

# Bulletin

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mandel's  
revisionism and  
the american  
working class

## LATIN AMERICA EXPLODES

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The wrath against U.S. imperialism and the economic havoc it is wreaking throughout the world has come to a head in the recent "fact finding" mission of Rockefeller and his entourage of "experts" to Latin America. Mr. Rockefeller remains unabashed by the universal hostility to his visit. "We have come as a good neighbor", he said. The "good neighbor" has left a path of dead, injured, and arrested.

Rockefeller who supposedly is accompanied by the best of "experts" and "fact finders" prefers to keep himself in ignorance of the actual crisis in Latin America. After having been literally sent packing, he remarked "the trip is a tremendous success."

The tremendous resistance to Rockefeller has forced him to cut his trip or at least the first two rounds of it short. He spent two brief hours in the airport in Bolivia and his visit was cancelled to Peru, Venezuela and Chile. But Rocky has not given up. He is due to continue his "mission", going to Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay in the middle of June.

Mr. Rockefeller has been sent as a special envoy of Mr. Nixon. Nixon hardly wanted to chance the visit himself. It was only 10 years ago that he as Vice President was pelted with garbage and stoned during a similar "fact finding mission. Nixon had hoped that that Rockefeller would present a fine "liberal" image, Rockefeller being an "experienced and enlightened observer of the Latin American scene". But to the masses of people in Latin America Rockefeller represents something

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ANTI-ROCKY PROTEST IN BOGOTA



STUDENTS AND WORKERS ARE ATTACKED BY POLICE IN CORDOBA

ROCKEFELLER GETS  
THE BOOT

GENERAL STRIKE  
IN ARGENTINA;  
OIL WORKERS  
REBEL IN CURACAO

**VIETNAM** NIXON'S PEACE FRAUD

**CANADA** WORKERS FIGHT RAND REPORT

# GOOD WILL TOUR BLOWS UP IN ROCKY'S FACE

(continued from page 1)

else--the symbol of imperialist domination and oppression. Despite Rocky's soft talk, he carries a big stick. Rockefeller's interests in Latin America range from Standard Oil and coffee plantations, to a cattle ranch and large supermarkets. It is such interests of U.S. imperialism as these that have exploited the people of Latin America.

Imperialism has drained the colonial world of its resources, reaping heavy profits from the backs of the colonial people. But imperialism has always had its sugar coating--its liberating slogan for the acts of rapine. In Latin America we have had the Monroe doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary, the Good Neighbor Policy, and lately the Alliance for Progress. All these fine sounding phrases have legitimized the subjugation of the peoples of Latin America to the interests and profits of U.S. imperialism, have given the Rockefeller's the exclusive rights there and have been the basis historically for numerous military interventions to protect imperialism's interests.

While the U.S. was able in a period of boom to grant some concessions in the form of loans and aid to these countries, beginning in the late fifties with the growing financial crisis, these were cut back. The lack of economic stability in turn has created a tremendous political crisis in all countries in Latin America. While U.S. imperialism has been unable to shore up the bourgeois democratic regimes with the possibility of reforms to the masses, almost every country has gone over to rule by a military dictatorship. Presently 250 million people in Latin America live under military regimes.

The record of the so-called Alliance For Progress which was instituted under Kennedy indicates the nature of imperialism's "help" and the economic crisis which is at the base of the current ferment. The Alliance for Progress was envisioned as a ten year program "to speed up economic growth and social reform in Latin America." The results, however, have been quite to the contrary. In the period of its existence Latin American countries have fallen deeper and deeper into debt, they share less and less of the world market--a measly 5% at present-- and their export-import position is over-increasingly unfavorable to the workers and peasants. Out of a labor force of 83 million, 23 million

are unemployed. There exists the most abject poverty. In a country such as Bolivia half the children born die before they reach adulthood.

Coinciding with Rockefeller's tour, the Latin American Foreign Ministers have drawn up proposals to be submitted to Nixon to supposedly deal with the present crisis. The document deals with some of the complaints that Rockefeller has been getting from the bourgeoisie on his trip. It includes demands for the end to tariff barriers and quota limitations on Latin American exports to the U.S. and improvements in the conditions of aid and loans. U.S. aid is usually conditioned by the rider that loans be tied to the purchase of U.S. goods which becomes little more than export schemes for the U.S. The native bourgeoisie, feeling the pinch, are demanding a bigger share in the profits of foreign investment, more advantageous contracts with U.S. firms.

Trying to get at the heart of the problem, the report states the following:

"As the present decade nears its end the economic and scientific-technological gap between the developing world and the developed nations has widened and is continuing to widen, and the external obstacles that act as a brake on the rapid economic growth of the Latin American countries have not only not been removed they are on the increase."

The truth of the matter is that the economic crisis which is expressed in Latin America and the entire colonial world is the expression of the crisis of imperialism as a whole. World capitalism cannot develop the means of production or a world economy which can meet the needs of the masses of the people in the world. More and more as its crisis deepens it is forced to cut back, to attack the working class internationally to preserve its diminishing rate of profit.

Nixon has made it clear that he sees little or no possibility for concessions to Latin America. He has in fact been quite blunt about using the term "Alliance for Progress." It is unlikely that the U.S. can even grant improved trade conditions due to the serious balance of payments problem which the U.S. faces. Thus Rockefeller is reduced in his travels to collecting complaints, to smiles and grimaces and the usual platitudes.

The deep economic crisis in Latin America has forced even the most right wing regimes such as in Peru to expropriate U.S. property. It is obvious that Nixon will seek to avoid repetition of such developments through deals with the native ruling class to maintain U.S. interests.

While the Peruvian regime is attempting to mobilize the workers and peasants behind its moves with a great display of nationalism and "Yankee Go Home," the seizure by the regime is hardly in the interests of the masses. Rather it is in the interests of the native bourgeoisie. There can be no question of reformism in these countries, of concessions to the workers and peasants, only further attacks on their working and living conditions.

This is most clearly represented in the recent struggles in Argentina which is considered one of the more "developed" countries. In order to deal with the economic crisis, the Argentine government has launched a full scale attack on the working class including a wage freeze, unemployment, and attacks on the trade unions. These attacks, however, were answered by the workers in Argentina and it is this struggle which poses the future for the masses in Latin America, socialist revolution led by the working class.

The upheavals in Latin America are in no way isolated from the growing revolutionary paroxysms in the metropolitan countries. They are in a sense, channels of the same process, the movement of the working class against imperialism. May-June in France is inextricably linked with May-June in Argentina. The colonial revolution is part of the international revolution of the working class.

It is not accidental that Rockefeller, not the individual but the representative of the capitalist class, who is sent to review imperialism's exploitive rule in Latin America is the same Rockefeller who in his home turf has launched vicious attacks on the working class in the form of the Taylor Law and the budget cuts.

What is required is the unity of the struggles of the American workers against the bosses at home with the workers of Latin America. The real solution lies not in imperialist domination through "Good Neighbor" gimmicks but the establishment through socialist revolution of the United Socialist States of America.

## 30,000 STUDENTS AND WORKERS MARCH AGAINST OCCUPATION OF BERKELEY -- DIVERTED INTO 'BE-IN'

On Memorial Day over 30,000 people marched against the occupation of Berkeley. In addition to students and residents of Berkeley, a number of trade unions participated in the demonstration including the AFT, AFSMCE, UAW, and the ILWU.

What could have been a serious mobilization against the attacks by the state on the students and the working class was turned into a disgusting flower ridden be-in. It was complete with rock bands and flowers, around the issue of the Peoples Park.

Only a few weeks before hundreds had been injured and one killed. The leaders of this fiasco answered these vicious attacks with a festival.

The ruling class is arming itself with legislation against the students and the workers. will stop at nothing to put

down any movement on the part of the students. The revisionists and the student leaders seek to prostrate both the students and the workers before the ruling class. The capitalist state is not a paper flower, but a body of armed men whose strategy is the destruction of all resistance to its attempts to preserve its system.

### REVISIONISTS

The revisionists and in particular the Socialist Workers Party have played a big role in organizing this totally un-serious action, a diversion which can only aid the rulers. The MILITANT in a recent article entitled "What the Peoples Park indicated about Socialism" expresses the most reactionary utopian socialist garbage.

The SWP sees the fight for

the Peoples Park as the example of the fight for socialism -- "a glimpse of what a truly free society has to offer." This is the logic of Mandel's theory of "structural reform"--that socialism comes about magically though the examples of "Let a thousand parks bloom." It is precisely this perspective that will lead the working class to defeat in this country and to fascism.

The Workers League sees the struggles against capitalism differently. It will not be defeated by planting trees and flowers but by the mobilization of the working class in a struggle for political power.

This is why the Workers League stated from the beginning that the attacks by the state on Berkeley were not a question of a "Peoples Park" but the expression of the government's offensive against the students. The Workers League campaigned for the mobilization of the working class against the occupation of Berkeley to force the Labor Council to call a one day general strike to get the troops out. The Workers League raised the demand for the mobilization of students and workers against the proposed laws in California against the students and the unions. Central to this fight is the struggle for the creation of a labor party to defeat these attacks.



### Let a thousand parks bloom.

SWP-YSA PEDDLED THIS PIECE OF REACTIONARY UTOPIANISM

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# workers revolt in argentina, curacao

BY MARTY JONAS

The explosions in Argentina and Curacao which began in late May, point the way for the future in Latin America and the colonial countries - revolution led by the working class.

In Argentina, the workers came out in a general strike on May 30 which closed down every major city in the country. On May 29th the country had been placed under martial dictatorship of General Juan Ongania, following a series of student demonstrations which were met with violent repression. The students were responding to the latest attack on them - the increase of food prices in the University cafeteria in the city of Corrientes. The dictatorship had earlier purged the faculties of the universities, banned independent student organizations and had stationed police on the campuses to quell unrest. A student was shot down in the protest in mid-May in the cafeteria of the Universidad del Nordeste, which touched off demonstrations and street fighting with police.

The needs of the students and workers converged in opposition to the dictatorship, which has imposed a wage freeze in the face of steadily rising prices. In some provinces, such as Tucuman, unemployment is rampant after the closing of several major sugar refineries, and many workers haven't received wages from their jobs for over six months. The two main factions of the General Confederation of Labor issued a call for a general strike on Friday, in opposi-

tion to the government's attacks.

SHELL

In Curacao, an island in the Dutch Antilles, a general strike was called on May 29 when striking Shell Oil Company refinery and dock workers marched on Willemstad, after automation and job cuts at Shell had thrown them out

They show the course of struggle in the colonial countries, just as France 1968 showed the course for the metropolitan countries. The working class revolution is on the agenda. No matter how small the working class, even if it is the minority, it is the only section of society capable of leading a fundamental struggle to overthrow capi-

seen fit to offer one word of support to the striking workers of Argentina and Curacao. Nor can we expect him to do any better than he did last year in the midst of the Mexican government's massacres of students under the Diaz Ordaz government which Castro has commended as the only "progressive" regime in Latin America -

attacks made on them as well as on the students by the government. They move into battle more cautiously, relying on their traditional organizations and leadership.

In Argentina the focus of struggle was a wage freeze and attacks on the trade union movement. In Curacao the focus was the job cuts through automation, unemployment and soaring prices. In both cases the workers met the government head on and the struggle became a political one.

In both Argentina and Curacao, repression has increased, but this is not the end of the fight by any means. It is rather the beginning. The workers have tested themselves in struggle, and, as in France, are mobilizing for another battle. The most important part of this mobilization must be the preparation of a new leadership that goes beyond that of the trade union movement, and is capable of leading the fight for state power, without stopping short with the excuse, offered by the Curacao labor bureaucrats of "inexperience." The leadership that is necessary is one that can fuse with the struggles of the students and the peasants. Only this kind of leadership can meet the attacks of imperialism and its stooges like Ongania and De Kroon. This is the kind of leadership now being prepared under the banner of the International Committee of the 4th International.

Working class revolution is on the agenda internationally. The necessity is to consciously prepare for these struggles.



CORRIENTES STUDENTS FILL STREETS IN PROTEST AGAINST RISE IN FOOD PRICES AT UNIVERSITY

of work in a country with a 20% unemployment rate. The government has kept wages down in order to draw more foreign industry to Curacao, and the workers have demanded more wages to keep up with soaring prices. Dutch marines were sent in from the Netherlands to take control. Premier Ciro de Kroon was forced to resign by the pressure of the striking workers.

These two events are of the greatest importance - as significant as the May-June events in France in 1968.

talism and imperialism.

CHE

The general strikes and the mobilization of the working class in both Argentina and Curacao give yet another blow to Guevarism. While Che spent his time in the mountains of Bolivia, his movement of a few men becoming more demoralized and isolated each day, the working class of Latin America, numbering in millions, was simmering in the cities. Nor has Castro done any better. Though talking proletarian internationalism, he has not

when not a peep was heard from Fidel.

The general strike in Argentina is not, as the Militant dubs it, an example of "student detonation." The Socialist Workers Party has learned nothing from the events in France in 1968. The working class in Argentina, as in France, was not "electrified" by the example of the students. The workers are not a protest movement, striking out of moralistic outrage. Rather the working class is responding to actual material conditions, to the

## NMU RANKS OFFERED RAW DEAL WITH NEW CURRAN PACT

BY TOM GORDON

The new NMU contract is a sellout from start to finish. The fact that Curran rammed it through to a vote with little or no chance for internal discussion, and the fact that he is now pressuring the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Union to reach a quick settlement, shows his fear of rank and file rejection of this rotten contract.

Joe Curran has reason to be afraid: the new contract provides a 19% wage boost over three years, with a guarantee that employer costs shall not increase under the contract. The wage package means a wage cut of 11% since prices are now increasing at a rate of about 10% a year. The cost-guarantees clause (which freezes the bosses costs for the duration of the contract) means that the operators will lay off men when the going gets tough. They will scrap their old and heavily-manned ships and use only their newer automated ones. The result will be more sailors on the beach.

While Curran and his friends get fat pensions and salaries, the ranks get the shaft. The ranks must call for a repudiation of this rotten contract, for an immediate strike for a new contract

if the Masters, Mates, and Pilots do not settle by June 16, and for the NMU Convention delegates to fight to reopen the contract at the Convention. The ranks must be prepared to carry on this battle themselves, by demonstrating for a contract reopener at the Convention, and by pressuring the Curran bureaucrats. This means a battle for real NMU democracy.

CAMPAIGN

The membership of the NMU should start a campaign to reopen contract negotiations around these specific points:

Instead of a guarantee to the operators that their costs will not increase, the first clause of the contract should be the "me-too" clause put into the 1965 agreement and taken out of the contract just negotiated by the Curran team.

Number two in the contract should be wage parity with the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. This means an additional 50% wage hike on top of the 6% raise negotiated this year which would guarantee wages of \$537 to \$1064 a month now. Under the contract just negotiated the NMU will get \$410 to \$817 a month, but only after three years. In addition, there should be a cost-of-living escalator clause to protect against fur-

ther inflation.

Number three in the contract should be the institution of the four-watch system with no job cuts and no loss in pay. The way to fight automation is not to put more sailors on the beach but to see to it that the available work and benefits of automation are spread among all members of the NMU and other maritime unions. Killing yourself with overtime is no way to make up for Curran's sellout in the face of automation and inflation: the contract should cut the work week instead.

Number four on the contract should be a two-year limit to the contract.

RUN-AWAY SHIPS

The fight for a new contract is inseparable from a political battle to protect the gains by stopping the runaway-ship racket, and by keeping the passenger liners in operation. The ranks must lead a fight to nationalize the foreign-flag ships and the passenger ships without compensation to the owners, and to put them under maritime union control. Until this is done the operators can try to take away any gains the NMU wins by putting ships under foreign flags. The way to fight is to intro-

duce a nationalization bill into Congress and rally the rest of the maritime and shoreside unions around support for it. There can be no illusions about the "friends of organized labor", such as Senators Javits of New York and Pepper of Florida, and Representative Long of Louisiana. Those Congressmen said nothing publicly to support the NMU during contract negotiations. Curran supports these agents of the bosses in order to hold down the ranks and prevent the nationalization needed for decent wages, safety, and work conditions. This campaign should also include a demand for a guarantee that all sailors on foreign-flag ships get hours, job conditions, wages and work and safety conditions equal to NMU ships. A battle like this can be won only by a complete break with all Democrats and Republicans. What we need is political action by organized labor in a Labor Party.

If Joe Curran thinks organized labor is really "the only segment of our society which knows what is at stake and which is not swayed by foreign-flag interests, considerations of profit, etc.," as he said in the May issue of

the Pilot, then he has to prove it by going all out for the nationalization of foreign-flag ships, and by going all out for the campaign to organize AFL-CIO support for a nationalization bill, and for contract reopeners around the program of wage parity with the SUP, the four-watch system and a new "me-too" clause.

Anyone interested in this program should phone or contact the Workers League at 243 East 10th Street, New York, New York, phone 254-7120.

**STRIKE FOR A NEW CONTRACT IF THE MASTERS, MATES, AND PILOTS GO OUT!**

**REOPEN THE CONTRACT AT THE NMU CONVENTION! PUT THE "ME-TOO" CLAUSE BACK INTO THE CONTRACT!**

**WAGE PARITY WITH THE SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC!**

**FOR THE COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATOR CLAUSE! FOR THE FOUR-WATCH SYSTEM!**

**FOR A TWO-YEAR CONTRACT!**

**NATIONALIZE THE FOREIGN-FLAG AND PASSENGER SHIPS!**

**FOR THE LABOR PARTY!**

# VIETNAM

## nixon's troop withdrawal farce

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

While back in Honolulu wife Pat sipped cool drinks from a shell, rubbed noses with a Maori chieftain and cavorted with spear-wielding natives, Dirty Dick Nixon was himself presiding over what will easily go down as the sideshow of the year at Midway Island. Nixon's announcement of intent to withdraw 25,000 troops from Vietnam between now and August is surely the phoneyist peace gesture to date. When the NFL called the Midway spectacle a "preposterous farce", "a grain of sand cast into the ocean", they just about hit the nail on the head.

Nixon's strategy in relation to the Midway meeting is almost transparent. Ever since the day he took office Nixon has been trying his hardest to create the impression that his administration has a strategy for bringing the war to a settlement. In the past few weeks with the war in Vietnam becoming more and more the property of his Administration, with the critics renewing their cries for a settlement, Nixon has grasped at one straw after another to bolster up the fantasy that a settlement is in the cards.

First it was the hints of secret talks, then the campaign of pronouncements suggesting that military operations were being limited to pre-Nixon administration levels, and more recently the reasonable sounding formulas for settlement in Paris, the eight point formula for mutual troop withdrawals, hints of coalition government, etc. And now as if all this needed a new shot of credibility the announced withdrawal of 25,000 troops - 25,000 out of a complement built up to a grand total of 538,000 to make just such a gesture possible.

### DEVASTATION

What are the facts, what is Nixon's real strategy? We say that the strategy of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam remains as it was under Johnson, the annihilation of the Vietnamese population, the devastation of every build-

ing in South Vietnam, whatever is necessary to preserve a capitalist regime in South Vietnam, in southeast Asia and the rest of the colonial world.

This is no closely guarded state secret. On May 23 an article appearing in the N.Y. Times made clear that General Abrams is in fact operating under the same battle orders now as under the Johnson Administration.

"Washington's instructions were to maintain maximum pressure on enemy forces in South Vietnam to bolster American negotiating demands in Paris. . .

"After reviewing battlefield and negotiating strategy, President Nixon has decided to let the orders stand, apparently leaving it to General Abrams and his field commanders to interpret them."

The kind of sophistry the Nixon Administration is prepared to indulge in to bolster up the contention that U.S. military operation are being held in check awaiting a settlement in Paris was laid particularly bare in the controversy arising out of the Apbia Mountain (Hamburger Hill) debacle. The Administration trying to justify a staggering 453 death toll for the week first sought to claim that increased casualties arose solely from increased Vietcong offensives.

But as the controversy revealed, Hamburger Hill was anything but a Vietcong offensive. Then the Administration clarified itself. There has been no significant increase it seems (not more than 10%) in U.S. "battalion size offensives" but there has been in recent months an all out drive to step up U.S. "sub battalion size" (i.e. those involving companies, platoons, and squads) offensives which although involving just as many men and more in offensive actions, General Abrams prefers to call not offensives but "initiatives". This is the kind of juggling that reconciles hundreds of little Hamburger Hills with the reduced offensive policy the U.S. has been feeding the public for the last 2 months.

### BOMBARDMENT

Behind the demagogy about de-escalation, curtailment of B-52 activities, reduction of warships, maintaining mopping up operations at the present levels, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its slaughter throughout Vietnam. This is nowhere more clear than in relation to the step up in aerial bombardment. The level of B-52 bombing missions in South Vietnam now sur-

passes that of Nov. 1968 having reached in April of this year 1,800 missions and 120,000 tons of bombs dropped per month. B-52's are more and more involved in carpet bombing aimed directly at the devastation of densely populated as well as mountain regions. Thus while in March of this year the U.S. carried out such major sweeps as Atlas Wedge, Purple Martin, Speedy Express this was combined with such typical missions as the 12 carried out over thickly populated villages of Thanh An and Thanh Tuyen in the Ben Cat district where 900 tons of bombs destroyed not only lives but gardens, houses, and livestock.

If Nixon can be said to have a strategy it is through the maintenance and intensification of this devastation to force the NLF and Hanoi to abandon the armed struggle and subordinate themselves politically to the Saigon regime, preferably the Thieu regime and continued imperialist domination of South Vietnam.

After the '68 Tet offensive the U.S. abandoned the strategy of seeking out and out military victory on the battlefield. At the same time it was hardly prepared to cede South Vietnam to the NLF by withdrawing its troops. Instead it sought, as we have described in relation to Nixon, to maintain increasing military pressure with a view to forcing a compromise, a political deal, in which it would none the less come away the real victor.

### COMPROMISE

The question then as now, however, is what kind of compromise is really possible in Vietnam? The fact is that all the formulas for mutual withdrawal and coalition governments, or coalition electoral supervisory bodies coming fast and furious from the Nixon Administration are essentially empty abstractions, schemes for compromises which however practical they might appear on paper or in the heads of the diplomats, can in no way bridge the unbridgeable contradictions of class struggle in South Vietnam.

Moreover what can be said of Nixon's and Thieu's schemes for a settlement can likewise be said of some of Hanoi's and the NLF's own schemes and efforts to compromise with imperialism. In every country within the capitalist sphere the impact of the world crisis of capitalism is more and more eroding the basis for any kind of reformism, any kind of progressive capitalism, and reducing the choice in these countries more to a question of fascism or socialism.

This process can be said to have gone the farthest in South Vietnam where class antagonisms have taken on the form of a protracted civil war. Thus, in South Vietnam least of any country on the face of the earth today is a reformist capitalist regime, a regime of compromise possible. As the bourgeois press put it: "You can not unite forces in a coalition government to work out day to day problems of government who have spent the last 30 years plotting one another's deaths."

Neither the NLF, Hanoi nor its backers in Peking or Moscow can possibly accept the kind of compromise envisioned by Nixon and Thieu whereby the NLF would lay down its arms to enter as a minority political force into a regime dominated by Thieu. Such a policy would lead almost immediately to a bloodbath that would make the debacles of the First Chinese revolution in Shanghai and annihilation of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965 look like picnics. The implications in terms of the loss of this area as a buffer, the threat posed directly to the mainland of China and the USSR, as well as the tremendous loss of authority of the Stalinist movement would suffer with the world working class coming as it would on the heels of May-June and the Czech invasion - force the NLF and its backers to eschew any settlement short of the liquidation of the Thieu regime.

### ANATHEMA

But the alternative posed in the 10 point program and elsewhere by the NLF centering on the conception of a coalition government with progressive forces other than Thieu, a so-called peace cabinet, combined with the withdrawal of U.S. troops is likewise an anathema to both Nixon and Thieu. Outside of the Thieu-Ky regime, there are simply no political forces in South Vietnam that could resist being overwhelmed by the NLF once U.S. troops were withdrawn - and the imperialists know it.

We say the only prospect for peace in Vietnam, the only point at which the question of a settlement in any way acceptable to the workers and peasants of South Vietnam will arise is through the further pushing of the U.S. towards the brink of out and out defeat in Vietnam.

### OFFENSIVE

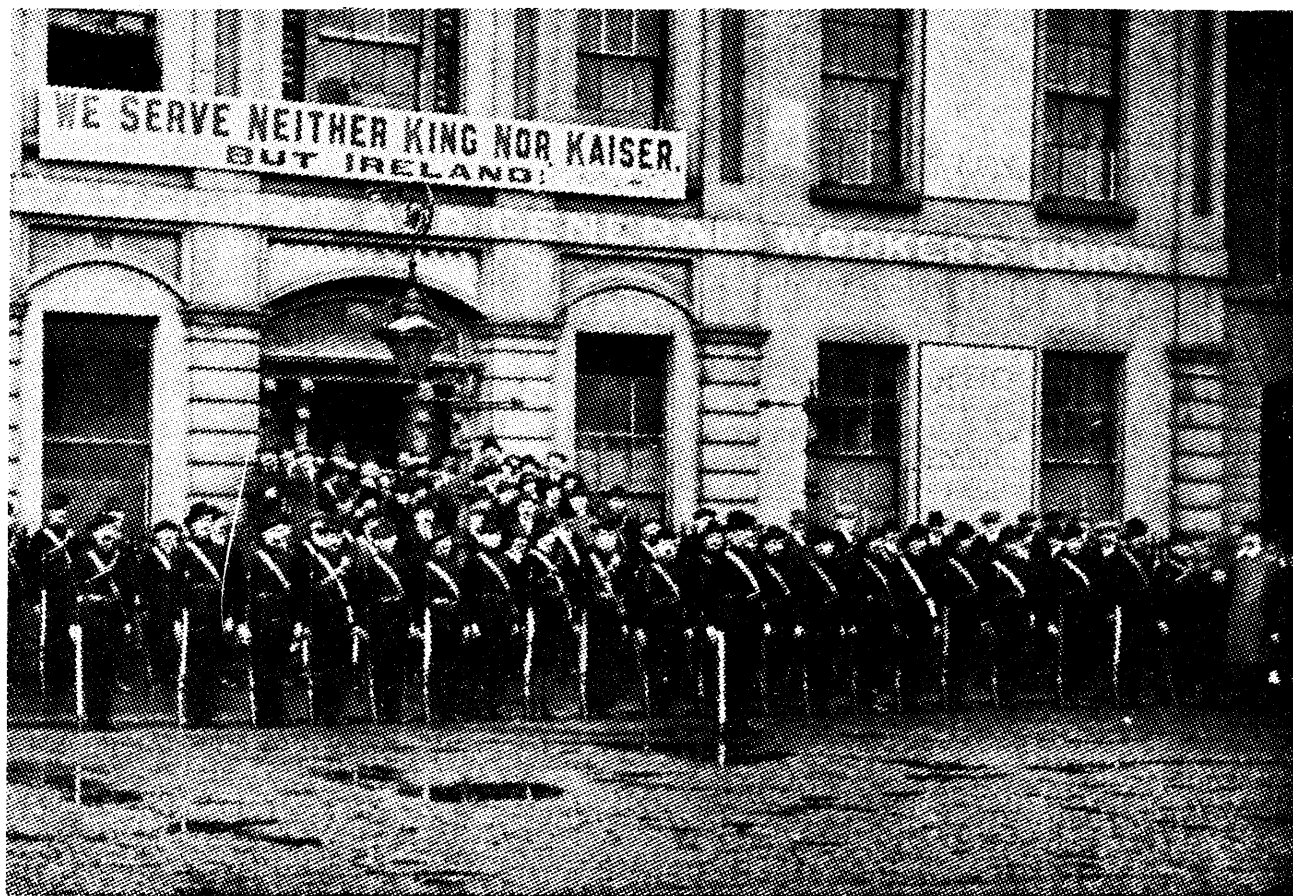
This requires fundamentally a struggle on two fronts. First it requires upon the part of revolutionary socialists in every country the deepening of the struggle against their own bourgeoisie. Each blow by the working class in Argentina, in Curacao, in France, in Britain, and each struggle undertaken by the American labor movement against the U.S. bosses and bankers weakens imperialism and takes from it the resource it requires to prosecute its criminal war against the Vietcong. It is precisely the advance of the working class in every country against the bourgeoisie at a time when the bourgeoisie is facing its most serious economic and political crisis in 30 years that more than anything else is contributing to the ability of the Vietcong to continue to ward off Nixon's offensive.

At the same time we say it is high time that the NLF came to grips with the impossibility of achieving any settlement given the present relationship of forces in South Vietnam and took advantage of a favorable international situation to launch a new offensive on a scale far greater even than Tet '68 with the aim of driving the imperialist armies into the sea.



MANY VICTIMS PAID THE PRICE OF IMPERIALISM DURING U.S. OFFENSIVE AT HAMBURGER HILL

# ULSTER ON THE KNIFE'S EDGE



(TOP) IRISH CITIZENS ARMY LINES UP IN FRONT OF UNION HALL. (RIGHT) JAMES CONNOLLY

BY CHARLES HENRY

For the ruling class of Northern Ireland, the resignation of Terence O'Neill from his position as Prime Minister has solved nothing. The ruling class remains split into two irreconcilable camps neither of which has any answer to resolve their basic dilemma. The Peoples Democracy have shown that they have no program to offer as an alternative or any understanding of the crisis. Their policy of "first giving O'Neill a chance" and of support for the intervention of British troops makes this abundantly clear. But even more, their bankruptcy is revealed by their inability to unite the working class as a class.

Today the working class is under attack and is also fighting back, going over to the offensive. Unemployment continues to rise to 1930 proportions. Derry City has by some estimates, 11% male unemployment and the province as a whole about 7%. The basic industries such as shipbuilding and textiles continue to stagnate, creating more and more unemployment. On top of this, since the war, a large proportion of the subsidiaries of big American, German and English corporations that have moved into Ulster have closed their plants and moved them back home. This process is a direct result of the international crisis of imperialism. At the same time, the Stormont Government is preparing the same kind of bill as is now being prepared by the Wilson Government in England--the outlawing of 'unofficial' strikes.

The working class is answering with long protracted strikes such as the one in the ICL factory at Castlereigh and the strike in Derry against police brutality, and by forming tenant committees against bad housing and exorbitant rents. A measure of the militancy of the working class can be gauged on the one hand by the formation of the workers militia in Bogside, Londonderry, and the election of Bernadette Devlin in the Westminster Parliamentary seat of Mid-Ulster.

## TWO ALTERNATIVES

It is necessary to take stock of the historical and international context within which the present revolutionary situation is developing. This is the only way that the revolutionary movement can develop a program capable of resolving the crisis in a progressive manner in the interests of the working class. There is now no middle of the road or reform solution possible. Ulster is faced with only two alternatives: Paisleyite Facism or the working class taking the power.

At the turn of the century there developed in Ireland a powerful working class in the main industrial areas of Belfast and Dublin which posed a formidable threat to the whole British Empire. The mass strikes of 1911 and 1913 had greater implications than the corresponding strikes of the same period in England because they had of necessity to involve the struggle for national liberation. By the time the Irish soviets appeared in 1920 and the membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union rose from 5,000 to

130,000 the working class leadership that existed was actually physically eliminated or broken. This is the most important question to revolutionaries today because the same problems are posed--internationalism, the crisis of working class leadership and the question of the Permanent Revolution.

## CONNOLLY

The Marxist theories of internationalism, the Leninist Party and the Permanent Revolution were all confirmed in the Russian Revolution of October, 1917. In Ireland, they were also confirmed, but in the negative. James Connolly was by far the most articulate working class leader of the time. Both his strength and his weakness was industrial unionism as in fact he was trained in the United States IWW movement. Connolly believed that industrial unionism was to build up an industrial republic inside the shell of the political state in order that when that industrial republic is fully organized it may crack the shell of the political state and take over. Thus, Connolly subordinated, although inconsistently, the working class to the bourgeois revolution.

Lenin attacked such conceptions in his State and Revolution in which he said that it was necessary for the working class to create a dictatorship against the national bourgeoisie to smash the bourgeois state and that this required a conscious proletarian vanguard. On the other hand, Connolly's conception led him to adapt to the bourgeois nationalists and to the Catholic Church.

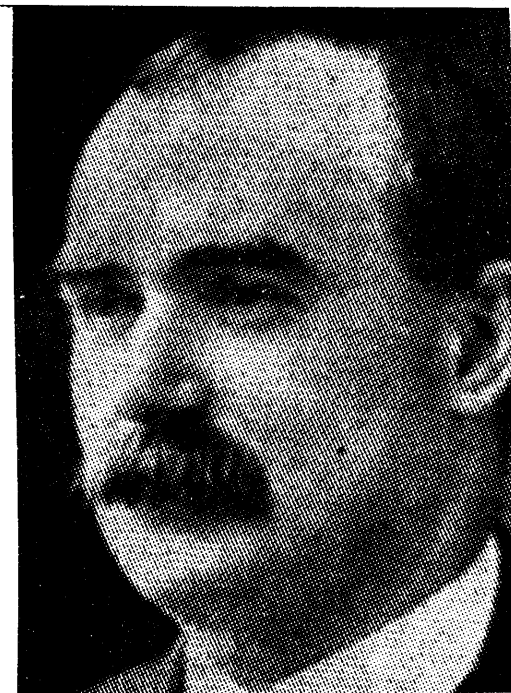
The first Citizens Army formed after the Dublin lockout as a workers defense guard ended up in an alliance with the Irish Volunteers. This liquidation into the Irish Volunteers proved disastrous. A dual membership existed between Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein party and the Irish Volunteers. Griffith was the main spokesman of the anti-imperialist bourgeoisie and only desired home rule in order to put Irish capitalism in a footing with that of Britain. Sinn Fein was extremely hostile to the workers struggle and in fact called for British troops to break a Larkin-Connolly strike in Dublin in 1911.

## EASTER UPRISING

The uprising of Easter 1916 ended up with Sinn Fein in complete control of the national liberation struggle. The Irish Citizens Army had put all its strength into the struggle while the Irish Volunteers used only one tenth of their force. Thus Griffith used the British troops to again do his dirty work for him. Only this time the leadership of the labor movement was completely routed and Connolly paid with his life.

The mistake Connolly made can be seen by the fact that the I.R.A., the successors of the Irish Volunteers, formed a valuable police force for the republican bourgeoisie at the time the soviets were formed, in 1921. The minister of home affairs of the Dail Eireann in 1921 described the I.R.A. as a national police force which stemmed the agrarian agitation: "There was a moment when it seemed that nothing could

## TODAY'S CRISIS AND THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH REVOLUTION



prevent wholesale expropriation. But this crisis was surmounted thanks to a patriotic public opinion, and the civic sense of justice expressed through the Arbitration Courts and enforced by the Republican police." Thus the bourgeoisie were able to smash the proletarian revolt because at this time it was completely leaderless.

Connolly's other great mistake was that he didn't understand the conception of the revolutionary vanguard party. The party he formed, the Irish Socialist Republican Party was nothing more than an echo of militant industrial action and in general never got beyond the Social Democracy of the Second International. Connolly himself saw that the Social Democracy had betrayed in 1916 but he drew the wrong conclusions. When he saw that the British Trades Union Congress was infected with bourgeois patriotism he said that the British working class was the most easily fooled in the world. He completely retreated into Irish patriotism. In this way he separated the struggle of the Irish working class from that of the British.

The Irish workers movement was capable and powerful enough to overthrow imperialism. The fault lay with the leadership. It is only by understanding the mistakes made by such leaders in the past like Connolly and Larkin can we now go forward and bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. It is significant that today all the reformists praise Connolly and never seek to make a critical analysis of his role in the history of the labor movement. Significant because they refuse to take up the question of building the revolutionary party, the permanent revolution or internationalism. It was only by the struggle for a workers and farmers government that Ireland could have become united and truly independent.

## NORTH AND SOUTH

The Irish ruling class in the north and south had very different vested interests. In the south the ruling class consisted of middle sized farmers and small business based primarily on agriculture and it was in the interests of this section of the Irish capitalist class to free itself from the British Empire, raise tariffs, etc., to allow itself to grow without being ruined by the large capitalist enterprises in England who thwarted their growth and made them merely executives for British domination. In the north the capitalist class was industrial and depended on the open market with Britain and the Empire to buy and exchange goods to reach the large consumer market in England. They depended on the ability to obtain cheap raw materials from all parts of the Empire protected by the might of the Royal Navy. For them, independence would have meant ruination. To be sure, the northern capitalists were junior partners of their English counterparts and but this contradiction of interests didn't manifest itself until recently with

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 8)



MANDEL SPEAKS TO STUDENTS ON HIS GRAND TOUR OF THE U.S.

IN A RECENT issue of 'New Left Review' Ernest Mandel has given us a further installment of his revisionist thinking. Like the last example which we had occasion to criticize (see The Newsletter, January 25), it is a product of his recent tour of the United States.

Given the title 'Where is America Going?', no doubt in conscious imitation of Trotsky's articles under a similar heading, it is described by the editors of NLR as 'one of the first genuinely Marxist analyses of the continual upheaval within the citadel of capitalism'.

In fact, under a screen of learning and Marxist phraseology, Mandel serves up his characteristic empirical and impressionistic mixture. Far from being a Marxist analysis it is further evidence of his break with Marxism and particularly with the programme of the Fourth International.

It suffices to turn to Mandel's conclusions to substantiate this claim. However valid some of the points which he makes in the course of his article and however brilliant his exposition it is the final section which gives him away. He stands revealed as

an accomplished commentator, that is all.

### 'Backwardness'

We begin, then, near the end of his article where he discusses the reasons for the political backwardness of the American working class, its inability to rise above 'trade union consciousness'.

According to Mandel:

'Trade union consciousness is not only negative. Or, to formulate this more dialectically [yes, the man claims to be a dialectician!—T.K.], trade union consciousness is in and by itself socially neutral.'

In other words, our 'dialectician', convinced of the existence of 'things-in-themselves', conceives of an ideology, trade union consciousness, as being **socially neutral**, which means, if it means anything at all, independent of classes. It is much as though a 'Marxist' were to proclaim the neutrality of the state!

He goes on to say:

'It [i.e. trade union consciousness] is neither reactionary nor revolutionary. It becomes reactionary when the system is capable of satisfying trade union demands.'

# WHERE IS MA

By implication, then, in the USA it is reactionary — and the American working class also is 'a reactionary mass', though Mandel does not actually say as much. But what he does say is just as fantastic:

'It [once again meaning 'trade union consciousness'] creates a major revolutionary potential once the system is no longer capable of satisfying basic trade union demands.'

## Mechanical

For a 'Marxist' to claim that trade union consciousness can automatically turn in a revolutionary direction when material conditions change is pure revisionism. Yet this is what Mandel is claiming. To anyone who reads his article closely it is evident that his kind of 'Marxism' is mechanical, not dialectical. He stands apart from the class struggle and discerns trends which automatically work themselves out.

In a previous article we suggested that the mantle of Deutscher had fallen upon Mandel. It can now be confirmed: the methods are precisely similar. The same reasons which led Deutscher in 1938 to reject the call for the formation of the Fourth International will lead Mandel to propose . . . but we are anticipating.

What Mandel actually does is to say nothing at all about the Fourth International or the revolutionary party in his conclusions. Instead he makes a 'prediction' about the way in which economic trends will **automatically** alter the level of consciousness of the American working class. Perhaps the reader disbelieves that he could make such a crass mistake. Let him there-

Reprinted from THE NEWSLETTER, May 29, 1969

fore ponder the following statement, signed E. Mandel and certified as fully Marxist by the editors of 'New Left Review':

'The political radicalization of the working class, and therewith society [query: can 'society' be politically radicalized?], will become a practical proposition in the United States within the next ten or 15 years, under the combined impact of all the forces which have been examined here. . . . The road to revolution will then be open.'

This is the old theory that the working class will not struggle or turn to Marxism until they have been radicalized by a stiff dose of unemployment in the course of an economic crisis.

## Pragmatic

It leaves no place for the party until the ten or 15 years which the soothsayer grants before radicalization have elapsed . . . and in the meantime? Obviously the building of a revolutionary party in the meantime is not a 'practical proposition' otherwise, surely, our 'Marxist' would have made some reference to it. As he says nothing either about the Labour Party question in the United States we presume that he thinks that is also not a 'practical proposition'. At least it can be said that Mandel learned something from his visit to the United States—pragmatism.

Empiricism, pragmatism, these vices of Anglo-Saxon thinking, loom large in Mandel's methodology as manifested in this article.

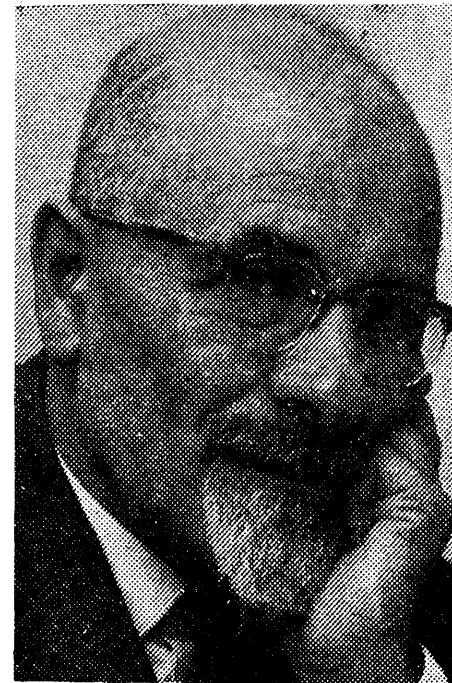
In fact these revealing conclusions follow the examination of what he calls six historic contradictions in the development of American capitalism. These points are really strung out like beads

in a rosary, they can be put in any order, no one seems more important than the rest and the relationships between them seem to be distant. Mandel really sets out to 'explain' certain phenomena in the United States which impressed him. In other words he begins with what is going on in the superstructure, on the surface, the obvious, headline-making events. True to his method he tries to explain these social and political manifestations of the crisis in American capitalism by direct reference to certain economic changes.

His first point, we might have guessed, is the black revolt. For a 'Marxist' like Mandel this presents no problem. What he calls 'the third industrial revolution' has diminished demand for unskilled labour. Hence, no jobs for Negroes: who become truly revolutionary. O.K., the reader will say—but just let him think. Further down in his article Mandel actually shows that there are more Negroes in the industrial labour force than at any time. In fact Mandel's explanation is no explanation at all, or only a very partial one.

The second point concerns . . . wait for it—the students. Another really sophisticated 'explanation'. The demand for people with higher education arises from the fact that administration has become 'industrialized'. Students will mostly have to do subordinate jobs in administration or as salary-earners in business. Knowing this, many have become 'alienated' and revolt.

The third point brings in some learned and 'Marxist' analysis of the problems of reproduction which Mandel claims accounts for the diversification of investment by big business and the growing predominance of finance capital. He manages to include some particularly subtle questions about the incompatibility of 'the hierarchical and authoritarian structure of the plant' with 'the need for flexible co-operation within the factory in the place of a rigid chain of command'. That sounds all right until a little reflection shows



ISAAC DEUTSCHER

that 'the rigid chain of command', etc., is no more than the inevitable result of the system of private ownership, i.e. of capital.

There is no contradiction between the employer's assertion of authority as an owner of the means of production and the discipline imposed upon the workers. The only contradiction arises in the clash of class interest—who has the right to run the factory?

## Misleading

The idea of 'flexible co-operation within the factory' may be in accord-

## Vital Reading With This Article

### THE NEW NATIONALISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

By Tim Wohlforth. This pamphlet exposes Black Nationalism as a form of reactionary cultural nationalism and presents the revolutionary class alternative. 25¢. Order number 171.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES

By Tim Wohlforth. The only existing history of American Trotskyism from its origins to today. 75¢. Order number 170.

### LEON TROTSKY ON THE LABOR PARTY

The stenographic report of discussions held in 1938 with the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. 20¢. Order number 48.

### PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL BY GERRY HEALY .40

This pamphlet explains what the split with the Pabloite revisionists is all about and makes an assessment of the evolution of the Socialist Workers Party since its split with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

### STALINISM AND TROTSKYISM IN THE U.S.A. .30

Must reading! Stenographic report, June 1940 of a discussion between Trotsky and leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party.

### Impressions of E. Mandel Free

By Dennis O'Casey. Examines the theoretical views and political content of Ernest Mandel from the Belgian General Strike to the May-June Events in France.

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# MANDEL GOING? *Mandel's article which appeared in 'New Left Review' is analysed by TOM KEMP*

ance with modern techniques, but it can never be achieved within the capitalist form of ownership. Unless the point is made quite clear such a discussion is vague and misleading; Mandel does not do that, but conforms with fashionable phraseology drawn from bourgeois sociology and industrial relations.

With the fourth point, which concerns the erosion of real wages by inflation, we seem to be getting near the heart of the analysis. But why is this only number four? And why are the international problems of American capitalism dealt with only in passing, as an incident to the pressure on real wages, and not made central to the analysis?

It is certainly significant that the American working class has failed to make gains in real wages in the last few years because this comes at the end of a long period of more or less automatic annual increases. Mandel may be right in seeing this as one of the reasons why some workers turned to Wallace in the last presidential elections: they may look right again instead of being radicalized unless there is a struggle to **change** their consciousness.

It is certainly not good enough, however, to deal with the pressures on the world monetary system and on the dollar in such an off-hand way. What it means is that Mandel sees American capitalism so much in isolation from the world economy, that he slips into a version of American exceptionalism.

In his struggle against the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country' Trotsky had often to return to basic questions of Marxism regarding the international character of capitalism. Thus, as he pointed out:

'It is false that the world economy is simply a sum of national parts. It is false that the specific features are "merely supplementary to the general features" like warts on a face. In reality the national peculiarities represent an original combination of the basic features of the world process.' (Third International after Lenin.)

What is one to make of a 'Marxist' who has the temerity to raise the question of 'Where is America Going?' without beginning with the role of the United States in world imperialism? Mandel in fact is only concerned with the domestic problems of the United States, with the 'national peculiarities' which he sees working themselves out in isolation over the coming ten or 15 years. For him it is evident that world revolution is a phrase and that what he envisages is a series of national revolutions, taking place when trade union consciousness turns revolutionary under the pressure of deteriorating real wages without the need for a party or an international movement.

## 'Original'

If he could deny this then he has to explain why these questions do not figure in his article and why the international role of United States imperialism is not made central to his analysis.

But we still have to refer to points five and six in this list of Mandel's 'historic contradictions'. The first of these is concerned with the 'contradiction' discovered by bourgeois economists between private wealth and public squalor. Mandel saw it for himself in unswept streets and cities without public transport so it must be real. As an original contribution to Marxism he adds that because American capitalists will not pay taxes to permit adequate wages to be paid to public

employees — often former students — this will result in an infiltration of radicalism into public administration. A very ingenious conclusion but certainly, for all the brilliance of the deduction, surely of minor importance.

The last point is more tangible, it concerns the impact of foreign competition. According to the argument here the big differential between American wages and those paid in Europe and Japan (200 to 300 per cent) is now becoming a big liability for American capitalism. The gap in productivity is allegedly diminishing, speeded by the export of US capital and direct investment by US corporations in foreign industry. As a result US employers are obliged to attack wage levels in the States and to make

Capitalism consumes ripe and mature labour power at a rapid rate even in the 'affluent society'.

Using a static method of analysis, Mandel presumes that productivity in Europe and Japan — and presumably the wage level — will come closer together so that

'When the productivity gap . . . is closed, American capitalism will have no choice but to launch a far more ruthless attack on the real wage levels of American workers than has occurred hitherto in Western Europe.'

In other words, taking a correctly observed **tendency**, Mandel draws it out in a completely abstract way, i.e. leaving aside all counteracting forces.

(and wage) levels can brought up to American levels under capitalism. It is a big presumption as regards productivity and nothing in present-day capitalism suggests that it will be achieved as regards wages.

The European and Japanese capitalists have to fight too on the wages and productivity front against their own working class at part of the battle for the world market with their American rivals. It is in the arena of the class struggle, and not as part of an abstract projection of trends, that Marxists must analyse these problems and prepare to intervene in the United States as well as in the other countries.

Mandel's method is empirical and impressionistic. It deals with surface phenomena. It breaks up reality into



CHARLESTON HOSPITAL STRIKE, 1969.

MANDEL: "TRADE UNION CONSCIOUSNESS IS SOCIALLY NEUTRAL."

an all-out drive to raise levels of productivity still higher.

It is here, incidentally, that Mandel calls attention to the growing proportion of Negro workers in industry. Also, correctly, he shows that in mass production industry there has been a radical lowering of the age composition of the work force in some sectors.

all conscious activity and intervention by the working class and under unrealistic assumptions about the behaviour of the capitalists.

## Presumption

What he has assumed, in fact, is that European and Japanese productivity

discrete segments. It discerns automatic processes which determine consciousness; thus no awakening of the American working class is possible until the objective situation changes.

'Once the system becomes less and less able to deliver the goods, a completely new situation will occur in the United States', such is Mandel's view.

But this is what American radicals have been saying for years, no, decades: Mandel has just found some new labels for the old package. Really he assumes continued expansion for capitalism and its ability to overcome the basic contradictions which he has omitted or skirted around.

Finally, as we said at the beginning, Mandel sees no use, apparently, for 'the subjective factor', i.e. the party — at least not for a decade or so. He has interpreted a bit of the American scene, one-sidedly, but if anybody wants to change it they will have to wait. It would be interesting to know what advice this 'thinker' gave to his friends in the Socialist Workers' Party as a result of his cogitations on the future of American capitalism.

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# ULSTER AND THE IRISH REVOLUTION



BOGSIDE DEMONSTRATORS CHARGE LONDONDERRY COPS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5)

the breakup of the Empire and the economic crisis that Great Britain as a whole is faced with. The situation can be characterized now as a falling out of thieves who are not sure whether they should fall out or not.

It also suited the interests of British imperialism to have the country divided, to break it up as a balanced industrial unit. In this way it has been able through its alliance with the northern capitalists--with itself as the dominant partner--to establish an enclave in Ireland after 'independence.' This enabled them to maintain the Irish ruling class in the south under their thumb thus protecting the large English landowners as well as keeping Ireland truly under their economic domain with as little restriction to the flow of British capital as possible into Ireland.

With the cream of the working class leaders murdered or in exile, the working class as a whole demoralized and defeated, the ruling class both north and south were able through their labor lieutenants to pursue their vested interests at the expense of the working class. In the south the labor bureaucracy accepted the treaty of independence and the need to build southern Irish capitalism linked to the Catholic Church. They not only accepted the divisions of Irish capitalism into northern and southern spheres as divisions into a separate northern and southern working class, becoming a prop for the Republican bourgeoisie. It is true that they kept a loose relationship with the northern committee of the Irish Congress of Trades Unions but this was merely a meaningless token.

The northern capitalists on the other hand, through the same medium of the labor bureaucracy were able to infect the working class in the north with Orangeism. The labor leaders boosted the capitalist leaders of the day like Carson and Craig as friends of the working class. They maintained that independence would lower the standard of living, would cost the working class all the social benefits they had gained, would create unemployment by industry leaving the area, etc. It was through such tactics that capitalism was able to win over the working class. They also built themselves the semi-secret Orange Order among the population as a whole and in this way cemented the trade unions to a position of unity with Britain. Thus they effectively split not only the northern working class from the southern but divided the working class in the north into its Protestant and Catholic components.

## EUROPE AND AMERICA

It is necessary to see the present crisis also in its international context. The crisis is an integral part of the crisis of world capitalism which is taking its sharpest form in the contradiction between European capitalism on the one hand and United States capitalism on the other. When world dominance passed from Britain to the U.S. it wasn't just a struggle between two countries but rather between two continents. Britain with its Empire represented the strongest power in Europe and as such, the epoch of European domination of the world. The decline of Britain represented the decline of European capitalism. Now it is a race between these European powers to see who will fall first. The crisis in the end can only be resolved in the U.S. itself. But Europe has the first round. The

European working class also has the first round. This was demonstrated by the revolutionary events of May-June, in France as well as the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet bloc as shown in the Czechoslovakian developments.

The Irish bourgeoisie both north and south are among the very weakest in Europe. British imperialism is now forced to attempt to take back any gains or concessions made to the Irish bourgeoisie in 1920. This was the meaning of the Free Trade Pact between England, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Republic, where the Republic has now lowered all tariffs for the larger companies in England and is considering at this moment reducing them even further.

In addition, both sides of the border have been penetrated by other foreign capital in the form of small subsidiaries of German, Japanese and U.S. firms. Thus as the crisis gets more acute these subsidiaries are forced to close shop and move back to their home base. This has had serious consequences for the Irish bourgeoisie as a whole. They are now forced to take on the working class in a head-on struggle while at the same time a section of both camps of the bourgeoisie see the necessity of forming some sort of closer link with each other. This is at the root of the present division of the Orange Capitalists in the north. With England in a crisis, the Empire gone and the south more industrialized, one section led by O'Neill sees greater unity as a major solution to their problems while the other section led by Faulkner-Paisley fear that any such move would further ruin the section of the petty bourgeoisie they represent and strengthen the working class by posing the question of united action against a common enemy.

## ATTACK

Notwithstanding their disagreements and conflicting interests, the British, Northern and Southern bourgeoisie are agreed on one central point that at no time is to be lost in attacking the workers on all fronts. In all three countries the governments are preparing anti-strike legislation, creating unemployment and raising the cost of living more than ever before. The need for a united working class is immediate. In order to achieve this a break of the link with the capitalists in the north must be demanded. This would have the effect of not only posing

the question of unity between the Catholic and Protestant workers in the north but in the south and Great Britain as well. The Irish working class will not be able to achieve power without the help or support of their brothers in England. This of course would also give a greater emphasis to the class struggle in Britain. The significance of the Daily Newsletter, organ of the Trotskyist Socialist Labor League of Britain, must be seen in this light--that is, of the necessity for the building of a similar Marxist vanguard party in Ireland.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil rights movement must also be seen in this context. Finding themselves on top of a genuine mass workers revolt, these self styled leaders play the role of leading it down a blind alley. They think that the problem can be solved by a few reforms and an enlightened bourgeois government like the Wilson Labour Party government even though this government is in a head-on collision with the British working class. The treachery of these people can be gauged by the fact that they called for the intervention of British troops. The same troops will be used against any workers revolt just as they were used against Connolly. This clap trap spread around by the Stalinists, Pabloites and what have you, of limiting the struggle to reforms for Catholics (not even Catholic WORKERS), only helps Paisley. It further divides the labor movement along religious lines and of course completely ignores the struggle for labor unity forged through a break with the capitalists.

These same revisionists call for self determination for Scotland, blacks in the U.S., secession of Brittany from France, etc. But needless to say, they don't apply their self-determination formula to Northern Ireland. In each case they only adapt to the respective bourgeoisie of each country by providing a red herring to lead the working class from its historic task.

The tasks of Marxists on the other hand is to expose these fakers and on their corpse build a genuine vanguard which has as its historic task the unification of the labor movement in order to come to power. Only by building such a revolutionary party can the theories of the permanent revolution and the international class struggle be confirmed positively.

## BERNADETTE DEVLIN SHOWS HER COLORS



BERNADETTE DEVLIN MEETS THE PRESS

BY MARK JENKINS

'If the Unionist Party would pull its finger out and get on with developing Northern Ireland we wouldn't need British government grants. We would become a productive country,' said Bernadette Devlin, MP for Mid-Ulster, when she addressed a meeting at the Anson Hall, Kilburn, on May 21.

This was the brand of opportunist politics served up to an enthusiastic audience of some 500 mainly Irish workers.

Despite the warm reception they gave Miss Devlin, many must have left the meeting with grave reservations about the kind of leadership presented by the advocates of 'unity'.

Said Miss Devlin:

'There is room for all in this campaign despite your political opinions. Are you prepared to jump on this bandwagon? We do not

mind provided you jump on with sincerity.

If you are opposed to 'International Socialism' (the state capitalist group), or even if you are a Tory, so long as you believe in basic human justice there is a place for you with us.'

She went on:

'In Derry we were not marching for revolution, but for non-revolutionary demands. We want someone to listen. We must get through to the political authorities.'

But Miss Devlin's keenness to dissociate herself and the civil rights movement from revolution was completely out of tune with the feeling of her audience.

A great cheer went up when a speaker from the floor mentioned the proclamation of 1916 and James Connolly.

Another speaker on the floor chastised Miss Devlin for not mentioning the unity of workers in North and South and called for 'the overthrow of the Stormont government' to loud applause and cheering.

It was left to another speaker from the floor to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ulster.

Throughout Devlin's contribution there was no reference to the crisis of capitalism or to the working class.

There was no explanation of the relation of the Irish struggles to the developing crisis in Britain and the rest of the capitalist world. She confined her remarks to the injustices of the housing and electoral system in Ulster.

The chairman got the biggest laugh of the evening when he said: 'For the last 40 years Northern Ireland hasn't been in the news.'

There were shouts of 'Where have you been?'

His call for 'popularizing the civil rights cause in Britain' was thoroughly inadequate for the audience, many of whom are active members of the trade unions in Britain.



## FRENCH ELECTIONS: WORKERS STRENGTH BLUNTED BY DIVISION

BY MELODY FARROW

On April 27, the French working class solidly voted NO against the Gaullist regime in its referendum. This set the stage for the present elections. This referendum proved that the workers had not been decisively beaten back after the May-June events of 1968. It showed that the French workers are determined to win their demands and seek to replace the Gaullist regime with a workers government. The gains that were won in May-June have been completely destroyed through more inflation; attacks through speed up and lay-offs have intensified. And finally we see the total bankruptcy of every "left" tendency, including Lutte Ouvriere and the Ligue Communiste. These groups advocated abstention on the referendum instead of intervening in struggle against Gaullist Bonapartism.

### ALTERNATIVES

The elections have shown the depth of the crisis of French capitalism; there is no place for a "moderate" like Poher who vaguely tries to place himself between Bonapartism and the working class. There are only two alternatives in France today: socialist revolution or capitalist dictatorship. Pompidou's campaign was clearly aimed at playing on the fear of another May-June and he constantly threatened that a Poher regime would be a vacillating one which would not be able to suppress another revolutionary upsurge.

The Communist Party is now under tremendous pressure from its ranks. For the first time the Communist Party was forced to run alone with its own candidate, Jacques Duclos. The old coalition with the so-called "leftists", i.e. bourgeois politicians like Mitterand, has collapsed. This "progressive" section of the bourgeoisie turned tail and deserted its "ally", the CP, precisely because of the polarization of class forces. Despite the betrayals of the CP and its line of peaceful co-existence, it still is supported by thousands of revolutionary workers who have no intention of peacefully co-existing with the ruling class.

### DUCLOS

Duclos won 21% of the vote, a very significant total because workers were not voting for a compromise candidate but directly for a Communist. Also significant was the big drop in votes for the SP candidate, allied with Mendes-France. The French workers have demonstrated once again the power that they represent. They are determined to force their leaders to fight for their demands and they want a decisive break with the bourgeoisie. The Stalinists had to abstain from supporting Poher in the runoff because of this pressure. The Stalinists are now in a very precarious position. They have been partially discredited by the May-June events and they are forced to

maneuver very cautiously. They fear the growth of a revolutionary alternative, the Trotskyists. This is what forces them into a left position but at the same time they will attempt to control and dissipate this militancy as in May-June.

The real strength of the working class was weakened by the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties. Their tactics of running separate candidates represents a deliberate attempt to divide and confuse the working class.

They were aided in this by forces such as the revisionist Ligue Communiste and its candidate Alain Krivine who was given a big boost in the U.S. by the Socialist Workers Party. Krivine is nothing but a middle-class centrist. His base lies with sections of the students and a kind of beatnik fringe.

The election campaign of the Ligue Communiste and Krivine, showed the exact same method as their abstention on April 27th. Both are propagandistic maneuvers. First they underestimated the working class's ability to continue to fight through the elections. Then, seeing that the workers wanted to fight, they put up a candidate of their own to "educate" the worker. But the workers are not interested in casting a vote for educational reasons but in concretely defeating De Gaulle and replacing him with a workers candidate.

### UNITED

The real interests of the working class would have best served by the running of a SINGLE united front candidate supported by the workers' parties and the trade unions. This would have counterposed the working class as a whole to the bourgeoisie. Only in this way can a wedge be driven between the workers and the ruling class, showing the only way forward to be a workers' government.

Such a fight would have exposed the leaderships of the SP and CP who have no intention of making a real fight for the working class and who seek to restrain and divide the workers and prevent a repetition of the struggles of last May-June.

The defeat of De Gaulle in the April 27th referendum was a direct sequel to the intervention of the working class in the May-June events. It is clear that more than anything else the ruling class in France feared the real united mobilization of the working class in a political struggle.

Both Pompidou and Poher are vicious enemies of the working class and seek to uphold the interests of French capitalism regardless of the cost to the workers. The stage is set for tremendous class confrontations which require the building of an alternative leadership for the working class. It is only the French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International that can carry out this task.

## SSEU Leaders Ram Thru Rotten Pact

BY A WELFARE WORKER

NEW YORK--By a vote of 3300 to 875 at last count and with supervisory votes still outstanding it appears that the Morgenstern leadership of the newly merged SSEU local 371 has succeeded in ramming down the throats of his membership the rottenest sellout in the history of the NY labor movement.

It is significant that at least a third of the membership completely abstained from the ratification vote. At the same time it is clear to anyone familiar with union affairs that the 3300 votes were obtained only on the basis of the conviction implanted in the membership by Morgenstern and his cronies that he was completely incapable and unwilling to lead any kind of a struggle even if they voted no.

### CDC

For the past 8 months the only force that has fought Morgenstern on this contract, the only force that sought to cut through his campaign of lies, demoralization and delay was the Committee for a Decent Contract. It was this committee that was able to rally the 800 strongest militants in the union against the sellout.

If in spite of this fight the Morgenstern leadership's campaign in favor of the contract was able to succeed, the responsibility for this lies squarely at the door of every fake left in the union from the supporters of the SWP, the CP and PL to the biggest political quagmire of them all the newly formed Welfare MDS. Not one of these tendencies raised a peep against this sellout though most had the sense to absent themselves from the crucial executive board meetings where they might have been forced into an open vote.

At a general membership meeting held 3 nights before ratification the CDC spokesman once again put forward the program for defeating the contract previously taken into 30 Welfare Centers through debates and massive leafletting.

### POLICY

The Committee for a Decent Contract, the spokesman made clear in debate with Morgenstern, was not seeking simply a token vote against the contract but to defeat it. Its policy in the words of its final leaflet was as follows:

The CDC will consider a NO vote on June 6 a vote of no confidence not only in the past performance of the Morgenstern leadership, but in its ability to lead this union one step further.

The CDC thus intends immediately following a rejection of the contract to come before the membership with its own recommendation for the creation of a new negotiating committee consisting of the CDC and other militants who have fought to defeat this package.

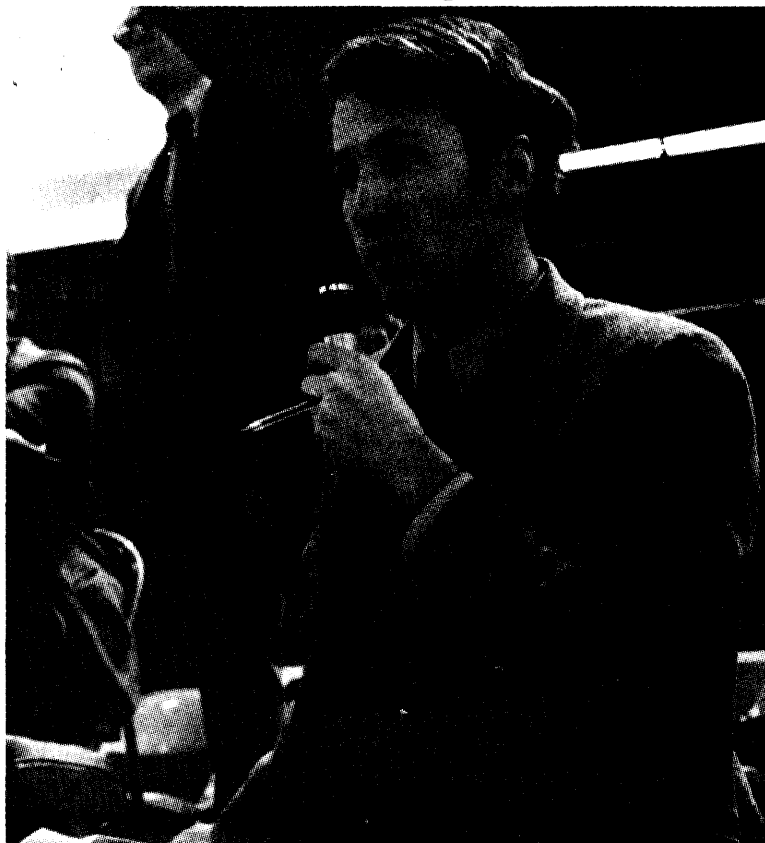
The CDC will ask the membership to empower the new negotiating committee to take full responsibility for re-

opening negotiations with the city on the basis of the demands that reorganization be scrapped - no job cuts, full promotional opportunities, concrete workload provisions, retention of all pay already won, etc.

It will likewise seek membership authorization to utilize all union resources to prepare for strike action within SSEU-371 and among 1549 clerks as well as to open a campaign for support in the city and state labor movement and among welfare clients via press, radio, and

the union until next April.

The forces that come together to form the CDC plan to take this fight into the June 27 local delegates election combined with a program to prevent the city from using this ratification to strip the membership completely naked. Central as well to the fight in the next period will be the demand that 1549 clerks be returned to the newly merged SSEU-371 local. Only in this way can the fight for unity really be said to be completed in the New York City Department of Social Ser-



DENNIS CRIBBEN OF CDC SPEAKS TO SSEU RANKS

TV, around the common issues of job cuts, the Taylor law, and the budget cuts.

At the conclusion of one month of such a campaign the negotiating committee will be pledged either to return with an acceptable offer or to recommend strike action, in which case a 2/3 majority referendum vote of both SSEU-371 and 1549 clerks will be required.

Although a solid 20% were prepared to respond to this appeal the final and complete exposure and overthrow of the vicious Morgenstern-Gotbaum clique is still on the agenda.

### SWINE

It is precisely to this task that every militant that voted against this contract and every other union member who knows what kind of swine live in the 817 B'way office must now address himself.

The concrete task this immediately presents is the fight for the required constitutional amendment that will open the door to a citywide officers election in the fall of this year. This leadership cannot be allowed to smother

vices.

At the same time the whole reorganization scheme acceded to by the union raises immediately the question of a real fight for case aides and other auxiliary titles, as well as the clericals, who stand to be eaten alive under this contract, shifted into new job functions.

### AFL-CIO

The entry of the SSEU into the AFL-CIO likewise raises more forcefully than ever before the necessity for the SSEU to take forward a struggle against the Meany, Van Arsdale, Gotbaum bureaucracy on all major issues facing the American labor movement and in particular the latest political line-up with Lindsay and Wagner.

Nothing however will be accomplished without the sharpest fight to boot out Morgenstern and install in the new 371 local a leadership that wants to fight. If the 1969 contract struggle made anything clear it was that as long as this parasite is sucking the membership's blood, the union will career from defeat to defeat.

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# BEHIND UAW TEAMSTER ALLIANCE

BY FRED MUELLER

The formal founding of the Alliance for Labor Action by the Auto Workers and the Teamsters, the two largest unions in the U.S., poses serious questions to all union militants.

In the last issue of the BULLETIN we examined the vague outline which the UAW and

placent about an alliance of unions representing nearly 4 million organized workers separate from the AFL-CIO.

BASIS

There is an objective basis for the split, and this basis is the deepening economic and political crisis of the capitalist system. It is this crisis to which Reuther, in his

ranks must have no illusions that he is prepared to do what must be done. His real record of sellouts must be exposed but the need for organizing the unorganized must also be taken up, with fighting demands and actual struggle.

When Reuther talks about the ghettos and the crisis of the cities we must expose his bankrupt reformism concretely, with alternative demands which expose the responsibility of the bosses for the poverty and decay in the cities. Reuther talks about rebuilding the cities 'by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods.' We demand the 'full use' of the country's resources through massive public housing and schools programs, rolling back all the budget cuts and taking off from there, and nationalizing the building industry under workers' control.

COSTS

The comments of Reuther and of UAW Secretary Treasurer Emil Mazey at the ALA founding convention are particularly ominous and significant. Mazey, it is reported, 'blamed the 'restricted membership' in building trades unions for 'scandalously' high labor costs.' Reuther criticized what he termed obsolete 'work attitudes'.

What kind of talk is this from trade union officials, and 'progressives', at that? Of course there must be a continuing battle against discrimination in the building trades, but this is not what these bureaucrats are interested in. They are concerned

about labor costs. They want wages low enough so that housing construction is more profitable. Reuther openly and blatantly begins from what is good for the bosses, not the workers. Indeed, it was his old friend the late Charles Wilson of GM, who first equated his interest with that of the country.

Integration of the building trades will, in Reuther's plans, lead to lower wages, not the raising of the ghetto unemployed to union wages. This is nothing but a crude attack on gains which have been won through years of struggle, an open attempt to encourage racism by pitting minority workers against the unions.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that Reuther far from representing anything progressive, is actually in league with a section of the bosses in an attack on the labor movement. Meany attacks in one way, Reuther in another.

It is impossible to fight these vicious attacks, so cleverly posed in terms of aid to the poor and organizing the unorganized, without a concrete alternative. A fighting alternative to both Reuther and Meany is needed, and it must be fought for in all unions.

Above all a unity must be forged in struggle of the workers in the AFL-CIO and ALA. Only through this unity will the labor movement be powerful enough to beat back the attacks which the entire working class will face in the next period by the bosses and their government.

The anti-labor New York Daily News printed an editorial entitled "Go the Whole Hog, Boys" in response to the founding of the ALA. The editorial says, sarcastically, "Its (the ALA) leaders are trumpeting calls for social justice, a lot of housing construction, urban renewal and other reforms... Suggestion to Reuther and pals: Why don't you boys just set up a political party similar to the BRITISH Labor (Socialist) Party --which is what Reuther has been yearning to do for years. and see how far you get with it?"

Of course Reuther has been yearning for nothing of the sort. The News is getting at a very important point, however, when it links a serious struggle for "social justice" to the formation of a labor party. Rank and file workers should take the hint--independent political action by the labor movement is precisely what is needed, but we will get it only by fighting against Reuther. AGAINST SPLITS FROM THE AFL-CIO! FOR UNITY IN STRUGGLE OF THE UAW, TEAMSTERS, AFL-CIO! UNITY OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS IN THE FIGHT FOR JOBS FOR ALL, THE SHORTER WORK WEEK, THE ESCALATOR CLAUSE AGAINST INFLATION, THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL ANTI-UNION LAWS AND GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION, THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM, POVERTY AND THE GHETTOS! FOR A LABOR PARTY TO FIGHT FOR THESE DEMANDS!



FITZSIMMONS HANDS GAVEL TO REUTHER AT ALA CONVENTION

Teamster leaders are passing off as the program of the ALA. As we explained, it should be clear both from the 'program' and the record of these bureaucrats that they represent no alternative to the Meany bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO.

however, than the personality clash and maneuvers for top positions which the capitalist press highlights. We must understand why this split has come at this time, and why Reuther and the Teamsters have become allies after years of hostility. No matter how phony the issues, we cannot afford to ignore or be com-

own way, is responding. The formation of the ALA is a reflection of a growing crisis within the labor movement and the top bureaucracy itself, as the unions come under greater attack, the inflationary crisis develops, the cities continue to decay, and the racial divisions within the working class fester.

It is not the ALA which is progressive, but the real need and potential for struggle which must be demonstrated, which must flow out of the crisis of the trade union bureaucracy.

When Reuther talks about organizing the unorganized the

## 32B LEADERS HOLD LOVE-IN WITH BOSSES

BY A 32B MEMBER

NEW YORK--The last two years have seen workers in the building services engage in militant struggle around the basic issues of wages, working conditions and benefits, all of which are quickly deteriorating as inflation runs wild and the bosses try to improve their position at the expense of the workers.

President Thomas Shortman of Local 32B, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, at a recent general membership meeting presented what he loves to call a "victory without a strike". In a recent issue of the union magazine, the editor says, "In an era when work stoppages have caused workers hardship because of loss of income, have disrupted industry and in numerous cases have resulted in inconvenience for the public, 32B's victory without a strike is particularly significant."

CONTRACT

This is all referring, believe it or not, to the contract recently negotiated with the owners of commercial and apartment buildings in New York. But the fact is that Shortman and the other union officials haven't shown the ranks whether the contract is a victory for them or for the bosses!

Who are the union bureaucrats kidding? Are they saying

it is possible to secure a decent contract without a struggle of the full force of 42,000 building service workers? Are they saying that the very same owners who are trying to blame outrageous rent hikes on the workers' demands for decent wages are at the same time capable of giving their workers a decent wage that keeps up with the rising cost of living?

If that's what these bureaucrats are trying to say, there are nevertheless many building service workers who are saying that something stinks and it is the contract that Shortman and Co. negotiated and pushed through ratification.

SETTLEMENT

The officials negotiated a settlement at a "love-in" with the owners when they should have been fighting those bosses who in the last six years have been doubling and tripling the workload of the workers while paying them a pittance.

The officers of 32B are notorious for their love of peace and tranquility even if it's at the building workers expense. This can be seen concretely when we look at the recently settled strike of Local 2 of the Window Washers, a sister local of 32B, which has been placed under 32B's trusteeship since the

death of its Secretary-Treasurer. Richard Cancellere, Secretary of 32B, was directly in charge of settling the window washers' strike. Only a month before this strike was settled, Cancellere and other officials launched a vicious 20 minute attack on the militant window washers at a general membership meeting of 32B. The bureaucrats spoke of "extremist and unreasonable elements" who had created a situation which made it impossible for their leadership to negotiate a settlement (sell out). Just a month later Cancellere finally sold out the window washers.

In both 32B and Local 2 the workers are not known for their passivity, but in spite of rank and file militancy the bureaucrats are able to sell out time and time again. Militant rank and file acting as individuals are no challenge to sell-out contracts. The bureaucrats actually make use of the chaos at some meetings in order to confuse and discourage opposition.

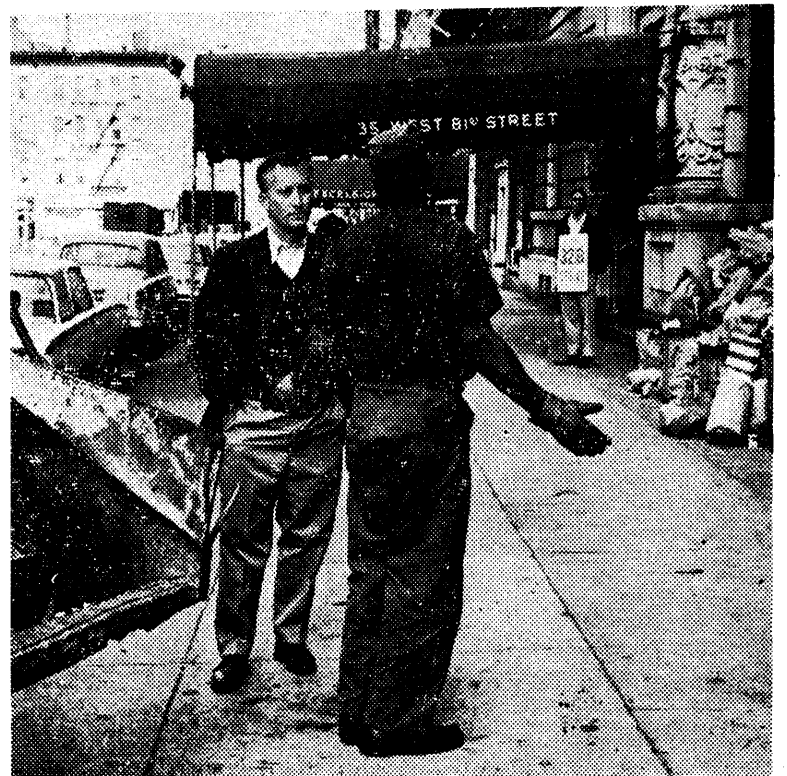
STRUGGLE

Workers in the building service industry will have to be rallied to and organized behind a program of serious struggle within the union. Now the membership is saddled with a three year contract in a period when such a long con-

tract can honestly be considered a step to suicide the way inflation is getting out of hand.

The money package is \$10 the first year, \$7 the second and \$8 the third. It does not require a mathematician to realize that with inflation \$10 is no gain and the \$7 for January 1970 looks more like a loss than a gain. 32B members must call on the union leadership to fight for a contract wage reopener so that a real increase can be achieved in 1970. This should be coupled with the fight on the building superintendent contract which will be coming up around the same time. In this contract the ranks must fight for a cost of living escalator clause which can then set the pattern for all building service contracts.

NO MORE THREE YEAR CONTRACTS: FOR A WAGE RE-OPENER IN 1970! FIGHT INFLATION WITH AN ESCALATOR CLAUSE TO PROTECT WAGE GAINS!



1967: SANITATIONMAN REFUSES TO CROSS 32B PICKET LINE

# TOO MUCH BALONEY FOR AUTO WORKERS

BY DAN FRIED

A diet of sausage at 89¢ a lb.--that's the new bill of fare for Tony Santilli, a Detroit auto worker at Ford. With the spiralling inflation, and a reduction of overtime due to production cutbacks, Santilli is trying to feed himself, his wife and three kids on \$100 a week take home pay. Its becoming a losing battle, or as Mr. Santilli puts it, "Nobody can live on \$100 a week. Nobody. Not even a couple with no kids."

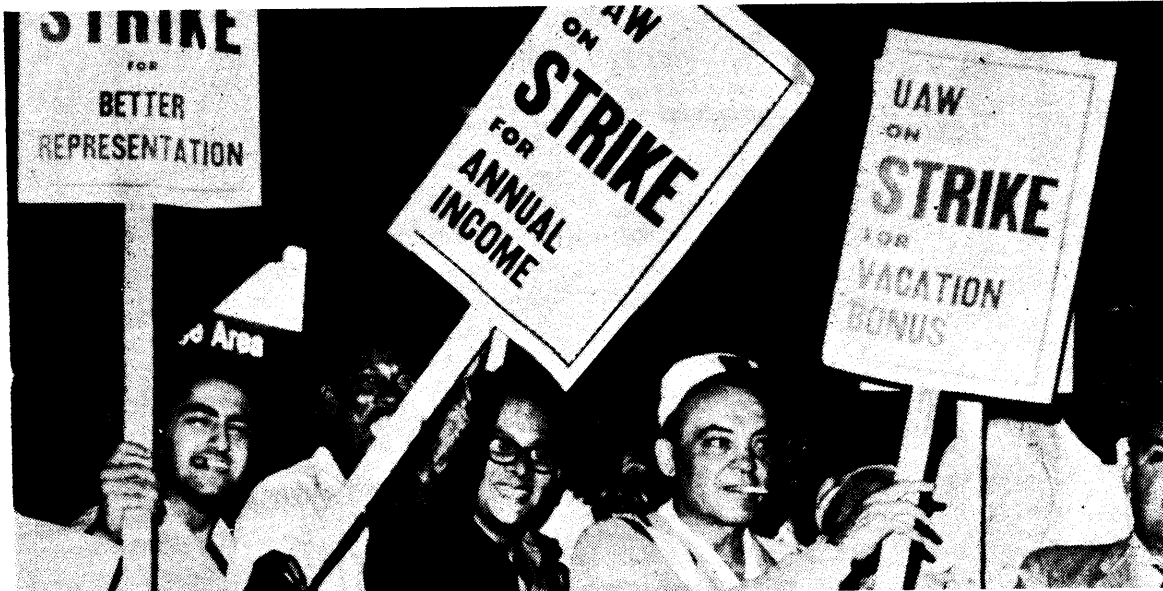
The auto workers in the UAW are supposed to be "among the cream of the nations industrial workers in pay and fringe benefits". But the case of Tony Santilli is similar to that of hundreds of thousands of auto workers. UAW President Walter Reuther's boast that the 1967 auto contract was the greatest thing ever is being scoffed at by these workers who are reduced to diets of sausage and skinless frankfurters. No matter how you slice it, Brother Reuther, it's still baloney.

A year ago, Santilli, with heavy overtime, was taking home \$30 a week more. Many workers who are now taking home \$115 were pulling in \$170. On top of this is the toll of inflation which during the last few months has been raising prices at the rate of from seven to ten percent, depending on the part of the country you live in. This means that for the first time in many years, automobile and other industrial workers are faced with a loss of real purchasing power for a normal work week. For the auto worker, with the heavy reduction of overtime, this loss is even more aggravated.

## INFLATION

Brother Reuther's 1967 'greatest contract ever written' might just as well have been written by Ford and General Motors when it comes to protecting the workers against inflation. While the previous auto contract had no ceiling on the cost of living escalator clause bonus, under the 1967 contract, the most an auto worker can get in the quarterly paid cost of living bonus is eight cents an hour. With this years inflation, which according to Nixon's chief economic advisor will not be reduced until 1970, the workers would have gotten SIXTEEN CENTS AN HOUR IF THE OLD CONTRACT HAD BEEN IN EFFECT. This means that the auto companies are saving more than \$100,000 an hour. So, the Reuther raw deal in 1967, allowing the c.o.l. escalator clause to be emasculated, also means that auto workers will continue to fall behind, no matter how much overtime they might get.

Reuther's answer--men will tell you however that even though the workers get only 8¢ an hour on the bonus now, the companies owe them the difference between what they actually receive and what they would have gotten under the old contract. But this difference is up to 'negotiation'



UAW WORKERS PICKET FORD PLANT DURING 1967 STRIKE. THE '67 CONTRACT WAS A SELLOUT.

and the auto workers may never yet see a penny of it. Louis Mastrofrancesco, a Ford River Rouge plant worker, says that the much vaunted escalator clause--as emasculated by Reuther in 1967, "doesn't mean a damn thing" as far as protection against inflation. That's really where

it's at.

The great reduction in take home pay, the younger workers fear of layoff, the relentless speed-up--these are the conditions that lie behind a new wave of militancy and rank and file struggle that is developing today in the UAW. The efforts of Chrysler to hold

down costs at the workers expense recently led to a wildcat strike over a safety beef in defiance of the UAW international leadership, at Chrysler's Sterling Township stamping plant. Not long after, GM's key Chevrolet-Fisher Body plants all over the country were shut down when the

UAW was forced to strike against GM's tricky wage-slashing maneuvers. The stage is set for a big struggle by the ranks for the next contract to reverse the deterioration of wages and conditions.

The rank and file can't afford another great "victory" that Reuther engineered through his policy of "flexibility" in the 1967 contract. "Flexibility" is Mr. Reuther's word for wheeling and dealing with the bosses at the workers expense. No more of this! We say that the UAW has to begin now to prepare a battle for the next contract around a program for a decent contract: a wage hike to catch up with the loss of purchasing power; restoration of the FULL cost of living escalator bonus; the thirty hour week with no loss in pay; retirement after 20 years service regardless of age; union control over working conditions to end speed-up and safety hazards.

## DRUM'S NATIONALISM LEADS WORKERS TO DEFEAT

BY A BULLETIN CORRESPONDENT

The absolute bankruptcy and reactionary character of black caucus formations in the unions is becoming clearer every day. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers which includes DRUM and ELRUM in the auto industry has a history of nothing but defeats in its year's history. The result of the 'wildcats' it has called has been only the firing of a number of workers.

Faced with these defeats DRUM launched a new 'offensive' by calling for a Chrysler boycott in the 'black communities.' It appears that the boycott has not been too successful because DRUM is now seeking the intervention of the National Labor Relations Board to get the fired workers back.

The fact is that the nationalists led workers out in actions without any thought to the prospects for victory. Beating bongo drums outside the plant is hardly a substitute for preparing tactics for victory. Key to any class action is the need for unity and for support by the majority of workers. You cannot conduct an effective strike with half of the workers inside.

## CONTRACT

The UAW contract specifically forbids wildcats and allows for dismissals in their event. This requires a two prong struggle. First is the fight within the union against the bureaucracy to get this anti-labor clause out of the contract. Second, in the case of wildcats, the action must have the support of the majority of workers so that they will have a lever to avoid firings on the return to work, as well as to have a basis on which to win their demands.

But DRUM and its affiliates have no such strategy in mind. Rather they seek to conduct isolated adventures and when defeated to resort to middle class protest politics and appeals to the bourgeoisie in the

form of the NLRB. This is a result of the open refusal (which they are proud of) to unite with the white workers on the basis of a class program.

This is the logic of ALL black caucuses which inherently sees all struggles in terms of race and not class. This is reflected in an increasing hostility to the working class as a whole and its organizations. This is blatantly revealed in a recent issue of ELRUM:

'The corporation has constantly pitted all groups of people against each other... And for the most part their plan has worked on the stupid ass Honkies in the plant. These fools are getting \*\*\*\* over by the conditions at this plant almost as bad as the black workers (almost). But a disease called racism has poisoned their stupid little pea brains BEYOND HELP.' (our

emphasis.)

## HELP

It appears, however, for the League of Revolutionary Workers that the bourgeoisie is not 'beyond help'. So rather than turning to the workers in the shops, it turns to the NLRB.

Despite DRUM's statements to the contrary, there is tremendous ferment within the auto plants over the basic issues of wages and working conditions involving both black and white workers. It is precisely in this period of increasing class struggle that the bosses seek to isolate and provoke one section of the working class, to defeat it and thus demoralize the class as a whole. It is precisely this strategy that DRUM plays right into.

The defeats which DRUM has fostered have resulted in many rank and file workers turning away from DRUM and

looking for a new leadership. This was reflected in the recent UAW election in which all of DRUM's candidates were defeated and in which a number of black workers, not members of DRUM, were elected with the support of both black and white workers. This gives lie to the statements by DRUM and its great supporters like the SWP--that its separatist positions have the support of the masses of black workers in the plants.

What is required in auto is a united fight by all workers on the questions of the deteriorating situation in wages as well as working conditions. This means a real fight against the current leadership in the union which prepared the way for these conditions through its sell-out in the last contract. It is only within this framework that the fight against racism becomes meaningful.

## Mine Workers Revolt Grows As Bureaucrats Fall Out

BY NEIL MARTIN

Joseph A. Yablonski, United Mine Workers executive board member for over 25 years has just announced that he will run for the presidency of the union against Tony Boyle, who now holds that post.

This open split in the UMW bureaucracy comes on the heels of mounting rank and file opposition to Boyle and the heavily publicized expose of the UMW leadership by consumer safety crusader Ralph Nader. Nader's latest crusade attacks the tight fist ed undemocratic control of the UMW by the Boyle regime, its failure to press for decent mine safety legislation, and exposes its collusion with the mine bosses.

Rank and file opposition has grown to the point where earlier in the year nearly all of West Virginia's 40,000 miners went out in a wildcat strike for a decent black-lung disease compensation law. When Boyle ordered them back

to work they refused. Already two rank and file working miners have said they would run against Boyle in the December elections. One of them, Elijah Wolford of Morgantown, W. Va., said that by running against Boyle, Yablonski is attempting to pull the wool over the eyes of the rank and file miner, and that he is part of the "same old international machine" as Boyle.

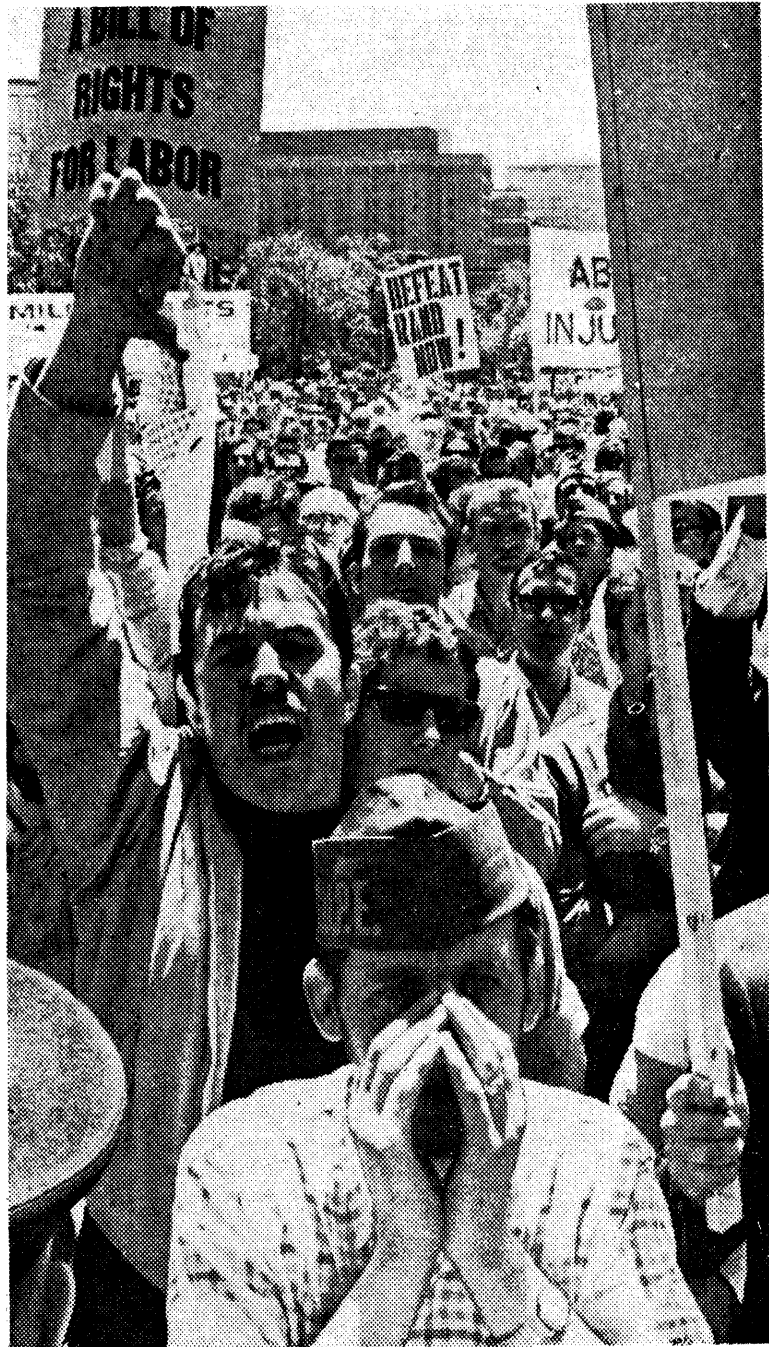
## HISTORY

Yablonski's history certainly provides the evidence to back up Wolford's charge. He's been part of the Lewis-Boyle leadership since 1942. He did gain the disfavor of the top leadership however in allowing frequent wildcat strikes in his district and in 1966 was removed from the Presidency of District 5 in the Pittsburgh area. But at no time previously has he come out publicly against the UMW leadership. Yablonski says he

will lead the union in a militant fight for mine safety, against mine health hazards, and for union democracy.

In his program, Yablonski adapts to the pressure of the union militants, but the rank and file are justified in their distrust of this seasoned bureaucrat who is obviously using the current deep going rebellion in the ranks against Boyle to ride into the Presidency. Instead of Yablonski, what is needed is a new leadership from out of the ranks that will go beyond Yablonski to fight for such demands as: union shop-steward control over speed-up in the mines, a full cost of living escalator clause to protect miners against inflation; a thirty hour week--now with further reductions as productivity increases--with no loss in pay; full time union safety inspectors in all mines; and nationalization under workers control of all mines and companies that refuse to meet these union demands.

# canadian workers fight rand report



## HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FIGHT CUTS

NEW YORK--At Music and Art High School recently the President of the G.O. was suspended from school for leading an "unauthorized" protest against the budget cuts. At Music and Art the budget cuts mean that there will be less electives in all fields, less special courses, and larger classes. The full impact of the budget cuts has not yet been revealed. Over \$86 million is being cut out of the schools. This will mean that 10% of the City's teachers will be out of jobs next year.

The Seward Park High

School Student Union has begun a fight among students against the budget cuts, linking them to the cuts in welfare and hospitals. The campaign for this demonstration has been launched in schools across the city, for Friday, June 13th at City Hall. The Demands of the demonstration are:

STOP ALL BUDGET CUTS IN SCHOOLS, WELFARE AND HOSPITALS!

STOP ALL POLICE AND LEGAL REPRESSION!

EXPAND THE COLLEGES-free higher education for all!



MUSIC AND ART HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PROTEST BUDGET CUTS

BY ROBERT HARTLEY

On May 31 nearly 15000 trade unionists marched on Queens Park in Toronto to protest the intended implementation of the anti-labor Rand Report. A mood of militancy prevailed, and the trade unionists involved made it perfectly clear what they thought of the Rand Report—that it stank, and should be thrown into the garbage can.

HOOTED

The Auto Workers, Steel Workers, and the Hamilton and Toronto Building Trades Council, along with the Teamsters and other unions were present, as the thousands of trade unionists hooted down Tory Labor Minister Dalton Bales as he made a foolhardy attempt to address the angry workers. Starting off with, 'I'm going to say what I have to say, whether you like it or not.', Bales went on to say, with all the accumulated impotence of capitalist rule, 'I find it difficult to understand the purpose of this demonstration.' Then all hell broke loose. There were shouts from some in the front line of 'Go home you pig'. Over the din Labor Minister Bales shouted, 'We were elected to represent all the people of Ontario and not just those who belong to trade unions. Therefore we will note your views but will not be pressured by mass demonstrations.' The text had contained the word frightened, but this had been scratched out and the word pressured substituted. Everyone understood Bales well; he was going to rule for the bosses. There was a note of fun in the booping, but matters became more serious after Bales said he didn't understand the purpose of the march. At one point the trade unionists in the front moved in on Bales but only a wall of police saved the rascal's skin.

D.M. DeMonte of the Liberal Party tried to convince the crowd that his party stood against the Rand Report. He tried to address the unionists as 'brothers, and sisters,' but met the same fate as his fellow capitalist politician, Dalton Bales.

Pilkey of the New Democratic Party received a warm welcome as he pledged his parties efforts to combat the Rand Report. One could only wish that the record of the NDP were as firm as Pilkey represented it to be. Various reactionary labor legislation has passed in British Columbia right under the nose of the official opposition NDP, with hardly a word of protest. Big demonstrations will not alone stop the Rand Report, this is why the Workers League distributed several thousand flyers to the demonstrators calling for a general strike coupled with firm political action.

None of the bureaucrats who spoke at the rally at Queens Park posed directly a struggle for a general strike, a few did hint at the possibility only to scare the government, not to mobilize the trade union move-

ment. These labor leaders will seek to contain the struggles.

The real power, strength and the determination of the working class to defeat this vicious piece of anti-labor legislation was demonstrated clearly on May 31st. This

strength must now be consolidated in an action that can defeat these laws. This means a political strike, a general strike against the government. This must be combined with the fight to make the NDP wage an all-out struggle against these laws.

## Minn Teachers Back Down on Strike

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS--At a massive meeting on May 25, Minneapolis public school teachers voted against a strike by the narrow margin of 1450 to 1025. But when the final tally was announced there was no cheering. The teachers knew that they had gained nothing. In fact they had lost.

For most of the month teachers had been bannering the schools as a show of strength. On May 6 they emphatically rejected the school board's meager contract offer. The teachers official representative, the Teachers' Council, made up of representatives from both the union (MFT) and the association (MEA) appointed Joseph Cascella from the national AFT as their chief negotiator. The school board refused to sit down with Cascella. All of this was reported on at a mass meeting Thursday, May 22, as teachers jammed into the Labor Temple in a meeting that had "Strike" written all over it. It was decided then to take a strike vote Sunday, May 25, and some preparations were made for a strike.

Following that meeting, the same night, teachers' representatives from 40 metropolitan school districts, in an unprecedented show of unity, voted unanimously to take "overt action" to achieve not less than a 15% increase for next year if necessary.

Chicago teachers had just begun their first strike in history. Austin teachers were continuing their bannering and St. Paul teachers were holding meeting after meeting declaring their willingness to fight.

On the surface of it then, the defeat of the strike vote at Sunday's meeting came as a surprise, certainly to a lot of teachers.

Between the meeting Thursday and the vote Sunday the school board was silent. Then, just before the voting, Supt. of Schools Davis held a press conference where he made a last minute offer which gave the teachers basically the same package but to begin with the opening of schools in September rather than the usual January 1.

No sooner had the vote been taken, and therefore this "new" offer accepted, the Teachers' Council fell apart with both the MEA and the AFT accusing each other for the miserable settlement teachers were now stuck with.

The school board wasted no time in ratifying the proposals outlined by Davis, rubbing its paws in glee that it had gotten off so cheaply.

DOUBTS

But it wasn't the last minute gimmick of Davis that

seduced the teachers. It was, rather, the lack of any positive program on the part of both the MEA and the MFT leadership to fight, that allowed all the apprehensions, doubts and uncertainties to prevail over the militancy that up to then the teachers had so magnificently shown.

Over and over the school board emphasized that a strike was illegal. Perhaps many of the teachers knew of the vicious legislation threatened against public employees as if the state's current law against their striking were not vicious enough. And the teachers had just seen the Minot teachers cruelly defeated.

Simple militancy alone is no substitute for confronting these obstacles head on. That is the lesson of the 1450 no-strike vote.

But the struggle is far from over. The MFT is now preparing to continue the fight and has proposed the forming of the "1025 Club" and the wearing of buttons so marked, to prepare for a strike in the fall. One teacher suggested it be a "1026 Club" for "teachers like me who didn't vote to strike and who wish they had".

But the lessons from this experience must be learned to prepare for struggle in the fall. A program is still urgently needed.

The Workers League intervened at the meeting Sunday with a leaflet pointing out the real obstacles the teachers faced and the beginnings of a program to overcome them. We intend to continue the fight to battle for this program for all workers have a stake, whether they now realize it or not, in the struggle of the teachers next fall. In part the leaflet proposed: 1. Don't back down from the 15% increase voted upon Thursday; 2. Prepare now to take up a struggle against the state anti-strike law that affects all public workers directly and all unionists indirectly; 3. Prepare now to mobilize the entire union movement behind our combined fight for a decent standard of living and the repeal of anti-union laws; 4. Every teachers struggle today is a political struggle. The Workers League calls for the formation of labor's own party to take this struggle forward.

On May 28, the Central Labor Union voted to support the teachers if they strike so the beginnings of this program are taking form. Between now and September the battle will be to deepen the struggle in the unions around a program to mobilize labor to fight back against all attempts by the bosses to push back the standard of living of teachers and all workers.