



# **Bulletin**

**OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM**

---

Vol. 2, No. 5

March 8, 1965

10 Cents

**TERRORISM MUST GO!**

**SERIOUS STRUGGLE**

**MUST BEGIN!**

The assassination of Malcolm X is indicative of an increasing frustration, disorientation and demoralization in the Negro movement. It also demonstrates, as did the Kennedy assassination 15 months ago, the deep-rooted sickness beneath the surface of American capitalist society.

The outright pro-capitalist conservative forces in the Negro movement have seized upon the fatal shooting of Malcolm X as a sign that the Negro must 'continue' to abide by the philosophy of non-violence. This is what Rev. King told the Negroes of Selma and Marion, Alabama who have been beaten and jailed by the racists. The capitalist press have developed this theme more openly by stating that Malcolm X met the inevitable end of a man who lived a life of violence and the so-called preaching of violence. Elijah Muhammad has added an ironic note of agreement to this sentiment, as he denied any Muslim involvement in the killing.

It is the violence and injustice of capitalist society, however, not Malcolm X, which led to the assassination and is exposed by it. It is this system, not the justifiably bitter reaction to it of Malcolm X and those whose moods he reflected, which is on trial. And Malcolm's death no more proves the necessity of pacifist dogma than

the attempt on Rev. Kings' life some years ago necessarily proved the opposite.

If there must be violence (and violence already exists in every corner of life in the North and South), let it be the violence or threat of violence by Negroes in self-defense against their oppressors, not the violence of Negro pointlessly killing Negro. This merely satisfies the enemy, both the openly racist and the "liberal" variety, as the Negro becomes demoralized rather than conscious of his real interests and his power.

Signs point to the involvement of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims in the murder of Malcolm X as well as in other recent reprisals against other defectors. There are also indications of vengeance attempts on the part of Malcolm X's followers. These developments follow by a week the arrest of 3 Negroes and a white Canadian woman in New York on charges of having plotted to dynamite the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell and the Washington Monument.

It is important to expose the role or possible role of police provocation in these events. It is especially clear that such a vicious role was part of the "bomb plot". A Negro police agent was sent into the Freedom Now Party, Bronx CORE (James Farmer, please note), and other organizations, as well as the "Black Liberation Front". It is clear that this provocateur spurred on and instigated actions wherever he could which would make it easier to crack down on the Negro movement. While no one can find and convict the murderers and bombers involved in the killings of Medgar Evers, the Birmingham children, and Goodman, Chaney, and Schwerner, the New York police and F. B. I. have plenty of time to devote to alleged plots to blow up monuments, not people.

#### Frustration and Demoralization

While the role of provocateurs cannot thus be discounted, particularly in the so-called bomb plot, it nevertheless appears that these terrorist acts or plans are at least partly factual. They stem from an extreme frustration which the ruling class is seizing on and will seize on to further demoralize the Negro movement and keep it in "safe" channels. The movement must counter this terrorism which represents at bottom an extreme distance from the working class itself, black as well as white. Militants who could otherwise play an important role in building a revolutionary movement are being trapped in the blind alley of individual terrorism.

The outpouring of thousands of Negroes to pay respects to Malcolm X at the funeral home and at the funeral itself reflects the deep connections which Malcolm X had with the feelings of the Negro masses. It reflects the new feelings of racial pride and self-assurance, the positive accomplishments of Malcolm X and other nationalist trends.

Nevertheless, the nationalist trends are in crisis, as a result of their own rejection of a working class program. Malcolm X himself, while reflecting nationalist moods discontented with capitalist society and conservative Negro leadership, did not lead these moods anywhere, did not channel them onto a genuinely revolutionary path. The various nationalist trends were looked to for leadership. Terrorist trends have been strengthened precisely because they defaulted, at least thus far.

If there is one thing revolutionaries should seek to learn and pass on from the recent events, it is that terrorism is a petty-bourgeois ideology which seeks to change society through individual heroism, the opposite of the proletarian revolutionary approach of mass action and a revolutionary party leading the masses. Individual action will solve nothing, will change nothing in the long run. The building of a new leadership, of a movement rooted in the working class and seeking to unite the working class, black and white, in common struggle, will change things.

#### NEW YORK PUERTO RICANS BEGIN TO FIGHT BACK

Evidence has been growing in recent weeks that the Puerto Rican community in New York City is at last beginning to move in an organized manner to act in force to defend the life, liberty and welfare of its youth.

Indignation and shock at the Grand Jury's recent exoneration of Detective Devlin in the senseless and cruel shooting of the Puerto Rican youth Gregorio Cruz who was on his way to a church meeting, has sparked the spirit of protest which gives signs of growing in intensity.

The National Association for Puerto Rican Affairs has taken the leadership in the movement. It called on the entire Latin American community in the city to a protest march Feb. 13th in front of the Mayor's residence. The NAPA demands that the Grand Jury case be reopened and that it be presided over by a retired judge.

In its public statement to the Mayor the NAPA declared: "So innumerable are the cases of police brutality with which we are confronted daily, and to such a degree, that we have come to believe that in New York there is no justice for Puerto Ricans, and that the Police is a Hitlerite Gestapo dedicated to the extermination of the Puerto Ricans even as Hitler was dedicated to the extermination of the Jews." In the letter sent to the Mayor the NAPA demanded the creation of a Civil Council for reviewing cases of police brutality with representatives of all races, "including a Puerto Rican who is not tied to the Municipal Administration."

The original protest movement by the Puerto Rican

community against the crime committed against Cruz resulted in Detective Devlin's suspension from the force. This however turned out to be only a typical police ruse to silence the community and allow the protest spirit to calm down while the plot unfolded to exonerate the sadistic cop. It soon unfolded in all its viciousness. Charges were formulated against Cruz for carrying weapons and resisting arrest. At the same time the Grand Jury which, of course, had no Puerto Rican in its composition, was then subjected to the usual police slanders and lies concerning the delinquency of Cruz.

#### Parents Form Committee

Another development in the community was the recent formation of The Committee of Parents of Public School No. 5. The committee has drawn up a declaration demanding the dismissal, retirement, or transfer of the Principal of the school for his discriminatory practices and for carrying on a campaign of intimidation not only of the pupils but of the parents who are afraid to speak out or protest because of the reprisals that are taken by the teachers against the children.

In the declaration drawn up by the Parents Committee the parents state that they are tired of having their children characterized as animals, delinquents and idiots who are incapable of learning. They demand that the Principal be removed and be replaced by someone with "humanity, understanding and respect for human dignity and who accepts without any doubt that Puerto Rican and Negro children are part of the human race."

#### Police Murder Victim in Jail

Currently the most vicious case of police brutality which is stirring the Puerto Rican community is that of the taxi driver Jaime Gonzalez who was arrested on Sat., Feb. 13 on alleged charges of drunken driving. He was later found to have "hanged himself" in his cell by tearing off his shirt sleeve and using it for a rope.

Witnesses who were present at the time of his arrest which occurred at Southern Boulevard and Westchester Avenue in the Bronx have told his family that he was beaten by the police. In addition the embalmer who handled Jaime's body disclosed to his bereaved family that there were no characteristics or manifestations of any sort that death was caused by hanging.

The Jacobi Hospital Pathologic Medicine office had refused to give out any details on the cause of death except to members of the immediate family. All attempts to get a second autopsy performed have been rejected by the pathologists. They termed such an action as impossible. Jaime's body has already been sent to Puerto Rico for burial. Police records show him to have been placed in a cell at

Bronx Precinct No. 41 at 10:35 AM and to have been found dead from hanging at 11:00 AM.

The M.P.I. (Movimiento Pro Independencia) led a picket line protest in front of the 41st Precinct on Feb. 21 with at least 100 persons in attendance. Demands were voiced for a thorough investigation of the case, for justice for Puerto Ricans and for the setting up of a civil review board to investigate charges of police brutality.

### The Community Awakens

These visible signs of a real awakening by the Puerto Rican and Latin community to the frightful outrages that have been and continue to be perpetrated against a whole minority solely because of their race is a truly heartening event. Too long have hundreds of Puerto Ricans in New York whose only crime has been to try to live and better themselves and make a better life for their children here and in Puerto Rico either sat back and endured the outrages of the would-be fascist cops or else struck back sporadically in vain and futile ways.

Every effort must be made on the part of militants and socialists to encourage and aid these vanguard elements of the Puerto Rican community to assert themselves in the struggle against the brutal racists who use the policemen's uniform as a legal means to give vent to their sadism and violence. Almost equally reprehensible are educators and teachers who dishonor their profession by seeking to hurt the very young who are entrusted to their care, who show contempt and hatred for those who most need patience and understanding.

Thus we see the very essence of true perversion and the very depths of hypocrisy in the liberal democratic welfare society of New York City where the two arms of the state which should be most in favor of the life, liberty and welfare of the people are frequently used against them when those people are viewed as a minority that is beneath contempt.

### SECRET DIPLOMACY THREATENS TO DESTROY

### VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION BY NEGOTIATION

The whole Vietnam situation poses one paradox after another. Surely the US position there is hopeless. Each day's paper reports a new government formed in Saigon. The Vietcong control some 80 percent of the country and are gaining every day. The South Vietnamese army is incapable of even defending American bases from small guerilla raids, not to mention defeating the Vietcong. Clearly it is in the interest of the United States to seek some sort of negotiations with the Vietcong and North Vietnam or else retreat

altogether from a hopeless situation. And yet Johnson so far has adamantly refused to take this course. This is one paradox.

U. S. actions against North Vietnam clearly pose a direct military threat not only against North Vietnam but China and the Soviet Union as well. If not brotherly solidarity with another workers' state, then certainly military self-defense and self-protection should compel the USSR and China to come more directly to the aid of North Vietnam. However, the United States, in a clear act of aggression, bombs North Vietnamese bases and there is no counterattack by North Vietnam, China, or the USSR. Nor is there even a clear unqualified threat of counterattack.

Barry Goldwater suggests that the U. S. bomb Hanoi and then blithely assures us that the Chinese will not counterattack. All the USSR needs to say in the present situation is that if Hanoi or any other portion of North Vietnam is attacked once more, the USSR will launch missiles against Saigon. Such a statement would surely force Johnson to reconsider his present course. But the USSR limits itself to vaguely worded condemnation. China offers little more in the concrete. North Vietnam does nothing. This is another paradox.

#### France as a Schoolmarm

And then there is France. Foreign Minister Couve de Murville comes to the U. S. to advise Johnson as to just what he ought to do in this country which has "traditional cultural" links with France, as the current euphemism goes. He talks in the tone of a schoolmarm lecturing a school boy and we can appreciate his impatience with his pupil. The U. S. must recognize that it faces a "genuine revolution", he tells Johnson. It is in a hopeless situation. All it can do is seek to gracefully disengage from it through negotiation and through seeking a general settlement of the Southeast Asian situation with China. All very, very reasonable positions. What is paradoxical in this case is the spokesman himself. France for seven long years fought the very same kind of "genuine revolution" in Vietnam and then in Algeria. The French of that period lacked the "insight" of the French of today, it would seem.

#### With Such Friends, Who Needs Enemies?

Finally, we have our "friends of the Vietnamese Revolution" here among the radicals of the United States. Supposedly interested only in the defense of this great revolutionary struggle, they seem to be devoting their major effort of late to advising the American State Department as to the best course for it to take to properly advance United States interests. The hero of this Stalinist

and social democratic cabal is Wayne Morse, Democratic Senator from Oregon and his buddy Senator Gruening of Alaska. These people feel they can at one and the same time advance the interests of the oppressed Vietnamese people and the interests of the oppressor the American capitalist class and its Government and the Johnson administration. Latest recruit to this cabal is the Socialist Workers Party whose organ, the (humorously called) Militant, recently reprinted a speech of the great Senator from Oregon.

Such are the contradictory factors which lie on the surface of the Vietnamese situation. We must now look a bit under the surface to seek an understanding of these paradoxes. Our first consideration must be with the policies of the oppressor, the United States ruling class. As US citizens it is our prime duty to struggle against this oppressor. But to do so we must try to understand him so we do not fight blindly.

#### World Strength and Local Weakness

It would be wrong to assume from the present bellicose stance of Johnson that he is completely opposed to a negotiated solution to the Vietnamese situation. But, it would be correct to assume that he means it when he says he is opposed to a negotiated solution now. The crux of the problem facing Johnson is that within Southeast Asia in particular, the US is in a weak position while on a world scale the US is in a very strong position. Johnson fears a negotiated solution at this time not only because the weakness of the US in Southeast Asia could be deepened and made permanent at the bargaining table. Of greater concern to him is that his weakness in this one area could be used as bargaining pressure in order to force the US to retreat, if only a small step, in its unrelenting international pressure against the Soviet Bloc as a whole and China in particular. The loss of all of Vietnam would be of less harm to the world power of American imperialism than a serious, though limited, concession to the Soviet bloc internationally. In our opinion it is precisely this latter consideration which remains uppermost in the minds of the American rulers today.

The basic international strategy of American imperialism for the last decade at least has been aimed at splintering up the Soviet Bloc by on the one hand enticing the East European countries and the USSR into ever deeper relations with capitalism while on the other hand applying the greatest pressure possible to China. This policy has contributed far more than this or that "theoretical" issue to the present split in the Soviet camp--a split which has greatly weakened the entire Soviet camp in the face of imperialism.

Any negotiated agreement of the Vietnamese situation first of all requires the legitimization of China, and in time would mean the entry of China into the United Nations and the

beginning of the breaking down of her encirclement. This in turn would encourage greater collaboration between the Kremlin and Peking. Thus the US cannot treat Vietnam in isolation. While its present course makes no sense as far as imperialist interests in Vietnam itself are concerned it makes a good deal of sense from a broader international framework.

The problem for Johnson is that his weakness in Vietnam is now proceeding to a point where like it or not the alternatives of deal or complete retreat are being posed with a sharpness not easily postponed. Thus the sense of frenzy and frustration in such brinkmanship efforts as the recent raids on North Vietnam. Clearly, Johnson is making a futile attempt to create a military threat against North Vietnam of such a degree as to balance weakness for weakness in Vietnam. This would allow Johnson to negotiate on a limited rather than international scale. But he fears carrying this approach too far as it would lead to the opposite result: if, as Goldwater suggests, the US tries bombing Hanoi and forcing the Chinese and Soviet Union to directly intervene militarily. Once such an intervention had begun clearly a general international settlement would be necessary to effect the withdrawal of all parties.

#### What USSR and China Really Want

With an understanding of the U.S. position it is somewhat easier to understand the actions and inactions of the USSR and China. They of course are primarily interested in the Vietcong struggle as a way of developing a U.S. weakness in one area to a point where some general concessions can be wrought from the U.S. internationally. Thus the Kremlin seeks through the Vietcong to accomplish what it failed to do with its Cuban Missiles project--to develop a limited strength somewhere to offset the general strength of the U. S.

Chinese policy is not substantially different from the USSR's on this score. But its own position vis a vis the U.S. is weaker and the direct threat to its security in the Vietnamese development is much greater. Thus its commitment is deeper. No doubt the USSR would like to deal China out of the picture and reach a settlement with North Vietnam and the U. S. This was undoubtedly part of the reason for Kosygin's trip. Certainly fear of this explains in part the cool reaction Kosygin got in China. However, Kosygin and Co. are realists enough to know they will be unable to totally arrange such a double deal.

Clearly, neither party is particularly interested in the Vietcong revolution itself nor the defense of North Vietnam, for that matter, or their reaction to U. S. military action would have been stronger. In fact it is clear that Johnson would not have acted as he did if he didn't already have the assurances directly or indirectly of the limited nature of the USSR and Chinese reaction. Truly this in it-



self is ample proof of the counterrevolutionary role of these governments and a warning to the Vietnamese people of what to expect in the future.

The Vietcong is deeply dependent on these powers for its supplies. It is in a weak position to resist any deal made at the conference table at their expense. If and when the Vietnamese question reaches a conference table the Vietnamese people will be lucky if they are given even nominal representation in the negotiations. The real decisions will be made by the "great powers" as they are called.

The French role is the most transparent. In fact one aspect of its role may be so transparent that people miss the other aspect. Surely France would like to see a solution to the Vietnamese situation which would lead to withdrawal of U.S. troops and thus an opportunity for France to exert a little more its "traditional" imperialist domination in the peninsula. The less transparent aspect of French policy is a reflection of France's peculiar position within the capitalist camp and DeGaulle's "grand" designs to enhance that position. France does not feel comfortable in a world dominated by the U.S. Of course she would be less comfortable in a world dominated by the workers states. This puts a limit on her maneuverability. But, bearing this limit in mind, France would be happier with a balance of forces internationally in which the U.S. dominance was less secure and thus the U.S. "allies" would have more of a say. Thus France would not mind an international rearrangement which was a bit more to the advantage of the Soviet camp--for a period of time, of course. But capitalists are incapable of thinking in anything but short-run terms or they would commit suicide on the spot.

#### The Rotten Role of Our Rotten Friends

We are left with the rotten role of our rotten "friends" on the left here who are rallying to the Vietcong by proposing the exact course most surely to lead to the finish of the Vietnamese Revolution. The Vietcong cannot be defeated on the military front. It is at the conference table that it is the weakest. This is because its leadership is essentially a Stalinist one and is closely tied to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet countries. But this bureaucracy seeks to utilize the Vietcong struggle in order to come to terms with world imperialism and is willing to compromise the Vietnamese struggle to achieve that end.

True friends of the Vietnamese people must raise unconditionally the demand that the U.S. WITHDRAW ALL ITS TROOPS FROM VIETNAM. It must demand of the Soviet leaders that they step up their aid to the Vietnamese revolutionists and counter any blows by the U.S. against North Vietnam with counterblows against U.S. military installations in South Vietnam with missiles if need be. It must insist on the complete evacuation by the U.S. from Vietnam as a precondition

to any cease fire or negotiations. We must warn the Vietnamese people of the perfidious role of the Kremlin and the Chinese who may seek to use them to compromise with their international opponents.

### ON THE NYC SCHOOL BOYCOTT

#### Working Class Youth Respond to Appeal

#### But Need a Program Related to Real Needs

One year after the first successful civil rights boycott of New York City schools, a limited effort by almost a dozen civil rights, parents and community groups despite being thwarted or ignored by city officials has nevertheless coalesced a small but determined group.

The boycotts, which started in mid-January, were directed primarily at junior high schools and "600" schools for disturbed children. The day after the first boycott a temporary injunction was delivered, and the Rev. Milton A. Galamison was arrested and charged with inciting youngsters to defy the state's compulsory education law. More arrests followed. People teaching in Freedom Schools which had been set up in churches in Harlem and Brooklyn were arrested and attempts were made to remove them from the classrooms in front of the children.

The boycott itself had a somewhat dubious success. February 3 had been Mr. Galamison's target date for the extension of the boycott to all 15 "600" schools. By the third week in February a total of 26 schools in three boroughs, only a few of the "600" schools, were involved.

Reasons for the size of the effort vary. Last year's boycott was successful in keeping large numbers of students out of school and even had the support of many members of the United Federation of Teachers. But nothing concrete happened. The Board of Education was supposedly adopting a modified form of the Princeton Plan which pairs schools--only four schools were paired. Bussing was a major issue. PAT won by default. The civil rights movement is splintered. The Board of Education still has not presented the satisfactory timetable it promised Mr. Galamison last spring. Negro parents have reason to be disheartened.

#### A Limited Program

The demands of the groups itself are not far-reaching enough to move parents, especially women who work and for whom keeping children out of school means calls from truancy and school officials. The groups are demanding the integration of 31 junior high schools scheduled for closing, implementation of a 4-4-4 plan (basically the pairing of

white and Negro school populations in one building for four years, switching, etc.), upgrading of Negro and Puerto Ricans to supervisory positions by either emergency exams or preferential treatment; and the honest teaching of Negro history. But no tie-up is made with the problems the youngsters are to face even in integrated schools -- that is, lack of funds for college and no place to study at home for those who receive academic training, poor training on outdated equipment in most vocational schools, and no jobs and no futures for students when they graduate. The entire job training, closed union and unemployment problems must be directly tied to the question of school integration. The question for these working class youngsters is: school for what?

Interestingly enough, the key effort was made by students at Boys High in Brooklyn, a working class school. On Feb. 16, approximately 5,500 students stayed out of 26 schools including Boys High. About 400 of them picketed the Board of Education. All of their adult supervisors were arrested. A combination of no leadership with some racist taunts from a handful of students from nearby St. John's University resulted in disorder and some violence. Since then, each day the adult supervisors of the lines have carefully been arrested at the start of the picketing in an obvious police attempt to provoke further riots. It is to the credit of the leaderless but militant youngsters that violence has not erupted daily. Were these students merely truants they would be at the movies rather than determinedly attempting to utilize time out of school to make reasonable demands from an administration that pledged itself to meet these demands almost a year ago.

These students are crucial to the entire civil rights and working class struggles, not only to the fight for school integration. They must be taught to relate their own school question to the broader problems of housing, jobs, union membership, and above all, unemployment. These are people with a real potential for struggle, and they must be provided with political education and leadership.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN WILL BE ENTIRELY DEVOTED TO AN ANALYSIS OF BLACK NATIONALISM IN THE U.S.

-----  
SUBSCRIBE to the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Special Introductory  
Sub - 10 Issues: \$.50  
Full Year: \$2.00

Name.....  
Street.....  
City.....State.....  
Zip Code.....

Send to: BULLETIN,  
Box 721, Ansonia Sta.  
New York, N.Y. 10023

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: Wohlforth



# LABOR

# SCOPE

A 'GOOD GUY': Previous issues of the BULLETIN have exposed the New York dock contract as the sell-out it really is. Of all the labor fakers that helped engineer the sellout, Anthony (Tony) Scotto, boss of the largest dock local in the ILA (Brooklyn local 1814) and at the tender age of 30 an ILA Vice-President -- has achieved the next best thing to a cover story in Time -- a glowing writeup in the Wall Street Journal of Feb. 17, 1965. Scotto is described as a "Young College Graduate" who "typifies emerging new leadership." The bankers and industrialists who read the WSJ now can breathe easier in the knowledge that there are some "good guys" like Tony around. Here is a man -- suave, sophisticated, "flexible," a "rationalist in an essentially irrational industry," -- who, according to a management official, "while he protects his men, he will pay as much attention at the bargaining sessions to our side of the argument as to the Union's." The Wall Street readers are further informed that "he has a full-time public relations man to deal with news media. No other ILA official has a PR man."

While the WSJ doesn't say what Scotto does to "protect" his men, they detail a few accomplishments which make Mr. Scotto the foremost example of "the new leadership that is most responsible for a more flexible posture that became evident in the ILA preceeding and during the recent strike": Scotto dislikes strikes much more than the old time leaders. "Last June he rushed back from a Washington meeting with Labor Department officials to persuade his local to halt a wildcat strike over a minor issue." Perhaps he should be known as the "great persuader". In the New York voting on the contract last month, "only Mr. Scotto's local and that of John Bowers ... approved the terms. Mr. Scotto who strongly favored the proposed pact then was instrumental in delaying a second vote until ILA leaders had time to explain the terms and speak for a favorable vote."

But the crowning measure of Scotto's success in the eyes of the WSJ is that "When Thomas J. Gleason ... finally conceded last week to allow dockers to return to their jobs at contract settled ports, he was carrying out a plan urged by Mr. Scotto before the union's executive council ... Never before in ILA history had the union budged on its policy that a strike in one port means a strike in all." We agree with the WSJ on at least this one thing: credit must be given where credit is due and Scotto is indeed a model businessman's labor leader.

\* \* \* \*

LABOR AND THE 'MARXISTS': In the last few years the socialist movement in America has produced more and more talk of the demise of the labor movement, the overshadowing of the importance of the trade union movement by the growing importance of the struggles of the Negro people, the Youth, the Unemployed, etc. Many socialists have been searching for "new" forces to build socialism and have been either uneasy with or openly hostile to the Marxist concern with the organized workers.

This trend of thought was most clearly expressed by left liberals like the late C. Wright Mills and in various less clear formulations by the "New Left" magazines of various persuasions. But this type of thinking also infects the outlook of "Orthodox Marxist" groups like the Socialist Workers Party. Generally, the SWP along with the other "traditional" left wing groups simply gives lip service to the importance of the organized workers while in practice are unconcerned with analysis of concrete developments and in building fractions in the unions. Along with the erosion of the working class perspective and composition of the SWP has been a complete incapacity to politically combat the most open petty bourgeois trends of thought regarding the role of the working class.

As long as socialists and "Marxists" limit themselves to abstract formulations (whether "optimistic" or "pessimistic") about the trade union movement or to the simple reporting of isolated but "interesting" facts, they will not be able to have any connection with the great struggles that are now taking shape in embryonic form. The "facts" must be studied in relation to intervention as revolutionists in the union movement and as part of the process of creating a revolutionary Marxist party in the USA.

\* \* \* \*

UNIFYING THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS: The most recent example of the bureaucratic maneuvering and "power" moves of the labor bureaucracy is the proposal by Walter Reuther to merge the UAW and the IUE (International Union of Electrical Workers). The IUE bureaucracy has been split down the middle by a struggle between president James Carey and district leader Paul Jennings, who has appealed to the courts for a recount in the recent election which he lost by a narrow margin. The Reuther proposal has been rejected by Carey, possibly because he is afraid Jennings will take advantage if Carey openly supports it. It has been bitterly attacked by Jennings as a behind-the-scenes deal to "save" Carey and give him a special position in the merged union. It has been attacked by a spokesman for the IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) as leading to increased jurisdictional battles. This spokesman, while not actually proposing it, said that his union

would be in a better position to merge with the IUE since it (IBEW) has contracts with G.E. in 28 cities and with Westinghouse in 52 cities. At the same time, President Fitzgerald of the UE (United Electrical Workers-Ind.), which also represents workers at G.E. and Westinghouse, proposed a merger with IUE, saying that there was more sentiment among IUE workers for merger with the UE than with any other union.

Reuther has concealed his motives with some demagogic verbiage about having a "constructive influence on the negative attitude of General Electric." Reuther's plan, far from leading to unity in the face of the GE bosses, would lead instead to an aggravation of competition with other unions in the field such as the IBEW, UE and CWA (Communication Workers of America). Unity of the electrical workers to give them greater strength against G.E. and Westinghouse must begin with the fusion of the IUE, UE and IBEW as a minimum.

If Reuther were interested in real unity of the workers he might begin with a proposal to merge the UAW with the IAM (machinists) which also represents many workers in the automotive and aircraft industries. Instead he has come up with another of his famous gimmicks as a means of furthering his own ambitions which may well include the desire to become the next president of the AFL-CIO.

Clearly, the situation in the electrical industry where there are three or four competing unions is more of a mess than anything else in the American trade union movement. The three largest manufacturing industries in the U.S.A. are the automobile, steel and the electrical industries, which contain the three giants of American capital: General Motors, U.S. Steel, and General Electric. Despite their servile leaderships, the UAW and the USW are rich and powerful unions which bargain for all the auto workers and the steelworkers as well as for many workers in related industries. The basic strength of these two unions is a heritage of the great struggles of the mass production workers to organize the CIO in the late 1930's. Reuther, MacDonald, Abel, and the rest are parasites representing anti-working class forces within the union movement, but they are parasites on bodies which have a great power and a potential for struggle.

By comparison, the electrical workers' unions are weak and divided. Since 1949 the electrical corporations, particularly GE, have been able to hold the workers' standards down and have gotten the workers at some plants to accept outright wage reductions. The companies have been able to play off the UE and the IUE against each other. While the IUE leadership is hardly noted for its militancy and has engaged in vicious red-baiting, it is generally known in the labor movement that the UE has been prone to making "sweetheart" contracts as a means of retaining its position against the larger IUE.

The division of the electrical unions stems from the expulsion of the UE from the CIO in 1949 as "Communist dominated" and

the creation of the rival IUE by the CIO leadership. Walter Reuther was one of the chief engineers of this witch hunt which also included the expulsion of unions such as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the ILWU (West Coast longshoremen) and others which have since disappeared. In line with the cold war which was then being developed by the ruling class with the assistance of men like Reuther, the expulsions were accompanied by red hunts in the UAW, NMU and many other CIO unions. While dumping a number of bureaucrats who, in line with Communist Party policy during and at the end of the war were among the most notorious class collaborators, the purge also succeeded in blacklisting thousands of militants, socialist and communist workers, and bringing the unions under the domination of a leadership considered responsible by the American ruling class. The competition between the electrical unions and the disunity in other industries is a direct by-product of this episode in the labor movement.

While the workers are only able to realize themselves through the development of solidarity, organization and consciousness, things are different for the labor bureaucrats for whom raiding and competition are quite logical means of striving for their own ambitions: status, privilege and individual power. Reuther's phoney proposal should be transformed by the ranks of the IUE, UE and IBEW into a serious proposal for merger. Undoubtedly Mr. Reuther and friends would attack such a proposal as "unrealistic."

\* \* \* \*

PRINTERS FACE A CHALLENGE: There is a pretty good chance that after March 30 New Yorkers will have to rely on "news media" other than the newspapers, at least for a time. March 30 is the expiration date of the Newspaper Publishers Association of New York contract with the various printing craft unions and the Newspaper Guild. Two years ago the New York newspapers were struck for 114 days over fundamentally the same issue which is paramount today, automation. Spokesmen for Local 6 of the ITU (International Typographical Union) have warned that their members are prepared to hit the bricks once again in order to fight the publishers insistence on the reduction of the work force through the process of "attrition". Bertram Powers, president of Local 6 has said that the printers "will not sign our own death certificate by agreeing to pure and simple attrition alone". He said also that the union will insist on job controls to protect the 700 apprentices and substitutes as well as the regulars and will fight for "a share in the savings that result from the new equipment". If the printers hold Powers to his words, we will be seeing a healthy step away from the trend that has existed in other unions to let the "extras" (e.g., the "B" list longshoremen on the west coast) get the old heave-ho. Behind Powers statement is the idea that "automation", "modernization", "rationalization", etc., should not be instituted at the expense of the workers--that technology should benefit the workers through means such as a reduction in work hours for every gain in productivity, with no less in base pay. While we do not know how far the ITU lead-

ership will be willing or able to go in concretizing this principle, the traditions and militancy of the printers point to a better outcome than for the New York Longshoremen whose leadership sold out totally to the bosses over the question of work force reduction.

While the Local 6 leadership is relatively more responsive to the needs of its membership, the printers are handicapped by the anachronistic and harmful division into many craft unions. Along with technical modernization and new equipment in some sections of the printing industry, the old craft specializations tend to break down. What is more and more needed is the development of a giant industrial union in the printing and publishing industry which could organize the unorganized, especially in the photo-offset field and overcome the divisions which the employers take advantage of in their drive to maximize profits.

\* \* \* \*

---

JUST OUT!

# Fourth International

DOUBLE ISSUE      AUTUMN/WINTER 1964/1965      68 pgs. Illus.

Partial Contents:

The Struggle for Marxism in the United States  
by Tim Wohlforth

The Strategy of Betrayal by W. Pereira

The Intelligentsia and Socialism by L. Trotsky  
Peaceful Co-existence and Stalinism- a discussion

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is the theoretical organ of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW! Send 75¢ to:  
BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM  
P.O. Box 721, Ansonia Station  
New York, N.Y. 10023