

LBJ OFFERS YOUTH BLOODY JOB IN VIETNAM; BUT NO WORK HERE

by MAlody Farrow

Despite all the talk about prosperity, economic opportunity and wars on poverty, the situation of American youth is in reality getting worse day by day.

While more jobs are open to college graduates and highly skilled technicians, the number of jobs for unskilled youth is decreasing. Automation, as it eliminates the

most menial and degrading jobs is hitting especially hard at the high school drop out (1 million in 1965) whose unemployment rate is twice as high as that of high school graduates. 15% of white youth and 25% of Negro youth have no jobs. It is estimated that by 1975 Negro youth will have an unemployment rate four times that of white youth. To make things even worse, by

1975 two thirds of all high school youth will not be able to go to college.

solution

Ah, but young people need not worry. Your good government has a solution for all this. They've got a job for you. They plan to send you over to Vietnam to give your life to "defend" 10,000 miles away the very system which

gives you no future at home.

In fact soon you may not even have to wait your turn for this bloody job. Johnson's latest brains have worked out a whole new system to revise the draft so that you--America's teenagers--get drafted first, before anybody else.

The different job training programs are not the answer. Rather than attack the root of the problem they have un-

successfully tried to avoid it. An excellent example is the Jobs Corps, run by the government. At one of the centers in New Jersey only 1,250 youth were enrolled while the capacity was 2,500 and after nine months 483 of them had dropped out. The camp was a completely artificial set-up where the boys lived in barracks under almost mili-

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Feb. 27, 1967

Ten Cents

AFL-CIO Split Deepens While UAW Prepares To Battle Auto Bosses

by the editors

Eleven years ago, at the 1955 merger convention of the AFL and CIO, Walter Reuther said to George Meany: "You will lead the American labor movement to higher and higher levels of achievement. You will enable the labor movement to make a greater and greater contribution to the whole of America and the free world."

Today, Reuther has to eat his words. The gulf which has been developing for at least a year between himself and Mr. Meany has now widened to the point where Reuther has resigned his post on the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This action has raised the possibility of a split of the UAW from the AFL-CIO.

fact

While the labor columnists indulge in speculation and some claim that Reuther's resignation "has placed the federation on the brink of its greatest internal crisis," the truth is that Reuther's action expresses the crisis but does not create it. The crisis of the AFL-CIO is a crisis of leadership. Its officers are not workers' leaders who represent the laboring men and women but complacent and fat bureaucrats sitting on top of a vast apparatus staffed by self seeking careerists far removed from the contact and interests of the workers they supposedly represent.

Meanwhile, the workers face mounting inflation as a result of the Vietnam War, tough bargaining by the employers and the threat of federal anti-strike legislation. The AFL-CIO membership has shrunk in relation to the growth of the U.S. labor force as its failure becomes more and more glaring. The AFL-CIO has failed to provide leadership to or inspiration for the vast majority of Negroes and youth.

It is this ugly reality of the "leadership" of the American labor movement that Reuther,

if even in a hesitant and incomplete way, is criticizing. To this we say, "good", even though he has left out of his indictment of Meany and Co. their greatest crime for which Reuther himself must share equal blame: support to the Democratic Party.

But it is worse than useless to congratulate Reuther for his criticisms of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy if all he wants to do is maneuver without seri-

ously going to the rank and file of the UAW and the working class in general to build an alternative leadership to the fat, smug bureaucrats. We cannot count on Reuther to do this as he is something of a fat, smug bureaucrat himself.

convention

The main question is not what Reuther will do but what the workers of the UAW can do. (Continued on page 4)

Rest Of NMU Saddled With Sell-Out

Militant Tugboatmen Win Victory Of 30 For 40

by Dan Fried

"A major breakthrough for the entire labor movement". That's how the new contract accepted by 3,400 New York tugboat workers after a 7 day strike was hailed by Captain Joseph O'Hare, President of the tugboatmen's Local 333, National Maritime Union. Despite some concessions and important omissions, which

we will get to later, we can't quibble with O'Hare's statement that the contract advanced the local's membership from third class citizenship to the forefront of the American labor movement.

The cornerstone of this victory for the tugboatmen is the achievement of the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. This has been a long time goal in

mass production industries where a 40 hour week is the norm. Translated into tugboatmen's terms, the 30 hour week in reality means that each tug will now have 4 complete crews, 2 working and 2 ashore at all times, instead of the former 3 crews. This means that a man who used to work a 12 hour shift for 20 days and earn only 10 days off, will now work his 12 hour shift for 20 days and earn 20 days off. His gross pay will remain the same as before since the contract stipulates that he will now receive 16 hours pay for 12 hours worked.

jobs

The significance of this gain for the tug workers is not simply that it helps them to live more like human beings (this it certainly does) but that it also means that as many as 800 new jobs will be added through the recruitment of a fourth crew for each tugboat. Crew size ranges from 5 to 12. In an industry where there is long term, chronic underemployment, and the danger of job elimination through automation, this is especially good news to merchant seamen. In 1965, for example, there were 48,185 seafaring jobs, and twice as

many members in seafaring unions in the United States. In 1965 the entire U.S. merchant fleet carried only 8.5% of all U.S. ocean-going traffic as compared with 28% 10 years earlier.

Yes, it is no secret that the American shipping industry is in ill health and decline despite the current boost to shipowners profits as a result of the Vietnam slaughter. The seamen are the chief victims of this decline. Under these conditions, the extension of "30 for 40" throughout the American labor movement must begin with its extension to the entire NMU and the other seafaring unions.

firm

While the employers had reportedly agreed to the demand for the fourth crew early in the negotiations, their price was for the tug men to give up 'holiday and vacation benefits' they had won over the years. One tugboatman put it this way during the course of the strike: "We fought for years to get time and one half pay on Saturdays and Sundays, and on eight holidays we get two and a half days' pay when we work. Now they want to put us back on straight time on weekends and holidays." (Continued on page 4)

Julian Bond Makes His Peace

EDITORIAL

Julian Bond, the former leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, ran successfully for a seat in the Georgia State Legislature last year and then was not allowed to take his seat by the white supremacists in control of the legislature. Bond has taken a strong stand in support of the SNCC position which denounced the Johnson Administration and the war in Vietnam, and this was the reason given for refusing to give him his seat.

Now Bond has been reelected by his constituents in Atlanta and the Democrats in control of the legislature have allowed him to take his seat. Is this a victory for the Negro people?

We say, absolutely not. It is Julian Bond who is surrendering to the racists and the capitalist system, not the other way around. Bond says he is being very careful not to "offend anyone. He says that he is more than willing to play the game by the existing rules and he was very careful to make no "controversial" statements in his first week in the legislature. He has made a deal with the racists, by assuring them that he will be a "gentleman", and not a "troublemaker." He now agrees that the conservative Negro leaders, the preachers and the middle class professionals, who were pressuring him to become more moderate and liberal. And they were correct in one small respect -- you can't be a Democrat and a (Continued on page 2)



SSEU MEMBERS BATTLE CITY. SEE PAGE 4.

VIETNAM

Kremlin, U.S. Plot Deal To Break Revolution

by Tim Wohlforth

A cynical deal to break the Vietnamese Revolution is now being openly plotted by the Kremlin and the imperialists. This is the real meaning of Kosygin's recent visit to England.

For two years the USSR has been working behind the scenes to bring the Vietnamese to their knees--but to no avail. Despite every pressure the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front in the South have been determined that there will be no settlement of the Vietnam war based on capitulation to U.S. imperialism. Now, with the Chinese partially paralyzed by their own internal struggles, Kosygin brings this campaign into the open.

The concrete meaning of Kosygin's pledge to "make every possible effort" for peace in Vietnam has now become clear. Associated Press reports: "Soviet Premier Kosygin urged North Vietnam's Communist rulers in vain to halt the flow of troops and arms to South Vietnam as one essential step to ensure peace talks, diplomatic informants said." Nothing short of strangulation of revolution in the South. These were Kosygin's "peace" terms. To state it plain: these were Kosygin's surrender terms!

The Socialist Workers Party and its international allies are now aiding the Kremlin in this plot. By limiting the struggle around Vietnam to a program acceptable to the pacifists, by refusing to raise as the central issue in Vietnam of support to either revolution or counter-revolution, they aid the counter-revolution.

conditions

The question of "conditions" for peace negotiations is of the greatest importance. At issue is the kind of settlement that will emerge from such negotiations. The North Vietnamese and the NLF for good reason have refused to negotiate with the imperialists without the withdrawal of the imperialists from Vietnam. They know that negotiations taking place while 500,000 American troops control whole sections of Vietnam and while North Vietnam is bombed almost constantly would mean surrender, nothing less than surrender. They would be asked to discuss the terms of that surrender and that is all.

More recently the North Vietnamese have revised their terms for negotiations to the point where they seem willing to accept a permanent cessation of the bombing of the North as a precondition for such talks. This was precisely the moment the USSR was waiting for. Now with a small wedge in the door they sought to bring the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table with the threat of U.S. bombs over their heads.

This is the background for the drama in London at the Claridge Hotel. Kosygin was on the phone seeking to wrest from the North Vietnamese agreement to stop aiding the revolution in the South. The State Department's errand boy Harold Wilson meanwhile commuted back and forth to 10 Downing Street where he kept in touch with his bosses in Washington.

The problem was that if the North Vietnamese made military concessions in order to bring about negotiations they would have to be prepared to make similar concessions at the conference table. That is, the North Vietnamese would have to be willing to concede U.S. military presence in the future Vietnam hammered out at the conference table.

danger

Is there a danger that Ho Chi Minh and the North Vietnamese leadership may be giving in, at least in part, to this combined pressure of the imperialists and the Kremlin? Yes, sadly, there is. The recent, generally friendly, response to the peace maneuvers contrasts sharply with the North Vietnamese attitude towards earlier Pope maneuvers. Last fall Nhan Dan, organ of the North Vietnamese Communist Party, dismissed a Pope plea as "nothing but an appeal to the Vietnamese people" to surrender that "will never be heeded". It went on to refer to "certain religious power" which "chant in unison with American Imperialism."

class

Another important indication was the response of United States officials to an article by Wilfred Burchett sketching out the views of both the North Vietnamese and the NLF leaderships on the future of Vietnam. The New York Times reported: "Officials here said Communist acceptance of the idea of a long-term, non-Communist regime in the south was an interesting indication of flexibility towards underlying peace problems. The notion of a coalition Government also

BLOODY JOB

(Continued from page 1) tary discipline. There was wide-spread apathy to a program that trained them for the dead-end jobs they would be facing on return to the city. More important still, the Corps was run by large private corporations whose only interest was their own profit.

mfy

Mobilization for Youth, a Lower East Side training center faces the same problem. When it comes to actually placing the youth in jobs, where they will be assured of an apprenticeship, good

was described as interesting."

What the State Department finds as "interesting" is the political confusion of the NLF leadership, supported by the North Vietnamese, precisely on the question of the class nature of the regime to emerge from the Vietnam War. These forces, which reflect a Stalinist outlook, propose to somehow free Vietnam from "colonial slavery" without going over to a socialist revolution and the expropriation of capitalism in South Vietnam.

These Stalinists have failed to learn the lesson of the Chinese Revolution that independence from imperialism can only come through going over to the socialist revolution thus destroying the economic basis of imperialism by establishing a workers state.

But it is not simply a matter of the limitations of the leadership of either North Vietnam or the NLF, limitations which have their roots in bureaucracy. The workers and peasants of Vietnam will have a lot to say in these developments. In the South the workers and peasants are armed and it is this which is the state in the areas under NLF control. In the North, Harrison Salisbury has given us a picture of the extent to which the civilian population is also armed.

marxists

It is primarily these armed workers and peasants which prevented Kosygin from making his deal with the imperialists at the Claridge Hotel. There is a great need, a burning need, in Vietnam for a Marxist leadership of these masses which will not bend to imperialist pressures, which will fight through to the end for socialism in Vietnam.

The task of building such a party falls on to the shoulders of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Only the International Committee has exposed from the very beginning the efforts of the Kremlin to break the backs of this great revolution. Only the International Committee has fought from the very beginning for the military victory of the NLF and for the complete defeat of American imperialism.

wages and union rights, these organizations are completely helpless. All they can do is keep the youth "off the streets," give them the illusion of being members of society.

Vocational schools have the same evils. The jobs the students train for are rapidly disappearing due to automation and in addition the education is deliberately inadequate to prevent young workers from competing with older workers for the same jobs. Unable to put his skills to good use, barred from entry into the unions, after several years the young worker soon finds himself no better off

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printed entirely by union labor

JULIAN BOND'S PEACE

(Continued from page 1)

real fighter for the Negro people at the same time!

Black and white workers need independent political action, an independent labor party, a party of their own. The Democrats as well as the Republicans are the parties of the capitalists, the parties which oppress the workers and the Negro people as a whole. Julian Bond's actions are not so surprising after all. He is telling us that if we are going to work in the Democratic party, to run for office within that party, then we are going to have to abide by its rules. Bond's real betrayal, the real cause of his latest actions, is that he ran as a Democrat to begin with.

We've had enough of the old rules! What has it gotten us? What has faith in this system and its political parties gotten the labor movement or the Negro people? Absolutely nothing! As a matter of fact, when Adam Clayton Powell did just what most Congressmen do (although he was a little more honest about it) they kicked him out. It seems that the rules aren't even the same for all Congressmen, as we can be sure that Julian Bond will have to be more of a so-called gentleman than any of the white racist legislators who are now his colleagues. But just as Powell gets thrown out on his ear, Bond starts this fraud of supporting the Democrats all over again! Some people will never learn!

But we mustn't be pessimistic in spite of so-called leaders like Bond. It is no accident that in the last year there have been many voices raised against the idea of supporting the Democrats. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama ran independently, and many other black militants, in the North as well as the South, are beginning to see that supporting the Democrats is a disastrous policy. We hope that many supporters of SNCC are completely disgusted with Bond's stand.

More and more demands are being heard from the rank and file of the trade unions for a political break with the parties of the bosses. This is because workers are being forced into important struggles and are seeing that the government and the two big business parties are not their friends. For whom is the war on the Vietnamese people being fought? It is not our fight. On whose side does the government intervene in powerful strike struggles? They certainly never help the workers. And can anyone say that the Democrats have done anything to seriously fight discrimination and racism?

All of this means that black and white workers must fight together for a labor party. The Workers League is pledged to fight for this goal.

than when he started.

program

Youth must fight for a real training program, available to all and paid for by his employer, one that assures him of an apprenticeship at full union wages.

Youth must organize the fight against all forms of discrimination in employment due to age, race, color or sex and must demand full union rights with older workers.

By turning young against old, white against black, the bosses hope to destroy the unity of the working class and their ability to fight together. Under a militant leadership the unions can be powerful organizations that protect the workers against attacks on their conditions of work. The youth cannot fight alone; they must fuse their forces with those of all workers in a common struggle against the bosses and the union bureaucrats.

vietnam

Today, the working class and especially its youth are faced with a war that threatens to destroy its entire standard of living. The billions of dollars that could be used to build decent schools,

housing and to create new jobs, are instead being spent on a war fought by the very same youth who have no future in their own country.

The youth are asked to fight a people who wage the same struggle against oppression and exploitation as the youth in the U.S. Let there be no mistake; the Vietcong are not our enemies, they are our allies! The only way youth can strengthen the battle of the Vietnamese is by turning against the real enemy, our own rulers.

revolt

Revolt raises the slogan, The Enemy is in Our Own Country! Youth must refuse to be sent off like sheep to be slaughtered just so a handful of money hungry capitalists can continue to suck the life blood out of workers the world over. It is in the course of this struggle that the youth will build a new world and a new future under the banner of revolutionary socialism.

This is the struggle that Revolt is dedicated to. The youth must unite together and build this organization to be the powerful weapon that it can and must be if the youth of this country are to defend their living conditions and take the lead in the struggle for socialism.

Progressive Labor Party And The Theory Of Soviet Degeneration

Restoration: Danger Or Reality

by Jeff Sebastian

The Feb.-March issue of "Progressive Labor" opens up a Pandora's box of horrible contradictions for the PLP. Their revolutionary desire to defend the Chinese revolution from attack has led them to claim that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union.

Starting from the counter-revolutionary alliance between the imperialist and the Kremlin bureaucrats against the Chinese revolution and coupling this with some surface impressions of Soviet reality largely gleaned from the New York Times, the PLP concludes that a new capitalist class now holds power in the USSR. In a section of little over four pages the PLP reaches conclusions which, if true, means that the world working class has suffered the greatest defeat since the rise of Adolph Hitler to power in Germany.

militant defends

Before dealing with the PLP statement we must mention those sterling defenders of the Russian revolution, the SWP. A long reply to Progressive Labor appears in the Feb. 7 issue of the "Militant". The "Militant" assures us that all is still well with the Soviet Union. The current economic reforms are merely technical matters, the essential gains of October are being defended and developed. Nationalized property, planned production and monopoly of foreign trade still exist, in short, not much to worry about.

While much in the "Militant" article is formally correct, indeed orthodox, we must view this article in a broader context. It is no coincidence that the SWP attack on the Maoist PLP comes at this time. Every issue of the "Militant" carries increasingly bitter attacks on the Red Guards and those who seek to defend the gains of the Chinese revolution. Every issue seeks to deepen their political bloc with the Kremlin and the enemies of China.

The PLP statement concludes that the managerial professional technical strata in the USSR now constitute a new capitalist ruling class. How do they arrive at this conclusion? Their arguments are quite simple. The profit motive is seen as playing a major role in economic reforms; the retention of the market economy and the expansion of commodity production are noted. The bureaucracy is seen to enjoy great material advantage over the rest of the population.

not serious

Not only is this not Marxism, it isn't even serious. To argue that the bureaucracy now constitutes a capitalist class is to maintain that the bureaucracy now owns the means of production and appropriates the social surplus for itself.

All of this is nonsense. The means of production in the USSR are nationalized state property. The surplus which goes into the means of production becomes part of this state property. The bureaucracy does not own this property. It does, however, control political power and is able to use this power to give themselves large incomes and many benefits not available to Soviet workers.

The bureaucracy is not able to pass on the means of production as inherited property because it does not own these productive resources. Indeed this ruling strata plays no necessary role in the productive process, but rather reacts as a parasite on the social surplus.

The growing contradiction between this parasite bureaucracy and the forms of nationalized property became very evident during the East German uprisings and the Hungarian revolution. What is required by the Soviet workers is a political revolution to destroy the bureaucratic caste, not a social revolution to overturn property forms.

stalinist roots

PL is unable to understand the role of the Soviet bureaucracy today because it is unable to examine its roots in Stalinist rule. The present Soviet bureaucracy grew and developed in a period of working class defeat. It prospered in a Russia cut off from the world working class under the slogan of "Socialism in One Country". The bureaucracy played the role of policemen in a poverty stricken, backward country. The gains the USSR was able to make despite its isolation and backwardness are a tribute to the strength of planned production and state property. The price that was paid was the development of a privileged caste able to appropriate many benefits for itself and decades of misery for Russian workers and peasants.

Today in a period of working class upsurge, the



RED GUARDS BATTLE SAME BUREAUCRACY IN CHINA THAT STRANGLES THE USSR.

crisis within the Soviet camp becomes unbearable. It is this crisis which forces the Soviet bureaucrats to collaborate with the imperialists against the workers. This collaboration is nothing new and to say it means that capitalism has been restored is nonsense.

world market

The PLP does point out the real danger of the possibility of capitalist restoration but they do not understand it. They do not understand it because they continue to cling to the very socialism-in-one-country theory which lies at the roots of the development of bureaucracy in the workers states. This finds expression in a failure to relate this question of capitalist restoration to the world market. Interestingly, this same omission is a cardinal feature of the SWP's attack on PL. Both groups are incapable of viewing questions in international terms.

The key to economic reforms in the Soviet bloc must be seen in terms of the growing dependence of Russia and Eastern Europe on the West for trade. The theory of socialism in one country simply does not work. Today the USSR finds its agricultural sector in ruins and is increasingly dependent on the West for grain. Over 50% of Soviet purchases of chemical equipment are bought in the West. The Soviet Union is a major source of gold for the capitalist economies.

The more technically developed the Soviet bloc becomes the greater is its need to open up economic relations with the West.

Many Eastern European countries are running trade deficits with the capitalists, the most extreme example being Yugoslavia which verges on bankruptcy. The dangers of penetration by the Krupp's, the Fiat's etc. is very real.

Concretely what this means is a major penetration of the Soviet bloc economies. Plans have to be altered to suit the schedules of Western corporations. Speed up and bourgeois notions of profit have to be introduced in order to gear the Soviet economies toward western trade. The more trade increases the greater becomes the depend-

ency on the west and the world capitalist market.

The price that imperialism wishes to extract for this trade is the complete capitulation of the bureaucracy and this is the process that we see going on.

PL makes much of the existence of commodity exchange in the USSR. Of course, there is commodity exchange. As long as the world market exists alongside the development of the international division of labor it becomes necessary for the USSR to participate in the process of commodity exchange through trade. In addition to the lower productivity of Soviet countries threaten to wreak havoc on their pricing system. As long as private or group ownership exists internally there will be commodity exchange.

The PL solution to these problems is self sufficiency. This is precisely what is impossible in an economy which is growing in technological complexity. At best, a policy of self sufficiency means buying time till aid can come from the advanced countries. What this means is that the only defense of revolution is a policy of international defence through the building of an international party.

Part of the reason for PL's inability to get to the heart of this matter lies in its abject and uncritical support of Chinese leadership. Clearly the Chinese workers state exists within the same capitalist world as does the Soviet Union. Having a weaker economy can we doubt that the impact of the world capitalist market is even greater here than in the USSR? Has not the Chinese state been subject to the same bureaucratism as the Soviet Union's?

Mao's current struggle is the answer of history to these questions. The Red Guards were formed outside the party and state precisely because the party and state were bureaucratized and this mass movement has been urged to "seize power" from these bureaucrats and smash the state to "smithereens."

This bureaucracy the Red Guards are fighting is precisely the product of Mao Tse Tung's failure to break with Stalin's socialism-in-one-country theory--the product of an attempt at self-sufficiency.

militant ignores

The Militant ignores this relationship of the world economy to the internal threat of capitalist restoration precisely because it has long since abandoned the Trotskyist program of struggling to build a world party. Having broken from any real internationalism it, like PL, must find cover in one or another world bureaucratic force. So it becomes the apologist for the Kremlin bureaucracy that Mao is fighting.

This is the real reason for its big polemic against PL's calling the USSR capitalist. It is interested not in defending the workers state but rather its bureaucratic rulers. Right next to its "theoretical" piece on the USSR it prints an open attack on the Red Guards which seeks to give the impression that the bureaucratic opposition is on the side of the workers.

A return to proletarian internationalism is a life and death issue for all workers, especially the workers of the workers states. Only the International Committee of the Fourth International fights for internationalism.

BACK IN PRINT

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And Mage Won't Fight

City Won't Pay Workers Who Enforce Contract

by a welfare worker
If any proof that the Mage settlement of the January welfare strike was a sell-out solving only the city's problems was needed, it was soon provided by the caseworkers at Non-Residence Welfare Center.

Only three weeks off the picket lines and 20 caseworkers from Non-Residence were suspended for participating in a work action designed to commit the city to immediate easements until a sufficient number of workers could be hired to implement the workload provisions of their old contract. In response to the suspensions the staff of Non-Res. was forced into a work stoppage to be continued until suspensions were lifted and significant easements were a-

greed to by the city.

lockout

The city responded by calling the work stoppage a strike and proclaiming that the "striking" workers would not be paid for its duration. In addition, all suspended workers would be subject to disciplinary measures. The scene was set. The city had detailed impossible conditions for a settlement. A battery of cops was used to enforce a lockout. With this hard line policy all negotiations were broken off.

Throughout the struggle Mage's role was that of saboteur. From the start she attempted to contain the work action of Non-Residence by postponing telling the membership what was happening for fear the action would

spread. She opposed a resolution demanding pay for the duration of the lock-out, yielding only to an enraged executive board which under the pressure of the membership overwhelmingly took the position that the staff was not to be penalized for enforcing their contract. She refused to make any attempt to reach other city workers on the issue of Lindsay's clear union-busting tactics. She misrepresented the executive board recommendation at the general membership meeting by avoiding the demand that all workers be paid before returning to work.

She called a last minute emergency executive board meeting to call off the work stoppage: a decision made by the general membership meet-

ing. This last act so demoralized staff that a successful city wide action would have been impossible.

promises

The next day Mage recommended to staff that the city wide work action be called off. The staff of Non-Residence was to return to work without pay and a "memorandum of agreement" consisting of 27 easements, mostly of a trivial nature, be accepted by staff. She presented the document one militant described as "not a resolution but a eulogy" as a great victory for the union.

Since when do promises from the city to attempt to implement a contract mean a victory? This "victory" has thus far cost the staff of Non-Res.

8 days' pay and demoralized the entire union. This "victory" made it more difficult to mobilize staff for the battles to come over the new contract still in fact-finding.

Very significant in the whole affair was the role played by those SSEU members who follow the political line of the Worker and the Militant in joining hands with Mage in calling for a return to work.

Throughout the entire struggle the task of warning militants of the role played by Mage and Co., of urging action to spread the work stoppage city wide and seek support among other city employees was taken up by the SSEU Rank and File Committee. As the Mage forces deepen their collaboration with the city more and more militants are turning to the RAFC for leadership.

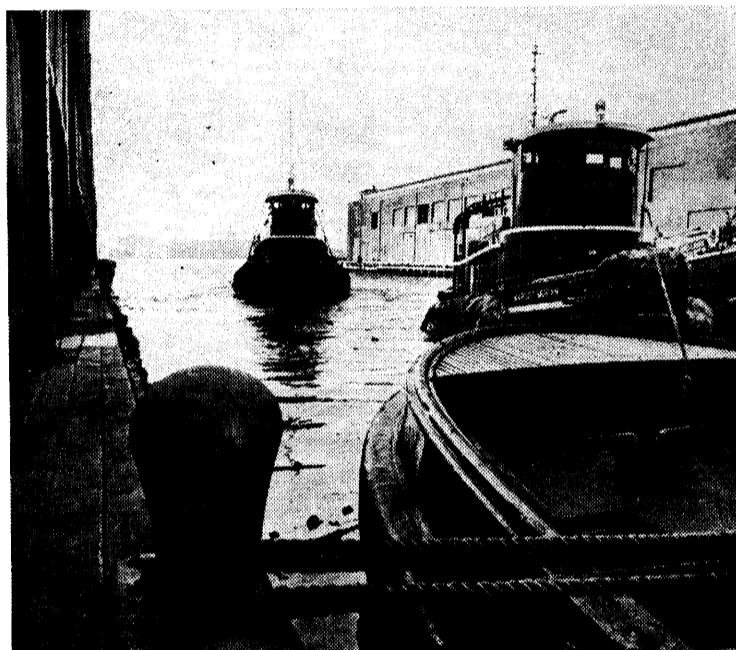
TUGBOAT VICTORY

(Continued from page 1)

After 25 years on the boats I now get three weeks vacation a year. Under the new contract they want to take away this year's vacation promising that it will be restored next year." Only because the tugboatmen held firm and refused to give these concessions can we say that the new contract is a victory.

On the credit side, the union also won pension benefit increases ranging from \$25 to \$50 per month. On the debit side many men were unhappy that the union agreed to the elimination of the oilers job on automated tugboats. Perhaps the biggest weakness of the contract is that since there is no cost of living "escalator clause" in the contract, real wages have actually decreased over 3% since the last contract and will further be eaten away if the inflation continues. If the cost of living continues to rise, the tugboatmen must fight to open the question of cost of living increases before too long rather than wait 3 years until the next contract negotiations start.

The credit for the gains won by the tugboatmen must go to the rank and file themselves who resolutely rejected the bosses terms and showed that they were prepared to dig in for a long strike if necessary. The unity of the ten waterfront unions behind the tugboat local was a tremendous weapon on the side of the strikers since the bosses feared port-wide picketing



TUGBOATS RETURN TO WORK AFTER STRIKE.

which would have tied up the entire harbor. "We had to think of our customers too", said a spokesman for the tug owners.

While the tugboatmen were putting up a militant fight and getting their settlement by "voting with their feet", some 40,000 NMU seamen without so much as lifting a finger were being slated for a \$25 to \$35 per month wage increase (to begin June 16, 1967)-- a 'gift' as the result of an arbitration award by Theodore Kheel who is the industry arbitrator as provided in the

1961 contract. To the unsuspecting observer this may sound like a good deal -- almost like manna from heaven.

We expect, however, that the rank and file of the NMU can tell our unsuspecting observer a few things about this 'gift' from Mr. Kheel.

The ranks will tell him first of all to be wary of any gifts from government or other professional "labor experts"; that arbitration clauses agreed to by union and employers inevitably hurt the union and help the employers. The bosses prefer arbitration awards or "factfinding" procedures to

dealing with workers who "vote with their feet" as in the tugboat strike.

"You don't get anything without a struggle". This is just as true a rule of thumb in the labor movement today as it was 32 years ago when the organization of the NMU was given impetus by the great 1934 San Francisco general strike. This strike began as an "unauthorized" walkout of AFL longshoremen, spread to the sympathetic merchant seamen and then to the entire San Francisco working class which controlled the city for two days. On the other side the bosses and cops unleashed a campaign of organized violence and terror against the longshoremen. They were aided and abetted by ILA President Joseph Ryan (remember him?) and AFL President William Green (remember him?) who denounced the strike with cries of "reds" and "communists".

After 11 weeks a contract was signed which was pretty weak. But the workers returned to work confident and united, having stood up to every dirty weapon the bosses could muster to smash them. As a result, within a year, in job action after job action they won the union hiring hall up and down the coast. Their struggle paved the way for the organization of the CIO and the east coast seamen in the NMU. "But", says our 'unsuspecting observer' who is still not

convinced by this talk about struggle, "what about the \$30 per month awarded to the A.S.'s?" The rank and file NMU able bodied seamen now get \$392.38 a month, \$151 to \$206 less than the west coast seamen as established by the last S.U.P. contract. The \$30 award under provision of the "wage reopener" clause, the first wage gain in five years barely keeps up with the rising cost of living in this period, let alone closing this gap between NMU and SUP seamen. Add to this the fact that the present unprecedented eight year contract runs until June of 1969. Such a contract takes all power out of the hands of the seamen and makes them dependent on such piddling 'gifts' as Mr. Kheel's award. The chief architect and proponent of this contract is, of course, NMU President Joseph Curran.

The procedure of agreeing to such "labor peace" contracts as the NMU eight year agreement which provides for binding arbitration is especially dangerous to labor in this period when the Johnson administration and Congress is preparing anti-strike legislation which probably will include some form of binding arbitration to deal with "emergencies" created by strikes. For our part we prefer the methods of the tugboatmen and the San Francisco longshoremen to Curran's arbitration awards, eight year contracts and the government's anti-strike legislation.

AUTO BATTLE

(Continued from page 1)

We say that the first task before the UAW is to give leadership to the auto workers in the coming negotiations. Let the UAW make a breakthrough for the autoworkers and it will then be qualified to offer leadership to other workers.

A contract which reverses the speed-up in the shop; counters the growing unemployment among autoworkers; puts back in the worker's pockets the money robbed from them by inflation--such a contract will set the pace for labor in 1967 and give workers, organized and unorganized, an example of what a fighting labor movement can accomplish. While we have no intention of detail-

ing a proposed contract for the autoworkers, we would like to make a few proposals which we think should form the central core of the demands. First, the demand for the shorter work week, "30 for 40" can no longer be shoved under the table. As we have pointed out elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin, the tugboatmen struck and won a 30 hour week which is a great step against long term unemployment in the maritime industry.

Auto workers are aware of the gain in industry productivity through "automation" and "rationalization" which has resulted in greater profits for the Companies but job attrition and a dwindling UAW

membership for the workers. On top of this, consumer industries currently are in the midst of a slump which has led to layoffs of automobile production workers (see Bulletin, Feb. 13, 1967). A struggle by the UAW for the 30 hour week would be a major step forward for all labor.

escalator

By the same token, a salary or large wage package won't mean much to the auto worker unless it is tied to a cost of living adjustment clause (escalator) with teeth in it, i.e. which guarantees that workers lose nothing in real wages as the cost of living rises.

Finally, the rank and file must demand of the leadership

that they get the full support of the International Union in disputes over "local" working conditions, including support of plant-wide strikes should they be necessary. In the past, the International leadership has done its damndest to stop "wildcat" walkouts over local conditions. If there is to be a strike let the auto workers learn a lesson from the recent electrical workers strike. No one goes back into the plant until all local grievances are settled!

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