—faint with terror.

Meanwhile at the front of the small house eldest daughter, also Mary, aged 28 was getting ready to open the door to let in Patrick McAdurey, a lad of 20.

'I was standing in the hall waiting for him to come in', said Mary. 'He had opened the front gate when a bullet came off the wall and hit him in the head'.

Patrick died instantly. Black flags hang from the windows of the house he was to have visited. Patrick McAdurey was the first victim of the Protestant extremists, their hands now immensely strengthened by the Faulkner government's new tough line.

Mary told me, 'The blood was hot, pouring out of him. I'm a Catholic. I got the holy water and gave him the last rites until the priest came. He didn't come in the house. They took him away by ambulance.'

The Braniff family put up a wooden cross on the spot where Patrick died, holy statues were put at its feet.

They are not there now. Said Mrs Braniff (senior): 'The soldiers spat on the cross and jeered and danced round the shrine. They smashed one of the statues so we had to take it in.'

News of the impending internments had swept Belfast and the North all day Sunday. New confidence was pumped into the well-armed Ulster Defence Regiment—mainly composed of ex-B



Housewives argue with a soldier during tense moment in Belfast.

Specials. Raids on what were now being openly called Catholic ghettos were stepped up.

Emboldened

At about the same time as Patrick McAdurey lay dying in Jamaica St a security guard at a Protestant factory in the Springfield Rd decided to take a stick to a group of Catholic youth.

Minutes later William Atwell, 40, lay dead on the floor of a buying room floor at Mackies Foundry, killed by a nail bomb thrown through a ground floor window.

By breakfast time on Monday morning rumours of internment had emboldened Protestant mobs to ransack Catholic homes.

And it had driven terrorized Catholics to bomb and burn the factories where for years they had been denied jobs even though in some Catholic districts male unemployment is over 50 per cent.

Throughout the early part of the morning barricades were thrown up in what were now being openly described in the Faulkner press as the 'Catholic ghettos'.

At 11.30 a.m. Ulster Prime Minister Brian Faulkner announced dramatically that from then on 'terrorist' leaders would be interned without trial.

The decision was said to have been taken after 'all night' consultations between members of the cabinet, GOC Gen Sir Harry Tuzo and himself.

An hour or so later the midday editions of the Belfast evening papers were hailing Faulkner as 'the only one left' likely to guarantee 'peace and order'.

As recession bites deeper in Ulster the position of the Protestant ruling clique becomes less and less tenable.

Unemployment, falling living standards, slum housing, diminishing social services—these are

'Strong action'

Many ordinary Protestants who have lived peacefully side by side with Catholics for years are being forced to leave their homes by the extremist Ulster Volunteer Force.

Faulkner's internment speech made it clear that he intends to use the Special Powers Act to kill any organized opposition from the working class as a whole.

Admitting on Monday that the IRA were the present threat he added, 'But we will not hesitate to take strong action against any other individuals or organizations who may present such a threat in the future.'

Already the present dragnet has swept up Civil Rights and Independent Democratic Labour Party members as well as suspected IRA men.

The aim is clearly to drive an irrevocable wedge between Protestants and Catholics and make the latter the scapegoats for the failure of capitalism in Ulster—a policy which, as in Germany with the Jews, could lead to their destruction.

As a 20-year-old girl in Mountpottinger St told me: 'They're murdering us. Can you not see it here?'

'Everything we have is in ruins. Not that we ever had much. We live in dumps and most of the men don't have jobs. The worst is yet to come here.'

On Monday things couldn't have been worse for the wives and mothers, worn out and weeping who roamed Belfast looking for their men.

Margaret Walters, 28, who lives in Mountpottinger St told me her two brothers, George and Gerard O'Hara and her brother-in-law Jim McCabe had been seized by the troops.

'My mother walked round to all the army barracks but they wouldn't tell her anything,' she



Three Belfast women: (Left to Right) Betty Dorrian, Margaret Walters, Margaret Garland and children.

told me.

On Monday afternoon the toll of death continued.

By Thursday morning the death toll since the internment order had risen to 17.

The list included three soldiers, a priest, three unnamed people and ten Catholics—pretty strange if it is the IRA who are supposed to be doing all the shooting.

The bulk of the killing occurred on Monday, at least four of them during an attack by unidentified gunmen on the army post at the Henry Taggart Memorial Hall, Belfast.

Gutted

Mrs Sarah Worthington, 50, a widow and mother of nine, was shot dead by unidentified gunmen as she evacuated her home at Valsgheda Park, Ardoyne.

Protestant families decided to leave the predominantly Catholic area and 200 houses were gutted after they fired them rather than let them fall into Catholic hands—a common practice throughout Ulster.

All day on Tuesday and again on Wednesday men from the Ulster Volunteer Force were helping Protestant families to move out of Catholic areas. Every night this week the regiment has harassed and attacked Catholics and their property.

Shamus and Valeria O'Martin live in fear of attack from heavily-armed Protestant extremists. They have evacuated their little boy, aged three, to relatives.

I talked to them in their well-

furnished home off Springfield Rd which they bought for £900 five months ago.

'They're round here every night,' Shamus told me referring to the regiment.

'What can I do? I'll just have to try and stick it out. Last night we just lay on the floor until the shooting was over.'

'The bullets come through the windows and even through the walls. As soon as darkness comes, it breaks out. You can't go out the door.'

His brother Martin, 21, showed me his wrecked house—the third he has had burnt out.

Across the road weeping Mrs Catherine Hagan, 39, returned Wednesday from a holiday 400 miles away in Bray to find her home wrecked and Ulster Volunteer Force symbols scrawled on the walls.

She said: 'Where are we to go? We can't start all over again. How can you explain this to children?'

The most sinister trend is undoubtedly the appearance of armed Protestant mobs on the streets of Belfast. And lorry loads of unarmed Protestant youth drive through Catholic areas shouting insults.

Said Mrs Hagan: 'The soldiers are only 100 yards away but they don't do so much as fire a rubber bullet.'

Soldiers drunk

According to the 'Irish Press',

'The British army's reaction to the emergence of this force has been very similar to that of the B-Specials and the RUC when it came into action in August 1969—at best a turning of the blind eye, and at worst active co-operation. There have been numerous reports that in the Springhill area on Monday night army and Protestants joined forces in shooting at IRA snipers.'

Mrs Hagan said: 'You see, when the Tories came in the attitude of the troops changed. They were brought in to protect us but in the last few months they've turned against us.'



Soldiers watch as Protestant families move. They destroy their homes to keep out Catholic families.

PAISLEY WAITS IN THE WINGS

BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

STORMONT Premier Mr Brian Faulkner was a shaken man yesterday—like the man in the cockpit of an aircraft when both wings have fallen off.

He was no longer the unflappable leader as he faced attacks from Mr Jack Lynch, Prime Minister of the Republic, the Rev Ian Paisley and his right-wing fringe, the Catholic community, whose refugees have now swelled to 5,500, and the IRA, who are rearming both over the border and in the ghettos.

Speaking to the press in Belfast, an ashen-faced Mr Faulkner virtually exploded any chance of a summit with Lynch whom he described as 'irresponsible' and 'opportunist'.

He said it was time 'to expose for what it is the cant and hypocrisy at the attitude of Mr Lynch's government to the illegal army which is now engaged in murderous battles with British troops—our troops—in a part of the UK.'

As he was speaking Paisley, whom Faulkner refused to see on Thursday, was flying to London to have private talks with the Home Secretary Mr Maudling.

Paisley has called on Faulkner to resign and intern himself.

He added that Faulkner is now a 'jittery wee fellow'. In London he asked Maudling to accelerate internment and to impose a curfew.

Yesterday was a day of bizarre press conferences.

Early in the day Brigadier Marston Tickell, Chief-of-Staff in N Ireland, told newsmen that the army had 'virtually defeated' the hard core of the IRA.

He said there had been 50 IRA casualties, 20 or 30 of whom had been killed (many more, incidentally, than the official army figures for casualties in the past week).

Two hours later at a press conference arranged by Mr Paddy Kennedy, the republican MP, an IRA leader talked to reporters in a

gymnasium.

He said only two IRA men had been killed, eight wounded and 30 interned.

The man, a member of the Provisionals, said they were not short of ammunition or guns, but had difficulty in getting them into the North.

The conference suddenly broke up when an army

patrol approached.

After six days under the Special Powers Act, Faulkner's police state government is in severe crisis.

It is kept in office only by the bullets and armoured cars of 12,500 troops sent by Heath's government.

It has no support whatsoever among the people of Ulster.

ULSTER CIVIL WAR & BRITISH LABOUR

THE BRUTALITY of British imperialism and the heroic resistance of the Irish workers in Belfast today recalls vividly the historic uprising of April 1916 in Dublin.

Despite the terror of the army, provocations of the Orange Order, hostility of the southern capitalists and the treachery of the British and Irish labour bureaucracies, Ulster workers have demonstrated that neither bullets nor the barbed wire of internment camps will deter them from securing their just rights.

Lessons

The task of British labour, however, is not merely to applaud the courage and tenacity of the embattled Irish workers, but to prepare thoroughly for the consequences of Tory policy and draw the political lessons of the civil war in Ireland.

In particular, to understand the role of the British labour leaders, and especially the activities of Mr Callaghan, Shadow Home Secretary, is to understand the essence of what is happening in Ulster today.

Without the unsolicited advice and help of these

Labour agents, in and out of power, British imperialism could not maintain a single police station or army post in Ulster.

When the first phase of the crisis began in 1969 and the rickety structure of Ulster Unionism threatened to collapse, it was Callaghan, Wilson and company who despatched troops to Ulster to prop up this semi-feudal anachronism in Belfast—and thereby perpetuate partition.

The pervasive presence of the British army in Ulster and the Tories in Westminster was an incitement to the growth of the extreme right.

In August 1970—two months after the return of the Tories—the extreme right-wing 'backbenchers' committee demanded, as a condition of further support for the Ulster government, that the joint security committee set up internment camps.

Resigned

This was followed, in November 1970, with a speech by William Craig—the leader of the Ulster Tory die-hards—in which he demanded the internment of key IRA figures.

Unable to resist these demands Chichester-Clark resigned.

Callaghan again stepped into the breach with a tour

'They're not here to protect us', one man said.

'They're doing the Unionists' dirty work for them.'

Women showed me bruises where they had been beaten by the troops. It was also claimed that some soldiers were drunk when they raided homes.

'It's the Black and Tans all over again,' one man told me.

Most of the Catholics denied they had access to arms. 'All we have to fight with is bricks and our bare hands.' While John Creen said: 'We're just people

trying to defend our homes and our children.'

What's happening in Mount-pottinger St is universal in Catholic districts.

Said Margaret Garland: 'We're not allowed to leave the district. Our men can't go out to work. We're living on last week's pay at the moment, but I don't know what happens when that runs out.'

There is a steady stream of women and children out of Belfast to the South, but the men are staying to protect their property—and to fight. Things are moving that way.

The 'green Tory' premier of Eire, Lynch, has called for the ending of the Stormont government.

But he proposed nothing to bring this about.

The fact that he is forced to make the statement is an indication, however, of the tremendous pressure of the crisis both North and South.

Paisley is now advocating even stiffer repressive measures, and wants to use the present situation to build up an armed force of vigilantes for use against the working class.

From left to right, there are pious statements calling for 'a political solution'. But

what political solution?

It is the working class which is under attack, and it is the organized labour movement which must give the answer, placing not one shred of reliance on any other force, from the Catholic Church, through Lynch and Paisley, to Westminster.

In Britain, the labour movement must immediately rally to the support of the Irish workers.

Internment must be ended and all prisoners released.

Above all, the troops must be withdrawn immediately. This is the only principled line for the working-class movement to take.

of the North and a horse-deal with Faulkner which brought a Labour member into the crisis-ridden Tory cabinet.

The stage was being set



Home Secretary Callaghan for civil war—and the transition to direct rule.

Only one thing remained to be done—the introduction of internment camps which the army knew would provoke massive resistance and give the pretext to unleash a bloodbath.

The secret meeting between Faulkner, Tuzo, Heath and Maudling was convened obviously only after the extreme right in Ulster had sanctioned in-

ternment camps in exchange for an agreement on a ban on parades.

Even then the conspirators could not be certain that their plot would not backfire.

One important condition was still lacking—the consent of the Labour bureaucracy.

They had no reason to fear. Callaghan was only too willing to oblige. He not only agreed, he made certain that there would be no debate in parliament either.

Hinted

He hinted that internment must be introduced in the South as well.

As the Miscellany column in 'The Guardian' suggested:

'Jim, it is said, sniffed what was coming days rather than hours before internment was announced. He sounded other members of the Shadow Cabinet about a party line. Jim strongly supported internment. He found himself in a minority of one.'

The trade union movement must demonstrate its total opposition to this foul conspiracy by throwing out the Labour imperialists and giving full support to the Ulster workers in their struggle to throw the British army out for ever.

BOOKS V. BARAT

Germany 1931-1932

GERMANY 1931-1932. By Leon Trotsky, New Park Publications, London, 1970. 304 pages. \$3.50.

The recent publication of *Germany 1931-1932* records the momentous political struggle waged by Leon Trotsky and the German Left Opposition, during those critical two years, to mobilize and unite the proletariat of that country against the perilous rise of fascism.

Issued by New Park Publications, Ltd. of London, this book contains for the first time ever within the covers of a single volume three long out-of-print pamphlets: (1) *Germany: The Key to the International Situation*, (2) *Germany: What Next?* and (3) *Germany: The Only Road*.

These documents reveal Trotsky's paramount concern with reaching the German proletariat and arming it with a theory enabling it to defeat fascism and to establish a workers' state.

The success or failure in resolving this most burning question would determine "the fate not only of Germany herself but the fate of Europe, the fate of the entire world for very many years to come." (p.10)

The powerful German proletariat needed only a signal from its leadership to crush once and for all the Fascist scum. Instead it was being cynically betrayed by both the Stalinized Comintern and the Social Democratic agents of imperialism.

PEN

Forced into exile in Turkey by the Kremlin usurpers, the organizer of the October insurrection had during this whole period only his pen to bridge the continent separating him from the workers in the Weimar Republic.

Despite isolation from his German co-thinkers—letters and newspapers from



Thaelmann led CP to disastrous defeat.



Trotsky called for united front against Nazis (above fight between CP and Nazis.)

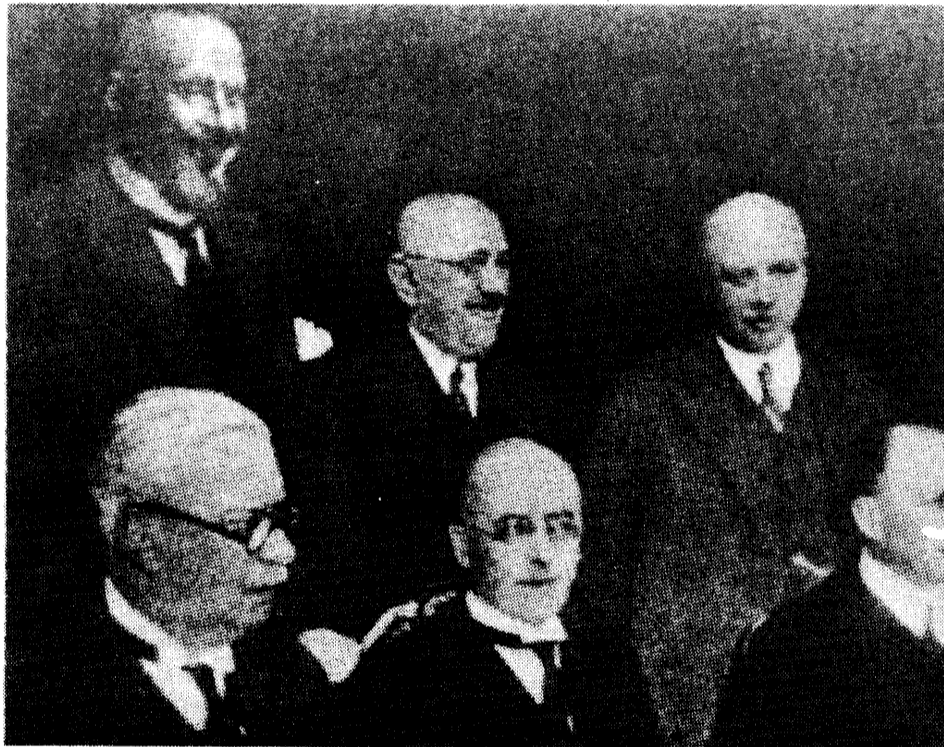
Germany arrived only after much delay—the book reveals how Trotsky's astounding grasp of Marxist theory enabled him to develop not only a strategy for power but even day to day tactics to implement that strategy.

His supreme efforts were concentrated on reversing the suicidal action of the German Communist Party (KPD), which by its leaders' uncritical loyalty to Comintern policy, was conducting the German workers straight to the executioners.

Again and again in these pages there is an exposure of the criminal Stalinist belief that Fascism was hardly more than a hoax and, upon coming to power, would fall of its own weight:

"Were this theory to entrench itself in the German Communist party and determine its course within the next few months, it would signify, on the part of the Comintern, a betrayal of no less historic proportions than the betrayal by Social Democracy on August 4, 1914, and at that, with much more frightful consequences." (pages 14-15)

No less monstrous, in fact a corollary to the above 'theory', was the Stalinists



Trotsky saw Brüning's Government (above) as bonapartist preparation for fascism.

designation of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) as 'Social Fascists'. Persistence in such sectarianism precluded joint activities with the SPD workers and assured Hitler's victory.

While L.D. Trotsky never minimized the counterrevolutionary nature of the SPD careerists, any serious strategy for blocking Fascism and for taking state power had to confront squarely a contradictory and, for that reason, a highly alterable situation: the German working class in its vast majority, whatever its

reservations and waverings, still adhered to the mass trade union and political organizations led by the reformists.

Therefore, developing a tactic to break the mass of the working class from Social Democracy was for the revolutionary party its most urgent task.

Here the reader has the rare opportunity of experiencing first hand, as it were, Trotsky's application of the dialectical method in approaching and resolving this urgent theoretical challenge.

So with Trotsky we proceed to a step-by-step investigation of the crises of imperialism as it affects the major areas of the world. Then with him we note its specific impact on an already bankrupt German capitalism, from which flows the concrete relationship of forces between capital and labor at this particular moment.

UNITED FRONT

Thus the tactic of the united front evolves from an analysis of the total situation.

Trotsky demonstrates how the united front, absolutely indispensable for the

Hitler's victory, he warned, would lead to an inevitable military attack on the USSR itself. Therefore he called for the instant mobilizing of the defense forces of the Soviet Union on the day the German fascists should sweep to power:

"For the proletarian state, it will be a matter of revolutionary self-defense in a most direct and immediate sense. Germany is not only Germany. It is the heart of Europe. Hitler is not only Hitler. He is a candidate for the post of a Super-Wrangel. But the Red Army is also not only the Red Army. It is an arm of the proletarian world revolution." (p.22)

Trotsky dedicated his whole life to a single cause: aid in the ultimate victory of the world proletariat. Even in contemplating the possibility of the tragic defeat of the German workers, he would not turn his back, any more than did his comrade-in-arms Lenin at the betrayal of the Second International in the First World War, on the awesome task of seeking once again to mobilize the working class:

"Should the worst variant materialize; should the present official parties, despite all our efforts, be led to a collapse by the Stalinist bureaucracy; should it mean in a certain sense beginning all over again, then the new International will trace its genealogy from the ideas and cadres of the Communist Left Opposition." (p.298).

TODAY

The relevance of this book for serious Marxists today is underscored by daily tidings.

The resurgence of Italian fascism reminds us that Stalinism is not through performing its services for the capitalist system. If a revolutionary party does not emerge in time, the big monopolists will again not shrink from plunging civilization into the darkest abyss.

No more than in the decade following the First World War is this purely an 'Italian' phenomenon.

The refusal by the workers in all the centers of imperialism to shoulder the burden of its insoluble economic and social crises forces a Nixon, a Heath, a Pompidou, a would-be strong man of Germany, F.J. Strauss, to eye Bonapartist regimes, the forerunners to fascism.

In many ways the situation today corresponds to that of the late twenties and early thirties: working classes in the metropolitan nations that are strong, undefeated and willing to fight for their rights. And again as forty years ago, their path to political power is blocked by a combination of Stalinism and Social Democracy, including the bureaucracies of the reformist trade unions.

But there is an additional factor now that makes all the difference. This is the existence of the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is no longer the tiny, isolated and hounded band of Left Oppositionists.

This movement has now branched out to all five continents of the earth. The growing and influential movement in England has been publishing its daily paper for almost two years now.

At its call thousands of young workers and students in France march proudly under its banners.

The Workers League, in the bastion of imperialism, has projected its own daily paper.

ESSEN

The Stalinists are shaken at the sight of five thousand proletarian and student youth filling one of the largest auditoriums in Europe on July 3rd and 4th to constitute a Trotskyist Revolutionary Youth International.

And where was this giant assembly held? In Essen, Germany. That is to say on the very soil of Stalinism's and Social Democracy's mammoth betrayal of 1933.

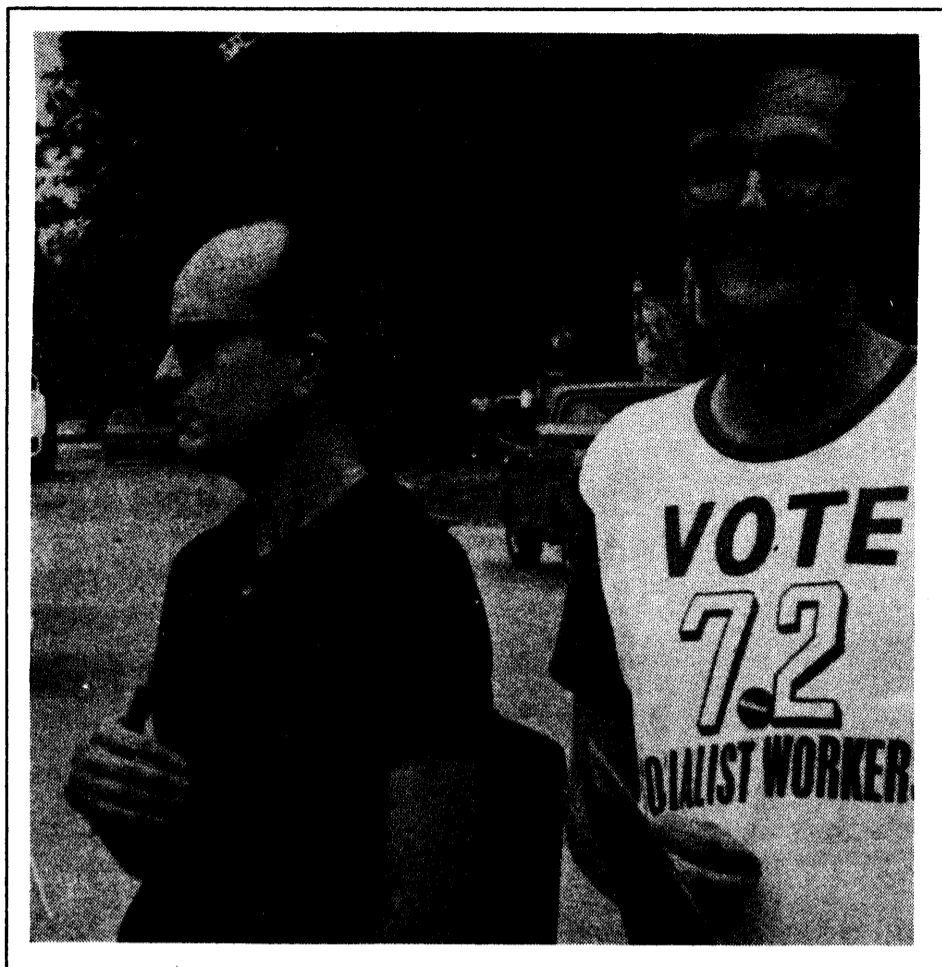
These revolutionary youth came not only from all the major capitalist nations, from colonial and semi-colonial lands, but also from the underground in the workers' states themselves.

CONTINGENCY

For that very reason he prepared a contingency plan should the Left Opposition fail to alter the suicidal course of the two mass workers' parties.

Report From Oberlin

Hansen Maneuvers



BY TIM WOHLFORTH

THE RECENT CONVENTION of the Socialist Workers Party at Oberlin, Ohio took steps which brought it to the breaking point with the majority of the United Secretariat, headed by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank. It did so while at the same time refusing to make any accounting whatsoever of its reunification in 1963 with these forces. In this way the SWP leadership is proceeding to break all historical links with the continuity of Trotskyism.

The Socialist Workers Party is barred from international affiliations by the reactionary Voorhis Act. However, it has maintained relations of political solidarity with the United Secretariat since 1963. At present it finds itself in support of a minority of the United Secretariat around the issue of guerrilla warfare.

The central issue in dispute now appears to be the Moreno group in Argentina. At the last congress of the United Secretariat the majority faction, the ERP, was recognized as the official section in Argentina while the minority La Verdad group headed by Moreno was recognized only as a sympathizing section. It was the ERP which was involved by its own admission in the recent kidnapping of a Swift and Co. executive in Rosario, Argentina.

The SWP is openly supporting Moreno while the majority considers the Moreno group to have split from the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat's leadership considers the SWP's actions in relation to Moreno to be opposed to the principles of democratic centralism, to reflect a position of only wanting a loose international confederation in the spirit of the ILP and centrists of the 1930s. The SWP seems to be now moving to the position that the entire old group of Pablo associates—Mandel-Maitan-Frank—entered the reunification under false pretenses seeking only to assimilate the SWP and its supporters.

It is also significant that as part of the public educational portion of the Oberlin conference, the SWP featured a representative of the minority of the British IMG group speaking on "The History of British Trotskyism." Even without a formal split taking place the SWP appears to be operating independently on international matters with the small group of supporters it has been able to assemble.

STRATEGY

This international dispute broke out at the 1969 International Congress. The central issue at that time was whether or not the main strategy for work in Latin America was to be guerrilla warfare.

The SWP counterposed a strategy of "constructing revolutionary parties" but was purposely vague as to exactly what such a strategy actually entailed. In fact all that was concretely posed was an orientation towards the student movement.

The dispute has been stepped up in the current period particularly as the guerrilla war advocates began to play around with notions of urban guerrilla terrorism. With Tariq Ali's Red Mole in England this has been largely a matter of applauding from the sidelines such groups as the FLQ in Canada, the Weathermen here, and the IRA in Ireland. But in Argentina a section of the United Secretariat actually carried out such adventures.

The sharpening of the factional situation in the United Secretariat coincides with the Rosario kidnapping. It even appears as if the SWP is going out of its way to exacerbate the factional situation. The SWP, which has gone to such efforts to achieve respectability in the United States, appearing on the same platforms with leading bourgeois politicians, has no intention of being associated internationally with ultra-left adventures. There is every indication that the SWP's international break is actually a move to the right aimed at protecting its relations with the American bourgeoisie rather than flowing from any question of principle.

Its attack on "ultra-leftism" and terrorism appear to be like those of the Kautskyists of an earlier period who polemicized against anarchism as a way of breaking with the Marxist view of the state, and the Mensheviks before that who attacked Lenin for "Blanquism" and "Jacobinism." No wonder that Novack in his recent book *Democracy and Revolution* throws out Lenin's position of the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state completely stating instead:

"Lenin proposed to curb the repressive and reactionary role of these parasitic organs of the old state by handing over their functions to the people themselves or at least for the interim period, placing them under the unremitting surveillance of the masses...."

HANSEN

If there was any question of this, then Hansen's conduct makes everything clear. He has adamantly refused to give any explanation to the SWP membership of the evolution of this split with Mandel. He deals only with Mandel's guerrilla position separated out from his theory of neo-capitalism, his policy of structural reforms, his history as a close associate of Michel Pablo, his role in the 1963 reunification, his responsibility along with the SWP leadership for the LSSP entry into a bourgeois government in 1964.

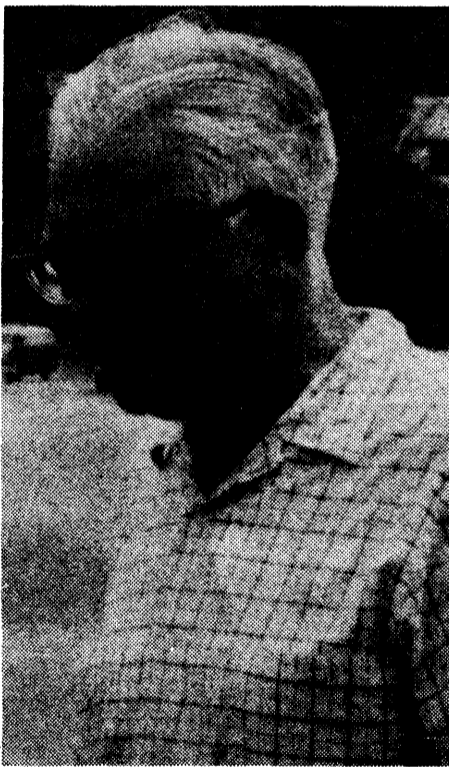
Just as it proposed reunification in 1963 on the basis of "concrete agreement" barring any discussion of the past

evolution of the Trotskyist movement, so today Hansen proposes an international split on the basis of concrete disagreement barring any discussion of how this disagreement arose out of the agreement!

But history does not simply repeat itself. One cannot proceed from unity to schism to unity to schism without in the process physically breaking up every trace of an historical link with the past, developing in the process a cynical cadre which is trained to proceed from immediate interest and maneuver rather than from principle and a revolutionary strategy.

It will be to the everlasting shame of the SWP, its members and all political tendencies existing within that party, that Hansen's international report received an unanimous vote at the conference. Particular blame must be shouldered by the opposition forces within the SWP who have yet to break with the methods which led to what they fight in the leadership's petty bourgeois line.

Let us set the record straight on Ernest Mandel and the group around him. After differences over Yugoslavia and related questions Ernest Mandel joined hands with Michel Pablo around the documents of the Third World Congress in 1951. It was at this congress that the line of liquidating the Fourth International into Stalinism and social democratic parties, the "entrism sui generis" line, was passed. The Transitional Program and the struggle to construct Trotskyist parties was overturned in favor of impressions of petty bourgeois movements.



George Novack is in his element.

Mandel was a major reporter on this line and he fought afterwards to implement it.

MANDEL

In 1952 it was Ernest Mandel who deserted the French majority and supported Pablo in his action to expel the majority because it refused to completely liquidate itself in French Stalinism. What was at stake here was not just an organizational error but the reflection of a political line which liquidated Trotskyism itself. The expulsion of the French was the implementation of this line.

In 1953 when the Socialist Workers Party joined together with the British Trotskyists around Gerry Healy and the French Lambert group in a principled break with Pabloism the very survival of Trotskyism was at stake. Pablo by himself could have done little harm. But he did not stand alone. First of all Ernest Mandel, whose previous difference with Pablo gave him a certain weight among Trotskyists in various parts of the world, threw himself completely

behind Pablo. Mandel was joined by the LSSP leadership in Ceylon and Lora in Latin America. This was to prove decisive to shoring up Pablo and in this way making a major contribution to the destruction of the Trotskyist cadres throughout the world on the eve of a new period of class struggle.

In the next ten years Mandel was to bury his forces in the Belgian social democratic party devoting himself to developing his theory of neo-capitalism and structural reform. This theory, as we have elaborated elsewhere, states that capitalism, far from being in its death agony, has gone through a "third industrial revolution" and because of this the main arena for struggle today is in the "new middle class" and concerns questions of alienation. Flowing from this Mandel substituted the Transitional Program with a series of structural reforms which were really no more than reformist schemes for patching tottering capitalism.

In the Belgian General Strike of 1962 Mandel was incapable of putting forward any demands independent of the "left" labor bureaucracy around Daniel Renard.

REUNIFICATION

Between 1961 and 1963 Mandel emerged as the major figure in the reunification of the SWP and its supporters with the International Secretariat headed by Pablo and Mandel. It was in this period that common agreement was reached. At the heart of this agreement was the Cuban question which all sides saw as opening up a new period when the construction of Trotskyist parties through the struggle to develop Marxist theory could be short-circuited.

It is important to note that all sides in the reunification had common agreement on Cuba and guerrilla warfare. This included Joseph Hansen and the SWP leadership, Mandel-Frank-Maitan who at that time ran a common majority faction within the International Secretariat, and Michel Pablo who had a minority group. All these forces agreed to a position which stated: "Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasants and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semi-colonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."

Let there be no confusion on this point. What this statement says, what this statement meant and means, is that guerrilla warfare opens up a new road to socialism avoiding the construction of conscious Marxist parties rooted in the working class. This is the way it was interpreted then and that is why the *Militant* printed each and every speech of Castro and Guevara and refused to differentiate itself from their line on any question.

It was not, as Hansen today seeks to claim, a matter of viewing guerrilla warfare as a "tactic" subordinated to constructing Leninist parties. After all the SWP in 1962 itself proposed that "the Trotskyists of Cuba should seek to enter and make their place in the soon-to-be-formed unified revolutionary party where they can work loyally, patiently and confidently for the fully revolutionary socialist program which they represent."

PABLOISM

This unification was engineered in collaboration with Mandel-Frank-Maitan on the basis of a rejection of a discussion of the history of the movement, the meaning of the 1953 split, the theoretical

SWP Towards An International Split

questions involved in the revisionism of Trotskyism. It was based on concrete agreement on the liquidationist positions which today lead to split.

In the immediate period after unification, Mandel, Hansen and the SWP leadership collaborated on three related projects for which they must all now bear responsibility. First they combined factionally against Michel Pablo in a dispute centering around Pablo's support to the USSR leadership in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This dispute carefully avoided any discussion of the roots of Pabloism, of his past theories and practice for which the international movement has paid

peralist-inspired coup.

There is another lesson here. In 1965 Ernest Mandel writes as an expert on "ultra-leftism" which is defined as the principled struggle of the International Committee against the United Secretariat's liquidationist views of guerrillism. In 1969 Ernest Mandel emerges in the eyes of the SWP and Hansen as the exponent of "ultra-leftism" himself. How is this to be explained? Is anyone seriously to take the statement of an ultra-leftist on the purported ultra-leftism of the International Committee? But the SWP blithely proceeds to peddle the Mandel pamphlet.

"Peronista." His paper featured each week a picture of Peron side by side with Castro. Hansen visited Moreno in that period, was well aware of the situation, and reported it to the Political Committee which, like Hansen, disapproved of it but said and did nothing about it.

Moreno has supported Peron, has adapted to Castroism and guerrillism, and has supported Maoism to boot. His struggle today with the ERP is a struggle with his own political creation. But let us read what Moreno himself has to say in the Merit book *50 Years of World Revolution*:

"To sum up: Stalinism is the product of counterrevolutionary pressure on a victorious workers' revolution; Maoism is the product of a provisional combination of counterrevolutionary Stalinism and the uneven development of the Chinese mass movement; Castroism is a direct result of the advance of the world revolution."

So Maoism is not seen as a Stalinist tendency but a combination of Stalinism with revolutionary elements while Castroism emerges as a pure expression of revolution. If Moreno found himself in a minority in a party dominated by Maoist and Castroite elements it was of his own making. If Hansen now blocs with Moreno the bloc is based on mutual convenience and not on principled programmatic agreement over anything.

OPPOSITION

Hansen's proposals, while they took up a certain amount of time at the convention, did not dominate the attention of the participants. Their central concern was the emergence of an opposition inside the SWP, the largest opposition group since 1952. With strength reported in the neighborhood of 100 party members this opposition proposed that the SWP turn towards the American labor movement and make intervention in the trade unions the central work of the party.

The leadership, however, supported Jack Barnes' position that this central orientation must remain the "new radicalization" and that this radicalization was getting broader and deeper. Behind this orientation really lies Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism. The majority denied any real movement of the American working class, any serious crisis of the American capitalist system. Instead

it saw a "radicalization" of the middle classes based on all the structural problems of the third industrial revolution.

Not only did Hansen refrain from extending his polemic to Mandel's neo-capitalism theory but Dick Roberts took the floor to attack Dennis O'Casey's pamphlet *Ernest Mandel: The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism*. Now, one week after the conference Nixon is forced to freeze wages and in effect devalue the dollar! So bankrupt, so reactionary is the outlook of the SWP leadership! So blind is the method of pragmatism which cannot see the development of the future under the surface of the present!

The situation in the SWP is of the greatest importance. This opposition is a reflection inside the SWP of the movement of the American working class which the SWP leadership seeks to deny. Try as it may to deny this movement and to see the trade unions as tombs, it was forced to confront the expression of this movement in its own ranks.

But at this point this opposition still stands with the leadership on questions of method. There is no excuse for its vote for Hansen's international maneuvers. That will not buy it one minute inside the SWP. If Hansen is allowed to get away with his split with Mandel without a political accounting of the engineered reunification with Mandel, the long years of collaboration with Mandel, the common stand even now with Mandel on neo-capitalism, then that's the end of the line for the SWP and those who support Hansen within it. The leadership group will have succeeded, through a series of unexplainable zigs and zags, to break all connections of the SWP with the past, with Trotskyism as surely as the ability of the Comintern to pass over the German defeat without a qualm meant the death of the Third International.

There is no such thing as a proletarian orientation separated from the construction of the Fourth International. The Fourth International can only be constructed through a principled accounting of its own history. This is what it brings to the new revolutionary generation. This is what it salvaged from the muck of Stalinism. This is the lesson of the 1971 SWP Convention for all SWP members, particularly oppositionists.

ORGANO DEL PERONISMO
OBRERO
REVOLUCIONARIO

palabra obrera

BAJO LA DISCIPLINA DEL GRAI. PERON
Y DEL CONSEJO SUPERIOR PERONISTA



Above is from the front cover of Moreno's paper in 1962. Today Hansen blocs with Moreno in Latin America without any discussion of his past or even present policies.

so highly. At the time of the dispute Pablo himself was a minor official in the Algerian government of Ben Bella. Rather than attacking him for this, Hansen and Mandel supported completely his policies in Algeria. And so Pablo was dispensed with without any accounting on Pabloism itself.

CEYLON

Secondly, Hansen and Mandel combined together over Ceylon. Their position was that any discussion of Ceylon in the United Secretariat would be "divisive" and so they prepared the way for the entry of the LSSP into the bourgeois Bandaranaike government. After the entry took place Mandel with Hansen's support expelled the LSSP majority but refused to make any accounting of how this came to be. In the United States Hansen and Dobbs expelled our minority for requesting such a discussion. Mandel had collaborated with the LSSP leadership for more than a dozen years but with Hansen's help refused to make any assessment of this collaboration in the light of the entry of the LSSP into the bourgeois government.

Thirdly, Ernest Mandel wrote, and the SWP published, a special pamphlet, *Marxism Versus Ultra-Leftism* denouncing the Socialist Labour League and the supporters of the International Committee. Here we have Mandel and Hansen standing together in their hatred for the International Committee. The main themes of that pamphlet were a defense of the United Secretariat's role in Ceylon and its line on Cuba and Algeria.

Its role in Ceylon led to the entry of the LSSP into a bourgeois government and now its emergence as murderers of revolutionary youth. Its line on Cuba has been completely repudiated by the reactionary evolution of the Castro regime and now in the form of guerrillism is the basis for a split in the United Secretariat. Its line on Algeria disarmed the masses before the Boumedienne im-

The Socialist Labour League, of course, never engaged in ultra-leftism of any sort. It, in fact, condemned all the antics and tactics of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign protestors who prided themselves on their punch-ups with the police and their arrest records. It did this at a time when the British Pabloites took the lead in such things and got the full support of the SWP.

Instead the SLL proceeded on the basis of the program of the Fourth International deepened through a theoretical struggle against revisionism and for the development of Marxist theory, to assemble a sizable working class youth movement, to develop forces in the trade unions never before assembled by Trotskyists, and on this basis to launch the world's first Trotskyist daily newspaper.

The Socialist Labour League fought a principled and difficult fight against the Wilson government and its attacks on the working class. The Pabloites of England pulled back from such a fight. But when the elections were called the SLL fought for a vote for Labour against the Tories while the Pabloite IMG called for abstention in the elections.

Now who are the real ultra-lefts—Tariq Ali and the Red Mole or the Socialist Labour League with its daily *Workers Press* and youth movement? The implications of this cannot be avoided on grounds of saving face or opportunism. The truth is what it is and a revolutionary movement can only be built on the truth.

MORENO

Hansen's recent relations with Moreno reflect the same method as his past relations with Mandel. Exactly who is Moreno, what is his history, and what is the principled basis for agreement with Moreno today? Moreno has functioned in Argentina for over a decade adapting to Peronism. In the 1961-63 period Moreno's organization was called the POR with the "P" standing for



THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES

by Tim Wohlforth

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STEEL. . .

(Continued From Page 4) could lead to the complete disintegration of union representation altogether, the goal of the employers.

In Bethlehem, as in other parts of the country, the Workers League, is fighting for the formation of a real rank and file caucus such as was formed before the contract in Vernon, Calif. (Bethlehem), the Committee for a Decent Contract.

It is only through these caucuses, on the basis of a struggle to overturn the present contract and to fight for a program that begins with the needs of the workers, that a new leadership to replace Abel can be built within the USWA itself.

SPARROWS POINT

The tremendous bitterness that is felt over the contract and the mass layoffs at the Sparrows Point plant, were expressed at a meeting of Local 2610 last week. About 80 workers attended, more than twice the normal number. Although an attempt was made to formally discuss the contract on the floor of the meeting, the local leadership under President Casey Robinson managed to rule the contract discussion out of order.

Nevertheless, the men made it clear that they were very upset with the clause on the "productivity committees" and with the summaries of the contract distributed by the local leadership. These attempted to cover the real

nature of the contract including the productivity agreement, on which there was only one sentence.

BITTERNESS

Despite the attempt to stop discussion of the contract, the bitterness erupted in a discussion of the handling of grievances at the plant, reflecting displeasure with the contract, and the growing pace of layoffs.

After the meeting, considerable discussion took place informally with Workers League members urging the formation of a rank and file caucus to dump Abel and build an alternative leadership. Forty-five Bulletins were sold and many workers expressed interest in fighting for such a caucus which fights to overturn the contract and win \$2.00 an hour increase, full cost of living escalator, FIRST YEAR, \$500 pension after 30 years and the right to strike over grievances and the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

The attack on the entire working class opened up by Nixon in his announced wage freeze and productivity campaign, makes the fight for this program an immediate political question of a struggle for nationalization of steel under workers control, the repeal of anti-union laws and Administration decrees for wage freezing, and above all the fight for the formation of a labor party to take on and defeat Nixon in the 1972 elections.

CHINA. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

and capitalism internationally in the face of the offensive of the working class that it conveniently forgets that 21 years ago hundreds of thousands of Chinese soldiers died defending North Korea and China against US imperialism. It was the UN Security Council that voted for the invasion.

It was under the UN flag that the US conducted its war. But now after years of denouncing the UN as the enemy of the colonial people and the Soviet Union for participating in it, Mao is more than happy to take his seat among this den of thieves.

When Reston asked Chou En-lai: "In your mind is there a conflict between the basic principles of the UN, namely that all disputes between nations shall be resolved without the use of force or the threat of force, and the principle of revolution and support for national liberation movements in the world as espoused by your government in the past?" His answer was "No."

At the heart of the policies of the Chinese leadership as well as the Stalinist bureaucracy in

the Soviet Union is the perspective of "socialism in one country," of the subordination of the interests of the working class and the world revolution to the foreign policy of the bureaucracy and maneuvers with imperialism. In this way Mao as well as his Stalinist brother in the Kremlin hope to preserve their privileges against the movement of the working class.

Beginning from the narrow nationalist perspective of socialism in one country the Chinese bureaucracy is attempting to wring concessions from imperialism by backing one group of capitalists against another.

In Reston's interview Chou raises the great danger now coming not from U.S. imperialism but "Japanese militarism" and asks the US for its aid against this development. "You too were victims," said Chou, "of Japanese militarism."

In other words the Chinese are looking not to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Japan and the US but to the ruling class in the US against Japan. Gone is any conception of the working class as an independent revolutionary force.

It is no accident then that in

WAGE FREEZE. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

aerospace and longshore whose contracts will expire in the next few months, to rail workers who just signed a contract last month and to 750,000 postal workers who will be denied a \$250 increment due them on the basis of the contract signed in July.

LONGSHORE

The real impossibility of this situation is most sharply raised in the West Coast longshore strike. This strike is now in its seventh week. What the freeze poses to the Bridges leadership is either taking the ILWU back without a penny increase or leading an all out fight to break through this freeze opening the way for all other unions to follow.

It is clear that given the almost certain likelihood of an East Coast dock strike at the end of September, longshore lies at the very heart of a breakthrough of Nixon's wage freeze policy.

Preparations must now be made throughout the entire labor movement for a general strike to back up a confrontation in longshore or the initiative of any union that now takes on the government in a fight to defy this freeze.

This means a head on confrontation with Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which have been directly responsible for conspiring with Nixon in the imposition of this freeze.

While Meany covers himself

the conversation at the "feast" that followed the interview Chou centered his remarks on Stalin. According to Reston's report in the Times:

"Premier Chou...expressed his admiration for Stalin. Looked at from certain points of view, he said, Stalin no doubt has his shortcomings, and even from a Chinese point of view he was not good for China at the Yalta Conference with Roosevelt and Churchill, but from a world point of view there was much to be said for him.

"We consider him to be a Marxist-Leninist," Mr. Chou said, "Also, you must admit he made great contributions to the world war."

"Unfortunately," Mr. Chou added, "Lenin died early, and after his death no one but Stalin could have held the Soviet Union together—no one."

This is really the heart of the matter. Mao, despite all his attacks on "Soviet revisionism" never sought the roots of revisionism in Stalinism, never repudiated Stalin even when he sought to behead the Chinese revolutions in 1927 and 1949.

The policies of the Maoist bureaucracy come lock, stock and barrel out of the bloody history of Stalinism. Stalin's support to Chiang Kai-shek and the fruits of this alliance in the massacre of thousands of workers and communists in China in 1927 is equalled today by the complete support the Maoist leadership has given to the massacres in Bangla Desh, in the Sudan and Ceylon. This is what now sets the stage for Nixon's visit and a "flexible" alliance with US imperialism.

The defense of the gains of the Chinese revolution now lies with the construction of the Trotskyist movement in China based on the tremendous opposition that must now develop within China itself to the filthy betrayals of Maoism.

with bluster about how the controls fail to attack profits and interest rates, he poses no fight against Nixon. In fact he is now preparing, along with the AFL-CIO leadership, to take a seat on the wage board Nixon will propose after the 90 days. It is through such a board that the government hopes to make the present wage freeze permanent.

Clearly Nixon's policy is to hold wage increases to zero for an extended period while allowing prices and profits to soar upwards unhampered. This is precisely what happened with the controls established during the First, Second and Korean wars.

EUROPE

The second prong of the Nixon attack, the attack on Europe, flows directly from devaluation of the dollar combined with the imposition of the 10% surcharge on imports.

The suspension of the United States commitment to back up dollars with gold has now left European central banks completely in the lurch holding mountains of paper dollars of unknown worth. The sharpest blow to Europe comes, however, in the tremendous pressure for upward revaluation of European currencies that the flotation of the dollar now imposes.

Quite apart from the very real likelihood of a quick and immediate economic collapse throughout Europe as a result of this crisis, even the most optimistic forecasters see no way for Europe to evade a general 5% to 10% revaluation of all European currencies against the floating dollar. This can only serve to price goods from these countries out of the world market throwing Europe and Japan into sharp recession.

JAPAN

Compounding the recessionary impact of forced revaluations a-

BANGLA DESH . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

York to build a massive demonstration. The aim of the Stalinists was to mobilize middle class pressure for stopping United States aid so that a political deal can be arranged.

Not one speaker, which included West Pakistanis, mentioned the slogan of independence for Bangla Desh. There was not one mention of Chinese arms to West Pakistan or the Soviet-India treaty.

The PCPJ spokesmen even refused to clearly come out with an attack on Nixon but stated that it was a moral issue and that all

ST. LOUIS. . .

(Continued From Page 5)

the first of August when they were told that their jobs would end one week early. As a result hundreds of angry youth stormed City Hall demanding to see the Mayor and were instead met by his brother Lucias Cervantes. "Rev. Cervantes" is a Catholic priest whom the press tries to build up as a "humanitarian".

The holy father shed all kinds of public tears and promised to help get the jobs back for the rest of the summer. However, when brother Al returned from another one of his frequent absences from the city, the blame for HDC's bankruptcy was placed on the Federal Government, and the youth were told to go quietly home.

against the dollar is the tremendous additional impact that Nixon's 10% import surcharge must now have. Japan for example, which ships 30% of all its exports to the U.S., must now be virtually devastated by this measure which goes far beyond quotas previously imposed.

The gravity of this situation which must now push the European and Japanese bourgeoisie into even sharper class conflicts at home was reflected in the sharp fall on the Japanese and European stock markets on Monday and Tuesday. The Japanese market in particular plunged a full 5% in 15 minutes, as compared to the stock market bonanza on Wall Street.

Even more precipitous developments in the direction of a general European economic collapse are now on the agenda when money markets, closed since Nixon's announcement, reopen and the rush to convert dollars and to buy gold commences.

Nixon has now repudiated the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944 which guaranteed the convertibility of dollars to gold and upon which the whole edifice of fixed exchange rates, stable currency and postwar prosperity was based.

Now that the stability of world currency has been thrown to the winds along with Bretton Woods, the stage is set for the break up of world trade and investment and a new crash on the order of 1929.

It is not at all a question of Nixon artificially throwing up a new monetary system to replace the one that has just broken up.

The break up of this system poses before the working class either a repeat of the 1930s or the struggle for power.

In the United States there must be an all out battle to create a labor party that can drive out Nixon and his wage freezing Democratic cohorts in November, 1972.

Americans had to share in the responsibility.

Only the Workers League brought into that demonstration a banner which read "Stalinism, Imperialism No, Independence for Bangla Desh."

There is one clear lesson that the Bengali people can draw from the action of these traitors. There is no victory through any form of alliance with any section of the bourgeoisie or Stalinism but only through the fight to construct a section of the Fourth International in Bengal.

Instead an angry group of several hundred disappointed youth littered the floors of City Hall with the "Keep St. Louis Beautiful" bumper stickers which they had been passing out as part of their summer jobs.

The trade unions must fully mobilize to fight unemployment among their members and the youth. Teamsters Local 688 has called a Youth Conference for September 25. One of the first tasks of this conference must be to pass a resolution demanding that Harold Gibbons and other trade union leaders take up a real fight against unemployment through a program of 30 for 40, nationalization of bankrupt industries, and the construction of a labor party.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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CRISIS BREAKS UP APRIL COALITION

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—The April Coalition, former apple in the eye of the *People's World*, is rapidly disintegrating in a dispute between D'Army Bailey and Ilona Hancock.

The coalition was founded as a bloc of all the various "progressive" movements of the middle class such women's liberation, and Black culturalism. Now that the council is faced with passing a budget shaped by the economic crisis, the various "interest" groups within the April Coalition find themselves squabbling over how to divide the very meager crumbs of this budget.

Mrs. Hancock has been proposing a "women's health center" and a special women's hiring program, while Mr. Bailey is pushing proposals for a special hiring program for Blacks and a Black cultural center.

The dispute over how to divide these crumbs of the Berkeley city budget has reached the point where one faction has proposed a recall of Councilman Bailey.

Despite their differences over how to divide the pie, the council, including its "progressive" members, has made it clear that they are all agreed as to who must furnish the crumbs for them to distribute. In all of the statements of the coalition they have repeated over and over that their primary goal is to keep the property tax rate at last year's level, and at the same time they have made it abundantly clear that they intend to hold city employees' wages within a meager 5% cost of living raise.

In a dispute with AFSCME Local 2077, Berkeley Library Employees, over wage parity with other city workers and a formal grievance procedure, the "radical councilmen" not only would not make a public statement on the dispute but partici-

pated in calling in a special negotiator from the Industrial Employer's and Distributor's Association to deal with the dispute. The city made it clear after signing an agreement including some concessions on wages, that all wage increases were going to be made within the budget and consequently will come from layoffs. The city is already considering closing the library on Friday nights.

In this period, when the bourgeoisie has no crumbs to give, the April Coalition has made it abundantly clear that all attempts to cut across class lines in order to make reforms, will inevitably be turned into an attack on the working class.

This does not mean, however, the end of "coalition" politics in the United States. In the middle of the disintegration of the April Coalition, one of its chief architects, Ron Dellums, steps in to assure people that the dispute is not a result of the coalition's politics, but a dispute between individuals involved. The role of this Democratic Party Congressman is to cover up the bankruptcy of the coalition, and his role in building it, in order



Berkeley's radical coalition breaks up as D'Army Bailey (left) breaks with Ilona Hancock (center).

to carry out this same kind of fraud on a nationwide basis.

That this is the case is shown by the *People's World's* refusal to print a word about the breakup of the coalition, despite (or more likely because) of the fact that previously the *People's World* had given the most favorable and extensive coverage of the coalition. At the same time that it is maintaining a silence on the April Coalition, it continues to push the coalition's politics, and to give the same extensive and favorable coverage to Mr. Dellums.

CSEA Ranks Revolt

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—California State legislators retired yesterday for their annual three week vacation without taking action to override Governor Reagan's veto of state employees' pay raises.

This is not at all surprising. It has been over 25 years since a governor's budget veto has been overridden. Even Ed Ward, state-wide president of CSEA, admits there is little prospect in this area. Yet he and the CSEA Board of Directors continue to follow the strategy of lobbying the legislature for favors which aren't com-

ing. Their latest hope calls for waiting to see if a separate wages bill will be passed or if a 5% raise will be included in the pending tax reform legislation. Only then (sometime in late September) will the CSEA bureaucrats send out a state wide strike ballot. Meanwhile state workers have no raise, 3000 more jobs have been eliminated, health plan costs have more than doubled, etc.

It is clear that thousands of state employees have become extremely angry with the CSEA bureaucracy's failure to call strike action against Reagan and the state. Mass picketing at state offices took place in San Diego re-

Republican Convention To Meet In San Diego

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—It has been decided officially that San Diego will be the site of the 1972 Republican Party convention.

The city government and businesses had to promise about 1.5 million dollars in money and ser-

vices in order to secure this show staged by the agents of the capitalist class. In fact, the bill to the City of San Diego runs into hundreds of thousands of dollars. They did not fail to fork over for a convention, but they fought to the end to insure that city workers got no more than a minimal 4% pay raise this year.

Actually, that tends to point up what will be going on here.

The convention of the Republicans, and that of their friends the Democrats, will "nominate" presidential candidates. That is the icing on the cake baked in back-room meetings of the big capitalists. It is they who decide who their executive agent will be.

The major question facing these conventions and candidates is what to do about the economic crisis and a working class that refuses to abandon its wage offensive and be disciplined to take that crisis onto its back with wage freezes and anti-union laws. Will a Democrat or a Republican be a better executor of the will of capital in the next period? That question is posed in a new way as the capitalist class readies for battle with the working class by preparing to liquidate democracy and institute dictatorship. These "nominating conventions" could well be the last held by the capitalist political parties.

It is not accidental that the Republicans are meeting on the West Coast, and especially in Southern California. With the Democrat-labor-boss coalition strained to the breaking point, and the severity of the economic crisis reflected in aerospace and West Coast construction and dock struggles, explosive political developments are on the agenda here. There is no doubt that the Republican Party entertains hope of drawing a section of the working class behind its rotten banner.

But the spectre of the post-war Labor Party movements haunts these proceedings. Both Democratic and Republican leaders are showing their real unity in willingness to attack workers and their unions. The alternative is the formation of a political party to represent the interests of the workers. That is the pressing need in this period as the capitalists prepare to strike at workers through the federal government.

When the agents of the capitalists convene for their show, it may very well be with the knowledge that the working class is right around the corner marching with banners that read: **LABOR PARTY NOW!**

Stalinists, SWP Hail MAPA

BY A CORRESPONDENT

FRESNO—The July 30-August 2 convention of the Mexican American Political Association went on record to support "the general concept of La Raza Unida Party." This resolution was passed after the defeat of a resolution calling for a firm endorsement of La Raza Unida submitted by former MAPA President Bert Corona.

MAPA has functioned for years in the Mexican community as the arm of the Democratic Party. Opportunists like Corona have been all too happy to content themselves with the few sops thrown them by their Democratic Party masters.

The deepening crisis that now poses the potential for the breakup of the Democratic Party as millions of workers seek a political alternative sends the Coronas scurrying to head off any independent working class development.

Corona and his more conservative MAPA allies hope to create within the Barrios the political machinery to either pressure the Democrats for a few more sops

or to build the sort of movement that has brought the Gibsons and Stokes to power in Newark and Cleveland.

La Raza Unida and the entire Chicano power movement intend to repeat all the reactionary policies of the black power movement at a time when the system is unable to grant even the few pitiful concessions it gave only a few years ago. For example, the EOP programs for aid to minority youth have now been cut to ribbons in Reagan's latest budget.

MYSTICAL

The Bert Coronas seek to tie Mexican youth to Barrio culture, economics and politics embracing a mystical program for the reconquest of Aztlan. These are the politics that identify the working class with the "Anglo establishment" and lead to Chicano Moratoriums which ban working class literature and attack members of working class organizations.

These are the politics that lead hundreds of Chicano youth on a three month "Marcha de la Reconquista" that ends up in Sacramento listening to a Chicano Democratic Party politician.

The task of justifying these re-

actionary developments falls to the revisionists. The Communist Party hails this development as opening the door to popular front politics quoting Democratic Party State Assemblyman Peter Chacon "there is no reason why MAPA can't take both courses of action" working within the old parties while building a new political party.

The SWP plays an even more despicable role. In the August 6 *Militant* Antonio Camejo virtually embraces Corona with only a few mild criticisms concerning his vagueness on the Democratic Party. In no way does Camejo differ with Corona on program.

The SWP is preparing to play the same role in these developments that it carried out in Newark with a near endorsement of Gibson as an independent. It did the same thing in Berkeley by claiming total agreement on program with the Berkeley Coalition combined with a call for complete independence from the Democrats.

Only the fight to mobilize the working class as an independent political force can expose and defeat these reactionary nationalist developments.

West Coast News

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ILWU, Teamsters Must Unite

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The impact of the 46 day old dock strike continues to grow. The shutdown of 24 West Coast ports is slowly strangling overseas trade particularly in agricultural products.

While some attempt is being made to divert cargo through Gulf Coast ports the mounting crisis has brought Senators and Governors to the point of screaming for government intervention to break the strike. The ILWU-supported Alan Cranston leads the mob.

While there can be no doubt that Nixon may very well be forced to intervene particularly if the ILA strikes on September 30 resulting in a nationwide shut down, the biggest hope for the employers remains the Bridges' leadership.

Bridges is giving very strong indications that he intends to resume coast-wide negotiations. This means that big pressure will be placed on the locals to speed up resolution of local issues under the threat that once

portwide negotiations are under way short shrift will be made of many local demands.

The most ominous indication of a potential betrayal is Bridges' claim that the central question on the waterfront is the jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters. What this means is that the ILWU leadership may be all too willing to use wages, hours and conditions as bargaining counters in their attempt to nail down container jurisdiction.

It is extremely significant that the employers have offered a three year contract with a 35 hour guarantee for "A" men (strings not announced), no guarantee for "B" men, a wage settlement little better than that offered in steel and a pension plan well below the union's demands. The ILWU leadership

rather than rejecting this offer out of hand continues to stress the jurisdictional dispute and to prepare new negotiations.

At the same time the Teamsters have announced plans to set up a special waterfront committee to defend their jurisdictional claims.

THREAT

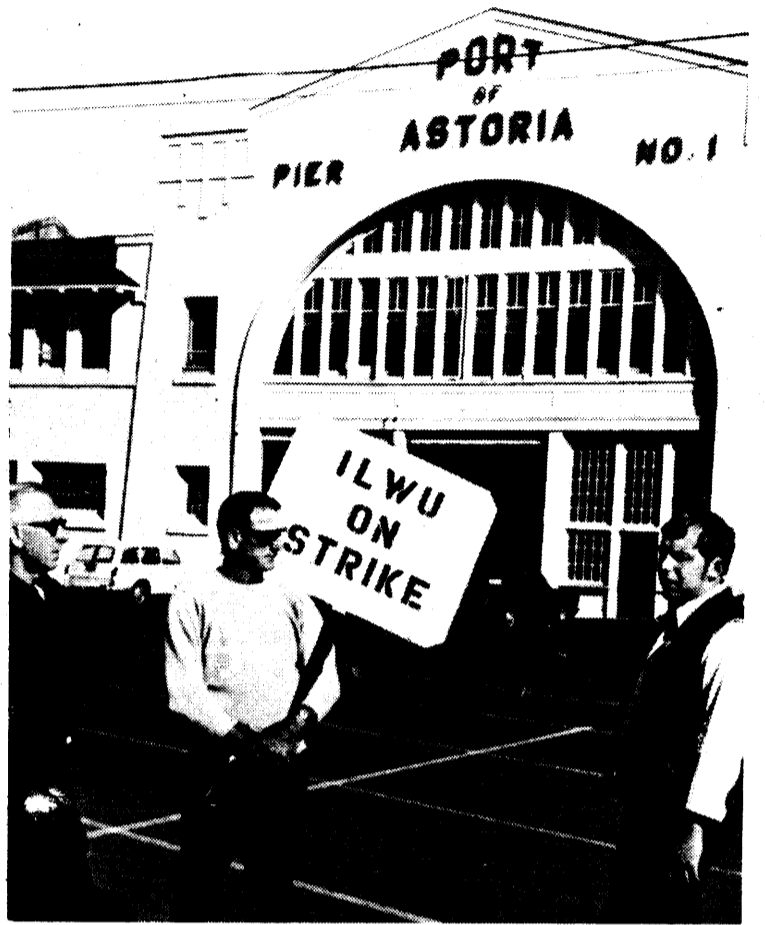
What now threatens is an all out fight between the two unions, while conditions and jobs go down the drain.

It is very likely that Bridges continues to allow operations in Vancouver and Mexico to handle perishables and passenger ships and to raise no objections to cargo diverted to Gulf and East Coast ports in order to weaken the strike sufficiently to sell big cuts in the demands.

All talk of an alliance between the ILWU and the ILA remains just that as long as Gleason continues to unload West Coast ships and to proclaim that he has no intentions of calling a strike.

Throughout these developments the Communist Party through the People's World continues to back Bridges uncritically. They maintain that the central question is that of "steady men" and have not once raised the danger of betrayal stemming from the jurisdictional battle.

Bridges must not be permitted to starve out dockers and betray the original demands. The rank and file must force him to stand firm.



West Coast longshoremen picket Port of Astoria docks in long strike.

This means an outright rejection of any fight with the Teamsters. Dockers have no interest in settling for container jobs at conditions and wages below those on the docks. What must now be fought for is a joint council of war from both unions

against the PMA for a combined fight to see to it that not a single cargo handling job is eliminated with members of both unions guaranteed forty hours pay at longshore rates. There must be no retreat on the original wage demands.

Dockers must force Bridges to make this call for a united fight with the Teamsters. The combined power of these two unions mobilized to shut down the coast is the only way to carry forward the wage offensive and guarantee the preservation of jobs.

The forging of such an alliance is a matter of life and death. It must go forward to break up Nixon's union busting policies by mobilizing the rest of the labor movement in the political fight to establish a labor party.

Boycott Arms To Khan

The ILWU has joined the Baltimore ILA members who refused to load a munitions ship bound for Pakistan.

In answer to an appeal from the All-Indian Port and Dock Workers Union requesting a boycott on all arms shipments to Pakistan, Harry Bridges wrote: "We deplore the butchery, the uprooting by the armed forces of Pakistan of millions of Bengali, Hindu and Moslem peasants from their homes and land in East Pakistan."

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The action, of course, is simply a cynical and arrogant attack on all city workers. The commission passed the resolution in the face of advice by its own general manager that salary cuts were not necessary and that other areas of the budget could be trimmed. But this was the last thing on the minds of the vultures of the Harbor Commission.

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a commissioner and staff member to Hawaii for 12 days and to pay full costs of "receptions, luncheons and dinners as are required."

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ATTACKS

No amount of protests and no number of letters will slow down the attacks on government workers. The ranks of the ACEA must prepare for strike action. Any compromise with the Harbor Commission or any other city agency only sets the stage for further attacks.

Above all city workers must see that these attacks expose the real nature of "working relationships" with the Democratic Party. The only answer is the fight for the political independence of the working class through a labor party.



Seattle longshoremen interrupt strike to load wheat for Bangla Desh.

Contractors Lie About Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, August 11, 1971—The Associated General Contractors of San Diego, using the excuse of a materials shortage due to the West Coast dock strike, is threatening a massive layoff of construction workers in the San Diego area.

Holding that supplies of building materials, primarily lumber, are near exhausted, due to lack of transportation, the AGC argument is simple: there will be layoffs because there is nothing upon which to exercise hammer and saw.

And that argument is a lie. Lumber being brought in by rail, but the cost is currently greater than for ship transport. What the contractors are really saying is

that not they, but the workers will pay that difference by losing their incomes until costs drop. Instead of a closer profit margin under these circumstances, the AGC is threatening starvation for construction workers.

But this threat does not represent simply a response to a "temporary situation". The AGC has locked out thousands of construction workers and Teamster drivers in Northern California, and has called for federal backing for its attacks against the unions time and time again through the wage review board.

This layoff threat must be seen as part of the contractor's attempts to beat back and destroy the power of the construction unions in a period when many West Coast contracts are due to expire.

The leadership of the Building Trades Council is smoothing the

way for such attacks by acting as a direct conduit for AGC pressure on the ranks. They are taking the AGC's arguments into the unions, and are preparing the ranks to accept layoffs without a fight! After all, "What choice is there when lumber runs out?"

That is just a cover. The real issue is the defense of the unions and workers' incomes from capitalist attack.

Layoffs, no matter what the "excuse" is a direct threat to the power of the unions to fight for workers' interests. These leaders who read AGC "Open Letters" to the ranks must take a stand on fighting layoffs. There must be no layoffs, not even one. Union leaders must be prepared to call for a general strike and demand jobs for everyone. Workers will not bear the brunt of capitalist economic crisis.

West Coast News

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ILWU, Teamsters Must Unite

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The impact of the 46 day old dock strike continues to grow. The shutdown of 24 West Coast ports is slowly strangling overseas trade particularly in agricultural products.

While some attempt is being made to divert cargo through Gulf Coast ports the mounting crisis has brought Senators and Governors to the point of screaming for government intervention to break the strike. The ILWU-supported Alan Cranston leads the mob.

While there can be no doubt that Nixon may very well be forced to intervene particularly if the ILA strikes on September 30 resulting in a nationwide shut down, the biggest hope for the employers remains the Bridges' leadership.

Bridges is giving very strong indications that he intends to resume coast-wide negotiations. This means that big pressure will be placed on the locals to speed up resolution of local issues under the threat that once

portwide negotiations are under way short shrift will be made of many local demands.

The most ominous indication of a potential betrayal is Bridges' claim that the central question on the waterfront is the jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters. What this means is that the ILWU leadership may be all too willing to use wages, hours and conditions as bargaining counters in their attempt to nail down container jurisdiction.

It is extremely significant that the employers have offered a three year contract with a 35 hour guarantee for "A" men (strings not announced), no guarantee for "B" men, a wage settlement little better than that offered in steel and a pension plan well below the union's demands. The ILWU leadership

rather than rejecting this offer out of hand continues to stress the jurisdictional dispute and to prepare new negotiations.

At the same time the Teamsters have announced plans to set up a special waterfront committee to defend their jurisdictional claims.

THREAT

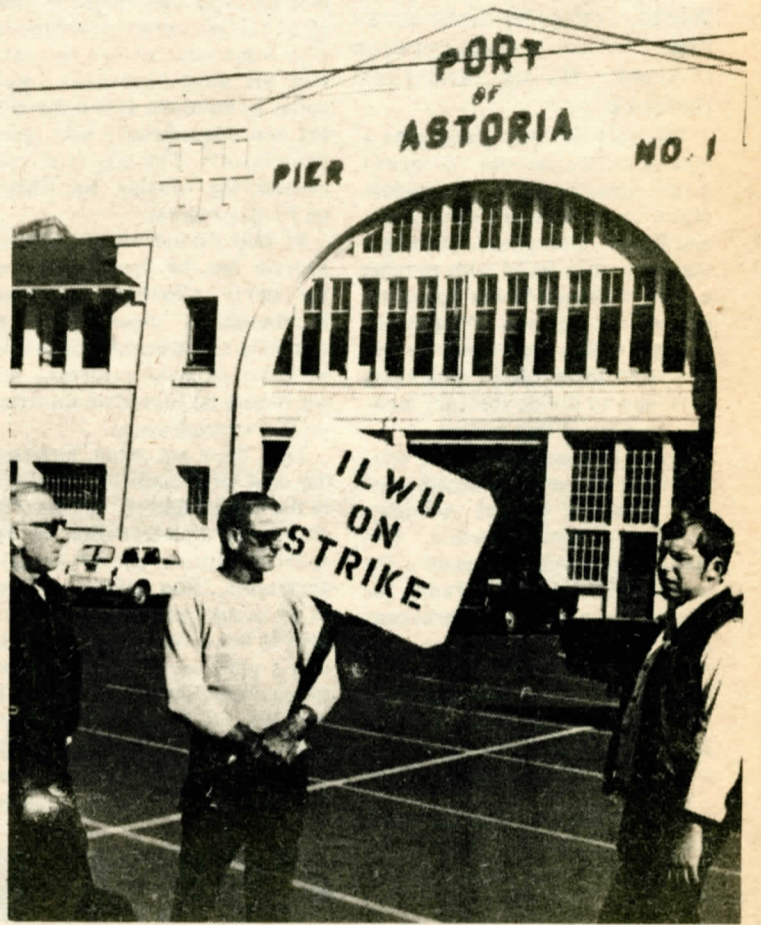
What now threatens is an all out fight between the two unions, while conditions and jobs go down the drain.

It is very likely that Bridges continues to allow operations in Vancouver and Mexico to handle perishables and passenger ships and to raise no objections to cargo diverted to Gulf and East Coast ports in order to weaken the strike sufficiently to sell big cuts in the demands.

All talk of an alliance between the ILWU and the ILA remains just that as long as Gleason continues to unload West Coast ships and to proclaim that he has no intentions of calling a strike.

Throughout these developments the Communist Party through the People's World continues to back Bridges uncritically. They maintain that the central question is that of "steady men" and have not once raised the danger of betrayal stemming from the jurisdictional battle.

Bridges must not be permitted to starve out dockers and betray the original demands. The rank and file must force him to stand firm.



West Coast longshoremen picket Port of Astoria docks in long strike.

This means an outright rejection of any fight with the Teamsters. Dockers have no interest in settling for container jobs at conditions and wages below those on the docks. What must now be fought for is a joint council of war from both unions

against the PMA for a combined fight to see to it that not a single cargo handling job is eliminated with members of both unions guaranteed forty hours pay at longshore rates. There must be no retreat on the original wage demands.

Dockers must force Bridges to make this call for a united fight with the Teamsters. The combined power of these two unions mobilized to shut down the coast is the only way to carry forward the wage offensive and guarantee the preservation of jobs.

The forging of such an alliance is a matter of life and death. It must go forward to break up Nixon's union busting policies by mobilizing the rest of the labor movement in the political fight to establish a labor party.

Boycott Arms To Khan

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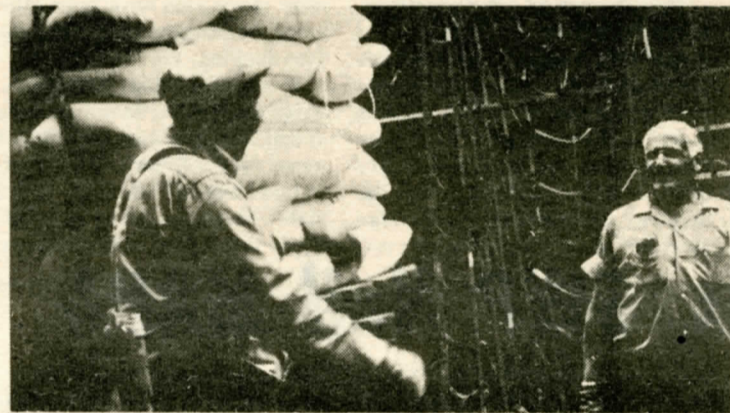
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