

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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*Interview With
A Peruvian
Trotskyist*

BUCKLEY VICTORY IS WARNING TO WORKERS



4,000 Youths March In Young Lords Demonstration. (See Story On P. 3)

EDITORIAL

James Buckley is the winner in the race for the United States Senate from New York State. This, more than any other aspect of this year's election, must stand as a sharp warning to the American working class. A man openly representing the most reactionary labor-hating sections of big business enters the Senate after running on a right wing ticket.

George Meany himself said of Buckley in an advertisement one day before the elections:

"He is advocating a right-to-work law which would hamper and hamstring trade unions in the State of New York.

"He has taken the position that the NY State minimum wage of \$1.85 is too high.

"He wants no unemployment compensation for strikers at any time.

"He wants—to quote his platform—'prompt issuance of restraining orders in labor disputes to prevent... disruption of firm's operations.' That virtually ends the right to strike.

We say that the trade union leadership must take the responsibility for Buckley's election. From George Meany on down, each section of the labor bureaucracy must be held accountable. They put Buckley in the Senate and they will fill the government with men like Buckley unless labor's ranks take up the independent political struggle NOW in preparation for 1972.

Here is how they did it. Nixon, knowing full well he could not save the profits of the capitalists he represents in any other way than a direct struggle against the working class, launched a campaign to divide and split up the workers and give himself a base of support among a section of them. This is the meaning of the hue and cry over law and order, over "terrorism", and the super patriotic flag waving. The labor movement, rather

than fighting this head-on, sought to adapt to it. In some cases, as with the leadership of the building trades, they openly endorsed the most right wing sentiments of Agnew.

Next comes Rockefeller's deal. Rockefeller makes an arrangement with Buckley whereby he would soft-pedal his support for Goodell in turn for Buckley's soft-peddling his criticisms of Rockefeller. The result was a de facto bloc between Buckley and Rockefeller. Some 1,300,000 Buckley voters also voted for Rockefeller, with the Conservative candidate Adams being nothing but a figleaf cover for the deal. Buckley could not have won without this covert deal with Rockefeller combined with the open support of Agnew and Nixon.

Into this smelly deal then stepped the New York State AFL-CIO, led by Corbett. The AFL-CIO endorsed Rockefeller and thus allowed Rockefeller to aid Buckley while at the same time receiving a certain labor vote. Through Rockefeller, the AFL-CIO was actually in a bloc with Buckley.

Meanwhile George Meany had spent the preceding years whooping it up for first Johnson and then Nixon's Vietnam War policies and conciliating with the whole anti-labor law and order propaganda. His main base within the AFL-CIO was precisely the very same construction union chiefs that openly endorsed Buckley in New York State. He waited to the day before the election to issue his statement on Buckley. This statement only revealed all the clearer how much Meany himself had contributed to the rise of this very same Buckley.

That section of the labor movement which did not support Rockefeller or Buckley directly supported Goldberg. Who is Goldberg? He is the man who was the chief apologist for American imperialism in the United Nations. He is a man who

(continued on page 2)

ILWU SHOP STEWARD SPEAKS OUT!

Wall Street's Battle Cry-- Escalate War Against Unions

BY FRED MUELLER

Behind the whole campaign of Nixon and Agnew this fall lies the preparations by the ruling class to strengthen its forces politically for war against the labor movement. The growing capitalist crisis requires that the government spearhead the struggle to stop the wage offensive and the fight against unemployment by the American workers.

More and more powerful sections of the capitalist class are calling upon Nixon to tackle the real problems, to take on the workers in their unions and beat them back.

This is spelled out loud and clear in the October issue of Fortune magazine, the mouthpiece of big business. After discussing Nixon's attempt to woo sections of the labor bureaucracy and of skilled white workers, the Fortune editors comment:

"Still, there is something disturbingly unreal about the President's hopes for a detente and the way he has gone about achieving it. For he has studiously avoided facing up to the one issue that counts the most today (our emphasis): organized labor's continued relentless pressure for inflationary wage settlements."

Fortune, speaking for the ruling class, makes very clear that the real problem is not campus or racial violence, but the class struggle itself. No amount of maneuvering can avoid this question.

Elsewhere in the same magazine, in an article entitled "The Building Trades Vs. The People," a vicious attack is leveled on the construction workers, the same section of workers which has lately become known as the greatest friends of Nixon.

"INSUFFICIENT"

The employers are groping towards a new policy. They know, in the words of J. T. O'Brien of the U.S. Trust Co., that "fiscal and monetary measures are insufficient." This means an attack not only on the construction workers but on the entire working class.

Nixon's honeymoon with the right wing bureaucrats is already being upset. Fortune makes clear that the highest paid skilled workers, a section of which in the building trades, have supported Nixon, must be attacked. The whole political equilibrium must be upset. This is what Nixon and Agnew are girding for as the working class declares it will not stop its battle over wages and jobs.

Every section of the working class is feeling the pinch of the deepening economic crisis. Unemployment has shot up a full two percentage points in the last year, to nearly 5 million. This does not include millions of workers who have lost overtime, are working short weeks or are on enforced leaves without pay.

Bethlehem Steel is planning to lay off thousands in the Buffalo area. Hewlett-Packard Instruments, whose chairman was recruited after the 1968 elections to become Nixon's Deputy Defense Secretary, has put 11,000 out of 13,000 employees on leaves without pay between Christmas and New Years as well as on one in every ten working days.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment among white collar workers, technicians, engineers and scientists is highest in many years. All over the country highly paid workers are joining the unemployment lines and even collecting welfare checks.

The unemployment situation is predicted to worsen, to perhaps 6.5% by next year. Yet hardly a dent has been made in the inflation. The working class is being hit from both sides as the crisis deepens and the employers find that the techniques of manipulation, of fiscal and monetary measures, are simply not working.

Upon taking office Nixon took some moves aimed at moderating the inflation, which was touching the highest levels since the Korean War. This inflation, based upon capital export, war spending and huge budget deficits, had been the means whereby the capitalists prolonged the post-war boom and avoided a head-on clash with the working class.

But this boom period is now over. The long inflation led both to a tremendous strengthening of the organized working class as well as to an international monetary crisis which threatened a wave of devaluations, including the dollar, as well as an international trade war and a world recession.

Nixon's moves only exposed the other side of this world crisis. The pressure on the rate of profit had been relieved by inflationary measures but the letting up on these measures only exposed the underlying disease with greater ferocity. Thus Nixon's planned slowdown has turned into a recession deeper than the bourgeoisie had counted on, and a number of corporate giants as well as many smaller firms, have had to face reality, to go to the wall.

GOODBODY

The Penn Central bankruptcy exposed very sharply the profit squeeze facing the capitalists. Chrysler remains in a very precarious position and the airlines are in such deep trouble that there is talk of one or two flying Penn Centrals plunging from the skies.

The recent near-collapse of Goodbody and Co., the 5th largest brokerage concern in the U.S. and the world, reveals the depth of the crisis. The tremendous and prolonged fall in stock market values has led to a wave of brokerage failures. Goodbody and Co. is the latest and most significant of these.

Goodbody is one of the oldest and most respected names on Wall Street. It was founded in 1891 by Goodbody and Dow, of Dow-Jones fame. "For such a firm to go under would have been unthinkable a year ago," reports the New York Times.

The top financial circles of the ruling class realized that a failure of Goodbody would not only leave its 250,000 customers in the lurch but would immediately lead to a massive crisis of confidence. Again, in the words of the Times, "The whole financial community would come tumbling down."

DESPERATE

The "rescue" of Goodbody and Co. by the biggest giant of all, Merrill, Lynch, Pierce Fenner and Smith, is not really a rescue of Goodbody, but a temporary, desperate measure to rescue capitalism.

Merrill Lynch will make \$15 million in new capital available and will move towards acquisition of Goodbody. Thus Goodbody will be "rescued" by being swallowed up in a monopolistic move informally approved by the Justice Department under the so-called "failing firm doctrine." No anti-trust moves are contemplated because the very future of the entire system is at stake.

The Goodbody solution was worked out on a round the clock crisis basis under the leadership of Bernard Lasker, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange Board of Governors and a leading financial supporter of Nixon, Rockefeller and Buckley.

COLLAPSE

The capitalists and their government cannot simply manipulate the economy and avoid paying the price for the long boom. A collapse is inevitable. More and more they are being forced to choose between a monetary collapse on the one hand or an industrial crash on the other. The choice is becoming one of how the collapse will begin, the circumstances and timing of the direct attack upon the entire working class.

Unemployment has not stopped any section of the working class in the fight for wages. This is shown clearly by the GM strike. The deepening economic crisis underlies the struggle against the war, racism and repression. The wage offensive of organized labor as well as the struggles of the youth are what is forcing Nixon and Agnew to mount their increasingly vicious attacks. This situation cries out for revolutionary leadership.

This means a fight back against unemployment through the fight for jobs, a shorter work week and the organizing of the unemployed. It means a fight against inflation, against any wage freeze, for the escalator clause and the victory of the GM workers. It means a fight and a break from the Democratic and Republican Parties and the building of a labor party to meet the tasks posed by the economic and political crisis.

EDITORIAL

Buckley Victory--A Warning

(continued from cover)

favors wage controls against the unions. He was nominated for Governor through machine politicians of the Democratic Party. His campaign was marked by his complete inability to pose any alternative program to Rockefeller and thus Buckley. Goldberg thus strengthened Rockefeller, who in turn bolstered Buckley. That is the way it was worked out.

The Communist Party contributed its share to this situation by fighting Buckley in such a way as to build up Ottinger and by openly campaigning for Democratic Party candidate Bella Abzug. Its own electoral campaign was a cover for that section of the labor movement behind Goldberg. In the unions its spokesmen openly lined up with the Goldberg and Ottinger boosters.

The Socialist Workers Party ran a campaign which we supported. But it refused to take this campaign into the antiwar movement and completely ignored the working class in its campaigning.

In 1968 we insisted that the rise of the rightist danger in the Wallace campaign must be seen as a reflection of the failure of the labor movement to take up a struggle for its own party in this new period of sharp crisis and attack on the labor movement by the capitalist class. Since 1968, Wallacism has found an expression within the Nixon Administration itself, which now conspires with the Conservative Party to bring a Wallace-type campaign into the Senate.

Now the bankruptcy of the labor bureaucracy is even more exposed and time is getting very short. Fortune Magazine reveals the real plans of the bosses to come down on the labor movement, including the construction unions, right away. Meany is already feeling the pressure which explains his last minute futile efforts to undo what his policies had wrought in the Buckley election.

Now is the time to start the struggle in the labor movement for a national labor ticket in 1972. It must be built now! It must be fought for within the unions by the rank and file! That is the bitter lesson to be drawn from the Buckley victory. We must bring to account all those implicated in this victory through their failure to fight for the political independence of the American labor movement.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT SWP And The Farinas Case

In July, the United Secretariat, with which the Socialist Workers Party has political solidarity, issued a statement on common discussions with the International Committee which stated:

"The SLL and OT might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely manner, without the use of slander or falsifying the positions we hold, and by beginning to engage in common actions on such elementary things as defense of victims of the class struggle."

Since that time the International Committee issued a statement proposing that on this basis discussions proceed. The Unified Secretariat rejected any such discussions. The Workers League had hoped, however, that even if discussions would not go forward at this time "common action on such elementary things as defense of victims of the class struggle" could. This, in any case, is a burning necessity under conditions of capitalist attack on the working class in all countries.

When we took the initiative to establish a defense committee for Juan Farinas, a supporter of ours who was a victim of the class struggle because of his opposition to the Vietnam war, we sent to the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Student Mobilization Committee, as well as all other working class anti-war and minority peoples organizations, requests for sponsorship of the committee. The basis of sponsorship was simply and minimally that Farinas was a victim of the class struggle. The statement read:

"The charges against Juan Farinas are an attack on democratic rights and part and parcel of a political attack by the government against workers, youth and minority peoples. They must be fought by mobilizing the widest possible support from the labor, student and socialist movements and from black, Puerto Rican and Chicano militants."

At first the SMC unanimously supported the case and agreed to sponsor the committee on the initiative of the YSA and SWP. Then we were informed that the YSA and SWP members within the SMC would move to withdraw this sponsorship and that the YSA and SWP would not sponsor the committee because this committee sought to defend Farinas on "other than a civil liberties basis." The committee's crime was to defend Farinas as a victim of the class struggle.

Specifically they objected to a sentence in a Committee press release which states: "In the course of a fight back against these charges it will be both possible and necessary to take up the fight against the war and the entire racist and anti-working class policies of the Nixon-Agnew Administration."

Such a statement, we can gather, might cut the committee off from the support of Nixon, Agnew and even James Buckley!

In the past the YSA has been willing to work in common in defense committees with even the Young Americans for Freedom! But they will not work in common with the Workers League out of fear that we will state that Nixon and Agnew have a racist and anti-working class administration!

We must probe this even further—even if the SWP and YSA should choose to defend itself on a civil liberties basis in common with the right wing capitalists, why does our insistence on defending our supporters on a class basis make it impossible for them to participate in common with us in this? Does their insistence on a liberal basis for defense make it impossible for them to work in common with other working class tendencies on a class basis? They had better make up their minds where they stand on the class struggle. In the process they can perhaps straighten out their international collaborators who seem to think it is in order to have common work in defense of victims of the class struggle!

This blow against a united defense has not stopped the Farinas Defense Committee from developing wide and broad support from the labor, anti-war, minority and, yes, even civil liberties movements.

Young Lords Lead Mass Youth March

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, N.Y. Oct. 30—Four thousand youths chanting "Free Puerto Rico Now," "U.S. Out of Vietnam, Out of Puerto Rico" and other slogans in English and Spanish, marched to the United Nations today demanding an end to U.S. imperialism and colonialism in Puerto Rico and freedom for all political prisoners.

The demonstration, called by the Young Lords, started on 125th Street, picking up a large contingent of supporters at 96th Street, and was joined by hundreds more youth along the fifty block route of the march.

Thousands of working class and minority youth who are rarely if ever drawn into antiwar protests, demonstrated a tremendously militant spirit as they came out against the imperialist domination of Puerto Rico. The composition of the march and its revolutionary spirit contrasted sharply with the tired protest of the kind expected in the October 31 demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

HUNDREDS

Hundreds and hundreds of youth, many appearing to be barely teenagers, marched in the demonstration. There were whole sections wearing the purple beret of the Young Lords Party, and others in black or red berets marching together in disciplined style.

The Workers League contingent marched with a banner calling for: "Avenge Julio Roldan's Death; For an Independent and Socialist Puerto Rico; Build a Labor Party." Over a hundred Bulletins were sold on the march and material on the Juan Farinas case was distributed.

Julio Roldan, one of the main organizers of the October 30 demonstration and a Young Lord, was murdered in his cell in the Tombs two weeks ago after being thrown into prison on trumped up charges of arson. This brutal murder, following after the nationwide attacks on the Panthers and on Angela Davis, points up sharply the stepped up campaign of the ruling class against militants who fight back against the capitalist system.

STRATEGY

This is part of the strategy of the ruling class to try to drive back and beat down the working class. They viciously attack a section of revolutionary youth and are whipping up a hysterical racist campaign against them.

This cannot be seen separated from the question of the imperialist domination of Puerto Rico. The fight for the indepen-

dence of Puerto Rico must be the fight for the socialist revolution in Puerto Rico, to overthrow the capitalists and take the power. This means the fight to mobilize the working class against imperialism and all its nationalist and bourgeois supporters.

REVOLUTIONARY

The fight in the United States is the same fight for the socialist revolution to overthrow capitalism. The demand for a labor party is part of the strategy for breaking the working class away from capitalism and building a mass revolutionary party for the seizure of power.

An independent revolutionary youth movement must be built to unite black, white and Latin youth around a program for the smashing of the capitalist system internationally and the imperialism and exploitation it stands for.



Workers League contingent participating in demonstration called by Young Lords against imperialism in Puerto Rico and for freeing all political prisoners.

Prison Rebels Organize Against Attacks

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

NEW YORK—Two weeks ago Young Lords' leader Julio Roldan was brutally murdered in the Tombs. Last week the government launched a new vicious attack on the prisoners and the minority youth by indicting 28 inmates who participated in the prison rebellions which shook New York a month ago.



Victor Martinez, Inmates Liberation Front

During the rebellion Lindsay and McGrath, head of the Correction Department, agreed to no reprisals if the hostages were returned. However, immediately after the hostages were released, Lindsay unleashed his cops who brutally beat up the inmates. But this was not enough for Lindsay. Now many of these prisoners have been indicted and face terms of life imprisonment. This was the real meaning of Lindsay's promises and all the politicians' talk about "prison reform."

Victor Martinez, a spokesman for the Inmates Liberation Front, and who was a member of the original negotiating committee, said on Sunday at a meeting to organize a campaign to defend the inmates: "We have caught the pigs in their own lies. Lindsay and McGrath said publically that there would be no reprisals. We have witnesses they broke

this promise physically by beating the brothers and now judicially with the indictments. They have been caught in a lie and they will have to pay heavily. We are in a strong position. They are exposed."

BEATEN

Of the 28 indictments, four of these were from the Queens House of Detention where the rebellions began. Four of these inmates, those who face life sentences on charges of kidnapping, were brutally beaten by the police. Kenny Cender one of the four suffered internal injuries and was on the critical list. Three of these inmates including Cender, were on the inmates' negotiating committee.

These indictments, which will be followed by many more, show the fear which the capitalist class has of the growing revolutionary ferment among the youth and in particular the black and Puerto Rican youth and its determination to try to brutally suppress the militancy which lay behind the struggle in the prisons and the march of 4,000 youth last Friday.

SUPPORT

The Inmates Liberation Front, which is now a section of the Young Lords Party, is fighting to mobilize support to defend the prisoners. At a meeting last Sunday attended by the Workers League plans were made to open a campaign against these attacks. The prisoners will be arraigned this week in Brooklyn and Queens. The Liberation Front is organizing rallies on November 4th at the Felony Supreme Court and on November 5th and 10th at the Queens House of Detention at 12 noon. These are solidarity actions in defense of the prisoners.

The Front is also stressing the following five points in their fight:

- 1) To assure that no person be detained in jails because he or she is unable to make bail.
- 2) To investigate and act on the brutal unjust and inhuman treatment being executed on the inmates.
- 3) To assure that an inmate committee be set up in the concentration camps and that they be permitted to communicate with the outside world.
- 4) To insure that inmates are given speedy trials and have access to counsel of his or her choice and that none of the people's constitutional rights and basic human rights be violated.
- 5) To enact and provide the inmates, upon release, with jobs, education, and readjustment to the community.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The attack on the prisoners like the attack on Angela Davis, on the Panthers and Young Lords must be seen as an attack on the working class as a whole. These attacks must be answered by the labor movement. The unions must come to the defense of these prisoners who have courageously took up the fight against the government.

The Bulletin urges all workers and youth to support this struggle. We urge you to send your contributions to Victor Martinez, c/o Young Lords Party, 1678 Madison Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. For further information contact Victor Martinez or Gilbert Jimenez at 427-7754.

'News Blackout' Poses GM Strike Sell Out Threat

BY DAN FRIED

The strike of the UAW against General Motors is now at a critical turning point. The so-called new strategy for "settlement" agreed to by the UAW bureaucracy and GM bargainers—"private talks" between the two parties and a "news blackout" on these talks—is nothing more than a crash program to sell out the strike.

Behind the "news blackout," not only the "public," but the ranks of the UAW are to be shut off from the negotiations. UAW negotiators are preparing to compromise on the major issues. The Woodcock leadership is attempting to repeat its performance of 1967 when under the leadership of Walter Reuther they sold out the full cost of living escalator. This sellout came two weeks after a similar "news blackout" was imposed in the negotiations between the UAW and Ford.

THANKSGIVING

Both UAW officials and GM bargainers have made it clear that they are going all out for this settlement by Thanksgiving and that if they are unable to get an agreement or if they cannot get the ranks to ratify their settlement, then the strike could last into January or even February. Behind their strategy is a tremendous fear of the rank and file GM workers. What Ford got away with in 1967, GM cannot so easily accomplish in 1970.

The strategy of GM and Woodcock to prevent the ranks from overturning a national sellout settlement, is to reach local settlements on the issues of speed-up, safety, grievance procedures at a majority of GM shops, particularly at 54 "key" plants, before signing the national contract. GM fears that without such settlements, local strikes might trigger mass rank and file rebellions against the national contract.

SETTLEMENTS

The crash program of settlement by Thanksgiving is being used to put the maximum pressure on the local UAW leaders to reach compromise settlements paralleling the compromises on the national contract that are being worked out. Direct pressure has been put on the Regional Directors by the top UAW leaders, to bring about these local settlements.

But even if the twisting and turning of the UAW leaders to bring about these local settlements is able to pull the local leaders into line, the rank and file are

already demonstrating their hostility to local settlements negotiated behind their backs.

The mistrust of these local deals is reflected in the demand by the Rank and File Committee of Local 664 at Tarrytown, N.Y., for an emergency meeting of the local to hear a report and to vote on the recent "tentative" local settlement made by the Local 664 leaders with GM. After the leadership categorically refused to call a membership meeting, the Committee issued a leaflet headed "We Have The Right To Know." It announced plans for a petition campaign to force the local bureaucrats to call such a meeting.

At the Fremont California GM local, the leadership joked that they have already settled 500 of the "easy" grievances by throwing them in the trash can. As at Tarrytown, the local leaders at Fremont have refused to hold any kind of local membership meeting throughout the strike.

MEETINGS

The fight to stop the sellout must now be taken up in every local with the demand for emergency membership meetings with a full report and discussion on all local negotiations and a full discussion of the national contract. The ranks should declare that any local settlement "agreed" to without the full discussion and vote of the membership be null and void.

A fight can be taken into these local meetings to stop Woodcock's sellout and to "up the ante" in the fight against GM for the following demands: \$1.25 an hour wage increase, first year; \$1.65 minimum over three years; full cost of living escalator, 30 and out, no locals go back until all locals have settled. The formation of a national UAW rank and file caucus to carry forward this fight and to mobilize the union to fight any government intervention is now urgently needed.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Philly Teachers Pact Falls Apart

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA, November 2—The sellout agreement between the leadership of the Federation of Teachers and the Philadelphia Board of Education fell apart completely today with the Board of Education reneging on the agreement.

The Board has specifically denied that it had agreed to hire extra teachers in exchange for lengthening the school day. This can only mean that in the secret negotiations that have been going on since the PFT returned to work, the Board has been pressing for even greater concessions by the union leadership on the length of day question.

a fight against any further delay and demand an immediate membership meeting to put the union back on strike until the essential demands are met.

PROGRAM

The Committee for New Leadership has taken up the fight where the leadership has surrendered. There is deep resentment of the sellout deal and many teachers say they will not vote for ratification. In a leaflet distributed over the past week the CNL has called for a No vote on the contract. Further, it has called for a resumption of strike action around a program which will mark a real victory for the teachers. This program includes: 1) \$8500 base pay now and full cost of living escalator clause. 2) 20 pupil class size, 20 instructional periods per week; 3) No accountability; and 4) No extra duties.

BACK OUT

The union leadership is also claiming that the Board refuses to work out how the agreed upon wage package is to be distributed. This can only mean that the Board is trying to find a formula to back out of this agreement also.

Members of the PFT clearly understand that this was the only possible result of returning to work on the basis of what was essentially no contract. They must take up

BRAC Leaders Sabotage N.W. Strike

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS - ST. PAUL, October 31—After almost four months of strike action against Northwest Orient Airlines, members of the Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) face a possible surrender on their major demands by their international union's top leadership.

With the clerks, the hardships are even greater due to the length of the strike.

The last thing on earth that Dennis and BRAC's grand lodge intend to do is to take the steps necessary to beat Northwest. This means a fight to mobilize total labor support to ground Northwest until union demands for wage parity with other airlines are met.

Rank and file clerks must take up this fight for labor movement support, as part of the fight for a new leadership in their union. As an essential part of this, the clerks must demand the right to vote on their contracts.

TWIN CITIES WORKERS HIT BY MASSIVE LAYOFFS

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Over 800 more factory and office workers in the Twin Cities have been thrown onto the scrap heap of unemployment in the past week.

White Motors has announced a two month layoff beginning at the end of October for its Minneapolis Moline plants. Some 250 workers, with as much as thirty years seniority, are getting layoff slips. What is left unmentioned in the press is that these 250 are virtually all the production workers left in the Minneapolis and Hopkins plants.

As in a previous layoff, as well as the April 1 closing of the Moline foundry, UAW Locals 107 and 932 have not lifted a finger against this. Instead, their leaders have collaborated with White Motors to base supplemental unemployment benefits on seniority. The result of this is that many laid-off Moline workers have already exhausted these benefits. Minnesota's second biggest employer, Honeywell, has followed this up with layoff notices to 483 production and 111 office workers. This, Honeywell claims, is necessary to convert from a wartime to a peacetime production. Honeywell officials added that this is just a beginning.

The fight against layoffs through the fight for a shorter work week cannot be entrusted to the union bureaucracy or such middle class protest groups as the Honeywell Project. It can only be carried through by the building of a new leadership.

NEGOTIATING

The union's negotiating is being completely run by BRAC international president, C. L. Dennis. He, along with BRAC's Northwest Systems Board general chairman Jack Bacon have the power to sign a contract, without the strikers voting on it. They are thus in a position to give in on the main union demands.

That they have not dared to sign such a contract is in large part due to the tremendous fight waged by the ranks of BRAC against Northwest Airlines.

In addition, Dennis knows that he is being watched by over 225,000 BRAC members on the railroads, who are not exactly pleased with his calling off their strike action scheduled for last September 10.

BRAC strikers should not forget what happened to the TWU-organized stewardesses at Northwest. There, their leadership stalled and dragged negotiations on for over a year. In that time, many of the best militants left for better paying jobs, leaving a demoralized local union that was forced into accepting an offer little better than Northwest's original.



Striking Westinghouse workers from Local 107 UE line up to get strike information.

U.E. Local 107 Member Speaks Out On 3 Month Westinghouse Strike

BY FRANK ELLIOT

PHILADELPHIA—On August 28, Local 107 of the United Electrical workers went on strike closing the Westinghouse plant in Lester, Pa. The strike was called by the local union leadership under the local supplement provision of the national UE contract.

The strike is now entering its third month. The following is an interview with a 107 member who has been working for Westinghouse for over 20 years.

Q: Is there any relationship between this strike and the national contract?

A: Yes. In February, the national Westinghouse contract was signed. Our biggest mistake at that time was to not go on strike alongside the GE workers and to not support the strike of the workers at Westinghouse Air Brake last winter. By not doing this we were forced to accept a poor wage package which was even less than the GE pattern. I think that the dissatisfaction over the national contract is one of the big reasons for this strike.

Q: What is the background of your local's demand to compress the labor grades from 15 into 10?

A: For many years, we only had 10 labor grades and thought that was too many. In the settlement of our 10 month strike in 1955 the company made it part of the settlement that we go back to work with 15 labor grades. Our leadership at that time was able to put this over along with other contractual gimmicks at a hastily called ratification meeting that brushed aside the 500-1000 active members who wanted to continue the strike and clear up these gimmicks before going back to work.

Q: What other gimmicks do you mean?

A: For instance, red-circle rate was installed that gave workers who had been on incentive work an extra hourly compensation beyond their new labor grade. This meant that a new man hired on the same job could be making as much as 35 and even 40 cents an hour less for exactly the same job. This resulted in a false sense of security on the part of the red-circle men and resentment on the part of the new workers. Also as raises were won, which were generally less than the pattern set by the other unions such as auto, steel, rubber, etc., the wage increase was taken from the red-circle sum and put on the labor grade amount, which meant little if anything for the worker with a red-circle rate.

This false sense of security was also bolstered by much overtime. It only takes a few five day paychecks to make one realize what your real pay is. From 1955 to 1970 we have dropped from the highest paid shop in the Delaware Valley to a very inferior position.

Q: Doesn't your local have a reputation for being a militant local?

A: Yes, we have a fighting local but you should have seen us 20 or even 15 years ago. We used to have two membership meetings a month; now we are lucky to have one.

The business agent we had during and after the 1955 strike was a real salesman type. He took office promising to increase our active members from 500 to 1,000. When he left office and finally left for greener pastures he had discouraged the active members and practically drove the best men away from activity. Other



Local 107 workers man the picket lines.

factors were also at work. But he and the rest of the leadership neglected to develop new leadership and union activity. I guess this is the reason he was given a cake by the company on his birthday.

Q: What kind of support is there for this strike?

A: The strike is 100% solid. We have never had any scabs in this local and we don't have any now. The ranks are loyal to their union, to their class organization. With any kind of leadership we could wage a victorious struggle. However, the leadership holds down the militancy of the membership and puts a damper on any initiative that the members or shop stewards take. Recently, the leadership completely undermined an agreement that a shop steward had successfully won over conditions on the shop floor.

Q: Do you have any disagreements over the way the leadership is conducting negotiations?

A: Well, the leadership is bickering with the company over the relationship between the rates paid at Westinghouse and those of the surrounding area. But by accepting area wages as a norm we are tying our wages to a predetermined level. This means no one will get a substantial increase. What we need is a united fight of all labor if we are to make any meaningful gains. Furthermore, this fight must be tied to the construction of a labor party so the economic gains can be not only obtained, but can be consolidated and maintained politically. Otherwise, anything we win on the picket line will be taken away in taxes and inflation.

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The Peruvian military junta headed by General VELASCO proclaims 'land-reform' law.

PERU has evoked considerable interest in the working-class movement because of the emergence of a so-called 'progressive' military junta which is receiving uncritical and enthusiastic support from world Stalinism, including the British Communist Party, as well as Fidel Castro.

This unprincipled support for the military regime, which continues to suppress ruthlessly the struggles of peasants and workers alike, is a clear indictment of the treachery and political bankruptcy of Stalinism and Castroism.

This interview with a Peruvian Trotskyist shows with great clarity and cogency the reactionary working class, anti-democratic features of the junta and the inevitability, despite Stalinism and Castroism, of a revolutionary overturn in Peru as well as the favourable prospects for a Trotskyist party in Peru today.

Left: One of the first demonstrations by students and workers resulted in brutal clashes with 'Assault' police.

STALINISM AND IMPERIALISM IN

PERU



OVER TWO-THIRDS of Latin Americans live under a military dictatorship like the ones in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Panama, and Peru. But the bourgeois and Stalinist press have consistently tried to present the Peruvian case as 'unique', as a 'democratic', 'anti-imperialist', 'radical' government. Would you agree with this?

Certainly not. It is true that the Stalinists are quite pleased with the situation, and have gone so far as to say that 'The Peruvian Revolution has started', 'nothing will stop it', 'one can only be for or against The Revolution', etc.

So far as I am concerned there has been only one Revolution with capital letters in Peru—a defeated workers' revolution in the 1930s that ended in the mass execution of over 6,000 workers, executions that were carried through by the mentors of the present government.

But what the Stalinists say about the Peruvian military should not surprise anybody. I'm quite sure it has not surprised you.

Stalinists have never hesitated to support 'progressive' governments. Today they even accuse

those who oppose the government as 'counter-revolutionaries'!

Over 40 years ago, a Peruvian Marxist, José Carlos Mariategui, founder of the Socialist Party, clearly said that there was no possibility of being anti-imperialist without being socialist, and that there was no other anti-imperialist state but the workers' state.

But after Mariategui's death, when the Socialist Party became the Communist Party, a fully Stalinist party, its leaders abandoned this and many other principled and scientifically based policies.

Blindness

To say that the Peruvian government is anti-imperialist because it has nationalized one oil

firm, and because it has bought land and sheep from a huge copper mining concern, and because it has limited foreign ownership of banks, is, to say the least, blindness and ignorance.

Mariategui said it was impossible to be anti-imperialist without being socialist because the historic conditions did not allow it: the national capitalist class was too weak and dependent, imperialism was too strong, and the world market established a rigid division of labour where there was space only for a few powers.

Today the situation has not changed and has become even more tight, and all the best wishes of the Stalinists, and the best conceived plans of the Peruvian generals, will not alter this fact.

Students occupy Lima university in 1969.



World finance capital can, at any moment, completely asphyxiate the economy of any country which does not accept the 'rules of the game'.

Technological dependence has recently added a renewed and growing barrier to the host of problems that face any bloody-minded independent bourgeois government.

I think that the Peruvian generals are more aware of this problem than the Peruvian Stalinists. They have stated clearly and repeatedly that they do not intend to hinder imperialist investments in Peru.

They nationalized the IPC, a firm that has been denounced since the 1930s for exploiting Peruvian oil illegally, but they have generously opened the doors to the Belco Petroleum, Gulf and Texas Petroleum, not to mention the multi-million dollars agreement with the Southern Peru Copper Corporation.

Cut short

Incidentally in the latter case the generals attempted to be more 'anti-imperialist' than they actually were in the end; they offered the Soviet bureaucracy the chance to enter a bid for the \$340m Cuaajones copper project.

But their 'anti-imperialism' was cut short when the Russian bureaucrats offered much stiffer terms than the US-based

Southern Peru Copper Corporation.

The much publicised expulsion of the US Military Aid 'Mission' in Peru contrasts with their quiet, almost unnoticed return. The 'advisers' who five years ago helped the generals to murder every single guerrilla or suspicious peasants, that helped the 'progressive' military to burn entire villages, these 'advisers' are back, and increasing numbers of Peruvian officers are being sent again to US military bases and command schools for special training.

If the Stalinists don't believe this, they should read the 'Wall Street Journal', which knows it pretty well.

It is not possible to be anti-imperialist without striking at the heart of world capitalism, and this is a task that only the international working class can achieve.

The Peruvian generals, with their Stalinist supporters, may wish to play nationalistic, but as the generals (not the Stalinists) are aware, capital goods come from the imperialist metropolises, so does the finance capital that could make possible its importation, and also imperialism controls the technical knowledge and skills that can make 'independence' possible.

Imperialism controls the market for all our exportable products, and they provide all of the most important inputs to our

industries, including the intermediate inputs that become increasingly important and expensive as our industrialization develops.

What can the Peruvian generals do about this? Nothing, absolutely nothing, and we are not misled by the demagogic statements.

WHAT ABOUT other internal political measures such as the agrarian reform, or the recently decreed industrial law. Do you think that these reflect a 'progressive' orientation? Would you say that a 'bourgeois - democratic' revolution is taking place in Peru under the military regime?

I don't remember the exact words, but I think Marx once said that 'history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce'.

This is what is happening in Peru, and in many backward capitalist countries. History is repeating itself and we are in the second round. What was 'progressive' 40 or 50 years ago can only be considered a farce today.

José Carlos MARIATEGUI

Peruvian Marxist founder of the Socialist Party said there was no possibility of being anti-imperialist without being socialist, and that there was no other anti-imperialist state but the workers state.



To say that the agrarian reform dictated by the generals is 'progressive' is a mockery to those peasants who in the last 20 years have been struggling stubbornly for the right to own the land of their grandparents and the right to enjoy the wealth produced with their own hands.

And this struggle has been a bloody and bitter one. Hundreds of peasants have been killed, thousands injured, countless numbers jailed, tortured and terrorized by the very same generals who today want to pose as benefactors.

As a result of these struggles, the latifundia and landed aristocracy were considerably weakened and a considerable share of their land (over a third) occupied, virtually expropriated by the peasants.

Now under the 'progressive' law, they are to pay for this land!

BUT WHAT about the expropriation of the sugar plantations? These were not, according to the capitalist press, feudal or semi-feudal latifundia, they belonged to large firms, some American, directly linked with the world market and were a considerable source of income for the capitalists, foreign or national.

The sugar plantations were semifeudal estates, but not of the same kind. The change of ownership has certainly affected foreign and national interests, of the most traditional style.



The advantage that this brings to the agricultural workers is another matter.

In the first weeks after the expropriation of the land the government attempted to crush the well-established and traditionally militant union of agricultural workers. Only the determined opposition of the workers prevented them in carrying out their objective.

Not everything is a 'farce' as you can see. There is quite a bit of tragedy lurking in the future of the Peruvian working class if there is not a clear awareness of the real implications of this new military government.

military junta. What can you tell us about this?

This is where I think that farce, tragi-comedy, ceases to be so.

It becomes an obscure threat. It is presented, like other measures, as a 'modernization' move, a 'progressive' and 'radical' policy.

Let's be clear, there is no doubt in my mind that what the Peruvian government is doing is bringing the Peruvian economy and legislation nearer to the 'advanced' countries of Latin America, such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico.

There is nothing very original in certain social legislation being introduced such as the protection of domestic labourers.

What we are saying is that certain policies, such as the agrarian reform law and the nationalization of oil industries, concern relatively old and, in the case of the agrarian reform, partially solved problems.

It would have been impossible for any government in Peru to go on for long without legalizing in some way the de facto occupation of vast areas of land without extending the agrarian reform to the whole of agriculture, and without dealing in some way with the decades-old illicit exploitation of Peruvian oil by the International Petroleum Company.

Other policies of the present government, such as the partial 'Peruvianization' of banks and the strengthening of the State Bank, the creation of a state monopoly of fish meal, commercialization, the promulgation of the recent industrial code, are more relevant and more dangerous.

Behind them is being shaped the 'new' reorganized Peruvian capitalist state; they point to the 'new path between capitalism and communism', being followed now in Argentina, Brazil, Greece etc.

Stalinists affirm that this 'new path' has opened an 'irreversible process towards socialism' that only 'oligarchic and imperialist plots' can stop.

You know perfectly well that there is nothing 'new' about the creation of a powerful State Bank, or the creation of state monopolies over the commercialization of certain products, or the 'profit-sharing' schemes for industrial concerns, or the growth of nationalized services such as telephone, transportation, energy, etc.

In many semi-developed countries, and in most advanced capitalist countries these policies are carried forward without creating the slightest 'irreversibility' towards socialism.

Distributed

The new industrial code, we are told, rules that 10 per cent of net profits are to be distributed to the workers, 15 per cent at least put aside for re-investment or as shares to be divided among the employees and 2 per cent for industrial research and development.

We are also informed that each industrial firm must have at least one representative of the 'industrial community' on its board of directors.

This is the Peruvian version of de Gaulle's 'participation'.

Peasants in Peru and similar countries still use primitive techniques and live in deep poverty.

'Assault' police shoot down peasant demonstrators in Colquimarca.



The French Stalinists were compelled to reject it; we are waiting to hear the reaction of our local Stalinists.

For the last two years, in particular since the military takeover, wages have been kept down systematically, and there has even been wage-cutting.

Only in the few cases, such as the miners in central Peru, when the working class went further than the Stalinist and right-wing union leaders thought 'wise', did wages actually rise.

The Peruvian bourgeoisie, before and after the coup d'etat, have been submerging the Peruvian economy into a serious depression, resulting in unheard of unemployment levels and a decline of real wages.

The military government has done nothing to change this trend, and has shown no intention of doing so.

Wages continued to stagnate and decline in real terms, and I should remind you that this is taking place in a country where 40 per cent of the working population earns less than £50 a year, and 90 per cent less than £300 per year!

The total unemployment and under-employment in Peru estimated by the International Labour Organization (ILO) is over 2,000,000 workers.

The total working population is about 3,000,000.

This means a rate of unemployment and underemployment of about 40 per cent; and each year over 200,000 workers enter hopelessly the 'labour market'.

This is the economic reality, this is the economic crime that the generals are asking us to 'participate' in... share responsibility for!



The working class has no responsibility whatsoever for the chaos that capitalism has brought to us.

Wages have been kept down or lowered in the last years. Now this profit 'share' in the short term will probably mean an increase in the amount of money that workers will take home, which will certainly be a miserable increase.

This increase will be used 'to sweeten the pill'. But soon it will be obvious that profits being very low or even non-existent due to the crisis and due to the fiddling of well-paid and faithful accountants, any increase in profits to be 'shared' will clearly mean: redundancies, productivity deals, speed-up and all the traditional





A miner from Mala in South Peru shows a wound inflicted by police when they ambushed 400 miners on a march to the capital.

Above Police fire at workers and peasants during an uprising in Jullaca, S Peru in 1968.

a serious menace. The Peruvian working class has not yet reached the level of organization and class identity reached in other countries. Only a fraction of the working class is actually organized in the union structures.

The Stalinists will, at the very best, offer weak and unwilling resistance. I would not be at all surprised if they welcome the scheme. The Peruvian working class could be forced to accept a de facto situation.

Revolutionary Marxists should oppose the industrial code with all their strength.

What concerns the working class is unemployment and starvation wages, not a share in capitalist failure, not another step towards the strengthening of a corporate state.

WHAT HAS been the policy of the junta concerning the issue of wages and unemployment?

It has been the same as in any capitalist state: sanctioning mass lay-offs, wage freezing and even wage reductions.

Stalinist trade unionists feel quite embarrassed about this sometimes.

It was quite ironic to see in a demonstration in support of the five-week old strike of the workers of 'Bata-Rima' (a shoe manufacturer), where wages were actually reduced by 25 per cent, that Stalinist trade unionists were carrying placards saying 'the

employers are creating problems between us and the Revolutionary government'

The military junta's record on wage claims and unemployment is quite impressive. The most seriously affected are workers in the fishing, construction, textiles and shoe manufacturing industries.

The story of the strikes and redundancies at 'Ceramica del Pacifico', 'Lolas', 'Luxor', 'Coca-Cola', Patamo, Calzado Durable, Eternit, Calzado el Aguila Americana, Pilas National, Texoro, Leonard, Banco Continental, Tejidos Union, Inca Cotton, Inca Extension, Victoria, Progreso, La Oroya y Cobriga, Tabacalera Nacional, Fundicion Callao, etc., to mention only few, can tell the truth.

When working-class militancy has led to mass actions that threatened 'law and order', the 'progressive' military in Peru have answered in the language they know best—bullets to suppress the workers' demands.

It has violently suppressed the workers of Mala (a mining town in the south of Peru) and the workers of Atas factory in Lima.

It has suppressed violently the demonstration of workers of the fishing industries of Chimbote and murdered dozens of peasants, students and workers in the towns of Mala, Colquimarca, Ayacucho and Huanta.

In the two latter cases it was a vast popular mobilization of workers, students and peasants opposing a recently decreed abolition of free education.

After the massacre the 'Revolutionary' government was forced to withdraw the decree.

It was also forced to retreat by the 14,000 miners of central Peru employed by Cerro de Pasco Corporation.

The strike over wages and working conditions, which was not backed by the corrupt union bureaucrats, led, two weeks after its commencement, to a march to Lima, 150 miles away, by workers and their families.

Seven hundred 'special forces' violently suppressed the march, wounded many workers and arrested several hundred.

But in the face of defiant workers, the government and the employers were forced to retreat.

Violence against workers' demands has continued and will continue.

The militant revolutionary trade unionists are constantly imprisoned, harrassed and terrorized by the employers and their agents and the police:

In two years of power, the military junta has killed over 20 workers, a rate of about one a month . . .

How would you characterize the present military junta? What are their aims in the long run?

The military junta cannot be characterized without referring to the international context.

It is clear that the government is aiming at 'modernizing' the Peruvian economy and legislation and this means, in many senses, a legalizing of already advanced processes, such as the disintegration of the traditional land aristocracy due to peasant revolts and the development of industry due to imperialist penetration.

This means to the Peruvian toiling masses unemployment, wage stagnation, growing uncertainties over their future and violent repression of their demands.

And when analysing the complex policies that are re-shaping banking, trade, industry and educational systems, the future aims are more clear and more dangerous.

The most likely outcome of this semi-Bonapartist regime is the growth of a corporate state. A clear indication of this is the new industrial code discussed in part 1.

Workers are asked to form a 'community of interests', to share profits and 'management'. This fairy tale has long been denounced by the international working class as a step towards corporatism.

The next step is the creation of state-controlled unions. The



Bolivian miners militia.

Minister of the Interior (chief of police) has declared recently that 'no communist will enter the unions'.

General Velasco, in his recent statement on the 'Defence Committees of the Revolution', which are supported wholeheartedly by the Stalinists, made clear that he will have nothing to do with his supporters.

But the right-wing union, the CTP, has been officially recognized. The Stalinist-controlled CGTP has not been recognized.

It all points to increased pressures against the Stalinist bureaucracies which would probably be led to dissolve the CGTP and integrate the state-controlled trade unions under the leadership of what General Velasco called 'a new breed of non-partisan, nationalistic union leaders'.

The 'Defence Committees of the Revolution' are another step in the direction of a corporate state. They amount to an undeclared political party (where the Stalinists are active supporters) dedicated to publicising the government and putting up smokescreens over its deeds.

With this political party, plus the state-controlled unions and newspapers, plus 'profit-sharing', wage freeze and one delegate of the 'community' on the board of directors in every firm, we have a Peruvian version of the well-known corporate state, the old 'new path between capitalism and communism'.

Why has this occurred in Peru? What are the social forces behind this?

Mountains of refuse provide a foundation for the Barriada dwellings in which half of Lima's population lives.



It is certainly not a unique case. The Argentinian and Brazilian dictatorships show amazing similarities. Differences sometime appear more semantic than real. Not that semantic differences are not important!

In the Argentine, for instance, the government has devoted itself to strengthening the 'colaboracionista' union, and has practically wiped out any legal existence for the left-wing unions.

The 'colaboracionista' union has been called to support a state programme that will bring the state's share of investments to nearly 40 per cent of all industry in the next few years. Formal democracy has been abolished as in Peru.

The difference is more apparent with regard to the working-class opposition. The Argentinian working class is much stronger than the Peruvian.

It has long since passed through the experience of Bonapartism and corporatism, and has revolted against the rulers in Cordoba and elsewhere.

The military government in Bolivia expresses the same tendency. After unsuccessful attempts at crushing the resistance of the miners, it has followed the 'progressive' steps of the Peruvian military.

The establishment of military or quasi-military governments in Latin America is a tendency that started some years ago. Only a few governments keep an appearance of democracy, such as the Venezuelan and Chilean governments, but not without vast repressive measures against the working class and the peasantry.





'Assault' police shoot down peasant demonstrators in Colquimarca.



Above Police fire at workers and peasants during an uprising in Jullaca, S Peru in 1968.



A miner from Mala In South Peru shows a wound inflicted by police when they ambushed 400 miners on a march to the capital.

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methods of increasing exploitation.

By making their wages dependent on profits, workers will be putting a rope around their necks. The nomination of a 'community (we are not clear what this means) delegate' to the board of directors will not change matters.

He will be loaded with figures that show how badly the firm is doing and will be used as an intermediary to tell the workers to work harder, to work longer hours, to reduce their numbers, etc.

He will inevitably become an agent of the employers in the ranks of the working class.

That '15 per cent to be distributed to the employees in the form of shares' if reinvestment is not thought convenient, is no less of a trick.

Share distribution has long been known by the employers as a means of enforcing savings upon their employees for the benefit of the firm.

Traditional, narrow-minded employers will no doubt feel quite uncomfortable at the beginning. But when they become aware of the advantages their attitudes will be quite different.

We do not see anything 'progressive' about the new industrial code. We see only a menace,

employers are creating pro between us and the R tionary government!

The military junta's record on wage claims and unemployment is quite impressive. The seriously affected are work the fishing, construction, and shoe manufacturing tries.

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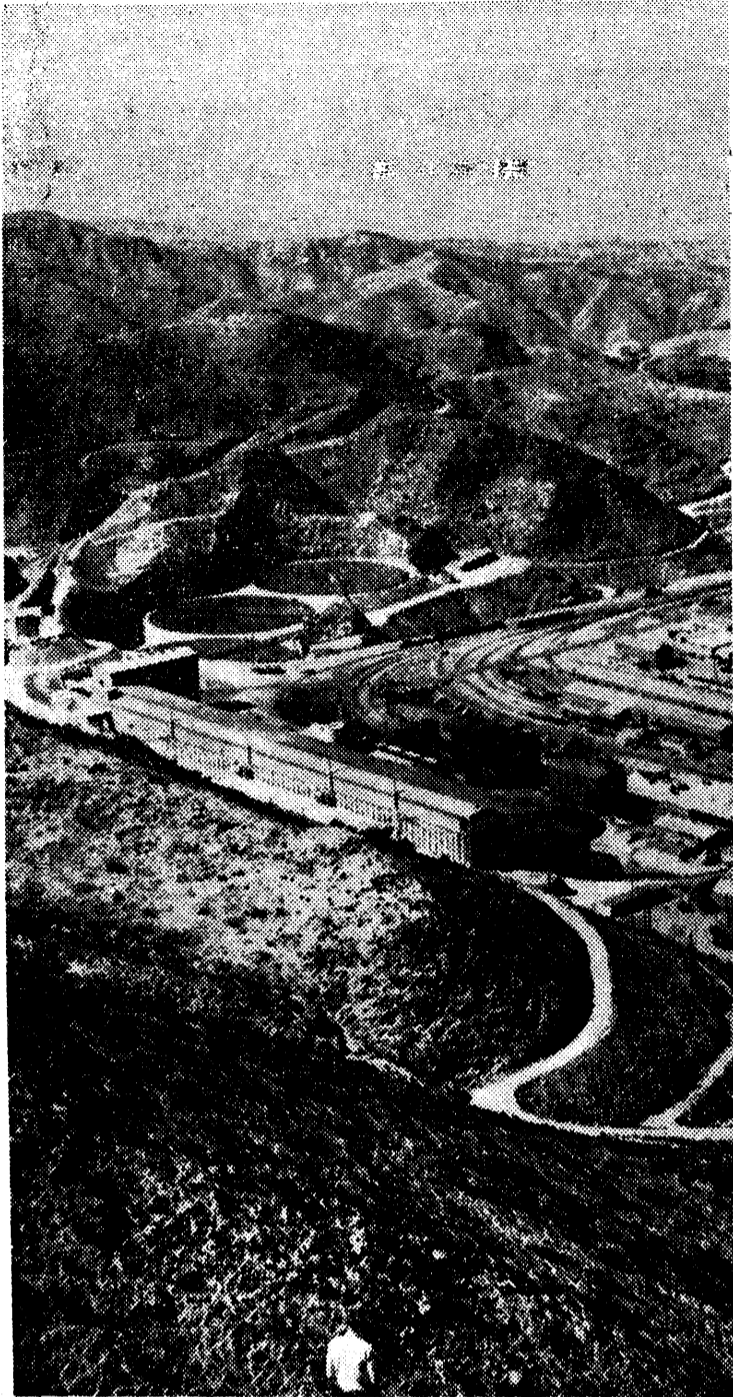
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This tendency reflects the impasse of world capitalism; it reflects the inability of capitalism to develop productive forces or to raise the standards of living of the masses.

The stagnation of productive forces is being caused by the extension of monopoly capital's grip into the industry, finance and trade of the backward capitalist countries and this is resulting in the stagnation of the living conditions of the masses or their actual deterioration as in Peru, growing unemployment and sky-rocketing living costs. These are all factors that co-exist with difficulty with formal democracy.

Control

Inevitably formal democracy, the rule by professional politicians of the bourgeoisie, becomes incompatible with the chaos, anarchy and crisis brought by monopoly capitalism. Direct control over every single movement of the economy becomes a necessity. A strong government is indispensable. Strikes and breaches of law and order become more intolerable than ever.

Whether the Bonapartists or semi-Bonapartists called to the fore define themselves as left wing or right wing is a semantic problem. Their policies against the working class and in support of capital are indistinguishable.

The social basis of this kind of government is therefore monopoly capital. Their agents are the weak and dependent sections of the national bourgeoisie, of the middle class, petty bourgeoisie, professionals, job-hunting bureaucrats, and, of course, the top military. It is within these ranks that the Communist Party bureaucracy expects to find its new jobs.

When we say that the social basis of regimes like the Peruvian junta is monopoly capital, we do not mean to say, as one of the factions of the Peruvian Maoists say, that the present government is the result of a 'fascist-

imperialist plot'.

Weak

We only say that monopoly capital and the rulers of the world bourgeoisie, are the economic and social basis of the world capitalist system of which Peru is nothing but a weak and highly-dependent part.

Monopoly capital has closely determined the direction of the Peruvian economy, even in its most minor details. Monopoly capital has changed the traditional Peruvian oligarchy into a highly dependent and subservient bourgeoisie whose most dynamic and profitable activities pertain to industry and trade and not land. Monopoly capital has fashioned the Peruvian army, its values, its equipment, its training, its officers.

Within this transformation a huge parasitic growth of the army, the bureaucracy, professionals, petty bourgeois merchants and traders, as well as the concentration of wealth in the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie has taken place. These are the agents of the kind of state structure that monopoly capital needs: a bourgeois corporate state.

Inflation

Not that these sections of the population are prosperous. They have gone and may go through periods of improvements in their conditions. But recently the characteristic has been inflation, low income and low profits. In times of crisis they also suffer, but infinitely less than workers and peasants.

But these ups and downs are precisely one of the agents in determining their behaviour. The army, the bureaucracy, the petty bourgeoisie, the managers and industrialists, employed, hired, owned (partially or totally) and financed by monopoly capital know that their existence, their jobs, their income and their property depend on the health of the economy (i.e., monopoly

profits). They also know that they are necessary tools of monopoly capital and thus they can do a bargain for a better share in the pillage of Peruvian workers and peasants.

Whether they are conscious of it or not, objectively this is their role.

If one can learn from psycho-analysis that a neurotic may profess to hate what he most loves, or to love what he most hates, one can without difficulty understand how this nationalistic ideology, this progressive rhetoric is nothing but a rationalization of an essentially reactionary, anti-working-class, anti-peasantry policy.

Could you briefly tell us how the different sections of the left have defined their policies with respect to the military junta?

We shall exclude the Communist Party. We have mentioned their position before and it is a left-wing party only because of its historic roots and because of the presence in its ranks of honest revolutionary workers who have not yet realized entirely the reactionary character of the leadership.

The Maoists are split into five factions. Their best-known group, publishing the monthly 'Bandera Roja', defined the junta as 'an imperialist plot'.

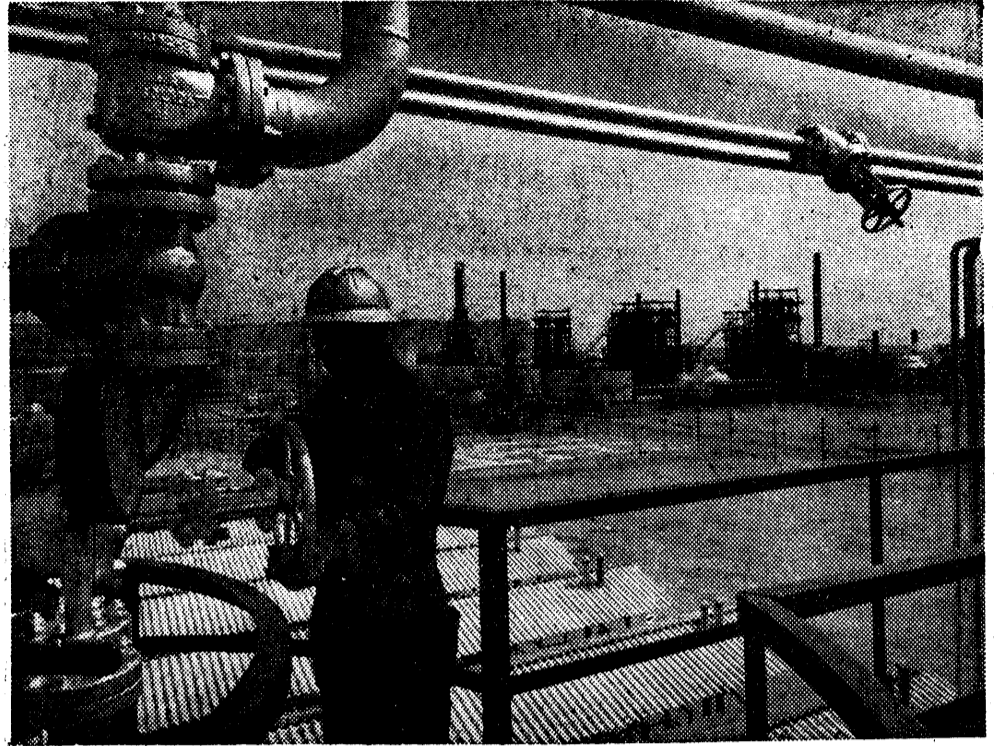
But their ultra-left verbiage does not obscure the fact that they have consistently refused to have anything to do with the working class, which they describe as 'aristocratic', and have concentrated all their efforts on convincing the peasantry that they should join future guerrilla activities. Their presence and opinion is of little relevance.

The revisionist pseudo-Trotskyists are also split. Posadists and Pabloites have endorsed the military government.

The one time leader of the left, Ismael Frias, has endorsed the junta and is today a senior writer on the government-controlled newspaper, 'Extra', using its columns to praise the junta.

Hugo Blanco is in jail and you can imagine what his opinion of the junta is! He is not just a cadre of the left, he is a very well-known figure, an honest, dedicated revolutionary in spite of his mistakes. He has rebuffed the thesis of the revisionist United Secretariat in recent interviews and has not supported the government.

Fidelistas are in confusion. Their dismissal of the working class, their glorification of the peasantry, the support of Castro for the military regime, the agrarian reform, the fierce police repression, their imprisoned leaders, are together hopeless



The International Petroleum Company (shown above) has been nationalized but new exploitative agreements have been signed with Southern Peru Copper Corporation (shown left).

contradictions.

In general they do not support the government and their importance is minimal. They have lived for long a semi-conspiratorial existence and have not attempted to build a party, only an organization, a conspiratorial unit, to support, logistically and militarily the 'focos' of guerrillas, which, as you may imagine, are not the order of the day.

The key organization of the working class is the Vanguardia Revolucionaria. Founded in 1965, it has established itself firmly in the working class and its organizations.

This organization can become the embryo of a revolutionary party provided the correct policies are put forward by revolutionary Marxists in its ranks (today this can only mean Trotskyists).

The blackmail of Fidelism, the primitive egalitarianism of Maoism, the unclear ideological stand of some of its members of petty-bourgeois origin, have limited the evolution of its original political stand.

Vanguardia Revolucionaria has nevertheless consistently followed a policy of political independence from bourgeois parties in the unions and has contributed to the creation of the CGTP, though never yielding to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Support should be given to these comrades who at present represent the only organized hope of the Peruvian working class. But much remains to be done in their ranks.

What do you think should be the main items of the revolutionary programme in Peru?

The thesis and programme should be based on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International and should be combined with the best of the thesis of J. C. Mariátegui, the theoretician of the Peruvian Socialist Party.

It should demand a fight for the absolute independence, political and organizational, of the working class and its organizations from bourgeois parties and from the bourgeois state. It should fight the corporate state. It should demand the refusal of the working class to collaborate and share responsibility for the failures of capitalism.

It should refuse to share the profits of bankrupt capitalism. It should demand the distribution of land without compensating the landlords, and without making the peasants pay for the land.

It should demand the expropriation, without compensation, of all monopolies and the establishment of workers' control in industry, trade, education and services.

It should establish as immediate aims the strengthening of the working-class organizations, the satisfaction of their demands, the raising of the political level of the masses and the formation of the revolutionary workers party, as an integral part of the Fourth International.

It must fight for the overthrow of the military regime and the establishment of the workers' state based on soviets.

These should be the aims of the revolutionary party in the present situation and the development of working-class consciousness will depend on the strength and policies of its international vanguard.



Hugo Blanco



Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, giving the second of the Trotsky Memorial Lectures on "Trotsky's Struggle against Revisionism."

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Over 100 people attended the concluding lecture of the Trotsky Memorial Lectures at Labor Hall on October 30. The lecture, "Trotsky on Revisionism," was given by Tim Wohlforth.

The bulk of Wohlforth's talk was devoted to Trotsky's last great struggle against the Shachtman-Burnham-Abern opposition within the Socialist Workers Party. He discussed in detail how Trotsky intervened in that discussion first insisting on a discussion of the class nature of the state and then going from that level to the question of the Marxist method itself. The opposition, on the other hand, moved in exactly the opposite direction—from the "abstract" question of the nature of the state to the "concrete" level of a specific evaluation of the war in Finland and Poland.

The opposition stood together pragmatically on specific concrete issues and in this way reflected the pressure of the

ruling class. It was Trotsky, and Trotsky alone, who struggled to turn the discussion on to the fundamental plane of the basic method or logic involved.

DIALECTICS

Following the 1940 struggle, Wohlforth pointed out, it was up to the SWP majority leadership to carry forward the struggle for dialectical materialism so that the SWP would not once again fall prey to the pressures of the ruling class through the middle class.

Instead of taking up a struggle for dialectics and bringing the dialectic into the very center of day to day party work, the SWP leadership simply assigned to George Novack a series of lectures on

SWP Candidate Stresses Need For Socialism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Some 40 people attended a Workers League meeting at the New School October 29, calling for support to the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the New York State elections. The main speaker was Jon Rothschild, SWP candidate for Lt. Governor.

Rothschild discussed the May-June 1968 events in France. He stressed that socialist revolution was posed in these events with factory occupations and the beginnings of dual power. However, the struggle was destroyed by the Communist Party. This points out, Rothschild stated, the need to construct the revolutionary party.

Rothschild stated that the United States was experiencing a deep social crisis. This was expressed in the antiwar movement, the black liberation movement, the women's liberation movement and the beginnings of struggle in the labor movement. "If you probe each one of these questions to their roots you come up with the need for socialism," Rothschild stated. He stressed that the kind of events which happened in France will happen here and we must prepare for them.

LABOR PARTY

He concluded his remarks stressing the great need for the American working class to break politically from the capitalists. In the course of the later discussion he made clear that he favored the call for a labor party.

During the discussion representatives of both the International Socialists and

the Spartacist League strongly attacked the SWP stating that because of its program they would not give support critical



Jon Rothschild, SWP candidate for Lt. Governor, speaking at New School meeting.

or otherwise to the SWP candidates. Spartacist in particular sought to turn the rally into a political conflict between the SWP and the Workers League.

Spokesmen for the Workers League made it clear that the purpose of the rally was to give support to the SWP electoral campaign objectively because that campaign offered an opportunity for workers and militants to vote against the capitalist

international struggle of the working class and at the same time to understand reality in all its concreteness—to place the particular nationalist movement within its proper historical evaluation." This approach contrasts to the kind of pragmatic approach undertaken by revisionist tendencies, as the Socialist Workers Party, in formulating their positions on black nationalism.

What is the relationship of the Marxist party to nationalist movements? As an important first stage in developing an answer to this question as regards the black nationalist movement in the United States Wohlforth discusses the struggle of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

HISTORICAL

In its historical context Lenin looked at national self-determination as a demand of the bourgeois democratic revolution. It was subordinate to the international struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalism.

Marxists support the right of self-determination, within certain historical

Enthusiastic Audience Hears Lecture On Trotsky's Fight For Dialectics

the question. "The very heart of the question of the party is the philosophy of dialectical materialism and at the very heart of the question of philosophy is the party," Wohlforth stated.

"The question posed each day in the life of the party is how to relate idea, in the form of the program, to material reality—to the actual development of the class struggle. If each sale of a paper, each seemingly routine task is not seen in this light as a question of philosophy, of the relation of idea to reality, then this means that dialectics will be for classes and pragmatism will guide the daily work of the party. The latter will destroy the former."

PABLO

In 1952 a new opposition led by Michel Pablo developed inside the Fourth International which was essentially like Shachtman but developed in a slightly different form. While Shachtman and Burnham talked in terms of a new class society which meant that the struggle of the working class and for the conscious party had no place for the whole next epoch, Pablo talked of centuries of deformed workers' states which likewise denied any role to the class or party, Wohlforth noted.

In 1953 Cannon broke "definitively" with Pablo, so he said. By 1961 Cannon himself was proposing reunification with the Pabloites on the same basis that Shachtman, Burnham and Abern had come together in 1940—agreement on "concrete issues." Unification took place precisely through a decision to prevent discussion on the origin of the original split, to pre-

vent a discussion which probed to the theoretical roots of the matter. Now the United Secretariat faces the same liquidationist and anti-Marxist tendencies within it that Burnham represented with the opposition of 1940, Wohlforth commented.

Trotsky, Wohlforth pointed out, was extremely critical of American pragmatism and the deep anti-theoretical traditions of the United States. He did not conclude from this, however, a pessimism about the development of the American working class. Quite the contrary, he saw in the advanced technique of America the great potential not only for a massive movement of the American working class but a tremendous qualitative development of Marxist theory on American soil.

Such a development can only come through negation—the sharpest struggle against American pragmatism. All the contradictions of world capitalism find their home here, and here the definitive struggle between capitalism and socialism must be waged. Here, therefore, there must be a flowering of Marxist theory. This above all is the challenge before the new generation of American revolutionaries. This, and this alone, is the only meaningful way to honor Trotsky, 30 years after he was brutally murdered by Stalin's agent, Wohlforth concluded.

Terry Speaks To Workers At Philly Election Rallies



Arnold Terry, SWP candidate for State Legislature, speaks to sanitation workers.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—The Workers League campaign for the SWP candidates was carried forward here in the last week before elections by the Temple Workers League club. The center of the club participation in the Oct. 31 antiwar rally was expressed by the banner they carried. The banner read—"Vote Socialist Workers, Build a Labor Party." The club sponsored meetings at the Delaware Port Authority longshore hiring hall and at one of the city's sanitation garages.

Arnold Terry, SWP candidate for state legislature, spoke at both meetings and was well received along with the proposal by the Temple Workers League club that a vote for the SWP must be the beginning of the fight in the trade unions for the building of a labor party.

'Black Nationalism And Marxist Theory'--A Review

REVIEWED BY
RICHARD PUSAR

BLACK NATIONALISM AND MARXIST THEORY. By Tim Wohlforth. 35 pp. Labor Publications. 50 cents.

The republication of *Black Nationalism & Marxist Theory* by Tim Wohlforth (originally published as *The New Nationalism and the Negro Struggle*) occurs during an intensification of the international capitalist crisis as well as the deepening of the struggle of the working class worldwide.

Wohlforth's pamphlet furnishes us with a Marxist, scientific understanding of the black nationalist movement. It proceeds from a Marxist approach which, as the author states, requires "...to begin at all times from the point of view of the

contexts. Above all else to Marxists is the furthering of international class solidarity and not the creation of national prejudices that can drive a wedge into this solidarity.

It is the historical concreteness that the SWP ignores in formulating its position of support of black nationalism and self-determination in the U.S.

NATION

In the chapter "Are Blacks a Nation?" through an historical analysis of the United States, Wohlforth states that the Civil War marked the end of the bourgeois revolution in the United States with the solidification of a strong national state. Any basis for a black nation ended with the destruction of the plantation economy and the steady integration of the black worker into the national economy.

It was the right of territorial secession that Lenin meant as the right of nations for self-determination and not community control as put forward by the cultural nationalists of his time or the SWP now.

In the SWP's support for black self-determination in the U.S. is a complete ignorance of the present period that mankind is in. The capitalist class is in no position in this period, as they teeter on the brink of destruction, to grant basic reforms to the black people or the working class as a whole.

The discrimination, racism and oppression against black people is real. The Marxist party, more than any other force, takes up the struggle of the black people for their democratic rights.

What is posed at this time is the building of the revolutionary party and a revolutionary youth movement to lead the struggles of the working class youth.

Tim Wohlforth's pamphlet, as a Marxist analysis of the black nationalist movement, is an indispensable guide for serious revolutionaries interested in the struggle for socialism. Only through the fight for socialism and the building of the mass revolutionary party will racism be crushed and a new page in the history of the relations of men to men be opened.



WEST COAST NEWS

Mission Coalition Explodes As Youth Fight Reformist Leaders



Ben Martinez, head of Mission Coalition.

BY LUIS GUZMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The Mission Coalition, pretending to represent all the organizations in the Mission District of San Francisco, fell apart two weeks ago at the beginning of its third annual convention.

The Mission Coalition is a popular front formation consisting of realtors, the "Mission Street Merchants Association," assorted Democratic Party hacks, and also a few minority organizations and youth groups. Its own literature describes itself: "tenants, homeowners, and landlords working for a better Mission."

Yelling, screaming, war whoops, accusations of dictatorship, missiles thrown at the chairman, and intricate parliamentary maneuvers dominated this convention. On one side were the Mission "establishment," the Mayor's friends, the people who deliver the vote on election time. On the other were groups like La Raza Defense Committee and Las Siete de la Raza who have organized youth, as well as the Welfare Rights Organization, and a group of the small realtors.

SPLIT

At issue in the split is control of twenty-five million dollars being put in the Mission area by the Federal government as part of the "Model Cities" program. The question is what kind of

"Model City?"

The chairman of those leaving the convention was Sal Cordoba, a real estate broker! At the first meeting of the new split-away coalition all he could say was: "We are looking for courageous people who will say that this country and this neighborhood should be run according to the democratic process." All he could propose was to go into the courts and also see the Mayor.

The leadership of La Raza Legal Defense swallowed hook, line and sinker the line of the realtors. In the back of the hall, however, there were many youth from the Siete de La Raza who made clear their disgust with the leadership of the meeting. When several speakers expressing the position of the Workers League opposing this reformist popular front spoke, they received loud applause from many rank and file members of Las Siete. This new coalition will break down. This popular front alliance, dream of Alinsky type reformists and Stalinists alike, has only served to divert with militant phrases the large numbers of unemployed Latino youth in the Mission area.



Mission youth objecting to maneuvering of bosses and Democratic Party hacks.

Bookbinders' Local 3 Ranks Demand Wage Parity With Printers

BY BOOKBINDERS LOCAL 3 MEMBER

SAN JOSE—As negotiations for the Bookbinders' contract enter their ninth month the rank and file are rumbling louder and louder for a decent contract. At the October meeting the rank and file demonstrated a growing distrust for the leadership of the union.

Last month San Jose Bookbinders from Local 3 went on a strike against UARCO and Muirson companies. On strike for a few days they were ordered back to work by the companies. The union leadership instructed the workers back to work, they said, because the National Labor Relations Board had found an error in the way the union carried out the strike. The Bookbinders had not waited the 30 day period before going on strike. UARCO bookbinders have a separate contract with the company and in spite of the aborted strike won a 12-1/2% gain.

SOLD OUT

The Muirson bindery workers were completely sold out. They must wait until May of 1971 for the 12-1/2% gain. This strike was consciously betrayed by the union bureaucracy, and they duly informed the Bookbinders how lucky they were and how easy they got off the hook.

At the same time the NLRB has imposed an order to post publicly at the union hall and at the companies that there will be no further striking because of the irregularity of the strike.

Discussion of contract settlement for the other shops at the October meeting was boycotted until 10 p.m. under new business. After tremendous probing by the ranks it was discovered that the proposal by the union of an impossible \$23 per week increase for men and a sell-out increase of \$6 per week for women has been totally rejected by the remaining companies and that the Bookbinders' contract is where it was nine months ago. The sell-out at Muirson has pointed the way for the other companies.

The union bureaucrats are opposed to taking up the fight to win a decent contract. They are opposed to demanding the gains won by the International Typographers Union and the other printing trades just as they are opposed to taking up a serious defense of the striking workers of the Independent Journal in San Rafael.

The way forward for the Bookbinders is the formation of a rank and file committee which will fight for parity with the printers and a strategy to win a decent contract.

ILWU Steward Speaks Out On Bridges, Job Conditions

BY FRANK O'NEIL

The following is an interview by Frank O'Neil for the Bulletin with a shop steward of Local 10 of the ILWU in San Francisco.

Q: What are working conditions like on the docks now?

A: Work itself is the slowest it's been since 1962 or 1963. Working conditions are getting worse. The companies get away with a lot of contract violations, like man shortages on the job. Each gang is supposed to be 6-2-2-1. Sometimes the company will use a steady man instead of someone out of the hall.

In 1971 we're going all out to get all the jobs filled with men dispatched out of the hall. Also, we've lost most of the hand storing and unstoring. Automation took most of that away in 1968. Most of the tonnage is shipped in containers. It gets shipped to the container docks in San Jose and Oakland. Most of the work goes to the Teamsters. The six hundred B men brought in in 1969 work one day a month. As for the equipment we use, it's not too safe. Next to miners, longshoremen have the most accidents of any industry.

The other day a guy got killed; he was run over by a Ross carrier that had faulty brakes. Almost every day we have to bring in an arbitrator before we'll use some of the equipment. Sometimes when the cargo is being unloaded, they won't let you stop five minutes to put up a safety net. The companies aren't concerned about the safety of the longshoremen. A little while ago, this guy was driving a tractor. The crane didn't release. It picked up the whole truck and trailer and dropped it six feet, on top of the guy. A company man ran up and asked if the truck was damaged!

Q: How much automation is there on the docks now?

A: Percentage wise, I'd say 50%. Before 1968 a ship stayed at dock at least three days, with a full gang of eleven men. Now, you have less than eleven men and the ship only stays in dock a day. As a result the hall is full of men. A-men work only three days a week, out of an availability of five. B-men work one day a month.

Q: Is automation increasing?

A: Definitely. More and more it's becoming automated. Now 60% of the work comes in containers. In a few years it'll be 90%. We've got to fight to get some kind of guaranteed wage, or a guaranteed forty hour work week. That's what a lot of guys are talking about now.

Q: What kind of fight is Harry Bridges putting up against automation?

A: Harry Bridges isn't putting up any kind of fight. He used to be a good leader, but now he's too much of a company man. This is no good at all. When Bridges talks at a union meeting, it brings out all the aggression and contradictions from the younger guys. He's talking about right now, they're talking about the future. They can see what's happening, they know they're losing too much in conditions and work. They want to fight, he doesn't.

Q: What's the condition of the union right now?

A: The union isn't so strong. We go to union meetings and the leaders talk about one thing and then they do something else. The young guys are concerned with making the union strong. But the companies would rather deal with old timers like Bridges. Right now the old timers are allowed to vote, even after they've retired and that's dangerous. Things are changing so fast they don't know what's going on. We should be represented by men who participate in the work.

Q: Bridges says longshoremen shouldn't ask for too much from the company because they're in financial difficulties. What do you think of that?

A: This is where Harry Bridges has put himself on the spot. This is why we need a different leadership. Bridges gets more money from the companies than he does from the union. We don't care that much for the companies' troubles. They are making more money off of automation than they did before. If they don't give us forty hours guaranteed, we're going to strike.

Q: What's the attitude of the rank and file longshoreman to the 1971 contract?

A: The attitude of the average guy is we have to go all out or we're lost. They see that the union is in danger of getting

destroyed. If the leadership doesn't prepare right, the company'll have the upper hand. They've already been making promises to steady men, telling them to make a deal that will sell out the rest of us in order to let them keep their jobs. Plus there is the scab force of the 600 B-men who only work one day a month. And the companies are pushing through this agreement to search everyone's personal file, to keep them from working if they have any kind of record. They are trying to discipline the guys. The companies are also detouring as much work as possible to other ports, to try and break the longshoremen. The companies are getting all ready for the strike, but our leadership's not doing much. We've got to unite behind a program that can fight the companies. We're not going to give in to the companies at all.

Q: What do you think of the auto workers' strike?

A: Personally, I think that's another tactic of the companies. They're attacking the unions by attacking their wages. I think the companies have made enough money. They're just trying to get as much as they can off the backs of the workers. If the government intervenes in that strike all the labor unions should go all out and stop them. If that means rebelling against the government, we'll do it.

Q: What do you think of the upcoming elections?

A: I think we're going through a period when there's no one to represent the ones who need help the most. In the ILWU, we have lobbyists but they don't do anything. A lot of politicians come on like they're your friend, but they always just give in to the powers that be.

Q: What do you think of the student movement?

A: I think that students are going to be one of the most helpful things to help revolutionize the social order. Some of the older guys in the union don't like any of the things the students are doing. But the younger guys identify with the struggles of the students. The younger guys want all the help they can get.

Q: What do you think of the demand for a labor party?

A: It is the only successful way, otherwise the working man will never get anywhere. This is why it's so hard now. We're in this struggle now because the unions are trying to get together and the companies are trying to destroy us.

Q: What do you think of the Bulletin?

A: I think it's a great newspaper. Good information. It tells it like it is.

MAGEE GIVES HIS LIFE TO DEFEND ANGELA DAVIS

BY JESSIE CAHILL

SAN FRANCISCO—Ruchell Magee, the sole surviving convict of the Marin County Courthouse massacre which began the vicious manhunt for Angela Davis, was apparently offered his life in exchange for testimony against Miss Davis by police.

Magee is a convict serving a life term who now faces first degree murder charges stemming from the courthouse shootout August 7. If Magee is convicted of the murder charge he automatically faces the gas chamber. It is nearly certain that this will be his fate. Court appointed attorneys have not even shown up in the courtroom and Judge Joseph G. Wilson has ignored Magee's demands to defend himself.

It is in this context that Ruchell Magee was forcibly removed from the star chamber courtroom in San Quentin Prison Tuesday for shouting, "Angela Davis is innocent!"

The courage of this man is a lesson of class solidarity. But there can be no mistake, although Magee has blocked one attempt to frame Angela Davis with perhaps his life, it is clear that Nixon and his hangers on are preparing their courts and troops to deal with every section of the working class, from the youth and the prisons to the most powerful sections of the trade unions.

The labor movement here must take up the fight of Ruchell Magee to defend Angela Davis and stop her extradition to California.

Workers Hatred Of Nixon Explodes In San Jose

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE, Oct 30—Last night over a thousand workers and youth showed their bitter hatred of the Nixon Administration. Nixon was virtually driven out of town as demonstrators approached his car yelling, shaking their fists, and throwing eggs.

What is being completely blacked out in the capitalist press and obscured by Nixon himself is what lay at the center of this demonstration.

This demonstration was originally called by unemployed aerospace workers. San Jose is in an area which has had the highest unemployment in the state of

California, with thousands of aerospace workers without jobs. This is the mine field Nixon tread on and what exploded was the CLASS hatred of Nixon and the capitalist class as they seek to drive back the living standards of the working class.

At least 200 unemployed workers and

LA Teachers Face General Attack Court Decertifies Last Contract

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—A recent court decision has invalidated the contract signed last spring between the Los Angeles Board of Education and the United Teachers of Los Angeles.

Spurred by rank and file militancy during the strike, UTLA President Robert Ransome defied court orders to go back to work. This, he said at the time, was done in order to get a test case before the courts on the rights of public employees to strike. As a Board of Education member put it, "He lost."

A bureaucrat for UTLA moaned that the judge had ignored the "fact that 75% of all teachers in this country are covered by such contracts." What this astute pie-card ignores is that 100% of the working class is under attack by the employers and their courts. To assume that the

courts or any part of the state is "above" the struggle is to make a fatal mistake.

The invalidation of the contract is the first step to an attack on the benefits won by the contract and a general attack upon L.A. teachers as a whole. During the strike the Board of Education pled "no responsibility." It tried to shift the blame elsewhere, mainly toward Sacramento and Reagan. Wisely rank and file teachers ignored this charade and fought to continue the strike.

Teachers in L.A. must prepare to strike once again. The UTLA must clearly reach out to other sections of the labor movement for support.

The latest attack on the teachers must be seen as an attack upon the labor movement as a whole. If teachers unions can be de-certified by the courts, then all public workers are in trouble.

Womens Lib, Revisionism, Equal Rights Amendment

BY KAREN FRANKEL

The controversial Equal Rights Amendment will not come up for a vote until the next session of Congress is convened. This bill has become a symbol and focal point for the middle class women's liberation groups.

The National Organization of Women (NOW) held a silent vigil in front of the Capital for several weeks. There were hearings, demonstrations, and polemics flowing from the struggle around this bill. The Socialist Workers Party was even forced to fight the Communist Party over this issue. One thing, however, is clear about the struggle around this bill—it has become a colossal diversion aimed at turning working class women toward the legislative processes rather than the struggle to build the revolutionary party to overthrow the economic and social system which oppresses them.

The womens liberation movement, by its very nature, poses the whole question of the fight for equality in non-class, reformist terms. It correctly sees the bourgeois family structure as an instrument of oppression, but seeks to change the oppressive nature of the family before the material basis for the existence of the bourgeois family is destroyed. This is nothing but the crassest form of idealism, for it sees a change in ideas abstracted from the fight to change their material roots. The fight for equality for all

women can only come through the struggle for a socialist society. This is the task of the working class and its vanguard party, basing its program on Marxist theory, not middle class reformism.

Support to the Equal Rights Amendment really expresses the logic of the women's liberation movement. In principle, it encapsulates the aims of these groups: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." However, taken in the concrete, it will mean a step back into the industrial conditions of the early nineteenth century if the bill is passed.

The Socialist Workers Party, following the logic of the women's liberation movement, supports the amendment. The Communist Party and the International Socialists, however, although accepting the conception of a women's liberation movement separate from the revolutionary party, hold back from support to this amendment. The fact that the dynamic of this movement evolves into a battle over "progressive" or "non-progressive" legislation, is just further exposure of the reformist nature of the movement itself.

The bill would invalidate the protectionist laws, which specify the maximum number of hours women are allowed to work, maximum weights they can carry, etc. When these laws have been temporarily suspended, as in Michigan in the late fall and winter of 1967-68, women were forced to work overtime at Chrysler 69 hours per week, six days at ten hours per day, and Sundays nine hours.

trade unionists came to this demonstration carrying placards demanding jobs. The students and youth there came following their lead.

CARACAS

When one of Nixon's personal aides remarked that the demonstration was "just like Caracas," she was not just talking about the shower of eggs. It was the hostility towards capitalism that came out in San Jose. The old peaceful relations of the 1950s are over in the U.S.

San Jose is the future in the U.S. of great convulsions in the class struggle. This is what Agnew and Nixon and the entire capitalist class fear most of all. This is what Nixon expressed when he said on the following day:

"And I say to you tonight it's time to draw the line. I do not mean a party line, because when I speak of a line I am referring not just to Republicans or Democrats, I am referring to a line between those who understand this problem and deal with it effectively and those who do not."

When it comes to the fight of the working class there is only one side as far as both the Republicans and Democrats are concerned. This is what the entire capitalist class "understands". The spectre that haunts Nixon and the Democrats and Republicans as well, is that the next such demonstration may be of thousands and thousands of angry trade unionists in Washington in a political action to challenge the very capitalist system itself.



The National Organization of Women (NOW) held a silent vigil on the steps of the Capital for several weeks in support of the reactionary Equal Rights amendment.

Female factory workers of the Continental Baking Co. recently filed suit against Barry Brown, director of the Michigan Department of Labor and Attorney General Frank J. Kelley, as a class action on behalf of more than 200,000 women workers in the state, asking for a ruling that would state that the Civil Rights Act and protectionist laws are not mutually exclusive.

Of course, it is always in the employers interest to institute compulsory overtime, as it is much cheaper for them to do so than hire another shift. Thus, the amendment, coming at this time of economic crisis, fits in perfectly with the bosses' plans for speeding up workers and increasing unemployment.

They are looking, in this period, for any excuse to get those protectionist laws off the books. The middle class feminists thus become the tools of the bourgeoisie in their endeavors.

Sarah Lovell of the SWP in a debate with Myra Wolfgang, Vice President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union and supported by the Communist Party, stated that the unions must return to the perspective of shorter hours and longer pay. She placed the blame for the erosion of shorter hours on the union leaderships, and stated that we should not oppose the Equal Rights Amendment but "fight for the shorter hours in union contracts and in legislation."

Lovell is certainly correct in her criticism of the trade union bureaucracy, but uses that criticism to hide her own capitulation to the bourgeoisie on the question of the protectionist laws. The fact that the trade union bureaucracy as she states, "has gone along with the employers in the acceptance of overtime as normal and desirable," is no excuse for the revolutionary party to allow the further erosion

Teamster Local 208 Denied Democracy

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The move by the Teamsters International to put Los Angeles based Local 208 in receivership has been somewhat clarified.

Local 208, whose ranks led the L.A. revolt against the national sellout last year, has a reputation of being the most democratic local in the area.

The "reorganization" by the International is aimed precisely at this democracy. At this point it appears that the local will be reorganized on the basis of eliminating all internal democracy. Business agents and the like will be imported by the International.

Fitzsimmons and his ilk think that they can control the ranks with their men in charge when local bureaucrats are not up to the job for one reason or another. This move against 208 clearly shows the desperation of the labor bureaucrats and their frantic attempts to stabilize the situation by getting locals back in line.

The bureaucrats are whistling in the dark if they think that a little firmer formal control will stop the ranks. In their attempts to cool things down, the bureaucrats aide the capitalists.

But all of this wiggling about is to no avail. As one 208er put it. "Sometimes bad leaders are voted out and sometimes they are run out of town on a rail." Mr. Fitzsimmons and Company are whittling their own rail at this very moment.

of protection for workers.

Just as the Communist Party's participation in the women's liberation movement is part and parcel of its support to Bella Abzug, bourgeois candidate for Congress, so is it an expression of popular frontism in the SWP. In order to preserve its opportunist alliance with such middle class forces as the National Organization of Women, the SWP has to maintain the most reformist of perspectives in regard to the woman question.

They place a myopic importance on the passage of a piece of legislation which will benefit only middle class women, if that, and will only serve to abolish laws on the books which do, to some degree, protect women workers. This, however, is the logic of the women's liberation movement. A movement based on sex, cutting across class lines, separate from the party must, by its very nature be a popular front. Thus, the program of such a movement must be a bourgeois program. The IS and the CP try to give their participation in this middle class movement a working class cover, by using more verbiage about working class women and the trade unions. Thus they do not follow through with support to the ERA. Their participation along these lines only makes the situation more dangerous. They are consciously seeking to head off the revolutionary potential of working class women and channel it into the middle class "women's lib" swamp.

Whatever form the participation of the Stalinists and revisionists takes in regard to the women's liberation movement, it can only lead in the direction of such rotten proposals as the Equal Rights Amendment. However dressed, popular frontism can only become an attack on the working class.

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Oct. 31-- New Course Needed For Anti-war Fight

BY BULLETIN TEAM

Across the nation the October 31st demonstrations were the smallest experienced in recent years. Figures of 1,000 or less were recorded for such major cities as New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia.

In keeping with the smallness of the crowds and their dispirited character was the right wing nature of the speakers on the platform. Nowhere did official speakers call for independent class political action even though the demonstrations were held within a few days of the elections.

Behind the virtual disintegration of the peace movement is the movement forward of the working class. What is involved here is not the retreat of the working class but the retreat of the middle class when faced with the movement forward of the working class. This massive demobilization of the protest movement takes place at a time when over a quarter of a million auto workers are out on strike in a confrontation with the largest manufacturing corporation in the world—itsself a major war producer.

In New York City the contrast was particularly startling. On Friday a massive militant outpouring of Puerto Rican youth took to the streets—4000 strong—marching in disciplined form to the United Nations calling for "picking up the gun" to carry forward their struggle. On Saturday about a thousand peace marchers wandered down to Bryant Park. The working class is on the move; it is the middle class which is in disarray.

DISARRAY

In San Francisco we have the same situation. In San Jose, a few days before the march, several thousand youth joined with unemployed workers in a demonstration of direct struggle against Nixon. On Saturday, in contrast, barely 1,000 marched in San Francisco. The San Francisco march was so small and politically so right wing that it was largely taken over by the Gay Liberation Front.

In Los Angeles, the largest and most spirited contingent came from the Chicano community which marched against the war in Vietnam and the oppression of Mexican workers and youth. The working class is on the move; it is the middle class that is in disarray.

The real logic of the retreat of the middle class was carried out in Madison, Wisconsin, when the anti-war march planned for weeks by the Madison Area Peace Action Council for November 1 was cancelled two days before it was to have taken place. The cancellation came when the liberal organizations backed down because of "fear of violence" before the elections. Some of the liberals said correctly: "MAPAC is dead." A rally without a march was finally sponsored by SMC.

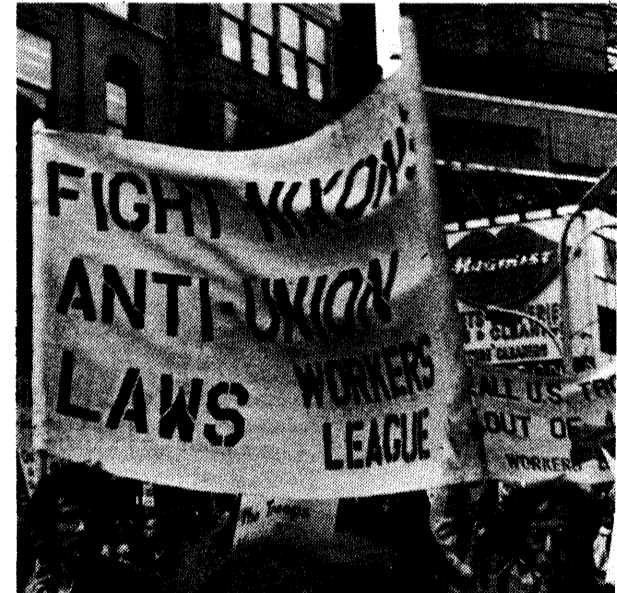
WL

The danger in the situation can be seen in Minneapolis. Here, where 70,000 students marched last May over Kent State, barely 1,000 demonstrators were confronted by a massive mobilization of the police. Battle ready cops, the bomb squad, paddy wagons and police dogs appeared at every turn in the route while the red squad together with right wing groups photographed all who attended. The police are in earnest even if the middle class radicals are not.

The Workers League intervened in these marches across the country. Contingents



WORKERS LEAGUE MARCHES ACROSS THE NATION FOR CLASS LINE



Top left: Soldier greets banner calling for victory to the Viet Cong with clenched fist. Top right: Workers League contingent in New York demonstration. Center, in San Francisco. Above, Workers League banners in Chicago and New Haven.

with Workers League banners marched in New York City, New Haven, Philadelphia, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and San Francisco as well as in other areas. It was the position of the Workers League that despite the demoralization of the middle class radicals—in fact precisely for this reason—a forceful intervention was needed to pose a working class political alternative in this critical period. In every demonstration the Workers League called for a vote for the candidates of the Socialist

Workers Party as a step towards a labor party. Other slogans combined the demand for immediate withdrawal with an international class position—support to auto workers, defense of the Arab and Vietnamese revolutions.

In San Francisco, a contingent of about 100 persons, largely youth, marched with the Workers League, carrying forward the class hatred of San Jose into the middle class march. In New York City a large contingent took up the chant: "Down with

The war in Vietnam is far from over and the struggle against its perpetrators—the American ruling class—has barely begun. The struggle will go on but it must find new channels in the class struggle itself.

Rocky, Goldberg, Buckley—Vote Socialist Workers!" Many others along the march joined in. Some \$200 was raised from participants for the Juan Farinas Defense Committee.

YOUNG LORDS SUPPORT JUAN FARINAS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee has made important progress in the first week since its formation. Additional sponsors (including the Young Lords Party as well as the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee) have agreed to lend their support.

A printed brochure has been issued by the Committee. This brochure explains and answers the charges against Farinas. He is charged with disruption of the Selective Service System and refusal to report and submit for induction. These charges

stem from Farinas' attempt to distribute leaflets to fellow draftees at the induction center. Both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee have agreed to send out this brochure to their mailing lists. At the SMC-sponsored anti-war demonstration on October 31 nearly \$200 was raised in the crowd and an announcement was made from the platform on the case.

A meeting of Spanish-speaking organizations and individuals was held on November 1, at which support for the case was pledged and plans were discussed for printing and producing literature in literature in Spanish and taking this case as widely as possible to Spanish-speaking workers and youth.

Plans are being made for a mass meeting at Columbia University where Farinas works as a janitor. The fight is also being extended on a national basis.

Sponsors and financial contributions are still urgently needed. We urge readers to send all checks and support to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee at 135 West 14th Street, 6th floor, New York, N.Y.

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