

# Bulletin

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NEW SERIES

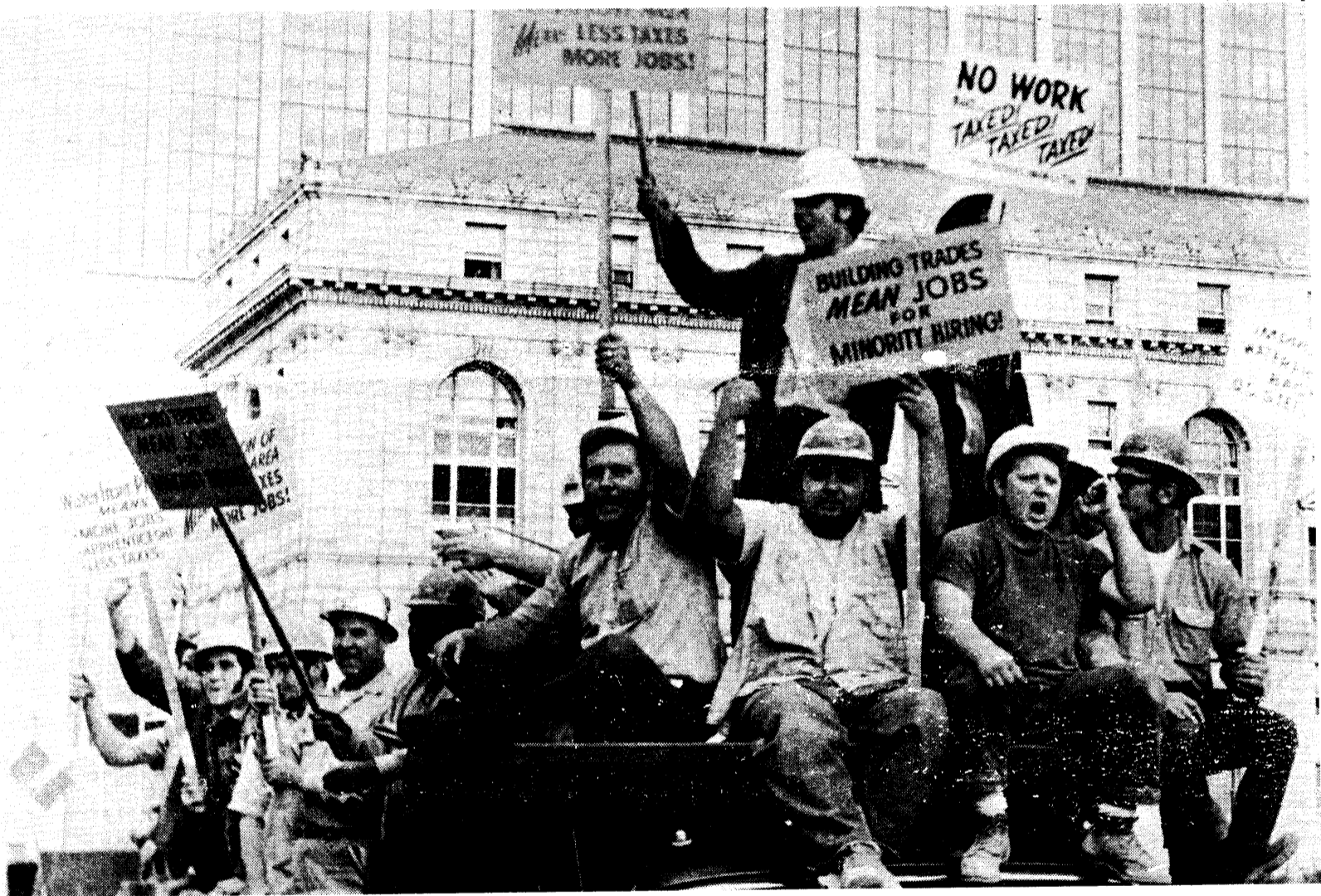
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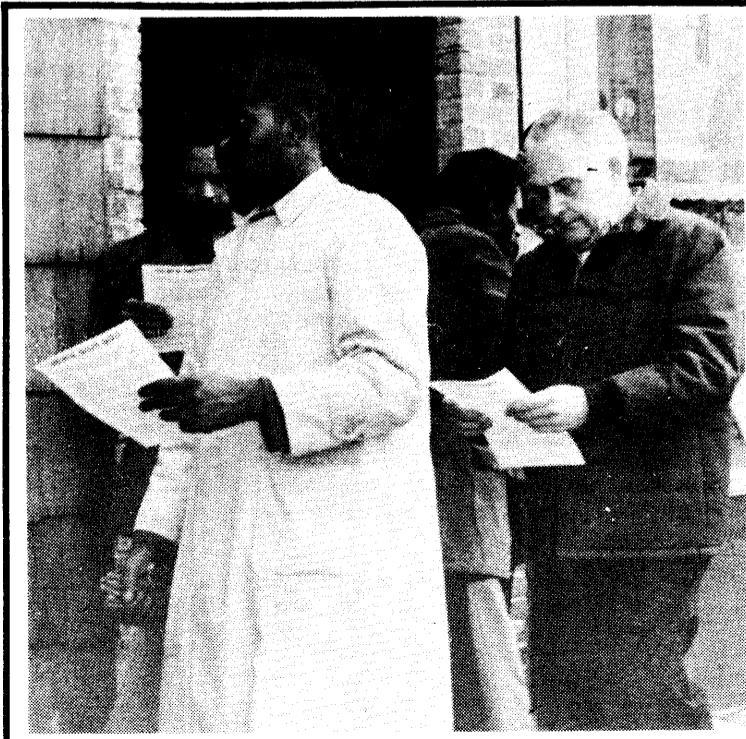
## The Development Of American Pragmatism

### THE WAY FORWARD

# 4000 HARD HATS MARCH AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT



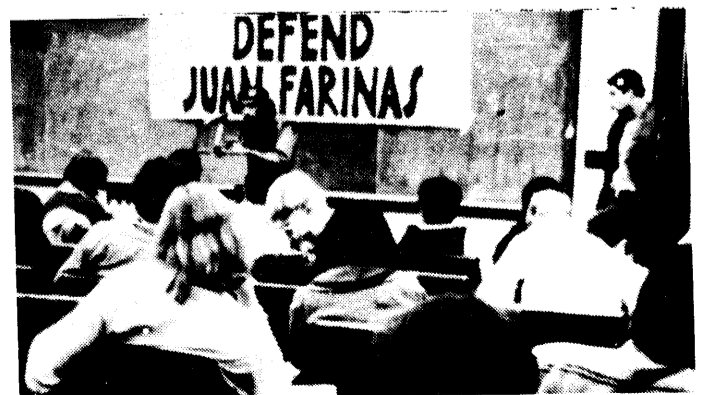
Construction workers arrive at San Francisco City Hall on top of truck to demand more jobs and to protest the growing unemployment in the construction trades.



## UAW Ranks Fight To Overturn GM Sellout

Auto workers on way to vote at Tarrytown take opposition caucus leaflet urging a no vote on contract.

## Black Panthers, Trade Unionists, Rally To Farinas Defense



Victor Martinez addresses Columbia Farinas meeting.

## Nixon Beefs Up US Red Squad

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Nixon Administration is going ahead full blast to convert the "ideological victory" of the elections, claimed by Agnew, into practical, concrete policies for driving back the working class, with witch-hunting, red baiting and repression.

This is the only meaning of the appointment, nine days after the elections, of a new head for the recently revitalized Internal Security Division of the Justice Department.

This follows Nixon's widely publicized decision to add 1000 FBI men to a special squad for work on the campuses in cases of "student violence," as well as the new activity of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, headed by James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

Robert Mardian, a close friend of Attorney General John Mitchell, and Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, was made Assistant Attorney General in charge of Internal Security on November 12.

Mardian is a conservative Goldwater Republican who previously served as a general counsel in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. He was most noted there for his stalwart efforts to ease desegregation guidelines in the South.

At Mardian's appointment, Attorney General Mitchell said that the Administration would ask Congress to pass "new anti-subversive legislation" when it convenes in January. Although he did not mention the legislation specifically, it is clear that he was referring to the "anti-subversion" bill introduced by Eastland, chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The meaning of this appointment should not be lost on any class conscious worker, student, and militant. The Justice Department is beefing up the Internal Security Division for the first time since its red-baiting reached a peak in the McCarthy era. The Criminal Division, which can prosecute for violations of the anti-riot laws, and for violations of the laws against destruction of federal property, and for bombings, is not sufficient to contain the opposition to government policies. The Civil Rights Division, which



New Top Cop is reactionary Mardian.

has been used to prosecute antiwar activists as recently as two weeks ago (see article in last issue of Bulletin on Howard Mechanic, St. Louis activist sentenced to five years in prison for throwing a fire-cracker at a cop) is not sufficient.

The Justice Department is consolidating this division, and bringing in a right wing racist official to head it up, in order to prepare for an onslaught against radicals and working class militants.

But this onslaught, unlike that of the McCarthy era, takes place in a period of rising working class combativity and a period of deeper crisis for capitalism internationally.

In strike after strike, the working class has shown that it will fight back tooth and nail against all attempts by the capitalists to lower their standards of living.

It is this crisis which forces the capitalists to witchhunt and red bait, trying to divide the working class. It was Mitchell last November at the peace demonstration of 800,000 in Washington, who said that it was "like the Bolshevik Revolution." This above all else is what they fear, the specter of socialist revolution.

## EDITORIAL

# The Road Forward To 1972

Right on the heels of the demonstration against Nixon by unemployed workers and youth in San Jose, four thousand angry construction workers encircled San Francisco's City Hall demanding jobs. These actions show the way forward in fighting Nixon and his plans to drive back the living standards of American workers.

While thousands of trade unionists and unemployed workers are taking up the battle against the vicious unemployment plans of the employers and the government thousands of rank and file auto workers are opening a struggle to reject the attempts of Nixon, GM, and the trade union bureaucracy to hold back the wage offensive. The growing movements among the ranks of the UAW against the Woodcock-GM agreement reflects the breaking away of a section of the organized working class from the stranglehold of the trade union bureaucracy.

The American working class is straightening its back and preparing to do battle not only with the employers but the government. It is precisely in this explosive situation that the 1970 elections occurred, and it is this situation that both the strengths of the working class and the dangers it faces as the capitalist class prepares its strategy are posed.

There should be absolutely no question about the meaning of the 1970 elections. Nixon DID win a victory. Nixon used the whole campaign to strengthen the forces which are willing and able to crack down full scale on the working class and the youth.

While Nixon will bleed everything he can out of the trade union bureaucracies' willingness to help discipline the workers as in the auto settlement, he and the capitalist class are preparing for more. This is the significance of the election of James Buckley.

Nixon is preparing to step up the witchhunt, to try to behead the working class movement and the youth of its fighters. The government's job for the bankers and the employers is to break the back of the labor movement to reduce the working class to unemployment and poverty.

This strategy is what makes so treacherous the smug complacency of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP, following in the footsteps of the CP and the trade union bureaucracy and the liberals, has proclaimed the elections a repudiation of Nixon.

In a front page article of the Militant of Nov. 20, entitled "What happened to Nixon's 'great silent majority?'" the SWP states: "...Nixon's attempt to roll up a big vote of repudiation of 'radicals' backfired, and failed to such an extent that the Republican high command is now discussing the 'mistake' they made with this strategy."

Further on in the article the SWP makes a big case to deny the dangers and significance of the Buckley election. "The election of James Buckley, brother of the ultraconservative spokesman William F. Buckley, on the Conservative ticket in New York, represented a strengthening of the Conservative Party in New York, but not a 'shift to the right' among New Yorkers."

The SWP echoes the liberal political pundits, riding on cloud nine and above all seeking to conceal the class confrontation that is brewing. Because the SWP does not begin from the class struggle, it sees no dangers.

The logic of the position of both the CP and the SWP in maintaining that Nixon was repudiated and defeated is that Nixon can be repudiated and defeated without the independent mobilization politically of the working class.

The struggle is sharply posed between the offensive of the working class expressed in San Francisco, San Jose, and the auto strike, and the preparations the ruling class are making to beat back this movement, expressed in the Buckley election.

The biggest danger today is that the working class is moving into big battles breaking from the chains of the trade union bureaucracy and confronting not only the bosses but the government, but is moving with many of the illusions of the past. The role of the CP and the SWP is to bolster the trade union bureaucracy and the liberals by perpetuating these illusions.

Nixon and the employers are preparing for war. We must prepare the counteroffensive by taking forward the struggles of San Jose, San Francisco and the auto strike which are today laying the groundwork for the real alternative to Nixon in 1972—a labor party.

We must organize for this now in these struggles in the labor movement, among the youth and the unemployed which will build this powerful political weapon and spell doom to Nixon and his class.

This means fighting for the wage offensive, the full escalator clause, the fight against unemployment with the demand for 30 for 40, the fight against the employers' pleas of bankruptcy with the demand for nationalization without compensation under workers control. It means the class defense of all victims of the government's repression. This is the only road forward!

## Nixon Sends Birthday Greetings To Buckley's National Review



BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

William F. Buckley, leading right wing intellectual, threw a party last week to celebrate the 15th birthday of his magazine, the National Review.

The party came just one week after the election of James Buckley, Conservative Party candidate, to the Senate from New York State.

The National Review, long an advocate of anti-labor laws, "law and order," greater freedom for big business, is owned by the Buckley family, which also owns the Catawba Corporation, worth over \$110 million dollars in oil fortune.

The politics of the National Review and of James Buckley are consciously, viciously and thoroughly anti-labor and anti-union, calling for the use of anti-trust laws against trade unions, for an

end to the minimum wage laws, and supporting the "open shop," which would destroy the union movement.

The theme of "law and order" which dominated Buckley's campaign means not only a more vicious crackdown on student dissent, and black militants, but a real crackdown on the rights of labor. The "new toughness in law enforcement" that Buckley spoke about in his campaign will be aimed at the working class, at driving back and defeating the working class.

It is no surprise at all then, that Agnew sent a letter of congratulations to the National Review birthday party. And it is no surprise that Nixon thought the occasion important enough to send a cable of congratulations to the National Review from Paris where he was attending memorial services for DeGaulle: "I regret that my unforseen absence from the country prevents me from taking a more personal part in your celebration."

The character of Nixon's campaign against the working class, to drive back their standards of living and preserve the profit and stability of the capitalist system, becomes even clearer. From the vicious campaign of racism and repression, to the rising unemployment and inflation, to the continuation of the war in Vietnam, the influence of the organized right wing forces, including those like the National Review, will have a big part to play in Nixon's plans.

More than ever a political alternative for the working class, the construction of a labor party, and the fight for socialism becomes a burning necessity.

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# Workers Rally Against Unemployment

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 16—Over 4,000 "hardhats" ringed City Hall here today in a demonstration against unemployment. The line of construction workers, hundreds loaded onto heavy equipment—earth movers, ditchdiggers, dump trucks, flatbed trucks, pickups—moving around City Hall stretched for over a mile.

The idea for the demonstration began as a protest against building height restrictions proposed by the Board of Supervisors, who want to "preserve the natural beauty of the waterfront." The construction workers wanted no limits on the height of buildings because the proposed high rise construction would provide many more jobs and more work.

But although the construction union leaders tried to contain the demonstration simply to the heights of buildings, and to build it in conjunction with the construction companies, the workers turned it into a demonstration against unemployment.

## DYNAMITE

Thousands of workers turned out. There were whole contingents of apprentices, of Mexican youth, of black and white workers, young and old. Many workers marched off their job sites to go to the demonstration. Despite the fact that some of the companies were backing the demonstration, at one site at least, workers were fired for leaving showing that the company was aware of the political dynamite of workers marching for

## Lindsay Lays Off 500 City Workers

STOP PRESS—NEW YORK, Nov. 19—Today Mayor Lindsay laid off 500 city workers. These are the first layoffs of city workers since the Depression. As the contract expiration dates for many of the major city unions approach, Lindsay is declaring war on the city labor movement.

Lindsay is carrying out his threat to institute payless paydays and to layoff city workers. A few months ago when Lindsay made these threats, Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37, said it could not happen. Now he says it is "disgraceful" and a "tragedy." It is precisely Gotbaum's policies which have opened the door for Lindsay.

The ranks of city labor must demand that their leaders act now to answer Lindsay by calling a mass demonstration at City Hall against these attacks. It is clear that these layoffs of provisional workers are just the beginning.

The city unions whose contracts are coming up for negotiation must begin now to organize a joint struggle declaring that if one union goes out, all city unions go out. At the same time the city unions must let Lindsay know that if one civil service employee is laid off, the entire city will be closed down in a general strike.

This is the campaign which the SSEU-371 Committee For New Leadership is preparing to take forward in the city labor movement.

## UAW Ranks Fight To Overturn GM Contract

BY DAN FRIED

TARRYTOWN, N.Y., Nov. 17—As the voting began on the tentative GM contract, nearly two thousand workers of UAW Local 664 (Chevrolet, North Tarrytown) jammed into North Tarrytown's Strand Theater for a meeting and vote on the contract.

Feelings against the contract among the workers in the chassis section was running high. The overwhelming sentiment of the workers we spoke to was that the contract should be voted down. As one old-timer put it, when asked what he thought about the contract, "Terrible. It's the worst contract we ever had, and I've been in the union a long time. I'm retired now, but I was president of this local from 1945-48."

Most of the workers felt that the vote would definitely be to REJECT both the local contract and the national pact. One of the workers told us that perhaps 75-85 percent of the workers are voting "NO." "In my section," he said "it's no, no, no. If they announce an acceptance, I think something's wrong. I'm worried about what happens when they count the votes."

Outside the meeting, supporters of the Rank and File Committee 664 distributed

more jobs.

The fact that this turned into a political demonstration at City Hall is shown by the signs carried by many workers. "Waterfront Project will beautify San Francisco. How long since you've worked? It's been three months for me." "Building Trades Means Jobs for Minority Hiring." "No work, But Taxed, Taxed, Taxed!" and another one "Less Taxes, More Jobs."

Every section of the construction trades was represented as the workers marched en masse into City Hall and sat down in the Board of Supervisors meeting. The Board was so petrified that they cancelled any decision on building heights for 90 days in response.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

The demonstration was supported by the longshoremen and seamen. Harry Bridges, head of the ILWU originally supported the demonstration as a demonstration for the high rise waterfront project, but in the course of the last week, he changed and emphasized that it was a demonstration for jobs and against unemployment.

There are large numbers of minority workers in sections of the building trades such as laborers, carpenters and painters. They were there in force as well as contingents of apprentices.

This demonstration confirms the meaning of the San Jose demonstration. In San Jose and now in San Francisco the workers are demonstrating that they are

## Black Panthers, Unionists Rally To Defend Farinas

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, N.Y., Nov. 17—Support for the defense of Juan Farinas has grown considerably in the past week. Farinas, a young trade unionist, faces five frameup charges of violation of the Selective Service Act. If convicted on these charges, he could be sentenced to 25 years in federal prison, and a \$50,000 fine.

There are a number of important new sponsors of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. These include the Black Panther Party, Al Evanoff, Vice President of District 65; John Anderson, former President of UAW Fleetwood Local 15, Detroit; and Dave Dellinger, one of the Chicago Eight defendants, as well as the Puerto Rican Students Union. Brooklyn College SDS and Columbia SDS have voted to sponsor the Farinas Defense.

A meeting of over 50 people was held at Columbia University in support of Farinas. Victor Martinez, a spokesman

a leaflet, headed "Vote No On Cheap Contract." They aggressively urged a NO vote, some of the distributors shouting that "they're only giving us 20¢ an hour more the first year," and "the railroad workers rejected \$1.32 an hour increase."

## DENOUNCED

The leaflet denounced the contract on the key questions of wages, inadequate cost of living escalator, the failure to win 30 and out REGARDLESS of age, and the retreat on fringe benefits and working conditions. The leaflet stated: "It is necessary to bury this settlement and put GM on notice that the strike will go on until we get a contract we can live with for the next three years."

A Workers League contingent also campaigned outside the theater for a NO vote and sold nearly 100 copies of the Bulletin with the banner headline, "GM STRIKE MUST GO ON—VOTE DOWN SELLOUT—hold out for \$1.25/hour first year."

Outside the meeting the hacks were busy spreading the lie that some locals had already returned to work, while inside the meeting, the bureaucracy suppressed all discussion on the contract from the floor. In the meeting the leadership attacked members of the Rank and File Committee as "outside elements." They began the meeting with a lengthy report recommending approval. With no dis-



Some of the 4,000 construction workers march in orderly picket line in front of City Hall.

not going to stand by and do nothing as unemployment and inflation slash away at their standard of living. What took place in the San Jose demonstration where unemployed aerospace workers spear-

headed the demonstration against Nixon was brought forward even more in the demonstration at San Francisco's City Hall against unemployment, by thousands of "hard hats."

for the inmates who participated in the prison rebellions last month, spoke in defense of Farinas. Martinez pointed out that the same racist repressive forces attacking Juan, are attacking the prisoners who rebel against an inhuman oppressive system. He urged that those at the meeting "get involved in the movement, because you might be next."

Farinas spoke, stressing the point that this attack is not simply on him personally, but is part of the attacks on all militants. They are aimed at dividing the working class through racism, and using repression against all those who fight against the war and against the capitalist system.

He also emphasized the need to broaden the campaign of the Defense Committee, to take the case into the trade union movement, as well as among students, and Spanish speaking workers and youth.

The meeting was covered by Columbia radio station WKCR. About \$30 was raised for the Defense Committee, and a meeting is planned for this Thursday at Columbia to map out a campaign against the attack on Farinas.

The campaign is being taken forward at New York City Community College, where a benefit dance is being sponsored by the

Workers League Club, Black Unity and Latin Unity, to raise money for the defense effort.

Tables have been set up on many campuses, and money collected for the defense, as well as thousands of brochures being passed out. Tables with literature on the case, both in English and Spanish have been set up in Spanish neighborhoods with a lot of success.

The Student Mobilization Committee at a meeting on November 14 at NYU reaffirmed its sponsorship of the Defense Committee.

The fight for this case, and for the defense of Juan Farinas now has to be taken with renewed effort into the ranks of the labor movement. The fight for sponsorship among trade unionists on the West Coast and in the Midwest has now begun in earnest, and will strengthen the fight against this frameup. Plans are being made for representatives of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee to speak in Chicago and Minneapolis as well as other areas. Sponsorship from the labor movement, socialist, student, and black and Latin organizations, as well as financial support, is essential to win the fight against this frameup.

## UAW Local 239 President Opposes GM Contract --Predicts Big No Vote

cussion permitted, one member of the Rank and File Committee attempted to grab the mike which was promptly turned off. But he was able to shout that 31¢ of the first year wage "increase" was catch-up pay (owed the workers from the previous contract).

## NO

After about 2/3 of the membership had left the meeting, the bureaucrats took a straw poll voice vote of those who remained. Many of these were shop committeemen who owe their jobs to the leadership, so the vote was quite close.

Some of the workers who voted against the contract felt that the International would be able to control the vote nationally and get approval. Others, however, said that they hoped a big NO vote at Tarrytown would encourage workers in other locals to turn it down. They realized that a national organization of the ranks was needed to overcome the isolation of the locals, and were very glad to hear that the Workers League would be campaigning with a leaflet for a big NO vote at the Linden, N.J. GM Local 595.

The tremendous hostility to the International and local leadership expressed at Tarrytown shows that more than ever before the way is open for the building of a national rank and file caucus in the UAW.

STOP PRESS. Baltimore, Nov. 18—Al Stockton, President of UAW Local 239 has taken a strong stand against Woodcock's sellout. He told the Bulletin today:

"In answer to your question as to my opinion on what my membership will do in the vote on the national contract, I feel that there will be an overwhelming rejection of the national agreement from this local union. Nothing in the national agreement was negotiated covering dental care; there was no advance made in the prepayment on the prescription program; the cost of living clause for GM does not go into effect until Dec. 6 of next year. We will continue to receive the 5¢ cost of living until then. The holidays don't actually start until next year; the extra week vacation for men who have 20 or more years seniority does not come into effect until 1972.

"The wage increase, although it's 49 to 61¢ per hour, the average in my plant would be 50¢ an hour, and of that 50¢ there's only actually 17¢ in new money. There is 26¢ of that money which is owed to us from the overage letter of the 1967 agreement, and since April of this year there has been an increase in the cost of living of 6 or 7¢ an hour."



Grand Duke of Luxembourg with Nixon mourn the passing of old Buddy Charles DeGaulle.

## Capitalists And Stalinists Pay Their Respects To DeGaulle

BY MELODY FARROW

Imperialist thieves and their Stalinist allies from all over the world gathered in France last week to pay their respects to one of the staunchest defenders of the capitalist system, General Charles De Gaulle.

Nixon quickly forgot the U.S.'s falling out with De Gaulle over monetary questions and personally rushed to the funeral. There he also met the Tory Prime Minister Heath and as well as Harold Wilson, head of the British Labor Party. The man who was supposed to symbolize "freedom" was praised by fascist Franco as a "great statesman" and the Egyptian government called him "one of the few great men of the century." With a sure class instinct the international bourgeoisie laid aside their squabbles to pay tribute to a man who had played such a key role in saving capitalism from revolution in the post war period.

### MOSCOW

Not to be outdone the Stalinists overflowed with slavish gratitude to the French leader they had so closely collaborated with. Moscow radio affirmed that De Gaulle "had won a lasting place in French history" by "laying the form for the many links between the two countries." The Polish Stalinists breathed relief that France had not gone socialist by calling him "a symbol of France, great, free, eternal." Last but not least the French Stalinists lauded his "great role in the life of our country." Even the Chinese leadership sent a wreath to the funeral!

The long friendship between De Gaulle and the Stalinists was based on his avowed goal, which was doomed to fail, of economic independence from the United States and the establishment of economic, trade and technical agreements with the Soviet Union. Together De Gaulle and the French Communist Party collaborated in dismantling the Resistance movement after World War II and in restoring the capitalist

state machine. This was carried out under the slogan of French CP leader, Maurice Thorez, "One State, One Army, One Police." De Gaulle in fact formed a coalition with the Stalinists to whip the working class back into line.

### ALGERIA

In 1958 De Gaulle returned to power and launched a ruthless drive to crush the Algerian Revolution. The Stalinists did an about face and the Kremlin issued a statement that Algeria should remain within the French colonial empire.

DeGaulle was a Bonapartist who liked to depict himself as the "father" of France, guardian of national unity who spoke for all French people, regardless of class. This myth was shattered by the revolutionary upsurge of the French working class in May-June 1968 and the General Strike which demanded the ouster of DeGaulle. Although the Stalinists were able to betray the revolution and temporarily save French capitalism, DeGaulle was defeated a year later in April 1969 when the French workers voted no in a referendum on a new constitution and forced his resignation.

### TOGETHER

The leaders of world capitalism mourn DeGaulle at a time when the working class is on the offensive. They stood together at his funeral as they will stand together in driving down the conditions of the working class. The French working class does not mourn DeGaulle. They are preparing the next stage in their struggle to throw out all the representatives of the ruling class and their Stalinist allies.

## Russian Cellist Joins Defense Of Solzhenitsyn

BY LOU BELKIN

In a series of letters addressed to Pravda, Ivestia, Literaturnaya, Gazeta, the writers' union weekly and to Sovetskaya Kultura, another cultural journal, Mstislav Rostropovich, the world's greatest cellist, has openly come out in defense of author, Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

Solzhenitsyn was recently attacked by the Soviet bureaucracy for planning to journey to Stockholm in order to receive the Nobel Prize. Solzhenitsyn has been residing at the home of Rostropovich, and it is now certain that the virtuoso musician will also come under the heel of the bureaucracy.

The name of Rostropovich is now added to the thirty-seven oppositionists who have taken up the defense of Solzhenitsyn, himself a prisoner in Stalin's labor camps after the war and who has, to this day, remained firm in his hatred of Stalinist repression and censorship, both before and after Stalin's death.

### DESTROYING

Rostropovich, who remembers well the 1948 public utterances made by the bureaucracy against the greatest of all Soviet composers, Prokofiev and Shostakovich and Khatchaturian, has demanded that the authorities immediately halt the vicious slanders against Solzhenitsyn. Such malice, he declared, suggests a return to Stalin's practices of "destroying talented people whose works did not conform to official Soviet view."

Although prominent writers and artists such as Solzhenitsyn, Sinyavsky and Daniel,

have been imprisoned and excommunicated by the bureaucracy, the history of purges and murders directed against the great Russian artists has yet to be fully told. For it was Stalin who not only destroyed the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky and the Left Opposition, and generals of the caliber of I. A. Yakir, but masterminded the extermination of Isaac Babel in 1937, perhaps the greatest of twentieth century short story writers and a sympathizer of Trotsky.

Additionally, through the Stalinist bureaucracy's lackeys in the ministries of culture and film, both Prokofiev and Serge Eisenstein, the great film director, suffered ruthless censorship and public abuse. Stalin attacked them precisely because they sought to depict truthfully the history of the Russian Revolution and sought to develop new ways of expressing themselves in the fields of film and music. These new methods undermined Stalin's conceptions of proletarian art and a return to the simple rustic way of expressing things, to get ideas across to the broadest possible masses and always to glorify the "people."

Eisenstein was compelled to edit "Ten Days That Shook the World" at least ten times, because it depicted Trotsky, Buk-

## Strike Wave Sweeps Spain As Workers Fight Fascist Rule

BY ED SMITH

The first wave of political strikes to hit Spain since the victory of the Franco fascists in the Civil War began on November 3. Over 50,000 workers throughout the country walked out in opposition to the proposed new fascist labor code and for the release of political prisoners held by the Franco regime.

Sitdown strikes were held in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Bilbao, and other cities. Thousands gathered at the Madrid railway station for a demonstration called by the illegal workers' commissions. Hundreds of young workers and students marched through the streets of Madrid and other cities chanting slogans against the fascist regime.

Nor has the movement stopped since November 3. In the days since, thousands of workers throughout Spain struck in defense of workers' leaders arrested for organizing the November 3 actions, and against the slave labor working conditions of Franco's Spain. Club wielding police

## MARTINEZ INDICTED ON VICIOUS FRAMEUP CHARGES

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

QUEENS, N.Y., Nov. 16—Victor Martinez, a representative of the inmates who rebelled in New York City prisons last month, was indicted today on charges of conspiracy, grand larceny, kidnapping, extortion and unlawful imprisonment. Martinez, who was freed on bail after sham hearings held in the prison right after the rebellions, was not present in court.

At the same time Lumumba Shakur and J. William King, both supporters of the Black Panther Party, were arraigned on similar charges stemming from the same incident.

The indictments against Martinez, who is in the Inmates Liberation Front of the Young Lords Party, and King and Shakur of the Panthers were probably delayed until now because the city was aware that they had supporters outside of the prisons who would fight against these indictments. The treatment of some of the prisoners is unknown because they have no communication with the outside.

Now these victims of ruling class "justice" must be defended. The viciousness of the attack on the prisoners is exactly the kind of "justice" the ruling class has in store for all who oppose their system and fight against it.

harin, Kamenev, Zinoviev and the other Bolsheviks. With each new purge in 1936-1937, new elisions were made in the film. Both Eisenstein and Prokofiev died broken men, prevented from realizing their tremendous potentials.

So it may be with Rostropovich. Although he has travelled widely and given concerts in most of the areas of the world, the threat that he may never again leave Russia grows. The bureaucracy, unable to contain the growing opposition of intellectuals and youth to the rehabilitation of Stalin's censorship and repression, lashes out and puts the opposition in mental hospitals and camps or one of three special prisons reserved for such "critics."

### DANGER

The literary hacks such as Yevtushenko, Sholokhov and Kochetov, who at first praised Solzhenitsyn as "perhaps Russia's greatest living writer" have quickly jumped into line, as they and their peers have done so many times in the past. For they seek to defend not only their privileges but the privileges of those whom Rostropovich questions. "Why," asks Rostropovich, "do people absolutely incompetent in this field so often have the final word?"

There is a great danger that if Solzhenitsyn goes to collect his prize in Stockholm, he may not be allowed to return to Russia. Other musicians such as Richter and Oistrach, who like Rostropovich, refused to denounce Pasternak in 1958 must now come out in defense of Solzhenitsyn.

have invaded Madrid University several times to disperse student meetings protesting against the repression. Artists occupied part of the world famous Prado museum to demonstrate their opposition to the arrest of an art critic who had spoken out for the amnesty demand. The strikes have spread to the Spanish colony of the Canary Islands, where communications have been snarled by a transport workers' strike.

### POLITICAL

The great significance of these strikes lies in the fact that they are the first POLITICAL walkouts since the defeat of the working class in the Civil War of the 1930s. The reasons for them are perfectly clear.

The labor code "reforms," now before the puppet Spanish parliament, would keep genuine trade unions in a state of illegality. Instead, the present "syndicates"—which include the employers—would be continued. Strikes would be outlawed. The Minister for Syndical Affairs would have the power to fire any official or dissolve any organization he saw fit, the government would nominate all syndicate heads, and these would be required to swear allegiance to the principles of the fascist state!

Of course, workers would have "freedom under the law," but since the law defines all action for higher wages and better working conditions as punishable as "conspiracy," this "freedom" has a very empty ring to it.

The other demand that the tens of thousands of strikers raised was for amnesty for the political prisoners held by the Franco regime. In particular the Spanish workers and students are defending sixteen Basque socialists facing execution or long prison sentences on frameup murder charges before a military court in Burgos. The trial, which is to be held in secret, has been postponed to the end of this month. In previous trials, defendants have been executed within 24 hours after conviction.

### NEW

The harsh brutality of Spanish fascism is nothing new. What is new is that the Spanish working class is fighting back as never before against the Franco regime. Not even the iron heel of fascism can keep the Spanish workers from joining the offensive of the world working class against the crisis torn capitalist system.

It is precisely at this time that the fight for revolutionary leadership of the working class becomes so important. The Stalinists, whose leader, Santiago Carillo, says cynically that "Spanish socialism will march with a hammer and sickle in one hand and a (Catholic) cross in the other," proposes the same treacherous Popular Front of subordinating the workers' movement to bankrupt liberalism that strangled the Spanish Revolution and led to the victory of the fascists in the Civil War. At the same time the Soviet bureaucracy moves toward recognition of the Franco regime and the Polish Stalinists have sunk to gutter level by shipping scab coal that enabled the fascists to break the Asturian miners' strike.

But just as the world class struggle bursts through the fascist straitjacket, so will the struggle for a revolutionary workers' leadership burst through the bonds of reformism and popular frontism. This essential task will only be taken up and accomplished through the struggle to build a Trotskyist leadership.

### TWIN CITIES PUBLIC MEETING

'LABOR TODAY AND THE FIGHT FOR MARXISM'  
speaker: Fred Mueller  
Thurs. Dec. 3 7:30 pm

Coffman Union  
Rm 343

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612-336-4700

# MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM



A Series of Lectures by Tim Wohlforth

WE MUST FIRST of all put pragmatism within the framework of its American context. Engels said in a letter to Sorge, a German-American Marxist:

"For good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions, they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short every kind of imbecility that was not directly harmful to business and which is now very servicable for making the masses stupid."(1)

In this one quote we get very much at the heart of what American pragmatism came out of and what American thought has been for a long time. It is precisely because the U.S. developed without any feudal past, the U.S. was from its origins a bourgeois country, that the sharp edge of the struggle against medieval metaphysics never took place and was never necessary. American thinking from its earliest days lacked even that sharpness, that sharp tendency at least in the direction of materialism of the early empiricists of England.

As Engels pointed out, the Americans were very happy to import from Europe every possible form of mysticism, reli-

gion and metaphysical confusion just as long as it did not get in the way of conducting business. America was first of all and above all the most bourgeois of countries. Trotsky in fact points out that precisely because American capitalism began without this feudal past, and developed by the time of World War I into the leading and most powerful capitalist country, American capitalism is closer to the model of capitalism which Marx discusses in Capital, than even the British capitalism.

were from their birth empirical. The so-called empiricism in the U.S. has always been a cover for idealism. It is significant that Novack, the philosopher of the Socialist Workers Party, states quite the opposite. He says American philosophy:

"Has spontaneously spurned scholasticism, since it was born after the rise of bourgeois society, the victories of the democratic revolutions, and under the auspices of Protestantism. Thanks to the

of it was religious. Jonathan Edwards was one of the most famous of all American preachers (speaking before what at that time were massive audiences). He toured the country, particularly New England.

Benjamin Franklin was not a particularly religious man. However, Benjamin Franklin is the author of what you might call a typically American approach to the question of ethics. Franklin stated that in general the man of high moral character is also the man who has been most successful in the business world and in other pursuits. From this Franklin concluded that being virtuous "pays off." This view became known in philosophy as "banal pragmatism."

**EMERSON**

The most typical and most influential philosopher of middle nineteenth century America was Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emerson's philosophy had a deep impact on the founders of American pragmatism: Pierce, James and Dewey. But more than that—Emerson's philosophy was as typically representative of America in its initial period of capitalist development

These lectures were given this Fall at Workers League Weekend Schools in the Catskills and at Monterey. The material is presented here essentially as they were given except that Lectures Three and Four were originally one lecture. This material has been expanded to include material originally given as part of the Trotsky Memorial Lecture Series under the title: "Trotsky's Struggle Against Revisionism."

## Lecture Two--The Development Of American Pragmatism

**IDEALISM**

The conclusion we draw from this is that contrary to what is usually held, American thought has been more imbued with idealism than that of any other country. It was not just that Americans

expansion and stability of capitalism in this country, it has yet to arrive at an acceptance and assimilation of dialectical materialism."(3)

Here we have the view of an America which automatically and spontaneously spurns idealism but has not yet reached dialectical materialism. It stands there somewhere in between idealism and materialism. This is incorrect. The central characteristic of American thought from its very origins has been a completely eclectic combination of the most absurd idealism with certain practical conclusions drawn from empirical philosophy and used as the basis of development of American industry and science.

We will see this if we look at some of the early American thinkers. The method of pragmatism permeated early American thinkers who were openly idealist just as the theoretical outlook of idealism stands very much at the heart of pragmatism.

**EDWARDS**

For instance, it is of course no accident that the first American philosophers and thinkers were religious leaders. Perhaps the most influential was Jonathan Edwards, who was the leader of the Puritan movement in the colonial days of the U.S., and was a Calvinist. His views are described as follows by one commentator:

"His attempt to bring together Calvinist theology, idealism, Lockian empiricism, and the world view of Newton constituted the first major expression of American thought."(4)

Here you have a good picture of American thinking. What Edwards did was bring together the theology of Calvin, brought over from Scotland, a dose of idealism from Europe, a good bit of empiricism from Locke, a little bit of very mechanistic physics from Newton and combine it all together. At the same time, of course, the central thrust



Jonathan Edwards mixed a bit of empiricism with his theological garbage.

as was pragmatism in the period when American industry reached its present heights and began to challenge England for dominance of the world.

Emerson's philosophy was openly, blatantly idealist. How absurd it is for Novack to claim that American philosophy "spontaneously spurned scholasticism" when the dominant American philosopher of the nineteenth century was an idealist. Perhaps Emerson rejected the logical aspect of scholastics but he definitely maintained its idealist core. At best we can say that Emerson disregarded the strength of the scholastics, their concern with the systematic development of thought, in order to maintain its totally negative features in idealism.

Emerson himself stated: "What is popularly called Transcendentalism among us is Idealism; as it appears in 1842... The world proceeds from the same spirit as the body of man. It is a remoter and inferior projection of God in the unconscious."(5)

Transcendentalism was a system which combined subjective idealism in the sense that you must look for truth within yourself, with an overview of the existence



America's revolution, Boston Massacre above, was NOT directed against a native feudal class but a foreign power. This dulled sharp edge of materialism in U.S.



of a "one" or a unity of a God which is virtually pantheistic and is reflected through all the natural world. It is an openly religious, openly idealist philosophy.

Emerson was also at the same time an advocate of individuality and non-conformity, and of course, one of the persons he had the most influence on was Thoreau who developed the theory of non-violence, individual action, and went to jail for refusing to pay taxes. A utopian communist view was developed by Emerson's followers at Walden Pond. A whole group in Boston was built around these idealist conceptions.

#### PRACTICAL

But at the same time Emerson was a very practical man and very much his approach towards questions, towards life was identical, even in the phrases by which he described things, with the pragmatists. For instance, he said "Only so much do I know as I have lived." (6) In other words, I know to the extent that I have lived. "Action is with a scholar subordinate, but it is essential. Without it he is not yet man, without it thought can never ripen to truth." (7) Thought can never ripen to truth without action, the intermediary of action. He also said: "Life is our dictionary." That is a good one. He said:

"I hear therefore with joy whatever is beginning to be said of the dignity and necessity of labor to every citizen. There is virtue yet in the hoe, in the spade, for the learned as well as unlearned hands." (8)

Emerson even developed a whole theory on the question of political economy in which he showed how immersion in commerce brings one closer to God. He was saying that since God is in everything, as well as in ourselves, through our own participation in action and activity and construction and doing things, we bring ourselves much closer to the workings of the Almighty. It is precisely in what appears to everyone to be pedestrian things like working on our homestead with our plowshare in front of us, working away in the textile mill or managing our firm, or out there fighting it out in the Stock Exchange, in these more pedestrian activities, we are actually communicating with God, who is expressed in all this activity and life and action.

Of course Emerson made some very extreme statements on the question of nonconformity and so on. He openly came out and said that the state is a regressive institution and he favored the abolition of the state. His method of abolishing it was somewhat different from Lenin's in the sense that he felt that the way to abolish the state would be if each person carried out the Golden Rule the state would no longer be needed and therefore it would disappear. In other words he was for the withering away of the state. But he thought one should begin the process by being moral oneself.

These views of course fit very much in to the period and the time. This was the period of the real beginnings of American capitalism. It was a period in which you had the first flush of American industry. It was a country in which there was a high degree of individuality and nonconformity was still possible. A large layer of the country was the petty bourgeoisie in the form of the small and independent farmer, and the industrial working class was just beginning to develop.

It is interesting that it was William James, one of the founders of American pragmatism, who said of Emerson, in a letter to his brother, "The reading of the divine Emerson, volume after volume, has done me a lot of good, thrown a strong practical light on my own path." (9)

It is also interesting that one of the major commentators on American philosophy refers to James as the central figure of what should be called a neo-transcendentalism in New England. (10) He saw pragmatism in actuality as a rebirth of Emerson's transcendentalism. That is, as a branch and development of idealist philosophy more than of empirical philosophy.

I want to discuss the question of the relationship of pragmatism to empiricism, and the relationship of their origins and where they come from. For instance, Novack again, who saw Americans spontaneously spurning scholasticism, sees pragmatism as a development of empiricism. He says:

"In its ideological neology, pragmatism is essentially a belated and updated branch of the empirical tradition, which has been the mainstream of philosophy among English speaking people for over three centuries." (11)

In a sense this is true. Pragmatism does root itself in the general outlook of

empiricism, of beginning with experience, and is opposed to the conception that philosophy develops out of the deductive method, out of logical development. But it is not true in another sense. What Novack ignores is the strong roots of idealism in America; the fact that the major American philosopher prior to the pragmatists was Emerson who was an open idealist.

#### RELIGIOUS

He ignores that early America was dominated by religious fanaticism, and religious trends of all sorts, that what would become minor trends in Europe would sweep into America and dominate it. For instance consider Methodism, which began as a revival movement in England. Franklin, who didn't go for this kind of business very much though he saw its value and worth for some, described in his *Autobiography* in early period before the revolution how Wesley and these other Methodists came over to the U.S. and just swept the country. They went from town to town—Boston, Philadelphia, New York, all the centers, and had massive revival meetings all around Methodism. The Methodist Church became in the United States the second or third largest church in the country in a matter of months.

There was this constant history of this in America. In the 19th century there were waves of religious fervor and revivalism and all kinds of idealist business. Engels himself refers to spiritualism, which was developed around the time Engels was writing in the latter part of the 19th century. It was in the United States that these things always grabbed hold.

Within the American environment you had all this idealism that developed on the one side combined with a sort of practical approach which allowed business to develop. It is important to understand that the men that formulated pragmatism, the philosophers who developed the pragmatic theory in the U.S., were idealists to begin with. James was an empiricist to the extent that he paid any attention to philosophy before he took up pragmatism. He was a follower of the Scottish



Benjamin Franklin, shown here with employee, was a 'banal pragmatist'.

school of empiricism. But he was at the same time a close follower of Emerson, who was an idealist.

#### PEIRCE

C. S. Peirce, who was the founder of pragmatism, and James based himself really on Peirce's work, was a Neo-Kantian philosopher to begin with. Dewey spent 15 years before he became a pragmatist trying to create his own Hegelian system in Chicago, only to give up Hegelianism for Kantianism. Dewey of course was the man who did the most to develop and defend pragmatism in the 20th century. He had a tremendous influence on the thinking of the American middle class intellectuals through his theories on education.

These leaders of pragmatism grew up in an atmosphere of idealism, philosophically. We have to realize that the birth of American pragmatism coincided with the development in Europe of Neo-Kantianism. Kant had actually written almost a century before, in the last part of the 18th century. There was this growth of Neo-Kantian philosophy which swept and dominated Europe and penetrated deeply into the United States.

This coincided with the development in Germany of the first open revisionism of Marxism by Eduard Bernstein. The Bernstein circle was Neo-Kantian philosophically. Developing out of Neo-Kantianism in Europe was the development of Machism, positivism or what is sometimes called, because of the way it was developed in England, logical positivism.



Emerson (above) developed an individualistic idealism which very much reflected the development of capitalism in his time. At right are typical industry of the period.

It was this that Lenin was fighting when he wrote *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in 1908. This was around the same time that pragmatism grew up. We will not go into positivism right now, we don't need to, except to say as Lenin said about pragmatism, there is no essential difference between pragmatism and positivism on the central question of materialism. Positivist theories take the same kind of stand that pragmatism takes on the question of philosophy. It was very much an international trend living within the framework of this Neo-Kantian idealism. Neo-Kantianism is developed in an empirical framework, in a very practical, experimental pseudo-scientific framework. This was happening all over the world.

#### TRUTH

Let us take a look at the basic conceptions of pragmatism within this framework. The most well known aphorism of pragmatism which comes from William James is the statement: "The truth is what works." (12) We have a term, a word. The only way in which we can discuss what that word means is to see what effect that word will have on reality—that is, through action. Only when words are transformed into some kind of active thing do they have any meaning. The words have to be formed into a proposition to be tested. They have to be tested in such a way as to change through action something, and at that point we can see what the words mean.

From what they view as an utilitarian or experimental operational definition, the pragmatists come to one of two conclusions. One is that pragmatism is a theory of meaning. This is what Peirce held. It is a way of saying what words mean. They mean what they will do to actually affect things in the world. The other conclusion, which is what James says, is that pragmatism is a theory of truth. You do more than say that you understand what a word means when you say the word is what it actually will do in the material world. What you are actually doing is you are defining what is true. What is true is what works, and it is true to the extent that it does work and it is true only in the sense of what it does. That is its meaning and that is its truth and there is no truth outside of that.

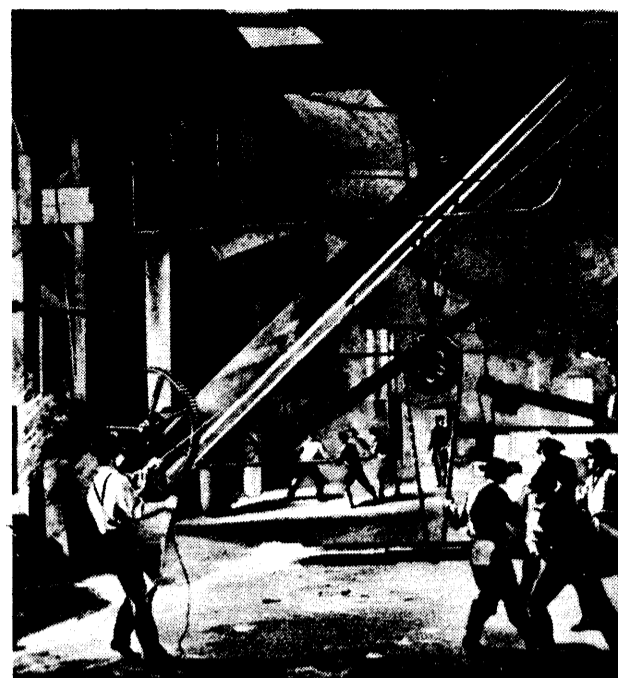
Pragmatism was even more than that. It was a general way of approaching questions of thought, as can be seen from this description by James. He says: "The attitude of looking away from first things, principles, categories, supposed necessities, and looking toward last things, fruits, consequences, and facts." (13)

The first thing he said about pragmatism is it is an attitude. We look away from metaphysics, a concern with categories, first causes, and we look at the effect—we look at effect. Pragmatism is interested in effect. It is interested in practical things, fruits, consequences, fact.

#### CASH VALUE

He says: "You must bring out of each work its practical cash value, set it at work within your stream of experience." (14)

He uses this term "cash value" very often. He says, the conception is you must cash it in. He knows he was using a common word, a common expression, but he wanted to get at the concept behind it. If you grow some corn, the value of that corn is only realized when it is sold on the market, and then you get a certain



cash value. That corn is worth what it will actually get you on the market. Well the same thing is true with a word. A word only means its cash value, that is, what it will actually do, change and effect in the world.

"Pragmatism is uncomfortable away from facts. The pragmatist clings to fact and concreteness. Observes truth at its work in particular cases, and generalizes." (15)

He then contrasts this with what he considers to be the view of the metaphysician. He says:

"Your typical ultra abstractionist fairly shudders at concreteness. Other things equal he positively prefers the pale and spectral. If the two universes were offered, he would always choose the skinny outline rather than the rich thicket of reality. Ideas which themselves are but part of our experience, become true just insofar as they help us to get into satisfactory relation with the other parts of our experience." (16)

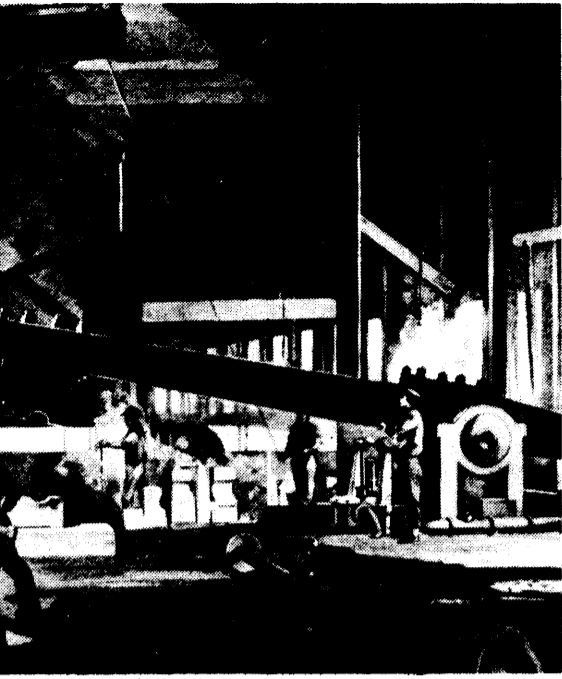
The truth of an idea—which he defines as being part of our experience (he does not consider the idea as part of material reality)—is related to the way in which it relates to other aspects of our experience. Of course he would then say it is true only to that extent and it only has that meaning.

Does pragmatism stand in a progressive relationship with classical empiricism? Well, first we have to notice that there are certain differences between empiricism and pragmatism. The differences lie on several levels, but most importantly and Dewey describes it this way, the empiricist looks at what has happened and the pragmatist is concerned with what will happen. (17) The empiricist simply is able to describe in a passive way reality and to say that this is true. The empiricist says these preceptions are accurate, correct because they match up with past experience.

The pragmatist's eye is on the future. He says that the truth of a statement now is how it will affect things later. His eyes are in a different direction. His emphasis is on the question of action. He sees the validation of a conception through the action of an individual in reality.

#### SKEPTICISM

To this extent it is different from empiricism. But it is different from empiricism in another sense. It develops



the idealism that was inherent in empiricism. It begins with Hume's skepticism and takes it much further. What was a question, a hesitancy with Locke, becomes an out and out declaration of war by the empiricists against materialism.

Novack takes on this question, as he does many other questions, with an "on the one hand and on the other hand" approach. He says:

"On one side they took up the cudgels against the idealists who refused to admit the natural origins and practical functions of the thought processes, and who defended unchanging principles and purely speculative, logical and contemplative essence of reason. By hammering away at these bulwarks of idealist error, the pragmatists helped bring philosophy closer to reality and the results of scientific discovery." (18)

He points out that on the other hand, it so happened, that they directed more of their criticisms against materialism than they did against idealism. He uses the same method to approach the question of empiricism itself. He says, about empiricism in general:

"The materialist conception of reality is squarely opposed not to empiricism, but to idealism." (19)

This is very important. In other words, when it comes to the question of empiricism as such, he sees the materialist conception of reality as being opposed to the idealist conception of reality but not squarely opposed to empiricism, which he sees lying on the one hand and on the other hand somewhere in between. He further states:

"Empiricism has many virtues, its reliance upon direct observation and the result of experiment, its closeness to practice, its preference for the facts, even at times its distrust of farflown abstractions in favor of sturdy common sense judgment are useful and necessary qualities." (20)

We run up against a problem here. Novack had earlier stated that in the U.S. there was no scholasticism, and that the bulwarks of idealism had been destroyed and therefore that the American people naturally were empirical. Well, if the American people are naturally empirical then how can we consider it to be a strength of pragmatism that it is critical of idealism. That we would take for granted. That is the natural aspect of it.

### OPPOSITION

What is going on here is that Novack does not see a square opposition between materialism and empiricism. This is because he does not see a square opposition between the bourgeoisie and the working class. If we recognize that materialism is the philosophy of the working class and empiricism is the philosophy of the bourgeoisie, and we can see no square opposition between them, this is to say that these two classes are not in square opposition. We notice that at that point where empiricism compromised with idealism was a point where in actual class relationship the bourgeoisie was compromising with the feudalists, with the landowners.

The first thing we must note is by not seeing materialism and empiricism in square opposition, Novack is reflecting an outlook which does not see the working class and the bourgeoisie in square opposition. Second, he underestimates the idealist conception of modern empiricism, the idealist core of it, which we have gone into here. He recognizes it but he underestimates its importance.

Here is where we get to this question of whether pragmatism is progressive or not. He abstracts the question of empiricism and pragmatism outside of their historical context. It is as if we can discuss whether empiricism is progressive or reactionary outside of when, and who, and what time. It is as if we could discuss whether capitalism is progressive or reactionary in that way. Capitalism was progressive in one period and is reactionary today. That is the dialectical method. If we look at empiricism abstractly, and say well on the one hand it has a progressive side and on the other hand it has a reactionary side, we have said nothing.

### HISTORICAL

Once we place empiricism within its historical context we can say that in the period of the birth of capitalism empiricism played an important role in the struggle against the idealist and metaphysical theories which were bulwarks of the old feudal order. In this sense empiricism was not only historically progressive in paving the way for a further development of the productive forces of man, but at the same time contributed to man's thought.

Once we say that, we can also see that in the more contemporary period the survival of empiricism of necessity becomes reactionary, that the so-called progressive side of empiricism becomes nothing more than a necessary cover for putting forward idealism in a period when idealism is being destroyed on the one hand by the development of the productive forces, by the development of science, and on the other hand is being reinforced by the irrationality of capitalism. That is why we must put the question into its historical context. If we do that we understand that we can in no sense see pragmatism as an advance over empiricism. It represents a necessary and unavoidable degeneration by the bourgeoisie in its thought since the days of empiricism.

Third, what is involved here in seeing no square opposition between empiricism and materialism is the conception that the Marxist role is only to correct that aspect of empiricism which is idealist. Marx stressed in his *Theses on Feuerbach* that aspect of empiricism which is methodologically formal, mechanical, one sided, that is undialectical. The whole fight for the materialist nature of logic, is so that logic can be developed in a dialectical way. It is not enough to defend materialism in general against idealism in general.

Finally, to even conclude that the attacks of the pragmatists upon idealists are progressive can be an error. If we understand the way in which the pragmatist attacks idealism, it takes the form of an attack on thought and theory. In attacking metaphysics, the pragmatist is attacking any validity and development of human thought. So we cannot just abstract out the pragmatist's criticisms of metaphysics from the fact that he is saying that facts are real, and the abstract is abstract and unreal. This way we miss the whole point.

### THEORY

Essentially in the guise of attacking idealism he is actually attacking theory and consciousness, and consciousness and theory are at this point absolutely essential for the development of the working class. Therefore the lack of consciousness and the lack of theory in the revolutionary party and in the working class is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of capitalism.

In this context, I want to refer comrades

to Marx's criticism of Proudhon in the *Poverty of Philosophy*. (21) Proudhon approached questions in the following manner. It is a very familiar method. Particularly the comrades who have had some experience in the labor movement and in the trade unions are going to recognize this method immediately, in themselves in most cases. Proudhon said:

"Well, we look at any particular category or existing thing, for instance, competition, and we will say that competition has a good side and a bad side. What we will do now is therefore remove the bad side and keep the good side."

He even did it with slavery. He showed that slavery had a good side, in that it led to a certain development of international trade. But it also had a bad side. It was not very good for the people who were slaves. So we want to get rid of the bad side and keep the good side. He developed this on competition, the sharpening of competition and on monopoly and competition. He said competition led to monopoly. Monopoly is bad; competition is good. What we will try to do is keep competition, but we will not have monopoly. He went through a whole bunch of categories and set it up this way.

This method is found in trade union work. For example, in the SSEU, you could say: "Well, reorganization has its good side and its bad side, maybe what we should do rather than get rid of the whole thing is get rid of the bad side and keep the good side."

### MENTAL

Marx said that that is all very well and good, but that is a mental process. You are finding the two opposites in the situation and mentally in your head removing the good from the bad. But the problem is that the good and the bad are united as a single entity in reality. It is only in the real historical development that these problems can be tackled. When you get down to the real historical development you see that this good and this bad together add up to the thing. The question is not so much the saving of the good and the getting rid of the bad, but of the actual struggle to change and create something else.

To say that empiricism has two sides is only to say that empiricism as a conception reflects reality because everything in reality has two sides at least. What we are saying is that empiricism has these two aspects and you cannot just separate out the positive from negative. The two together make empiricism. It is not a matter of looking at empiricism and patching it up.

It is a matter of understanding empiricism in its historical development and understanding that a period occurs when one side dominates the other and must destroy the other. You can say with Locke the man sought to reach out and understand material reality, destroy superstition and mysticism that had clouded men's minds for thousands of years, but he could not go all the way and he held back here and there. When you come to William James you can not say the same thing. Not at all. You can say that in order to cloud men's minds

it was necessary for William James to make some concessions to the world. They are not the same thing.

James said about pragmatism and its relation to materialism something very different from Novack, and he knew what he was talking about on this level because he was rather familiar with pragmatism. He said:

"Pragmatism, devoted that she be to facts, has no such materialistic bias as ordinary empiricism labors under." (22)

Devoted as pragmatism is to the facts, in no sense does it have a materialistic bias. To make the point even clearer, he then applied the pragmatic method to the question of religion, which was really his whole reason for grabbing hold of the pragmatic method. He was absolutely convinced that you could not prove God on the basis of deduction, he knew he



Novack, like Proudhon (above), thinks he can separate out the good from the bad.

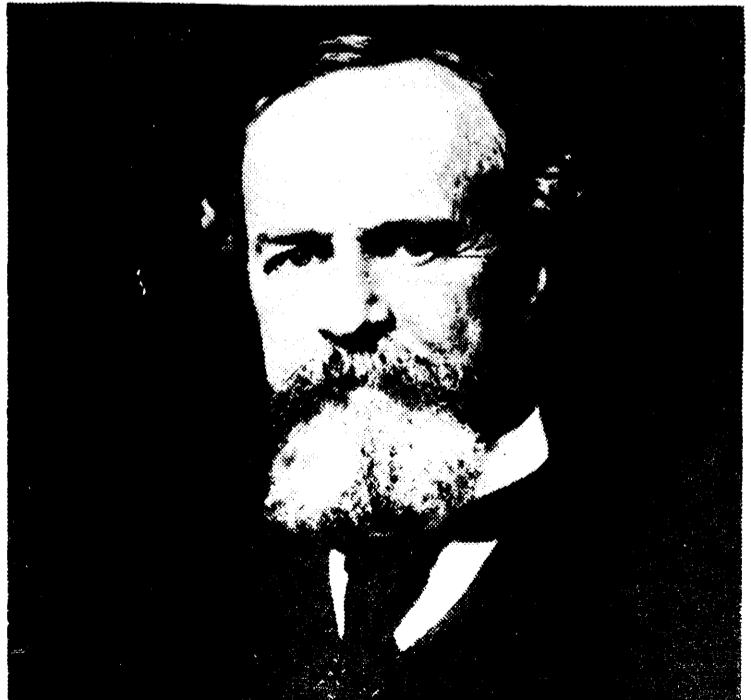
could not prove it by induction. He proposed to prove it by the pragmatic method.

### GOD

He says: "If theological ideas prove to have a value for concrete life, they will be true, for pragmatism, in the sense of being good for so much." (23)

What he was basically saying was that the conception of God is true if it works in the sense that those who have the conception of God are happier, live better and do good works. Because that is its practical impact. If the practical effect of the conception of God is good, well then it is true. He says that it is true to the extent that it has that practical impact and the word God means that practical impact.

This aspect, this very, very sophisticated argument of James, is even questionable on the basis of making any kind of assessment of the way in which people who believe in God act. But even if we take that out of the question, it was this, in particular, that struck Lenin. Lenin's only mention of pragmatism in his book on *Empirio-criticism* was precisely on



William James held that truth is what works. With this theory he then went on to justify religion on the grounds of its beneficial effect on its believers.





Emerson (above) developed an individualistic idealism which very much reflected the development of capitalism in his time. At right are typical industry of the period.



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**TRUTH**

Let us take a look at the basic conceptions of pragmatism within this framework. The most well known aphorism of pragmatism which comes from William James is the statement: "The truth is what works." (12) We have a term, a word. The only way in which we can discuss what that word means is to see what effect that word will have on reality—that is, through action. Only when words are transformed into some kind of active thing do they have any meaning. The words have to be formed into a proposition to be tested. They have to be tested in such a way as to change through action something, and at that point we can see what the words mean.

From what they view as an utilitarian or experimental operational definition, the pragmatists come to one of two conclusions. One is that pragmatism is a theory of meaning. This is what Peirce held. It is a way of saying what words mean. They mean what they will do to actually affect things in the world. The other conclusion, which is what James says, is that pragmatism is a theory of truth. You do more than say that you understand what a word means when you say the word is what it actually will do in the material world. What you are actually doing is you are defining what is true. What is true is what works, and it is true to the extent that it does work and it is true only in the sense of what it does. That is its meaning and that is its truth and there is no truth outside of that.

Pragmatism was even more than that. It was a general way of approaching questions of thought, as can be seen from this description by James. He says:

"The attitude of looking away from first things, principles, categories, supposed necessities, and looking toward last things, fruits, consequences, and facts." (13)

The first thing he said about pragmatism is it is an attitude. We look away from metaphysics, a concern with categories, first causes, and we look at the effect—we look at effect. Pragmatism is interested in effect. It is interested in practical things, fruits, consequences, fact.

**CASH VALUE**

He says: "You must bring out of each word its practical cash value, set it at work within your stream of experience." (14)

He uses this term "cash value" very often. He says, the conception is you must cash it in. He knows he was using a common word, a common expression, but he wanted to get at the concept behind it. If you grow some corn, the value of that corn is only realized when it is sold on the market, and then you get a certain

cash value. That corn is worth what it will actually get you on the market. Well the same thing is true with a word. A word only means its cash value, that is, what it will actually do, change and effect in the world.

"Pragmatism is uncomfortable away from facts. The pragmatist clings to fact and concreteness. Observes truth at its work in particular cases, and generalizes." (15)

He then contrasts this with what he considers to be the view of the metaphysician. He says:

"Your typical ultra abstractionist fairly shudders at concreteness. Other things equal he positively prefers the pale and spectral. If the two universes were offered, he would always choose the skinny outline rather than the rich thicket of reality. Ideas which themselves are but part of our experience, become true just insofar as they help us to get into satisfactory relation with the other parts of our experience." (16)

The truth of an idea—which he defines as being part of our experience (he does not consider the idea as part of material reality)—is related to the way in which it relates to other aspects of our experience. Of course he would then say it is true only to that extent and it only has that meaning.

Does pragmatism stand in a progressive relationship with classical empiricism? Well, first we have to notice that there are certain differences between empiricism and pragmatism. The differences lie on several levels, but most importantly and Dewey describes it this way, the empiricist looks at what has happened and the pragmatist is concerned with what will happen. (17) The empiricist simply is able to describe in a passive way reality and to say that this is true. The empiricist says these perceptions are accurate, correct because they match up with past experience.

The pragmatist's eye is on the future. He says that the truth of a statement now is how it will affect things later. His eyes are in a different direction. His emphasis is on the question of action. He sees the validation of a conception through the action of an individual in reality.

**SKEPTICISM**

To this extent it is different from empiricism. But it is different from empiricism in another sense. It develops

the idealism that was inherent in empiricism. It begins with Hume's skepticism and takes it much further. What was a question, a hesitancy with Locke, becomes an out an out declaration of war by the empiricists against materialism.

Novack takes on this question, as he does many other questions, with an "on the one hand and on the other hand" approach. He says:

"On one side they took up the cudgels against the idealists who refused to admit the natural origins and practical functions of the thought processes, and who defended unchanging principles and purely speculative, logical and contemplative essence of reason. By hammering away at these bulwarks of idealist error, the pragmatists helped bring philosophy closer to reality and the results of scientific discovery." (18)

He points out that on the other hand, it so happened, that they directed more of their criticisms against materialism than they did against idealism. He uses the same method to approach the question of empiricism itself. He says, about empiricism in general:

"The materialist conception of reality is squarely opposed not to empiricism, but to idealism." (19)

This is very important. In other words, when it comes to the question of empiricism as such, he sees the materialist conception of reality as being opposed to the idealist conception of reality but not squarely opposed to empiricism, which he sees lying on the one hand and on the other hand somewhere in between. He further states:

"Empiricism has many virtues, its reliance upon direct observation and the result of experiment, its closeness to practice, its preference for the facts, even at times its distrust of farflown abstractions in favor of sturdy common sense judgment are useful and necessary qualities." (20)

We run up against a problem here. Novack had earlier stated that in the U.S. there was no scholasticism, and that the bulwarks of idealism had been destroyed and therefore that the American people naturally were empirical. Well, if the American people are naturally empirical then how can we consider it to be a strength of pragmatism that it is critical of idealism. That we would take for granted. That is the natural aspect of it.

**OPPOSITION**

What is going on here is that Novack does not see a square opposition between materialism and empiricism. This is because he does not see a square opposition between the bourgeoisie and the working class. If we recognize that materialism is the philosophy of the working class and empiricism is the philosophy of the bourgeoisie, and we can see no square opposition between them, this is to say that these two classes are not in square opposition. We notice that at the point where empiricism compromises with idealism was a point where in actual class relationship the bourgeoisie was compromising with the feudalists, with the landowners.

The first thing we must note is by not seeing materialism and empiricism in square opposition, Novack is reflecting an outlook which does not see the working class and the bourgeoisie in square opposition. Second, he underestimates the idealist conception of modern empiricism, the idealist core of it, which we have gone into here. He recognizes it but he underestimates its importance.

Here is where we get to this question of whether pragmatism is progressive or not. He abstracts the question of empiricism and pragmatism outside of their historical context. It is as if we can discuss whether empiricism is progressive or reactionary outside of when, and where, and what time. It is as if we could discuss whether capitalism is progressive or reactionary in that way. Capitalism was progressive in one period and is reactionary today. That is the dialectical method. If we look at empiricism abstractly, and say well on the one hand it has a progressive side and on the other hand it has a reactionary side, we have said nothing.

**HISTORICAL**

Once we place empiricism within its historical context we can say that in the period of the birth of capitalism empiricism played an important role in the struggle against the idealist and metaphysical theories which were bulwarks of the old feudal order. In this sense empiricism was not only historically progressive in paving the way for a further development of the productive forces of man, but at the same time contributed to man's thought.

Once we say that, we can also see that in the more contemporary period the survival of empiricism of necessity became reactionary, that the so-called progressive side of empiricism becomes nothing more than a necessary cover for putting forward idealism in a period when idealism is being destroyed on the one hand by the development of the productive forces, by the development of science, and on the other hand is being reinforced by the irrationality of capitalism. That is why we must put the question into its historical context. If we do that we understand that we can in no sense see pragmatism as an advance over empiricism. It represents a necessary and unavoidable degeneration by the bourgeoisie in its thought since the days of empiricism.

Third, what is involved here in seeing no square opposition between empiricism and materialism is the conception that the Marxist role is only to correct that aspect of empiricism which is idealist. Marx stressed in his *Theses on Feuerbach* that aspect of empiricism which is methodologically formal, mechanical, one-sided, that is undialectical. The whole fight for the materialist nature of logic is so that logic can be developed in a dialectical way. It is not enough to defend materialism in general against idealism in general.

Finally, to even conclude that the attacks of the pragmatists upon idealists are progressive can be an error. If we understand the way in which the pragmatists attacks idealism, it takes the form of an attack on thought and theory. In attacking metaphysics, the pragmatist is attacking any validity and development of human thought. So we cannot just abstract out the pragmatist's criticisms of metaphysics from the fact that he is saying that facts are real, and the abstract is abstract and unreal. This way we miss the whole point.

**THEORY**

Essentially in the guise of attacking idealism he is actually attacking theory and consciousness, and consciousness and theory are at this point absolutely essential for the development of the working class. Therefore the lack of consciousness and the lack of theory in the revolutionary party and in the working class is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of capitalism.

In this context, I want to refer comrade



this aspect:

"Perphas the 'latest fashion' in the latest American philosophy, is 'pragmatism,' (from the Greek word 'pragma'-action; that is, a philosophy of action). Pragmatism ridicules the metaphysics both of materialism and idealism, acclaims experience and only experience, recognizes practice as the only criterion, and successfully deduces from all this a God for practical purposes and only for practical purposes."(24)

The question of idealism in pragmatism has deeper roots than this. It is not just that James uses pragmatism, a pragmatic argument to justify God. It is that pragmatism, precisely because it limits itself to experience and to immediate action upon things, and refuses to confront the question of the reality of the world itself, actually has developed and developed further than Kant and Hume an idealist conception of thought.

**DEWEY**

It is John Dewey's whole position on the question of materialism that the relationship of thought to reality takes place through man's action. He sees that. But he sees the relationship of thought to the material world as a relationship of something that is immaterial and ideal to a material world. He does not see thought as a reflection of the material world and he does not see thought as something conditioned by material forces. Therefore he has an idealist conception, and from that idealist conception and with the narrow pragmatic method, he ends up as a liberal.

He believes that one must think good thoughts and on the basis of good moral ethical thoughts one must then carry out practical works consistent with those thoughts. He seeks, perhaps, to move things, and make things a little bit better than they once were. He seeks to make this reform and that reform and the other reform. He begins with the idealist thought, independent of classes, leading to the action which must be immediate and practical in the sense of an experiment, and with this action and that action, this bit and that piece, as long as each action is consistent with the ideal thought, society will slowly in bits and pieces and jerks, move ahead progressively toward a slightly better world. This is liberalism in the form of Dewey's theory. Dewey says the following:

"By materialism I mean the conception that the statement of the given contains and exhausts the entire subject matter of the practical judgment, that the facts in their givenness are all 'there is to it,' so far as intelligence is concerned. The given is undoubtedly just what it is, it is a determinate throughout. But it is the given of something to be done. The survey and inventory of present conditions of facts are not something complete in themselves; they exist for the sake of an intelligent determination of what is to be done, of what is required to complete the given. To conceive the given in any such way, then, as to imply that it negates in its given character the possibility of



John Dewey, who has great influence in education, was an open opponent of materialism.

any doing, of any modification is self-contradictory."(25)

He first defines materialism in the 18th century sense. Materialism means that what exists, exists—period. It is there and that is all there is to it. It is something external to thought. The 18th century empiricist and materialist did not seek to understand the movement of thought itself, or the action of man upon the material world as a material action, but instead saw mind as a mirror, as a piece of film which reflects things and records life, motion, movement. So beginning with that conception, he says well it gives nothing to intelligence. It is determinate throughout; it is self-complete in and of itself.

**DUALITY**

He views reality as something which exists for the sake of being determined by thought. In other words, he says that reality exists in order to be determined by thought, and that the determination of thought is an active process of man. Therefore, in actuality knowledge, experience has a duality to it. The idealist aspect is our determining it from our own thought which we cannot justify in any way as materialism. And our determining in actual reality, in actual appearance that we are ordering or determining.

This is basically Kantianism in another form. It is basically the same thing. Among other things, the conclusion must be that without man's action, there is an

indeterminate world. We are the ones who determine it, who give it its determinateness. In other words if we did not exist the world would have no order to it at all. It is the old Kantian conception that either you have an indeterminate mass with no lawfulness to it, or you have a thing-in-itself which is unknowable and has no characteristic of any sort, has no time, space.

The pragmatists also from this point of view completely reject any kind of materialist conception of logic. Dewey says:

"Logic therefore lends to a realistic metaphysics insofar as it accepts things and events for that they are independently of thought, and to an idealistic metaphysics insofar as it contends that thought gives birth to distinctive acts which modify future facts, and even in such a way as to render them more reasonable, that is to say more adequate to the ends which we propose for ourselves."(26)

**REALISTS**

We are compelled by logic to an outlook which is both materialist and idealist, or as he says realist—it is not materialist. The realists are not materialist; they simply accept reality and say we can not do anything else but accept reality and they begin from there. They do not say whether reality is material. It is real. It is what causes the impressions upon us, that is all.

He says, we accept things and events for what they are independently of thought.

They exist independently of thought. But, we are idealist in the sense that thought, which he sees as an ideal conception, as something unrelated to material reality, can affect and change this material reality. He says, thought can make reality more reasonable.

This is very interesting because it also shows that Dewey spent 15 years as an Hegelian. When he is talking about making the real rational, he is basing himself on Hegel. It is a Hegelian conception. He is putting it forward in this subjective idealist way. We make the real rational, we change the objective world in accordance with our own rational ideal through our action in it. But this rational ideal, where does it come from? On that he has nothing to say. Maybe from a kick in the head by a mule a million years ago. He does not know.

**FOOTNOTES**

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# Writings of Leon Trotsky

This Fall marks 30 years since Trotsky was brutally murdered by Stalin's agent in Mexico. The republication of a number of Trotsky's articles from the 1930s—most long out of print—is of the greatest importance because of the immediate relevance of his struggles then to the tasks today of preparing a new leadership of the working class. Certain themes run like a thread through these collections reflecting the questions of greatest concern to Trotsky in this period. Most of the articles deal with Trotsky's related struggle against Stalinism and the horrors of the Moscow Trials and his efforts to construct the Fourth International. Today both questions are posed as urgently but the prospects for the construction of the Fourth International and the decisive defeat of Stalinism are far brighter than they were in the 1930s. Every serious revolutionary must take up a study of these writings immediately!

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# Hussein Arms For Attacks On Palestinian Guerrillas

BY FRED MUELLER

The very grave dangers facing the Palestinian masses and the entire Arab revolution are highlighted by the latest revelation that Israeli Prime Minister Allon has met secretly with Jordanian King Hussein at least ten times in the last two years.

According to Time magazine, these supposed enemies have discussed developments in the guerrilla movement. This is further proof of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy on the part of imperialism, its Zionist partners and the Arab reactionaries against the Palestinian people.

While Hussein cynically accused the guerrillas of refusing to fight the Zionists he was himself collaborating directly with them. While the Israeli regime professed to see little to choose from in the Jordanian civil war, it was actually backing Hussein all the way.

## ARAFAT

Now the guerrillas face new dangers of attack from Hussein's Royalist forces. The October 3 deal between Hussein and Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization has been used to prepare new attacks. Only 300 guerrillas have been issued permits to carry arms in Amman and the new government of Prime Minister Al-Fell is planning a search for illegal arms.

Meanwhile Arafat himself, after signing the truce with Hussein, is now complaining bitterly about Hussein's arms buildup. "We have received some aid from brother countries and allies, but we need vaster aid to confront this tide of arms that the counterrevolutionaries are receiving every day, and which is certainly not meant to be used for hunting and not for fighting Israel."

Everything points to new attacks on the masses. Hussein's forces suffered losses which are now rapidly being made good by Washington and London. The ceasefire betrayal has been extended and the Israelis have indicated they may be ready for discussion. The decision of Egypt, the Sudan and Libya to form a federation is also designed to strengthen the forces for compromise with imperialism. With Nasser gone, the imperialists and their agents and accomplices, including the Kremlin bureaucracy, are seeking to re-

build and solidify the basis for a deal against the Palestinians.

## SYRIA

The latest overturn in Syria is also a reflection of imperialist pressure. The assumption of power by military chief Assad represents a further shift to the right, following the Syrian capitulation to Stalinist and imperialist pressure in backing down from its moves to support the guerrillas during the civil war.

The Israelis, far from making concessions, are still ready to insist on retaining most of the land conquered after the 1967 war. Prime Minister Meir recently denounced the British government for suggesting that Israel should take the initiative of withdrawing to its pre-1967 borders. The Israelis do not intend to simply take orders from

## Massive Strikes In Israel Rock Zionists

BY MARTY JONAS

Israel is right now in the midst of a tremendous strike wave, equal in scale to the ones now sweeping Europe and the United States. Secondary school teachers have walked out throughout the country. Meteorological workers are out.

Port workers at Haifa and Ashdod, electrical workers at the power plants, telephone operators, civil service unions at government ministries—all have taken part in the strike actions that are rocking the Zionist ruling class. The maintenance workers at government owned El Al airlines carried on a strike during the Jordanian civil war.

The strike wave focuses on the fight for wages. The striking teachers, for instance, make a starting salary of only

their imperialist allies. There is no principled difference, of course, between the official Israeli policy and that of the right wing Gahal party, which is now outside the ruling coalition and calls for an openly expansionist policy without any concessions.

## ARROGANT

Mrs. Meir's recent remarks at her London press conference were extremely significant. She said Israel would not negotiate with Habash and Arafat, and she taunted the bourgeois Arab regimes with the statement that the guerrillas were "more trouble to the countries they operate in than to Israel." She also stated that Israel could accept a Palestinian state on the West bank of the Jordan. "The Arabs could even call it Palestine," she said with the most arrogant contempt for the aspirations of the poverty stricken refugees.

The Israelis and their allies are moving in the direction of a deal which could set up a phoney state comprising half or less than half of the rightful claims of the Palestinians. The role of Arafat

in the guerrillas' leadership is critical. His centrist leadership has given the imperialists, Zionists and bourgeois nationalists more time to plan and implement this kind of deal. He has signed the phoney agreements which have rescued Hussein and enabled him to then take moves against the guerrillas.

Thus Arafat has vacillated between deals with the imperialists and their agents and complaints about their behavior. He is forced to complain when the very existence of the guerrilla movement is called into question.

It is the Palestinian masses and the support they have mobilized in the Middle East and internationally which prevents the implementation of the Zionist-imperialist-Stalinist plans for a deal and the crushing of the guerrilla movement itself. More than ever before a Marxist leadership which understands and fights against the betrayals of Stalinism and the Arab ruling classes is necessary to defend the Palestinians and take forward the struggle for self-determination and the socialist revolution.

\$160 a month. The 10,000 member teachers' union is demanding \$57 more. Education Minister Yigal Allon has refused to give in, stating that the government cannot afford it.

## OFFENSIVE

This wage offensive by the Israeli workers is more than an inconvenience to the ruling class. It threatens the very existence of the Zionist state and of imperialism's plans in the Middle East.

The costs of defense of Israel are enormous. Defense spending—which was 38% of the budget in 1966, before the six day war—has risen to nearly 70% this year. Finance Minister Sapir has said that if military needs were met in full, Israel would have to spend one billion on defense imports next year, \$200 million more than this year. In 1966 the total spent on military imports was \$160 million.

The costs of all this are being shouldered by the Israeli working class. That is why the government refuses to grant

the wage demands the workers feel necessary in order to keep up with the mounting inflation. Any wage fight amounts to a fight against the financial burden of the war being loaded on the working class and against the expansionist aims of the Israeli ruling class.

## FRONT

The Israeli working class has demonstrated, as in the El Al strike during the critical events in Jordan, that it can put its class interests before the welfare of the Zionist state.

The unprecedented demonstrations of students in front of Golda Meir's house last year in protest against the imperialist policies of Israel signalled the beginning of an open struggle against the Zionists. The working class is now coming to the front of that struggle.

This struggle must be joined with the struggle of the Arab commandos to destroy the Israeli Zionist state as the imperialist front in the Middle East.

## German Youth Go On The March To Fight For Jobs And Wages

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The signs of an increasingly serious economic crisis are appearing in West Germany.

In the last year the number of job vacancies has fallen by almost 8 percent and the number of unemployed has risen by 2.8 percent.

Franz Joseph Strauss, leader of the Bavarian section of the CSU has been organizing an extra-parliamentary opposition to bring down Brandt's government since November 1969, after the first big strike wave.

Strauss' supporters come from the big industrial firms, such as Flick, and the BMW car company.

In a conversation a month ago, Strauss

said:

"If anyone tried to stop me coming to power, I would kill him. I want freedom, justice and a good life for the German people, even if this has to be achieved through a machine gun."

The unity and strength shown by the metalworkers' strike, despite the attempts of the union leaders to hold back the movement, gave a big impetus to the apprentices in the metal industry.

In an interview with a German paper, Christian Kuznicki, 19 year old youth shop steward in the Hamburg firm of Blohm and Voss, described how apprentices became involved in strike:

The apprentices' demands were for "13th-month" bonus pay and training leave.

The employers only offered a 310 deutsche mark increase. The Hamburg apprentices organized a protest demonstration in support of their demand. Christian was later told he would not be getting a job with the firm when he finished his training.

In Dachau, apprentices organized a similar march, this time to the Dachau Palace Cafe, where negotiations were taking place between union officials and the employers to settle the wage claim.

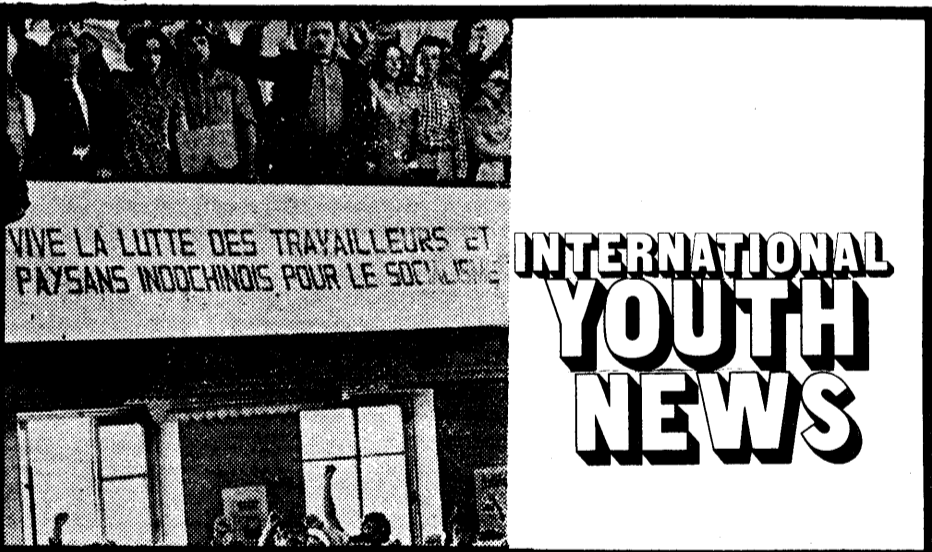
The apprentices found that the employers would not even speak to them or their delegates.

They entered the cafe through a back entrance and when the employers still refused, they began shouting, "if you go on throwing dirt on us, we'll start a few things flying."

"Open your accounts, show us your money!"

And in Oberhausen, in Northrhine-Westphalia the IG-Metall union apprentices struck with the metalworkers in October on their own demands—for a rise of 150 DM a month and six weeks' annual holiday.

They called for a regional conference of all apprentices in the area to organize a joint struggle for young workers' rights.



## Report Exposes 'Hell' Of German Reform Schools

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Another side to the life that German capitalism has to offer working class youth, was exposed by a report drawn up by the Social Democrats' youth movement, concerning the conditions in youth reform schools, in Charlottenhof, near Schandorf, in Bavaria, which is controlled by Strauss' CSU faction.

"We felt as if we were in hell, we couldn't stand it," said one of the many youth who has run away from his home.

The usual form of punishment, apart from fines, was beating as well as other medieval torture methods.

Anything is used as an excuse for beating with garden tools, bowls, sticks or whatever gets into the "instructors'" hands.

Youth were forced to scrub filthy toilets and clean the main entrance with a toothbrush.

Parents pay 240-480 DM a month and the youth get up to 4 DM pocket money, which is meant to cover everything such as hair cuts to writing paper.

There is no meat except on Sundays, and all the food is rationed out.

Youth who tried to run away were punished by being made to wear wooden shoes, which caused their feet to bleed, or walk barefoot even in the winter. The rooms at the Freiholds school were

never heated, and cases of freezing were frequent.

The conclusion the Social-Democratic youth draws, that "Charlottenhof is the balance of 25 years of failures in social politics," is a complete evasion of the reasons for this kind of treatment of youth.

The conditions in Charlottenhof are part of the contemptuous and destructive nature of the capitalist system, which kills and maims youth throughout the world.

The ruling class uses the same methods everywhere and can only be answered by the struggle of the working class to take the power.

But the SPD bureaucrats refuse to face this task, and in fact they are already seeking to silence those who raise class questions before the youth.

In the Frankfurt SPD-Young Socialists (Jusos), members of the Junge Garde (Trotskyist youth organization) have been attacked by the right wing.

Brandt's hatchet-men forced new restrictions through a membership meeting, including a requirement that only full SPD members could enter the Jusos and that powers should be delegated within the Jusos, establishing small, picked committees obedient to the Party officials.

They also demanded that no members of the Junge Garde should be allowed in the SPD.



Youth lead working class struggle at Opel.



## Youth March For U.S. Troops Out, Hands Off Culebra

BY MANUEL OZORIO

A mass march calling for Hands off Culebra will converge on Washington D.C. Saturday, November 21.

Culebra is a small island which is part of P.R. It has been used as a target range by the U.S. Navy, bombarding it day and night, and endangering the lives of the people who live there.

In true imperialist fashion the Nixon Administration has volunteered to evacuate the people of Culebra from their island home, as a solution to "this unfortunate situation." The people of Culebra would have no part of this imperialist thievery and have organized themselves with support of the majority of the working class and students on mainland Puerto Rico.

The struggle in defense of Culebra has taken deep roots especially among working class youth both in P.R. and the U.S., because of the hatred that the youth feel for capitalism.

The U.N. and such other imperialist organizations cannot solve the national question as it pertains to P.R. and its territory Culebra. The struggle for the independence of P.R. must be the struggle for socialism both in P.R. and the U.S. and the building of an international revolutionary youth movement that will unite the struggles of young workers and students in P.R. and the U.S.

- Hands off Culebra!
- For an independent and socialist P.R.!

## 'BRAIN DRAIN' HITS U.S. AS SCIENTISTS ARE FIRED

BY A SCIENCE REPORTER

Three years ago the United States was a mecca for scientists of every kind because of the jobs available in space, physics and engineering. Now, in what is called the "brain drain" the foreign scientists are returning home because they have been laid off.

Unemployment is soaring in every field of scientific research. Physicists and engineers who were making salaries of at least \$16,000 must resort to such odd jobs as auto mechanics and handymen. PhD graduates who have spent years studying for their degree find they cannot get jobs when they graduate.

A recent survey of the Aerospace Industries Association predicts a decline of 194,000 jobs this year, a drop of 15%. Compared with 1967 when there were 235,000 jobs in aerospace by March 1971 there will only be 175,000. Of the 800 to 1,000 foreign specialists recruited to the San Diego aerospace industry in 1967 only 25% remain.

### CANCELLED

After having spent billions of dollars to launch the moon flights as a long term research project, a number of these flights have been cancelled. Twelve members of the Werner Von Braun rocket team at the Marshall Space Flight Center in Alabama have been laid off. These flights are being curtailed at a time, space scientists say, when real scientific gains are just beginning to be made from the project.

These scientists must be thrown onto the junk heap, as the bourgeoisie scramble to preserve their profits. Only that research which is directly related to profits and military defense is to be spared the axe. While the *New York Times* laments the waste of talent which could be used for "peace and progress" as well as war, they cynically hide the real truth.

Capitalist society is no longer capable of developing science and technology in a way which will truly wipe out hunger, disease and poverty and open the way for tremendous break-throughs in scientific knowledge. Unemployment among scientists is only the most blatant expression of the complete rottenness of capitalism.

Many of these scientists are under the illusion that the trend will not last or that they can find jobs in their own countries. On the contrary, it is just the beginning. At the famous Laboratories in Toulouse France where high voltage electron microscopes are designed there has recently been a strike over layoffs. Nor will centralizing the science agencies to plan the spending of a dwindling amount of money solve anything. Only a socialist society, based on planning for human needs can open up a new era in the field of science.

## Northwest Clerks Vote Down Sellout

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, November 12—Striking members of the Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) both here and across the country have rejected overwhelmingly an attempt by Northwest Airlines management and the BRAC international leadership to force a contract down their throats that would leave at least 40% of them out of a job and the rest with little improvement in wages and working conditions.

This was despite the threat, since carried out, by BRAC International President C. L. Dennis to cut off strike funds (\$30 per week) to the Northwest clerks, if this offer was rejected. Dennis gave the excuse that this strike was costing the BRAC grand lodge too much.

Dennis had the sense not to show up for the vote in the Twin Cities or elsewhere, although several of his representatives appeared in some of the smaller lodges.

Clerks interviewed after the meeting of Lodge 3015 said that had he shown up, at

the clerks.

2. Wages—some improvements from Northwest's last offer but still not the parity demanded by clerks with the clerks of other airlines. And the lowest paid grades would still start out at a gross pay of less than \$375 a month.

3. Insurance and pensions—to be made noncontributory—Northwest would pay for all of these benefits.

Due to what it lacked, many BRAC local leaders called the package incomplete and proposed that it not even be voted on. But where clerks did vote on it, the big lodges overwhelmingly rejected it. And this rejection was not just for the lack of a satisfactory back to work agreement as Marzitelli has dishonestly been saying in the press.

The danger here is that due to the pressure and confusion spread by Dennis and the Grand Lodge of BRAC, several of the smaller lodges voted to accept this contract offer.

Despite every obstacle thrown in their path, no one can deny that over four months on strike have shown the spirit, militancy and determination of the Northwest clerks to fight for a living wage.

In the Twin Cities, the willingness of the clerks to fight came through sharply at the November 9 meetings of Lodges 3007 and 3015. No one proposed to accept the offer from Northwest. Instead, the debate was between those who wanted to vote on the offer so they could reject it and those who wanted not to vote on it without a satisfactory back to work agreement.

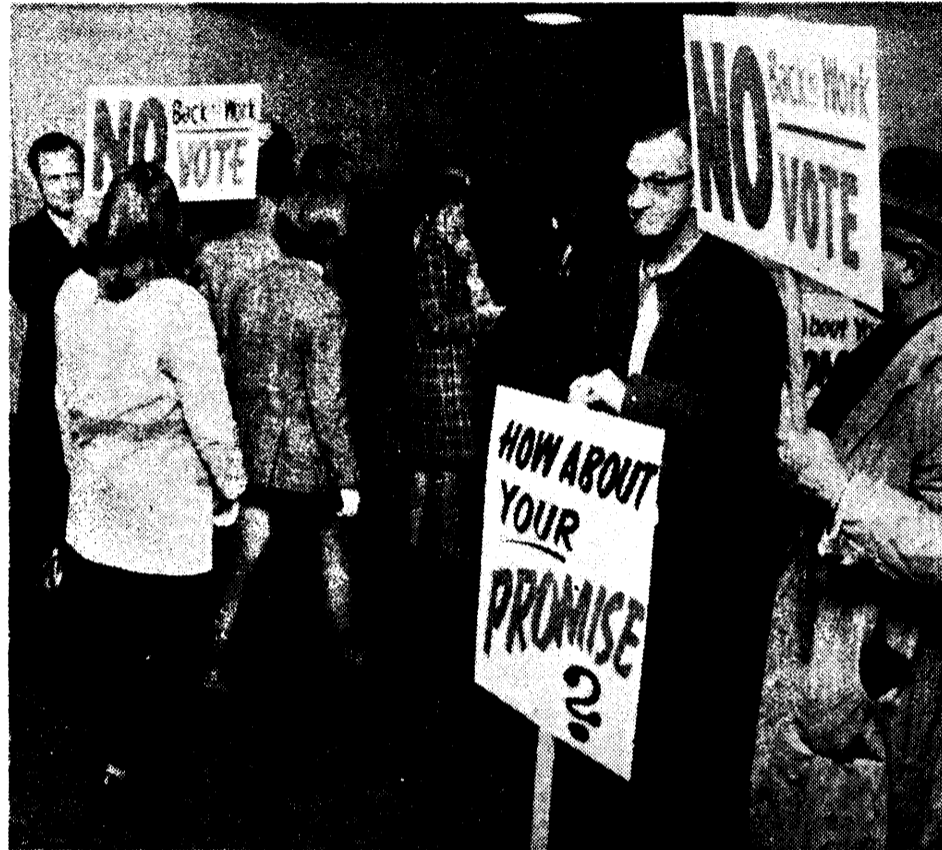
But what no one, whether for immediate rejection of the offer or for a postponement of the vote, proposed was any change in the strategy being used to run this strike.

### PROGRAM

Clerks at Northwest must put Dennis on the spot, and demand that he fight for the following program:

1. Immediate restoration of strike benefits.
2. Clerks to have full rights to vote on their contracts.
3. No concessions on the major union demands both at Northwest and on the railroads.
4. Stop all collaboration with Nixon and his mediators, who have been working day and night to get Northwest's terms accepted.
5. No one to return to work at Northwest until all return, including clerks, stewardesses, mechanics and radio operators.
6. Mobilize mass labor support for this strike. Make Meany carry out his promises of backing the strike. Meany, Dennis and the entire top union leadership must take action to stop the pilots from scabbing.

Clerks at Northwest must mobilize their lodges around this program and take it into all other BRAC lodges, especially on the railroads, to win the backing necessary.



Rank and filers urge a no vote as workers in Minneapolis vote on Northwest contract.

## CALIFORNIA COURTS PUSH LYNCHING OF DAVIS

BY KAREN FRANKEL

Angela Davis has been indicted for conspiracy and murder in California. The indictment came right on the heels of the police attacks on blacks in Henderson, North Carolina, and in Cairo, Illinois.

This is no accident, as the Agnew-Nixon Administration is whipping up a fantastic racial and anti-communist hysteria.

Under California law, the eight page indictment against her means, that if convicted, she could be charged with murder even though she was one hundred miles away at the time. Ruchell Magee, a prisoner who was involved in the attempted escape from the Marin County Courthouse, was charged with "assault by a person serving a life term." This charge carries a mandatory death sentence in the state of California.

The indictment states that Miss Davis and Jonathan Jackson, the 17 year old brother of one of the Soledad Three, attended a rally on June 19 in Los Angeles, and called for "release from lawful custody" of the Soledad Brothers.

This piece of evidence is supposed to show motive for the escape attempt of three other convicts, McClain, Christmas and Magee at the Marin Courthouse on Aug. 7. Jackson, McClain, Christmas and the judge, were killed when police fired indiscriminately into the escape truck. Thus, almost all the witnesses, except for the police (who claim that at one time, Miss Davis purchased one of the guns used in the escape), were killed. The only one alive is Magee, who faces the death penalty if convicted.

It is quite clear that the bourgeoisie is out to crucify Angela Davis. They want Angela Davis because they want to behead the struggle of black and minority militants. It is the spirit of the Hendersons and Cairos that the ruling class wants to kill, and especially, to prevent it from spreading to the rest of the working class. This is why they are out to lynch Angela Davis, and this is why she must be defended by all militants and by the labor movement.

the very least Dennis would have been booed and shouted off the platform.

What was NWA President Donald Nyrop's latest "final offer" cooked up several weeks back with Dennis and Nixon's mediator Frank Marzitelli?

Its major elements were:

1. A so-called "back to work" agreement that would allow Nyrop to immediately lay off a minimum of 40% of all Northwest personnel. This would be done in such a way as to make those laid off ineligible for state unemployment benefits. In addition, it would be possible to do the same thing to a possible further 20% of

## New Haven Rubber Workers Strike Reject Wage Offer From Seamless

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—On Friday morning, Nov. 13 at 12 a.m. the graveyard shift at the Seamless Rubber Company on Halleck Avenue walked out of the plant. This action was taken after the workers voted Thursday afternoon to call a strike after overwhelmingly rejecting the company's offer.

This strike comes at a time when inflation and unemployment are gobbling up the living standards of the working class. This is felt very sharply in industrialized Connecticut, especially by the lower paid workers, among whom Seamless employees are some of the lowest.

### PALTRY

For this reason the wage demand is crucial in this strike. In this context, the company's paltry offer of a 63¢ wage hike over three years (22¢-21¢-20¢) which is even twenty cents less than the "Big Four" pattern, would be economically disastrous for Seamless workers.

Its rejection last Thursday now opens the way for a real fight over the question of wages. This fight must now be taken up in the union. The URW 338 leadership has already shown that it is more than willing to accept whatever the company has to offer. The bureaucrats must not be allowed to sell out the strike.

A rank and file committee must be formed which will put forward a real alternative to the company's rotten offer

and fight against the union leaders' tactics which only sabotage the strike effort. The demand for \$1.00 an hour increase now, with a total wage increase of \$1.85 over the life of the contract is necessary in order to catch up and push back inflation. This can only be guaranteed by also demanding a full cost of living escalator clause which will allow the wages to keep pace with inflation.

### STRATEGY

These demands must be backed with a strategy to win the strike. This must be begun with a call for a general membership meeting of the local in order to discuss the demands and how the strike must be fought.

It becomes critical today that the Seamless strike break out of its isolation from the area labor movement. This kind of isolation was a big factor in the failure of the Armstrong workers to win their strike. The Seamless workers must now demand that the union seek the active support of New Haven area labor. Workers at Olin, Armstrong, and G&O are faced with many of the same problems. Hundreds are getting laid off and more will follow.

At the same time the companies will use the high unemployment in Connecticut to lower the already low wages and living standards of workers in the area. New Haven trade unionists have as much at stake in the Seamless strike as the Seamless workers themselves.

# GM Strikers Challenge Stalinists At Conference

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NEW YORK—The utter bankruptcy of the Stalinist backed National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy was blatantly revealed at the October 14-15 Conference of its regional committee here by the refusal of this conference to take a stand against the sellout contract that Leonard Woodcock is trying to foist on striking UAW members at GM.

What was also expressed at this conference, however, by the fight of a contingent of GM strikers against the Stalinists on this issue was the tremendous potential that is now opening up for the breaking of whole layers of American labor from the Leonard Woodcocks and from Stalinism as well.

At this conference every attempt was made to evade a discussion of the UAW strike. This was because such a discussion could only lead to exposing the whole rotten perspective of the Chicago Rank and File Conference and NCCTUAD which is essentially the formation of a bloc with the Leonard Woodcocks and the liberals against the Meanys and Nixon.

In fact in the course of the three keynote speeches that opened the conference, including one by the national chairman of the NCCTUAD, Charles Wilson, himself a GM striker, not one mention of the GM offer was made.

A discussion of this offer could not, however, be prevented.

About 50 of the conference's 150 participants participated in the Saturday afternoon workshop on trade union democracy and the construction of rank and file caucuses. At this workshop a spokesman of the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership and supporter of the Workers League put down a motion. In addition to raising demands for a labor party, the four day week and defense of victims of the class struggle, Angela Davis and Juan Farinas, the motion called for the following:

"That the conference oppose the proposed GM offer, that it actively campaign for its rejection and for an all out fight for \$1.25 an hour in the first year and 30 and out at \$500 regardless of age."

The Stalinists were in for a big sur-

prise when in spite of their vicious opposition to this motion, UAW strikers present spoke strongly in favor of the motion and for a rejection of the GM contract.

Bill Scott, leader of the rank and file opposition caucus in the UAW Local 664 in Tarrytown, spoke about the struggle of his caucus against the local's bureaucratic leadership. He reported how he and his supporters had faced intimidation from the bureaucrats for demanding information on the contract. The group got over 500 signatures for a membership meeting to consider the contract agreed to behind their backs on local issues. He stated that now he and his caucus would fight for, and he was convinced that they would win, rejection of the national GM contract offer. He appealed for support from the conference for this fight.

A second GM striker who identified himself as a committeeman from the Linden New Jersey GM plant spoke even more to the point. He stated that in his opinion not only would Linden reject the GM offer but that contrary to what speakers against the CNL motion had said, that the conference should come out for rejection of the contract. Other speakers from among the delegates who were not GM strikers spoke in a similar vein.

At this point the Stalinists began to panic. Only through the most sophisticated arguments and slimy subterfuge were they able finally to prevent the UAW members who had spoken for rejection of the contract from voting for the CNL-WL motion.

They were in fact forced to offer what they made to appear as a compromise motion of their own, to the effect that the conference would support the rank and file in whatever decision it made on the contract. This they said was as far as the conference could go as it was outside



Workers look over leaflet urging a no vote at Tarrytown. Response was overwhelming.

of the conference's province to "tell the GM ranks how to vote."

This stand is of course a complete fraud. The question is not whether or not the conference would support the workers once they voted down the offer but whether the conference would mobilize its resources against the tremendous resources of Woodcock and the capitalist press. These forces have aimed everything at pushing the men to accept the offer.

As the CNL spokesman, who proposed the motion for rejection pointed out, the whole strategy of the Nixon Administration in its drive to break the wage offensive of American workers has been concentrated on the fight to break the back of the UAW by forcing acceptance of a sellout offer.

The refusal therefore of the Stalinists to come out against Woodcock places Stalinism smack dab on the side of Nixon for all the empty rhetoric at this conference about a fight against Nixon to

defend the unions.

This rotten stand was compounded at the conference by its rejection in the light of the last election of the labor party slogan and particularly its refusal to go on record in defense of Juan Farinas.

The Stalinists succeeded in preventing an open vote against their rotten policies in the Saturday workshop. But the disgust of the UAW contingent, its feeling that this conference was incapable of giving a lead in the upcoming ratification fight was expressed not only on the floor of the Saturday workshop but in the virtual absence of this delegation together with over half of the Saturday participants at the Sunday session.

At this session the WL supporters again took up the fight that had been launched on Saturday. This was done in the face of vicious attacks from a number of delegates representing the official conference leadership's point of view.

## CONCILIATION

John Talbutt, who is Vice President of SSEU-371, reported back from the Saturday workshop which had discussed the UAW, attacked those who proposed to place the conference on record for a rejection vote as petty bourgeois elements. Another spokesman referred to the debate on the UAW question as just a lot of "B.S." and demanded that we get down to the "nitty gritty" practical questions. Another speaking with an air of incredulity asked: "Can you imagine this conference going on record in condemnation of Leonard Woodcock?"

Against this bankrupt policy of conciliation to Woodcock the supporters of the Workers League pointed out the fight the League has been waging to distribute thousands of leaflets throughout the country at the auto plants to prepare for the rejection of Woodcock's sellout. The Workers League will now throw this campaign into high gear aimed at winning the biggest rejection vote ever.

This struggle is nothing more than the expression of the fight of Trotskyism against Stalinism. It is only through this struggle that the unions can be defended, and a new leadership based on the ranks be built.

# CP, YWLL Take Up The Cross For Reverend Duffey

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—On Sunday, Nov. 1, the New Haven Concerned Trade Unionists held their third meeting. The CTU developed out of the Communist Party-controlled Rank and File Conference that was held in Chicago last June.

Supporters of the Communist Party and its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, were instrumental in gaining the support of the CTU for Joe Duffey. The Reverend Duffey was the Democratic candidate for senator from Connecticut. This support to Duffey was in accordance with the Daily World's and the CP's vociferous anti-Nixon-Agnew election campaign. In essence this amounted to support to all liberal and antiwar candidates of the capitalist parties.

A supporter of the Workers League attacked this Stalinist tactic at the meeting, declaring that it is a gross betrayal of the working class and subordinates its political development to the liberal wing of the capitalist class. Precisely at a time when the workers are beating up against the decaying brick wall of capitalism, the mobilization of the working class politically independent from and aimed against the capitalist class is of the utmost necessity. This means today the fight for a labor party.

## "CRITICAL"

Yet, the Stalinists and the YWLL can still stand up and say that the liberal-pacifist Duffey must be campaigned for (to the extent of distributing Duffey leaflets in front of factory gates while wearing YWLL buttons) as a "lesser-of-the-two-evils" alternative to Dodd. They add even though "we are critical (!) of Duffey's support to the wage-freeze and other things about him."

But it is the class nature of Duffey's party and his program that is important.

He only differs tactically with Nixon and Agnew. When it comes down to the nitty-gritty, the Most Reverend Duffey will stand together with the bankers against the working class. This is the lesson that workers and youth must learn when all the liberal candidates became "law-and-order"-prone in time for the elections, and could pose no alternative to the Agnew section of the capitalist class.

And this lesson must be taken up not only in relation to election campaigns, but into every struggle of the working class. In this context, we can see that the CP's support to Duffey is no isolated case. Their attitude toward the attacks on the Panthers and militants of black and other minority groups is expressed in the Genocide Petition campaign being organized by the YWLL.

## PETITION

The Genocide Petition is the Stalinists' response to the tremendous repression coming down now on the militant workers and youth. Rather than beginning from the class nature of these attacks, the Stalinists approach these very real dangerous acts as simply a moral and a racial question. They end up in their petition calling on the United Nations to denounce the USA for these activities and "apply economic and political sanctions against the U.S. government until such a time as the U.S. will abide by the Genocide Convention and the Declaration of Human Rights."

But this struggle does not have anything to do with the way the YWLL intends to submit their Genocide Petition to the UN. The United Nations is not and has never been anything more than a convenient tool with which American and world capitalism has been able to cover up its imperialist policies around the world, with the aid of the Kremlin bureaucrats and the "third world" nationalist governments. To beg this arm of the imperialists for token support is on the same plane as making Joe Duffey out to be a labor candidate.

The YWLLers who agreed at the CTU meeting with this analysis of the UN should study the position of the Daily World. It recently congratulated the UN on its 25th birthday and called it "this assembly of nations seeking peace and humanity" (World Magazine, Oct. 24).

## DIVERT

The danger of Stalinism today lies in its attempt to divert a section of young workers and students from the road of revolutionary class struggle to that of reformist capitulation to capitalism through its liberal wing and subordination to the bureaucracies within the trade union movement.

This attempt is expressed in the formation of the CTU and similar organizations which try to attract these youth. This growth of Stalinism must be combatted tooth and nail and only out of this fight will come the development of a leadership capable of taking the working class to victory.

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# WL Moves Forward With West Coast Conference

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

PACIFIC GROVE, CALIFORNIA—A highly successful Western Educational Conference of the Workers League was held here near Monterey over the weekend of November 14-15. Close to 70 people attended coming from San Diego, Los Angeles, Orange County, San Jose, San Mateo, San Francisco and Berkeley.

The conference centered around a series of lectures given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, on Marxism and American Pragmatism. The lectures are running currently in the Bulletin. "In 1942," Wohlforth noted, "George Novack explained why it was in the midst of a grave imperialist war the Socialist Workers Party took time out to hold lectures on dialectics. Today the SWP and YSA members react incredulously to our efforts to organize this camp. They no longer have even the understanding of that early period in the flush of the 1940 fight of the necessity of a struggle for the Marxist method to the construction of the revolutionary party."

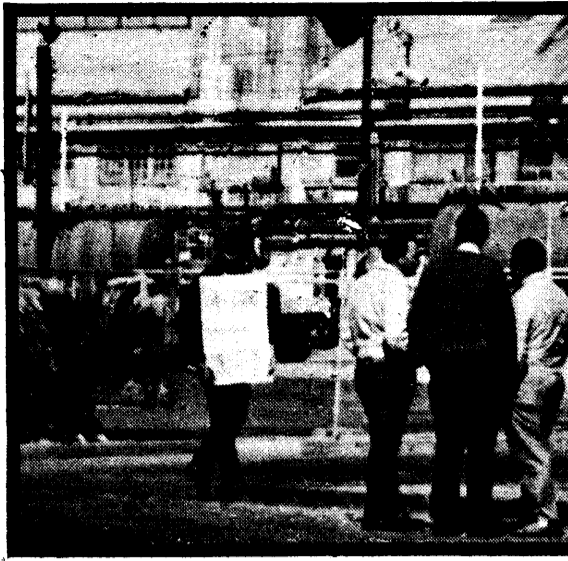
## STRUGGLE

An important political struggle took place at the camp over a forum one of the branches had organized on terrorism. In reaction to the FLQ kidnappings and

Trudeau's imposing of martial law and Nixon's election campaign this branch had concentrated its attack on terrorism. While the meeting had said all the correct things about terrorism and laid stress on the responsibilities of the capitalists for violence and terror, the point was made that to even hold such a meeting was a concession to the panic the ruling class was spreading in liberal circles. The need at the time was solidarity with those under attack, the Canadian working class, and an all out battle against Trudeau and Nixon, not utilizing abstractly correct Marxist arguments to attack those under attack from the bourgeoisie.

## PRESSURES

What this incident illustrated was that the struggle for dialectics today as in 1940 is an absolute necessity to defeat class pressures of the bourgeoisie within our party. Philosophy is a class question and any concessions to pragmatism lay the



# WEST COAST NEWS

basis for concessions to imperialism. The comrades of the branch involved as well as the camp as a whole came to a common understanding of this.

The camp reflected a serious turn towards Marxist theory by students in particular but also by black youth and industrial workers. The struggle of youth and workers against Nixon at San Jose found a conscious expression in the fight for Marxism at the camp.

Twelve new members were recruited to the Workers League and a new branch established in San Jose. Some \$125 was raised for the Trotsky Memorial Fund Drive despite the heavy expenses for the

camp for all those attending. \$100 in literature was sold.

In preparation for the camp a highly successful meeting on the same general topic with over 50 in attendance was held at San Francisco State. Plans were laid for a fight back against the auto sell out, for labor support for the Farinas case, for a strengthening of the Workers League student and youth work, and above all for the growth of the West Coast section of the Bulletin.

The participants also enjoyed the scenic surroundings of the camp situated right on the Pacific Ocean with miles of empty beaches and sand dunes.



Workers League members and supporters take a moment out from the lectures to relax by the surf and think over the questions of theory and philosophy at Monterey.

## GM, Woodcock, Press Conspire Against UAW Ranks

BY A UAW MEMBER  
LOCAL 1364

FREMONT—The GM-Woodcock strategy for defeating this auto strike is to lay down a heavy smokescreen of propaganda, using the mass media to "leak" and "plant" speculative stories about our "victory" which are calculated to cave in the resistance, confuse and disorient the militancy of the ranks.

GM and Woodcock hope to create a back-to-work mass psychosis that would overwhelm and defeat the resistance and dissatisfaction that is arising over this paltry contract offer.

GM's chief negotiator Earl Bramblett expresses optimism that the 375,000 GM workers represented by 155 UAW locals, will accept this offer. Woodcock orders all locals to vote on ratification by Friday, Nov. 20, so that the results can be reported Nov. 21. Woodcock, while saying "I am never satisfied," told a news conference "This is a good solid showing of progress for the families we represent. We got something in virtually every area."

### COLLABORATION

Bramblett said that the company was pleased that the GM Council recommended acceptance. This GM Council comprising 350 local presidents and shop chairmen, voted 4-1 for ratification, which commits them to the hot job of returning to their locals and defending this sell out and betrayal to their ranks. Bramblett let out his most revealing comment when he stated that "This strike was the first large, long strike without bitterness or recrimination on both sides."

It is fairly obvious to the ranks that some kind of a love-in is being conducted

at the top table between Bramblett and Woodcock that establishes a new high in class collaboration, that even the Stalinists must find embarrassing to cover for or justify.

This degeneration of the UAW officialdom stands in sharp contrast to the resurging militancy of the ranks in their determination to go forward in defense of their class interests. On the basis of "leaking" out sketchy details of this offer to the press, let's examine the information available to us.

### WAGES

A wage increase of 49¢ to 61¢ an hour for the first year of the contract which will average out for the production worker to 51¢. If we break this figure down to determine the amount of new money we find that it only amounts to 20¢ actual wage increase for the first year. 31¢ of this is old money left owing us or withheld from us over the last three years of the old contract. 12¢ the second year and 12¢ the third year adds up to a grand total of 44¢ wage increase over a three year contract. This amounts to a 4% yearly wage increase compared to the 10% average settlement of other contracts won over the past year of 1970. This is highlighted by the Teamster breakthrough of 15% showing the way to launch a wage offensive.

### PATTERN

If they are successful in imposing this offer on the auto workers, it would mean that GM and the entire capitalist class, with an assist from their labor lieutenants, succeeded in stopping the 15% Teamster wage offensive and is paramount to disaster for five million industrial workers in the U.S. and Canada whose contracts are tied to the pattern setting precedent of this GM settlement.

Woodcock has now become the Number One labor lieutenant of the capitalist class

by performing the most valuable service of helping to break the wage offensive of the working class.

He even failed to get a full 30 and out retirement in the latest offer. You have to be 58 years old and have 30 years service in order to be able to retire at \$500 a month. GM through its notorious speed-up system can literally burn up the life out of a human being in 30 years.

Our cost of living escalator clause is still emasculated, with Woodcock giving up the first year benefits on the cost of living. He is continuing the grand old Reuther tradition of signing three year contracts, with one and two year benefits, loaded with fine print loop holes that take it away from the workers.

### LIES

A UPI press release out of Detroit on Nov. 15 heralds this "generous" offer as costing GM 2.5 billion in wages alone. Earl Bramblett states in this offer that "GM's UAW workers who now make \$10,000 per year would be making between \$12,000 and \$13,000 by the end of the contract's final year." The workers on the assembly line before the strike became violently angry at Bramblett's lies about how we make \$10,000 a year. He has made this statement in the GM pamphlet that was mailed to the home of every auto worker.

Taking my pay as an example, I make \$3.65 per hour, grossed \$7,200 in 1969. 1970 will be even less. I represent the average wage and if we take the latest wage offer at face value, using the most optimistic figures, this wage offer would only amount to an increase of my \$7,200 to \$8,200 in 1973, providing the fine print does not take it away. This is a far cry from Bramblett's forecast of \$13,000 and can only serve to antagonize the workers even more.

The UAW bureaucracy is working overtime to help the employers ram this

settlement through. Their strategy is to create what would appear to be an invincible juggernaut that steamrollers every local into ratifying. They first pick out a few "safe" locals where they are sure of a safe vote, give it national publicity via the bandwagon technique. The first "safe local" to ratify was Local 544 in Pittsburgh, Pa. Its longtime President John McCarol, a faithful supporter of Reuther and Woodcock, may not realize it, but he made the news in the Oakland Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, San Jose Mercury, Fremont News, and the Argus—every paper in the Bay area.

On this basis the national coverage for this insignificant local ratification was fantastic. The press will for the next six days mount what will appear to be a landslide for ratification. Even if this vote runs into trouble, they will withhold the news and continue in their attempts to influence the vote for ratification.

### OVERTURN

The known "rebel" locals such as ours, 1364, are scheduled to vote on the last day, November 20, so as to subject us to this false psychological impact of their campaign to demoralize the militants in our local and hope that we will be overwhelmed by a national trend toward ratification, that we will not even bother to vote.

Auto workers must quickly respond to this threat by building a rank and file movement in every local in the country to offset this massive leadership betrayal.

After nine weeks of strike, we are just beginning to financially hurt GM and their class. Let's hold firm and overturn this drive to ratify and force an inadequate contract onto us, and remember who our enemy is. Let's hold out for \$1.65 wage increase, by taking an example from the rebelliousness of the Teamsters. Let's not settle for anything less than our needs.