

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL.7, NO. 13-173 NOVEMBER 30, 1970 103 TEN CENTS



*The Fight For  
Dialectics  
On The  
150th Birthday  
Of Frederick Engels*

## NIXON PLANS MORE N. VIETNAM INVASIONS



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### HUEY NEWTON CALLS FOR TURN TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM BEFORE AUDIENCE OF 4000 YOUTH

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*Statement Of Political  
Committee On SWP And  
Black Panthers*

### IT IS TIME TO CALL A HALT!

Huey Newton, center, addresses crowd of 4000 at NYC Community College on Marx.

### Angry UAW Ranks Rebel Against Woodcock's GM Contract Sellout

### DIRECT REPORTS FROM LINDEN, TARRYTOWN, FREMONT, DETROIT

# it is time to call a halt!

The position the Socialist Workers Party has taken on the Black Panthers represents an open betrayal of the working class and the black masses. This is the fruit of its revisionism and pragmatism. Every member of the SWP must face up to this.

The great lesson of Trotsky's struggle in 1940 against the petty bourgeois opposition within the SWP was that those who abandon the Marxist method for pragmatism become prey to the pressures of the ruling class. What starts as a revision on the level of philosophy ends up as concrete sabotage of the working class in its struggle with capitalism. The struggle against revisionism is a material struggle of real class forces in the real world.

The current role of the SWP bitterly confirms this once again. Under pressure from Nixon and the bourgeoisie the SWP has joined with Nixon and the bourgeoisie to attack the Panthers precisely for their strengths. This is the meaning of Derrick Morrison's article in the Nov. 27 Militant "The Need to Build a Panther Defense."

Now we know why George Novack's pamphlet on "Terrorism" is being pushed from coast to coast and why Harry Ring goes to a predominantly black community college in New York to launch orthodox attacks on terrorism. When the capitalist class seeks to stir racism and hostility to the youth and to lay the basis for further repression through a campaign against alleged "terrorism," the SWP joins in the hue and cry against terrorism. They offer formally correct Marxist criticism of the methods of terrorism and a way of avoiding a head-on struggle against the ruling class which is whipping up this hysteria for terrorism.

## HAYMARKET

It is important at this point to recall a little known but important moment in the early history of the American socialist movement. Living in obscurity in New York City in the latter part of the 19th century was Joseph Dietzgen who, as Marx noted, had come to an understanding of the materialist dialectic independently of Marx. He was a close follower of Marx, a man deeply concerned with questions of philosophy, and a member of the Socialist Labor Party, the Marxist group of the time.

In 1886 a group of German-American anarchists became involved in labor struggles in Chicago around the demand for the eight-hour day. This led to the famous Haymarket Riot, the actual birth of May Day as an international holiday. During that labor struggle a police agent set off a bomb which killed several policemen. The bomb was blamed on the anarchists and tremendous hysteria was unleashed in the press against "mad bombers," "terrorists" and "anarchists."

Reacting to this situation Joseph Dietzgen, a man accustomed to study and never very active politically, gave up everything in New York and travelled to Chicago to become editor of the anarchist newspaper and to participate in the defense of the anarchists falsely accused of the Hay-

market bombing. He did this despite his important differences with anarchism. Dietzgen took his class stand against the hysteria of the ruling class and gave not one inch to the pressures of the bourgeoisie.

Others in the socialist movement of the time reacted differently. They joined the chorus of the bourgeoisie writing lengthy Marxist treatises on terrorism and anarchism. They particularly denounced Dietzgen for his act of solidarity with the Haymarket martyrs. It was these same so-called "Marxists" who were later to form the base for the reformist wing of the American Socialist Party.

Today the Socialist Workers Party reacts like the right wing socialists of that day and not at all in the spirit of Dietzgen.

Let us now turn to Derrick Morrison on the Panthers. Morrison attacks precisely the break of the Panthers at least partially with nationalism and their turn towards socialism. He notes that the recent Panther convention put forward proposals which "stemmed from the belief that some type of socialist society is needed." Rather

Philadelphia plenary was that of 'picking up the gun.' The frustrated and desperate action of Jonathan P. Jackson at San Rafael was used as an example of action in the courts. This points up the fact that the Panthers do not conceive of 'picking up the gun' as part and parcel of a mass-action program... The way they raise it, 'picking up the gun' is not a program for mass action. It is a program for individual action, for action by the few. It is a retreat from mass action."

This is simply a slanderous statement and completely untrue. As has been proved in every trial the Panthers have been involved in, there is not a single shred of evidence that the Panthers propose and carry out violent individual actions. In every case the Panthers have been the victims of the violence of the ruling class. The Black Panthers' call for "picking up the gun" was, as is understood by the black masses, a declaration that the violence of the ruling class must be answered by the violence of the working class in revolution. It

of masses of black youth towards socialism, Marxism, revolution.

Is the call for socialism an evasion of "mass struggle?" Is the refusal to see defense as simply a civil liberties matter an evasion of mass support? Quite the opposite. The movement of the Panthers has given this organization deeper roots among masses of working class youth than ever before. Perhaps its reputation has been lowered among those sections of the blacks closely tied to the bourgeoisie and the middle classes who quake at each bomb scare and Agnew speech. But if the Panthers had not moved in the direction they have moved they would have cut themselves off from the revolutionary force of the youth as SNCC and CORE had done earlier.

The Black Panthers are an extremely confused movement which has not completed its break with black nationalism, nor has it developed any theoretical alternative in a Marxist transitional program. In addition they hold very reactionary views on questions like placing what they call the "lumpen" in the center of the struggle. They have also become prey to Stalinist influence and through the Stalinists liberalism on many occasions and in many places.

But this is no concern of Morrison. He attacks from the right. The furor of Agnew together with the revolutionary movement of the masses frighten Morrison and the SWP leadership. They strike out against the Panthers in reaction to this fright. It is class pressure at work—the pressure of the ruling class through the intermediary of middle class radical circles.

As we know the SWP started out as a revolutionary party—the central party of the Fourth International. In 1940 the working class section of this party rallied to Trotsky and fought it out against the petty bourgeois section which was capitulating to ruling class pressures in the form of the anti-Soviet hysteria which swept the middle classes. But after Trotsky's death the leadership concluded that its working class roots would in themselves make the party immune from the pressure of the middle class and the bourgeoisie.

## METHOD

What they ignored was that Trotsky did not just concentrate on the middle class character of the opposition but he linked this to their pragmatic method of thought. Failing to take up the struggle for dialectics, the SWP could not withstand the strong pressure of imperialism. Today they adapt to every surface movement of the middle classes. Now they no longer can take sides in the class struggle. Today they react as a petty bourgeois formation to the pressures of the American ruling class.

We note in sharp contrast that Huey Newton in his recent speech at New York City Community College devoted most of his talk to the question of dialectics. As the black masses begin to grope towards theory, toward Marxism, towards dialectics, the SWP delivers hammer blow after hammer blow against them.

**WE SAY TO THE SWP: YOU HAVE GONE TOO FAR THIS TIME! YOU MUST NOW BE CALLED TO ORDER BY YOUR OWN MEMBERSHIP!**

It is now clear why the SWP would not hold a joint meeting with us on Trotsky and against the Stalinists. It is now clear why the SWP did not even hold its own meeting on Trotsky. It is now clear why they refuse to discuss with us politically.

The movement to the right is fast—the pressure upon them is great. **IT IS TIME TO CALL A HALT!**



## Political Committee Statement On SWP And Black Panthers

Bobby Seale enters New Haven court in handcuffs for start of new trial.

than greeting this turn of the Panthers towards socialism, Morrison goes on to criticize the conference for having "no workshop on legal defense..."

Next he lets us know what he feels the political content of such a workshop should be: "If the government is able to destroy the Panther Party, then the existence of all organizations and individual civil liberties will be placed in doubt." Morrison sees the defense of the Panthers as a liberal civil liberties issue. He sees the fight against the repression of the Panthers as a liberal fight together with liberals and not as a class fight against a class attack.

He then contrasts the current position of the Panthers on socialism and their current activity with their past activities. Morrison holds up the past of the Panthers against its current more radical stand. And if there is any doubt on this score Morrison concludes:

"But since the end of 1968, the Panthers have, to a large degree, withdrawn from the mass struggle for black control. And as a consequence, their defense efforts have lacked the necessary broad-scale organization and education."

## CHARGES

Here we have it! Morrison objects precisely to the partial break of the Panthers from community control and nationalism. To the SWP the movement of the Panthers from nationalism—which can only be bourgeois—to socialism, if in a confused way, is seen as retrogressive because it means a break on the part of the Panthers at least partially with liberalism and thus with black and white sections of the middle class and ruling class.

Then comes the nitty gritty of it. Morrison joins with the capitalists in accusing the Black Panthers of individual terrorism—precisely the charges levelled against them by the courts across the nation. Morrison states:

"Yet the only action proposal of the

was not a call for futile individual acts of terror. It was however a recognition that such actions would take place in this period as the black masses would not peacefully submit to murder.

In holding up Jonathan Jackson as a hero, the Black Panthers were correct. The danger in the United States is not that individuals will believe that they can, gun-in-hand, change the judicial system alone but that the judicial system is somehow impartial, basically changeable under capitalism. While Jackson's method was "futile" his action was a revolutionary action against the capitalist state as a state. From that point of view we, too, stand with Jonathan Jackson.

Morrison equates mass struggle with liberal struggle, struggle together with sections of the bourgeoisie. Morrison equates the Black Panthers' refusal to bow their heads to the witchhunting of the ruling class with a call for individual acts of violence and thus lines up with and feeds the capitalist grist-mill of hysteria. Morrison sees the call for a socialist America and the attack on nationalism as a regrettable development rather than as a reflection of the turn

## Bulletin

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, 6th floor, 135 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 E. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852-3. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. **SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y.** Printed in U.S.A.

## BLACK NATIONALISM & MARXIST THEORY



by Tim Wohlforth

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# Nixon Prepares New N. Vietnam Invasions

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

U.S. imperialism has opened a new front in its brutal war against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. U.S. planes this week launched a massive bombing raid in North Vietnam as U.S. ground forces came within 23 miles of Hanoi.

Nixon has ordered an invasion into North Vietnam in an open provocation. The basis is being prepared for a military effort on the scale of the Cambodian invasion into North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

All of the many tales being told by Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense and the Nixon Administration cannot conceal the real nature of this attack and what underlies it.

Nixon's Vietnamization program is in shambles. The attack on North Vietnam is Nixon's desperate attempt to strike down the liberation forces which today threaten to defeat imperialism in Indochina.

## PRETEXT

Within hours of Laird's initial statements on the bombing raids, the whole pretext for the attack was being destroyed. The U.S. first attempted to cover over and deny the attacks after North Vietnam charged that U.S. planes had rained bombs over Hanoi and Haiphong. Then Laird later claimed that they were in retaliation for the shooting down of a reconnaissance plane. Laird contended that the North Vietnamese had agreed to allow such flights but this was quickly denied by the North Vietnamese in Paris. As the bombing continued Laird then stated the raids were against anti-aircraft installations but had struck only below the 19th parallel.

But in the same issue of the New York

Times of Nov. 23 which printed this statement alongside it was a report from Hanoi that U.S. planes had dropped bombs within 25 miles of Hanoi killing civilians and hitting a prisoner of war camp. This has been confirmed by a French reporter (Times, Nov. 24) who saw remnants of a U.S. missile only miles outside of Hanoi. Last Monday Laird opened the credibility gap even further by admitting the U.S. ground forces had landed within 23 miles of Hanoi under the guise of freeing prisoners of war.

## DEDICATION

"The daring mission," said Laird, shows "our dedication" to American prisoners. This statement was made only hours after the U.S. had bombed a POW camp. The real dedication of imperialism of course is to one thing and one thing only and that is maintaining imperialism's hold in Vietnam.

The invasion of North Vietnam like the invasion of Cambodia last spring are moves to deal with a situation that spells disaster for imperialism. Nixon's vision of decades of permanent controlled war in Vietnam have been blown up. In the last few months the U.S. has been driven back militarily. The South Vietnamese army cannot contain the NLF; the hated puppet regime in Saigon cannot maintain the necessary control for its masters in Washington. Combined with this is the situation in the U.S. armed forces in which whole sections of the army are



Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stands by map indicating where the United States sent an invasion party within 23 miles of Hanoi.

virtually refusing to fight capitalism's war.

For U.S. imperialism there can be no de-escalation. The workers and peasants are determined to drive imperialism out of Southeast Asia. There is no half way house. This is why under the cover of the Paris talks, Nixon has been preparing new plans for mass murder. This is why it is laying the basis for an acquittal of Calley as a justification for the My Lai massacre.

It must be made clear that like with the Cambodia invasion, Nixon can pull back temporarily but only to push forward its war more viciously again. This is the lesson of its provocative

raids on North Vietnam.

This is what makes so treacherous the euphoria of the SWP and the CP who claim that Nixon's war policies were repudiated in the recent elections and the role of the Stalinists in trying to force a settlement with imperialism in Paris.

The only way to stop Nixon and U.S. imperialism is through the struggle of the working class to drive the U.S. out of Vietnam. The American labor movement must stand and fight for the victory of the workers and peasants in Indochina as part and parcel of its growing struggle to defeat the anti-working class offensive of Nixon.

# HUEY NEWTON CALLS FOR TURN TO DIALECTICS

BY MELODY FARROW

NEW YORK, Nov. 19—Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party addressed a crowd of 4,000 youth at New York City Community College tonight. To the surprise of most of the youth, the two hour speech was devoted to the question of philosophy and Marxism.

He told the audience that he had not come to entertain them or "make you feel good." "I am not going to give you what you want but what is good for you." He called on the youth to reject nationalism and empty rhetoric and said that "the real issue is consciousness." He placed the importance of theory to the revolutionary movement at the very heart of his talk.

From the beginning Newton emphasized the importance of an objective analysis. He said:

"Reality is independent of us... Once we realize this we will move to understand and manipulate that world. Our attitudes have no effect on the world. We must know the objective facts and seize power. What is power? ... Power is the ability and knowledge to define the external world and harness the force and make it act the way we want ... With understanding you can break anything ... We must have a correct method to understand the past, the present and to be able to see the future."

## PHILOSOPHICAL

Newton then tackled the philosophical questions of historical materialism and dialectics. He said that "historical materialism is empiricism and that it is very 'deceiving because it only relies on the past. This is the theory of those who call themselves nationalists ... There was another man who went further and founded dialectical materialism ... His name was Karl Marx ... He integrated the discovery of reason with empiricism. He assumed the existence of the external world and understood the past and applied reason to it."

Newton criticized the whole black studies programs and the emphasis on cultural black history as insufficient to understand black peoples' problems. He explained that blacks were brought here as slaves "for a profit motive, for free labor for the exploiters. Racism was developed to justify this exploitation. So values came from a material force ... Racism seems to be the absolute problem but racism is an attitude. It must have material roots."

Speaking from the same objective view-

point, he said that the "hard hats are also exploited." While they may appear to be our "subjective enemies, the hard hats objectively can become our class brothers."

Newton then emphasized the importance of history and in particular the Russian Revolution:

"The Black Panther Party observes that in 1917 in the Soviet Union something happened. Society was transformed because Lenin applied practice and theory. We must arrange the facts and come up with a theory. We must test this theory in reality and see if it works."

Although Newton said it was the proletariat who had taken the power in Russia this would not be the case in the United States. "In the United States in 1970 you have a highly industrialized society and a very treacherous ruling class ... The lumpen, potentially will carry out the revolution ... the proletariat in North America is on the decline because of unemployment and the lumpen is on the

upsurge." He firmly rejected any nationalist approach and emphasized the unity of the struggle of oppressed peoples around the world.

Tracing the development of the Black Panther Party he said: "In 1966 the Black Panther Party called itself nationalist. We wanted to found a nation, we wanted to run away and we found out the enemy wouldn't let us run away. We must run towards him ... overthrow him and have a different society. Then we said we were nationalists and international socialists ... The Black Panther Party has moved beyond internationalism. We have developed a higher form of Marxism-Leninism ... Marxism-Leninism - Pantherism." He said that while "our strategy is armed struggle" he did not call on the youth to go get their guns but said that theory was the only way to be able to wage this struggle.

By beginning with the need for consciousness and theory Newton poses the way forward. His speech marks a serious attempt to grapple with questions of theory. His recognition of dialectics and Marxism, despite his confusion, will undoubtedly spur many youth to seek a real understanding of philosophy.

Precisely what was lacking in Newton's talk was a real strategy. He poses the development of theory in a very idealist

way, as "reason," as a "formula" which is then applied to practical experience. Thus he still winds up with a pragmatic approach. His statement that the lumpen proletariat will become the majority is based on a very one sided and impressionistic view of what is happening in this period. As Newton himself said: "What seems to be so is not so," that is that every development is contradictory. The working class will not passively be thrown out of work, without a fight back as was seen in San Jose and recently in San Francisco. As the working class enters into struggle the whole question of which class will rule, the question of power must be concretely posed.

It is within this deepening struggle that new weapons must be forged. What is objectively reflected in Newton's speech is a turn by sections of the youth and the working class to theory. It is the question of theory that will determine the victory or defeat of the working class. In *In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky emphasized that theory must be brought into the working class in order to arm it for the tremendous task of overthrowing the most powerful bourgeoisie in the world, and that the working class could not take power based only on its spontaneous struggles. This is the task that must be confronted today by the youth who want to fight to overthrow capitalism.

# Soviet Moonshot Marks New Advance

BY FRED MUELLER

The recent landing of the Soviet Luna 17 and the Lunokhod 1 is one of the most important advances in space exploration. The Lunokhod is the first vehicle of its kind to have operated on the lunar surface.

It is a self-propelled eight-wheel vehicle controlled automatically from the earth. It was transported to the moon by the Luna 17

The Luna 17 mission is the latest in a series of highly successful Soviet space accomplishments.

The scientific potential of the unmanned vehicles is tremendous. They can determine the composition and properties of lunar rock in different sections of the moon's surface. Even more important, they could be used to set up permanent or semi-permanent sets of scientific instruments over a wide area for simultaneous measurements.

These accomplishments are a tribute to

the Soviet planned economy. The planned economy demonstrates its superiority over capitalism in spite of bureaucratic mismanagement.

U.S. policy on space exploration has been along the lines of manned space flights. This is a more dramatic but scientifically less meaningful approach, since unmanned flights have been demonstrated to be just as useful in every respect. From the point of view of safety the Soviet scientists have insisted on perfecting techniques of exploration before attempting manned space landings. This less dramatic approach is being vindicated, with the recent Soviet successes following by six months the near-disaster of the Apollo-13 mission by the U.S.

Even more significantly, the growing economic crisis has led to tremendous

cutbacks in the U.S. space program.

Alan Shepard of the crew of the Apollo 14 mission, now scheduled for a lunar landing next February, has openly expressed the fear that drastic space spending cuts are undermining the morale of workers in the space project. "We kind of feel like the Wright brothers would have felt, if they had been told there's not enough money for a second airplane."

In this most advanced area of technology the capitalist system expresses its complete bankruptcy and its need to attack every section of the working class.

The severe crisis of Soviet economy and agriculture reflects its continued isolation from the international division of labor. This is a measure of the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, not of socialism and the planned economy. In the space achievements we have powerful proof of the gains of the Russian Revolution, which have been undermined but not destroyed.



# The Struggle For Dialectical Materialism Today

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

This November 28 marks the 150th birthday of Frederick Engels, who together with Karl Marx founded the modern working class movement. So closely did Marx and Engels collaborate in this work that it is difficult and in many cases impossible to separate out their distinct contributions to Marxist thought.

Engels in particular wrote on questions of philosophy and for this we must pay special tribute at this time. While this in part reflects his special interests in anthropology and science, it was just as much due to Marx's preoccupation with Capital. Capital, of course, was for Marx a theoretical task of the highest order and as such a real development of Marxist philosophy. For those who look for a "textbook" by Marx on dialectical materialism could well start with Capital.

Particularly important among his philosophical writings was *Anti-Duhring* with its important section *Socialism; Utopian and Scientific, Dialectics of Nature, and Feuerbach*. Because Engels took up such a sharp fight for materialism and insisted that dialectical logic was a reflection in the mind of the real contradictory movement of material reality, he has come under increasing fire by idealists.

## ATTACKS

Their essential argument is to contrast the early Marx who had not yet fully developed his materialist and class outlook with the later writings of Engels. These attacks on Engels' materialism, which have become popular in current academic "Marxist" circles, actually have their origins in this country with the pragmatists of the 1930s. It was Professor Sydney Hook who wrote in 1936:

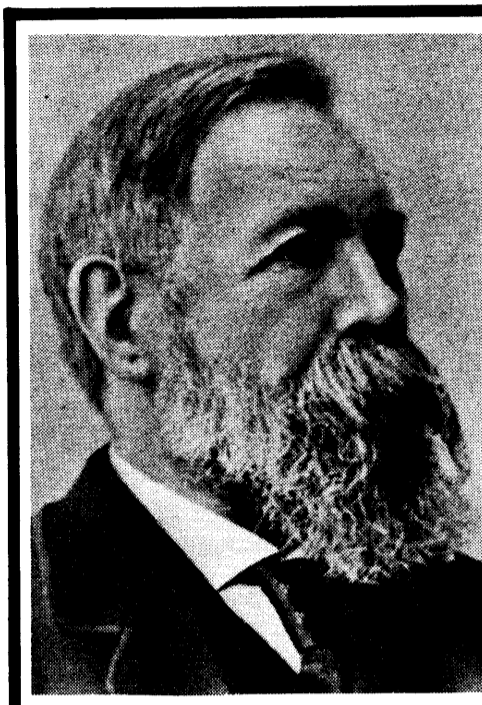
"Marx himself never speaks of a *Natur-Dialektik*, although he was quite aware that gradual quantitative changes in the fundamental units of physics and chemistry result in qualitative changes. Engels, however, in his *Anti-Duhring* and in his posthumously published manuscript *Dialektik und Natur* openly extends the dialectic to natural phenomena. His definition of dialectic, however, indicates that he is unaware of the distinctive character of the dialectic as opposed to the physical concept of 'change' and the biological concept of 'development.' 'Dialectic,' he writes, 'is nothing more than the science of universal laws of motion and evolution in nature, human society and thought.'" (From *Hegel to Marx*, Page 75.)

This attempt to pit the later Engels against Marx is of course a blatant fraud. For instance Marx himself writes in 1873 in the preface to the Second Edition of *Capital*:

"My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'The Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge of the real world, and the real world is only the external phenomenal form of 'The Idea.' With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world re-

flected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."

These attacks on Engels were continued by James Burnham, leader of the petty



—the imperialists.

The thinking of Engels was always in sharp contradiction with American pragmatism. It was Engels who said of this

## On The 150th Anniversary Of The Birth Of Frederick Engels

bourgeois opposition within the Socialist Workers Party in 1940. Burnham wrote of Engels:

"I find about 75 percent of what Engels wrote in these latter fields (He is referring to 'philosophy, logic, natural science and scientific method'—TW) to be confused or outmoded by subsequent scientific investigation—in either case of little value. It seems to me (and as a Marxist I do not find it astonishing) that in them Engels was a true son of his generation, the generation of Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley, of the popularizers of Darwin who thought that by a metaphorical extension of the hypothesis of biological evolution they had discovered the ultimate key to the mysteries of the universe."

## PRAGMATISTS

Trotsky is then accused of serving up "only a stale re-hash of Engels."

What these American pragmatists find so reprehensible in Engels is Engels' insistence that the development of the real world is lawful and that our minds can accurately reflect this development if we can master dialectical thinking. Through dialectics our very forms of thought are developed so as to bring out the real struggle and change in the natural and social world.

The idealism of Hook and Burnham was actually a reflection of a class position of the middle class intellectual. Confronted with the rise of fascism and the needs of its own ruling class to prepare for imperialist war. Thus they sharply rebelled against a philosophical stand which exposed the real class nature of society and their responsibility to take a stand on class issues and fight to change the world through the construction of the party. For them the real world was not lawful and thus they could not really effect it. They could thus only accept it by adapting to the needs of those who ran it

country:

"...From good historical reasons the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the masses stupid." (Letter to Sorge in 1886.)

American pragmatism was to be in the later period a development of such imbecility.

To Engels the development of dialectics was precisely to make possible revolutionary activity, to prepare for and carry through the socialist revolution. Engels, in his later years, carried on an extensive correspondence to this end with American Marxists. In this way he became thoroughly acquainted with American conditions, the level of the American working class and its historical peculiarities as well as the weaknesses of the American Marxists themselves. It must be remembered that Engels had authored the articles which appeared under Marx's name in the *New York Herald* on the German revolution and that he had written extensively on the American Civil War, particularly its military aspects.

It was in this context that Engels took up the fight to turn the early Marxists in America into the actual organizations of the American working class and urged them to take up the fight for a labor party. He wrote:

"The first great step of importance for every country newly entering in the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party."

This brought him into collision with a section of the German-American movement about which he stated:

"The Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has to be learned by heart, which then will satisfy all requirements forthwith. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action."

## THEORETICAL

The meaning of Engels' work and struggle for us today comes out sharply in all this. First, we can see that the first real development of an understanding of the American working class, its theoretical backwardness and its great potential if and only if, the American Marxists learn to penetrate it so as to pit it politically against the capitalists—this understanding came from Engels along with Marx. Thus a perspective for the development of the American working class came out of the international experience and theoretical leadership of the proletariat—and not out of some peculiar American development.

This perspective, this need to struggle for a labor party in the United States and through this struggle for Marxists to penetrate deep into the working class, can only be carried forward through an understanding of Engels' theoretical work as a whole—in particular his fight for dialectics as a comrade-in-arms of Marx. American pragmatism comes into collision with Engels' materialist dialectics and as such reinforces the American bourgeoisie making it impossible for American Marxists to penetrate the working class.

It is precisely the pragmatism of the present-day Socialist Workers Party which leads it to adapt to middle class movements, abstain from work in the trade unions, and refuse to fight actively for the labor party as Engels urged. It is not surprising that the SWP makes no mention of the 150th birthday of Engels. To the SWP Engels is a figure but not the leader of a theoretical struggle vital to the construction of the party now.

## CP

The Communist Party organ *Political Affairs* publishes an editorial on Engels' birthday which does not say a single word about his relationship to the United States and the political and theoretical struggle he waged for a class party here. This is then followed, not by an editorial, but actually a Political Committee Resolution on the 60th birthday of Gus Hall. Engels merits an editorial but Gus gets a resolution (which he no doubt voted for as a member of the Political Committee.)

What is essential today is that we go to school with Engels and seek to learn from him what the early Marxists in this country turned a deaf ear to, what the pragmatists of the 1930s sought to deny, and what the contemporary revisionists and opportunists treat with disdain as they go about their essentially liberal business.

## TURN

We must take a sharp turn towards dialectical materialism as we actually go out into the working class and take up the struggle to defend the working class politically against the new attacks of Nixon, Agnew and the whole imperialist ruling class behind them. The solution to the American question requires above all an international perspective and this at heart is a fight for dialectical materialism.

## Juan Farinas Gains Nationwide Support From Labor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Support for Juan Farinas' defense has gained tremendous momentum in the labor movement in the last week. Farinas, a young trade unionist, who goes to trial on December 10, faces up to 25 years in jail and \$10,000 fine on five frameup charges for violating the Selective Service Act.

The new sponsors include: Jack Spiegel of the United Shoe Workers in Chicago, Sidney Lens, the noted trade unionist associated with the Chicago Peace Council, and Elise Medina of the United Farm Workers Coordinating Committee.

Along with the *Militant* and the *Guardian*, *The Bond*, the newspaper of the American Servicemen's Union, has now covered the case.

From Chicago's Spanish-speaking community the Committee now has the sponsorship of the Young Lords, the Latin Kings and Free Puerto Rican Youth. Members of the Veterans for Peace Committee in Chicago are also sponsoring the case. There are now over 50 organizations and

prominent trade unionists and others sponsoring the Defense Committee.

Over the past weekend, funds were collected for the defense in Boston, Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. At the rally sponsored by the National Committee Against War, Racism, and Repression in New York City over \$50 was collected.

## WIDEN

The base of support for Juan Farinas is broadening. This case is becoming known all over the country and thousands of workers and youth are rallying to his support. However, the Committee needs to widen its support even further, especially in the labor movement, the Spanish-

speaking community and among high school and college youth. The fight has just begun to gain support for Juan Farinas.

In New York City, the Committee and the Spanish-speaking groups working for the case, have taken it to East Harlem, gaining support and collecting money for the defense. The Committee has also set up tables in neighborhoods and on campuses throughout the city for work in Farinas' defense.

On November 20, the Committee met

**Farinas Defense Meeting**  
**Lecture Hall 109 Dec. 3 8:30**  
**Stony Brook University**

# MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM



A Series of Lectures by Tim Wohlforth

WHAT IS THE Marxist conception of truth? The Marxist conception of truth seems on first thought to be very similar to that of the pragmatists. We will look at Marx's Theses on Feuerbach.

You must understand that this thesis was written very early in 1845. It was written against Feuerbach who was a materialist, a mechanical materialist. It was written at the point where Marx emerges philosophically as a Marxist. It was in the same period as he wrote the Economic and Philosophic Notebooks, and laid the basis for the writing of the Communist Manifesto just three years after that. The basic conceptions of Marx were already formed by this period, in the course of a struggle within the Hegelian circles in Germany.

"The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism—that of Feuerbach included—is that the object, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or contemplation but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively. Thus it happened that the active side in opposition to materialism, was developed by idealism—but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real sensuous activity as such. Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really differentiated from the thought-objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as activity through objects. Consequently, in the Essence of Christianity, he regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuine human attitude, while practice is conceived and fixed only in its dirty-Jewish form of appearance. Hence he does not grasp the significance of 'revolutionary,' of practical-critical, activity.

"The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question. In practice man must prove the truth, i.e., the reality and power, the this-sidedness' of his thinking. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question.

"The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that circumstances are changed precisely by men and that the educator must himself be educated. Hence this doctrine necessarily arrives at dividing society into two parts, of which one towers above society (in Robert Owen for example).

"The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can only be conceived and rationally understood as revolutionizing practice."(1)

This definitely seems like the statement of a pragmatist. Marx is saying

that all other materialists have seen sensuous reality as an object which you contemplate. What the Marxist must do is see this reality as something which the human being senses through his own activity and practice.

Here he is making several points. First, and this is generally where he seems to be on the same ground as the pragmatist, he says the question of the reality or the non-reality of thinking, is a practical question. This question which has plagued mankind for 4,000 years Marx answers

man—or bump off a few old men.

### KEY

What Marx counters to these utopian conceptions, is that circumstances are created by men and therefore the key to the situation is the question of revolutionizing the practice, that is the practice of man guided by revolutionary theory. Here is where in particular the question of Marxism and pragmatism move in two opposite directions. While the pragmatist states; that practice proves the truth or untruth

With this outlook the pragmatist never gets beyond what Marx called practice as "conceived and fixed only in its dirty-Jewish form of appearance."

By raising a question mark over thought, and looking upon thought as something that is ideal and not material, the pragmatist does in his own way the same thing as the early materialist did. The early materialist recognized reality, and some of them absolutely, but denied men's actions and men's thinking, seeing men's thinking in a purely mechanical way. These early materialists, turned away from any real understanding of that reality, by probing into the question of its basic movement and any real development of men's knowledge in order to penetrate that reality and therefore to change it.

The pragmatist does the same thing by questioning the existence of the material world and proclaiming his absolute conviction that logic has no basis in the material world. The pragmatists therefore found no need to pay attention to logic and to develop logic and thus develop a deeper understanding of the reality itself.

They were left with only one thing they could do, which was the only thing the bourgeoisie wanted them to do, and that was to see to what extent they could patch up things here or there. Add a little bit here, take away a little bit there. That is all their method could do, because without an understanding of basics, of fundamentals, without understanding abstractions they could only tamper with the surface of things. They could not get at the heart of the basic change of society itself. They could only pose that we take the society as a given, and then we see what

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 Three--The Dialectics Of Materialism

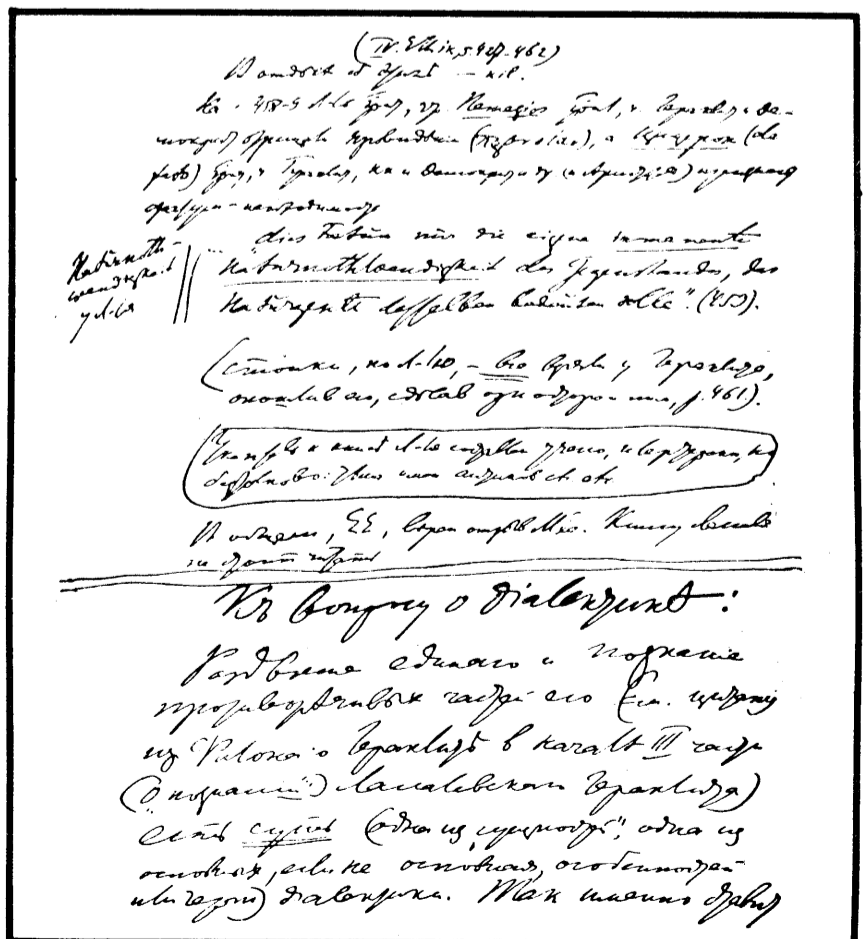
in one sentence. He dispenses with it in one sentence, he says it is not a question to be answered by thought. The question of whether thought is real or unreal is not a question to be answered within the context of thought. It cannot be answered through a deductive reasoning process. How could it be? How can you tell whether thought is real or unreal through thought?

You cannot tell it through reality as such. Reality is not conscious. So the real world cannot test the thought; the thought cannot test the thought. What can test the thought? The action of man on the basis of thought. Why we know that our minds reflect reality essentially, not perfectly but generally, is that on the basis of the reflections in our mind we can go out and chop down a tree, or plant another tree, or make paper out of a tree. We can do all sorts of things, including going to the moon.

But this is the beginning of what Marx says. It is not the end of what Marx says. He then goes on to say that while it is correct to say that circumstances produce the man, and that changed circumstances produce a changed man, it is incorrect therefore not to confront the question that it is men who change the circumstances.

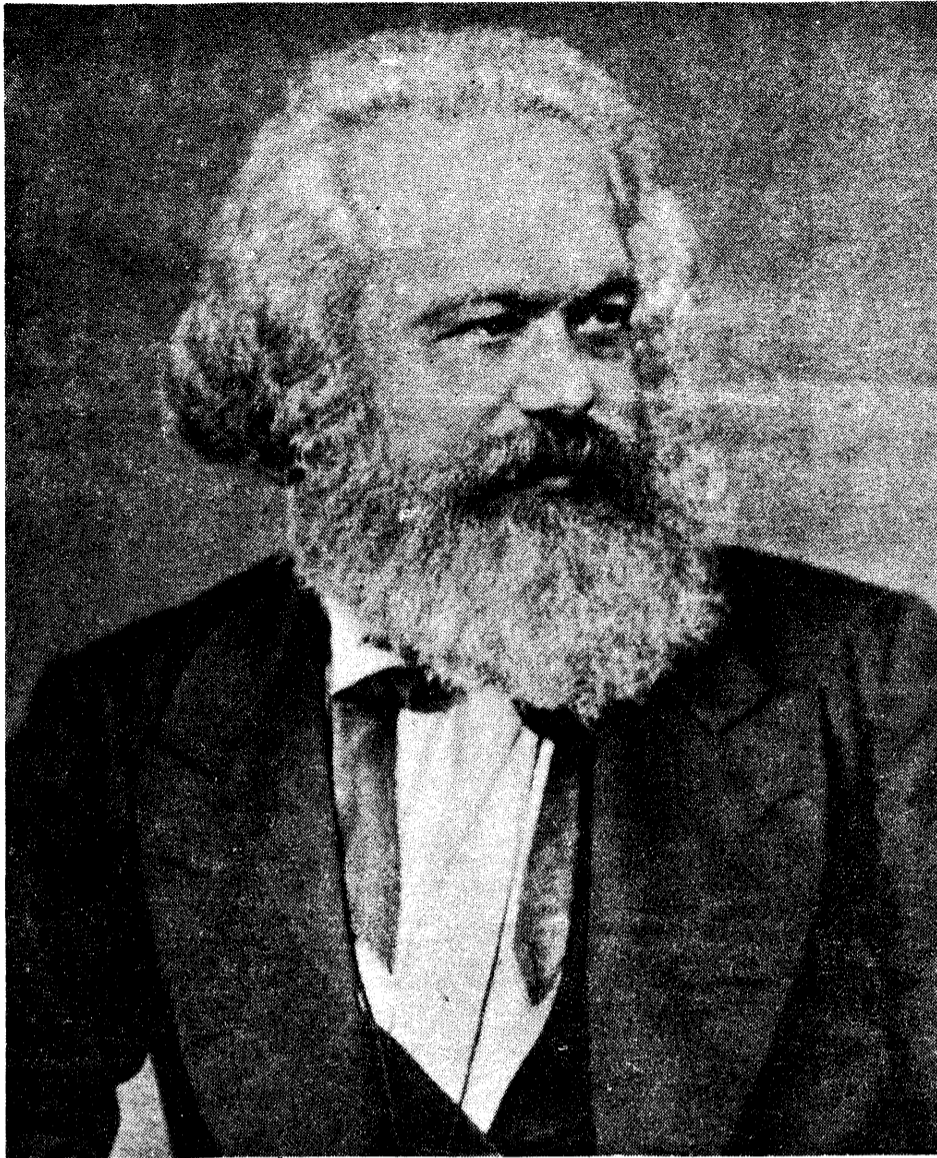
What he means by this is as follows. You conclude that the circumstances determine you, that what is wrong with society, its inequality, poverty and so on, is because man is conditioned by the society he lives in, and if you want to change man you have got to change society. That is where the old utopians stood like Robert Owen. Therefore what we have got to do is change the circumstances; we will change the society. This is, for instance, the proposal of the utopians who say, we will take some men at least and we will go out to Utah to an old ranch, or find perhaps a left over movie set in California, and gather together our good souls, led by God or devil, and in this new way create a new

of a conception, he does not see it as proving the reality of the material world and the materiality of the thought processes as a reflection of this world.



This is a page from Lenin's Philosophical Notebooks. These are vital in developing an understanding of dialectics to go beyond vulgar materialism and idealism.





Karl Marx himself became a "Marxist" through a rejection not only of Hegel's idealism but of the vulgar materialism of Feuerbach who could not grasp practice.

we can work out within it.

Proving that logic and thought are based on the real world and are reflections of a material process, is the beginning. It is not the end of knowledge. We must recognize that Marx emphasized that idealism developed the active side. What we want to do in attacking pragmatism is not just what Novack does. He attacks pragmatism for its inconsistencies on questions of materialism, and makes a few points about how it is a little formal, and it should be more flexible, and movement and development, as abstractions. We want to take method and logic and put it back into the real world precisely in order to be able to develop that method.

#### PLEKHANOV

Lenin said the following about Plekhanov, whose method is similar to Novack's, though Plekhanov was way beyond Novack in his understanding:

"Plekhanov criticizes Kantianism (and agnosticism in general) more from a vulgar-materialistic standpoint than from a dialectical-materialistic standpoint, insofar as he merely rejects their views from the threshold, but does not correct them (as Hegel corrected Kant), deepening, generalizing and extending them, showing the connection and transitions of each and every concept.

"Marxists criticized (at the beginning of the twentieth century) the Kantians and Humists more in the manner of Feuerbach (and Bucher) than of Hegel." (2)

What Lenin meant by this was that it is not enough to look at Kantians and the agnostics and simply show that they have a contradictory attitude toward material reality. We must not simply reject their view; we must correct their views. We must develop the alternative to their views which requires some discussion and some study of the question of logic itself. It requires some discussion and development concretely within the framework of the understanding of the history and development of the party. It requires some discussion of the development of thinking and the thought process as part of the construction of the party.

#### DIALECTICS

It is now necessary to go a little bit into the question of dialectics. When one is dealing with the question of method and of logic, it is one thing to seek to describe the basic categories and processes of logic; it is quite another thing to really understand dialectics.

The understanding of dialectics, as we have pointed out from the beginning of these lectures, can only take place through practice, through the struggle for the construction of the party. Otherwise what you do is simply state certain formal

conceptions, certain conceptions of logic which are relatively easy to memorize and repeat. They have no meaning, because the whole central point that we are seeking to make about method is that method and logic are rooted in material reality. When you are dealing with the conceptions of method and logic you are dealing with the basic movement of reality. But at the same time you have to be able to relate your conceptions of the basic movement of reality with more specific movement of reality. You have to be able to fight to understand dialectics through a study of history, and through practice today to change history.

This will perhaps become clearer as we get a little bit into dialectics and particularly into the question of the relationship of the abstract to the concrete in dialectics. It is particularly at this point that dialectics sharply diverges from empiricism and pragmatism.

Empiricism and pragmatism are hostile to abstract thought. They identify abstract thought with scholasticism. Scholasticism is a process in which ideas develop independently of the material world through logic alone. You begin with a particular a priori conception, whatever it may be. Then you develop that assertion through certain laws of logic. You can develop from the simplest of all assertions, like the identity of an object, that A equals A, something that can fill 25 volumes. An entire logical system of metaphysics can be developed that way.

#### THOUGHT

In fighting against this approach, pragmatism and empiricism comes to the conclusion that there is no reality to theory. What is really real is immediate appearance, what is perceived. Thus they see the process of the relationship of the concrete to the abstract as a process which they recognize is necessary to some extent as a scientist must have certain hypotheses or theories. They see it essentially as a process of moving away from reality, moving from what they are sure of to something they are doubtful about. Moving a greater distance from reality. They do it grudgingly and they do it skeptically because they do not trust the very tools that they use to move from concrete to abstraction, to theory. They don't see logic itself as rooted in material reality but as something that is an a priori, artificially arrived at subjectively by the human mind. Lenin wrote on this question as follows:

"Essentially Hegel was completely right as opposed to Kant (on the question of the relation between concrete and abstract—TW). Thought proceeding from the concrete to the abstract—provided it is correct does not get away from the truth,

# 'Plekhanov criticizes from a vulgar-material dialectical-materialis

but comes closer to it. The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short all scientific abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely. From living perception to abstract thought and from this to practice—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of objective reality." (3)

Elsewhere he says: "Nature is both concrete and abstract, both phenomenon and essence, both moment and relation." (4)

Lenin says the general movement of thinking, of thought processes, of development of thought is from the concrete. Yes, you begin with appearance and fact, you can begin nowhere else. You move from that to abstraction. From appearance to essence and then back to practice, that is the general movement. In so doing, as you move to essence, you move to a more real level than appearance, than immediate fact, to a more fundamental level, to the abstraction of matter, to the conception of value, the state. These are more real levels.

#### REAL

In other words, the theory of the state, the conception of a state as a body of armed men representing one class for the dominance and suppression of another class, is more real than a description of the functioning on any particular day from the Congressional Record of Congress, or a listing empirically of the activities of all the governments on all levels in the United States for any day or any year or all of them put together.

Such a description would be the appearance of the state. We move, for instance, from the attack of the Philadelphia police on the Panthers to an understanding of the role of the ruling class in seeking to suppress the working class. This requires our understanding of the nature of the state as a body of armed men defending the privileges of the capitalist class. When we do that we are on a more real level, we have a fuller understanding of reality than when we deal simply with the question the fact that the Philadelphia police attacked the Panthers.

Marx goes into this same point in describing the method he used in *Capital*. (In explaining why he wrote *Capital* on the basis of starting out with the commodity) Marx says:

"If we start out, therefore, with population, we do so with a chaotic conception of the whole, and by closer analysis we will gradually arrive at simpler ideas; thus we shall proceed from the imaginary concrete to less and less complex abstractions, until we get at the simplest conception. This once attained, we might start on our return journey until we would finally come back to population, but this time not as a chaotic notion of an integral whole, but as a rich aggregate of many conceptions and relations." (5)

By population Marx means population figures, facts, how many people live here, how many live there, how many people are employed in agriculture, how many in industry, what the distribution of wealth is in the country. Marx considered fact to be an imaginary concrete. It appears to be very concrete, but if you really know what it is it is an abstraction.

#### IMAGINARY

If we look at fact, fact is of necessity at any point an abstraction. You cannot describe anything factually. When you describe anything factually you are making an abstraction. You are either noting color, number, texture, some aspect of it, or some particular sum of aspects of it. Each aspect, each fact so to speak, is abstracted from the totality of it, and from its interrelationship with everything else, and the inner processes at work within it. So fact is imaginary concrete. It seems concrete, but the facts are actually abstracted out of the real world. They are not therefore really concrete. They are abstractions.

They appear not only to be abstractions, they appear to be very simple abstractions.

People feel that when they are dealing with fact, they are willing to make a very clear statement that fact is absolute. Things absolutely happened! They are not willing to make such a clear statement that a particular theoretical conception, like the nature of the state, has any absoluteness to it at all, relative or otherwise. They feel comfortable with the fact." And they feel very sure of it.

They do not realize that this fact is an abstraction from reality; it is one aspect of reality. Furthermore when it appears to be very simple, it is really extremely complex. When you are on the level of appearance, if you are a very diligent observer, you note every single fact or aspect of any concrete thing. You will then have an extremely complex abstraction.

You have all the shades—take for instance a fir tree—all the shades of green that are on each single needle; you have the exact length of every needle; you have the number of branches which have needles on them; you have the number of roots and the length of the roots, you have the texture of the root as compared to the texture of the needle. As you know with a scientific study using laboratory techniques, each statement I am making here could be filled in with a thousand figures. Really your picture of a fir tree is an extremely complex abstraction.

At this level of appearance, as Marx says, it is chaotic. Because you do not know what is more important, what is less important—the essential character of the fir tree—you just have a number of figures. So you actually proceed from the complex chaotic abstractions of fact to simpler conceptions.

Your proceed, for instance to use the Panther analogy, from the fact of so many police moving on a certain night and attacking the Panthers in the following ways and making the following accusations about them. These police work for a particular city government and make various statements about what happened. The Panthers make other various statements. From all that complexity, you move to a simpler and more essential conception of the nature of the capitalist state and the meaning of the attack. In fact the meaning of the attack is not possible to find simply on the level of the fact, as you can see in the papers any day, there are arguments about why they attacked, what is the meaning of it, what it stands for, etc.



Pictured above is the raid of the Philadelphia Black Panthers. This can be seen as a

# 's Kantianism more materialist than from a standpoint'- LENIN

## ESSENTIAL

Contrary to popular opinion and the so-called common sense theory, nature is not simply concrete in the normal use of the word "concrete"—that is in the sense of appearance. Lenin uses "concrete," "phenomenon," "moment." Nature is not simply appearance moment, concrete. That is one aspect of nature. What we see is its concreteness, its immediacy. Abstractions are just as real, and in many ways more real than the concrete, and they really exist in nature.

When we discuss the issue of the state, we are talking about a very existent aspect of government that is very real. It is so real that it dominates over the other aspects of government. In other words the nature of the capitalist state dominates over the form of democracy or dictatorship. Regardless of form the capitalist state acts in a certain way. We can predict how it will act toward the working class regardless of its form, regardless of the language used by the people who operate the state, regardless of the level of the culture in that particular country. That state acts according to its nature as a capitalist state, according to its essence, according to this abstraction. It does not act according to what language they speak, what governmental form it has, and so on. It does but not completely, that is a very minor aspect of the functioning of the state. Cultural differences, forms of rule, are minor compared to this essential aspect.

This is why pragmatism, by limiting your thinking only to the level of fact, limits your ability to get at the essential character of things, essential movement. On the level of fact movement can only be described in the sense of having been noted to have taken place. The movement itself cannot be explained. On this level you are dealing as the pragmatists themselves state, not with cause but with consequences, not with fundamentals but with secondary questions. You are therefore dealing in the small change of history.

## CHANGE

The only changes you can make on that level are small. You influence this; you affect that fact. You maneuver appearance but you cannot change essence. The central problem facing mankind is that the essence must be changed, and nothing can be done with the appearance until

the essence is changed. Revolutionary change is required and this is why the methods of empiricism and pragmatism play a reactionary role in this period.

I will go very briefly into some other aspects of dialectics, if only to sort of hold out to you the potential of the dialectical method as developed in real life, not to give you a series of simple formulas to take down and memorize and use in any kind of formal way. This may give you an idea of the scope of dialectics and to make one or two additional points about the general nature of dialectical thinking.

## ELEMENTS

This comes from the *Philosophical Notebooks* by Lenin, and it is an attempt on Lenin's part to very briefly list the elements of dialectics. I might also suggest that the very same basics are described in the *Philosophical Notebooks* in his article *On the Question of Dialectics*. He says:

"One could perhaps present these elements in greater detail as follows: 1) The objectivity of consideration (not examples, not divergence but the Thing-in-itself)." (5)

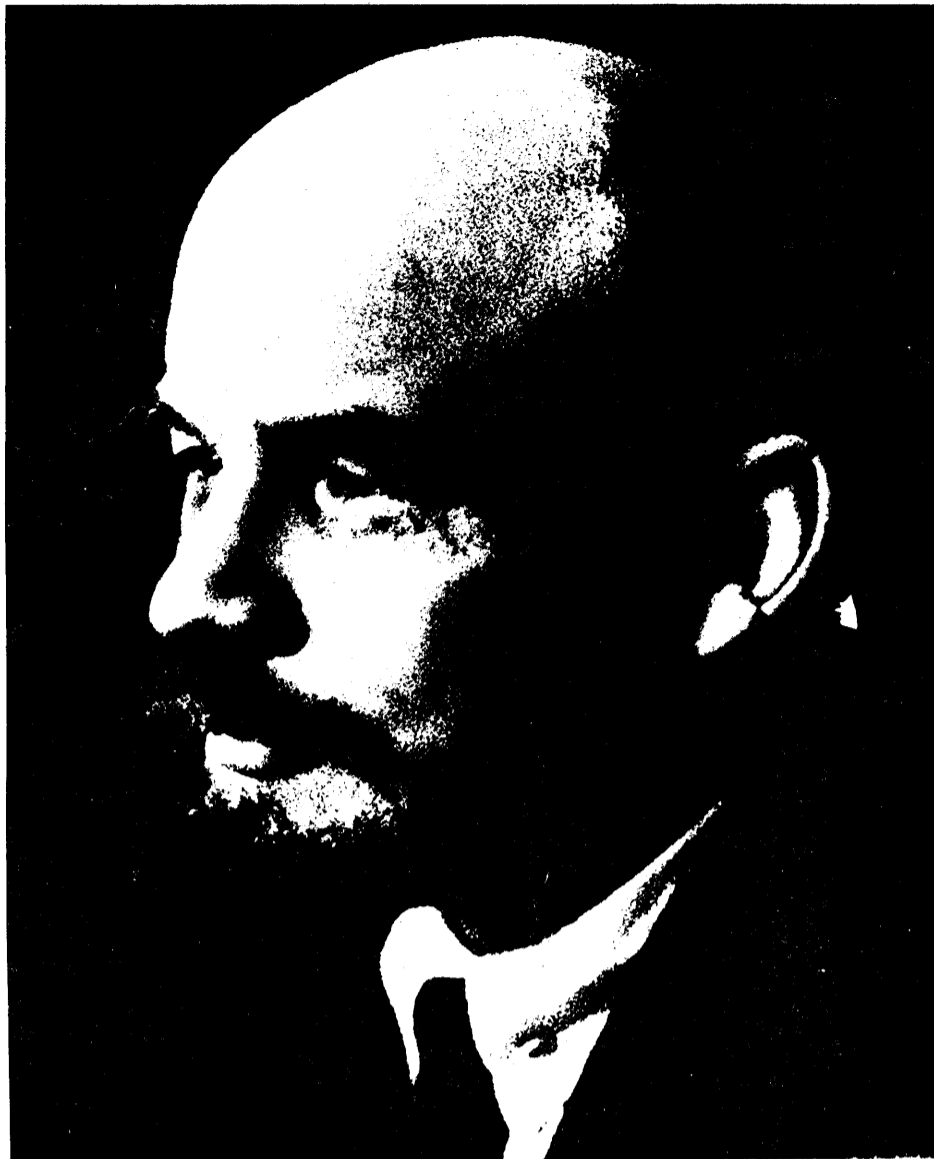
The first element of dialectics as Lenin sees it is the objectivity of what we are considering. The materiality, the reality of the world, is the first element.

"2) The entire totality of the manifold relations of this thing to others."

Not only is the thing under consideration real and objective, but we must consider all its relations with everything else.

"3) The development of this thing, (phenomenon, respectively), its own movement, its own life."

It is important to note that the printer puts into another typeface what Lenin underlines sharply in his handwritten notebook. These are always the key words. In the first point it was "objectivity," in the second point, "relations." Thus we begin with the objective nature of the thing under consideration and then proceed to its relationship to other things. This brings us to the third point where the word "development" is underlined. The third aspect of dialectics is an understanding of the development of a thing. Development takes place through its own movement. It is not simply a matter of the effect of an external force upon a particular thing for this raises the ques-



Lenin saw nature as both concrete and abstract. He insisted that knowledge proceeds from the concrete world of 'fact' to higher and higher levels of abstraction.

tion of what moves the external force. The central nature of matter is that it has internal movement; it moves itself; and it cannot be otherwise.

"4) The internally contradictory tendencies (and sides) in this thing."

The word underlined is "tendencies." The single thing is not a solid unity with no divergencies within it, but it is a unity with divergencies. There are tendencies, contradictory tendencies.

"5) The thing (Phenomenon, etc.) as the sum and unity of opposites."

The identity of any particular object is actually a sum and unity of oppositional forces. Its only identity lies in this unity of oppositional forces.

"6) The struggle, respectively unfolding, of these opposites, contradictory strivings, etc."

The word "struggle" here is key. "7) The union of analysis and synthesis—the breakdown of the separate parts and the totality, the summation of these parts."

This is the method for analyzing anything. We break it down into its elements and put it back together. Analysis and synthesis are one process and not mutually exclusive processes. They are, of course, in contradiction to each other, but there is also a unity. That unity is our understanding of anything.

"8) The relations of each thing (phenomenon, etc.) are not only manifold, but general, universal. Each thing (phenomenon, process, etc.) is connected with every other."

Here the words "every other" are underlined. Everything in the world is interconnected. To understand any one thing completely, whether it is a grain of sand or a human being or a society, you must understand absolutely everything. This is why while we consider everything knowable, nothing will ever be completely known.

If we develop a conception that things are not related completely to every other thing, then we cannot explain how they are part of the same process, obey the same natural laws. We would create between things unbridgeable gulfs. Each thing would stand absolutely unrelated and separated from every other thing. With this formal conception there would be no motion, no movement, no change from one thing into another.

"9) not only the unity of opposites, but the transitions of EVERY determination, quality, feature, side, property, into every other (into its opposite?)"

"Transitions" and "every" are key here.

"10) The endless process of the discovery of new sides, relations, etc."

Let us go over these two points together.

We have not only the unity of opposites—that these forces are unified through their struggle against each other and this alone gives anything identity—but we have transitions of one opposite into another. This is how change and development take place. This is the process of self-motion that is in everything.

Knowledge of things is an endless process of discovery of new sides and new relations, and aspects. Things are infinitely sided. That is why one's knowledge of anything can always be developed. One is constantly discovering new relations between one thing and another.

"11) The endless process of the deepening of man's knowledge of the thing, of phenomena, processes, etc., from appearance to essence and from less profound to more profound essence."

This is the point we were making before. Knowledge moves from appearance to essence, from essence to more profound essence, to more and more fundamental understanding of the basic laws and working of nature and society.

"12) From co-existence to causality and from one form of connection and reciprocal dependence to another, deeper, more general form."

Hume, as we noted before, recognized only co-existence and denied causality. In dialectics we proceed from the recognition that things exist side by side to the understanding of how one causes the other. But we go further: from causality to an understanding of the reciprocal dependence of cause and effect. The very conception of causality is a unity of opposites. As we proceed along these lines in our thinking we move to a deeper and more general understanding of the reciprocal relations of things.

"13) The repetition at a higher stage of certain features, properties, etc. of the lower and..."

"14) The apparent return to the old (negation of the negation)."

## NEGATION

This is the general process of movement. If you begin with a positive assertion, a positive development; you then have a negation, something that negates it. But it does not stop here. This negation actually brings forth a new thing, a new development, an affirmation. That new thing is the negation of the negation, and that is positive. So you go from positive to negative and back to positive.

Now as this generally works out because you are going from positive to negative and then back to positive you actually seem to be back where you were before. But, a change has taken place. That is why Lenin calls it an apparent return to the old. A change has taken place as you went from positive to negative. You can



Philadelphia police on the  
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# 'Plekhanov criticizes Kantianism more from a vulgar-materialist than from a dialectical-materialist standpoint'- LENIN

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In other words, the theory of the state, the conception of a state as a body of armed men representing one class for the dominance and suppression of another class, is more real than a description of the functioning on any particular day from the Congressional Record of Congress, or a listing empirically of the activities of all the governments on all levels in the United States for any day or any year or all of them put together.

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## ESSENTIAL

Contrary to popular opinion and the so-called common sense theory, nature is not simply concrete in the normal use of the word "concrete"—that is in the sense of appearance. Lenin uses "concrete," "phenomenon," "moment." Nature is not simply appearance moment, concrete. That is one aspect of nature. What we see is its concreteness, its immediacy. Abstractions are just as real, and in many ways more real than the concrete, and they really exist in nature.

When we discuss the issue of the state, we are talking about a very existent aspect of government that is very real. It is so real that it dominates over the other aspects of government. In other words the nature of the capitalist state dominates over the form of democracy or dictatorship. Regardless of form the capitalist state acts in a certain way. We can predict how it will act toward the working class regardless of its form, regardless of the language used by the people who operate the state, regardless of the level of the culture in that particular country. That state acts according to its nature as a capitalist state, according to its essence, according to this abstraction. It does not act according to what language they speak, what governmental form it has, and so on. It does but not completely, that is a very minor aspect of the functioning of the state. Cultural differences, forms of rule, are minor compared to this essential aspect.

This is why pragmatism, by limiting your thinking only to the level of fact, limits your ability to get at the essential character of things, essential movement. On the level of fact movement can only be described in the sense of having been noted to have taken place. The movement itself cannot be explained. On this level you are dealing as the pragmatists themselves state, not with cause but with consequences, not with fundamentals but with secondary questions. You are therefore dealing in the small change of history.

## CHANGE

The only changes you can make on that level are small. You influence this; you affect that fact. You maneuver appearance but you cannot change essence. The central problem facing mankind is that the essence must be changed, and nothing can be done with the appearance until

the essence is changed. Revolutionary change is required and this is why the methods of empiricism and pragmatism play a reactionary role in this period.

I will go very briefly into some other aspects of dialectics, if only to sort of hold out to you the potential of the dialectical method as developed in real life not to give you a series of simple formulas to take down and memorize and use in any kind of formal way. This may give you an idea of the scope of dialectics and to make one or two additional points about the general nature of dialectical thinking.

## ELEMENTS

This comes from the *Philosophical Notebooks* by Lenin, and it is an attempt on Lenin's part to very briefly list the elements of dialectics. I might also suggest that the very same basics are described in the *Philosophical Notebook* in his article *On the Question of Dialectics*. He says:

"One could perhaps present these elements in greater detail as follows: 1) The objectivity of consideration (not examples, not divergence but the Thing-in-itself)." (5)

The first element of dialectics as Lenin sees it is the objectivity of what we are considering. The materiality, the reality of the world, is the first element.

"2) The entire totality of the manifold relations of this thing to others."

Not only is the thing under consideration real and objective, but we must consider all its relations with everything else.

"3) The development of this thing, (phenomenon, respectively), its own movement, its own life."

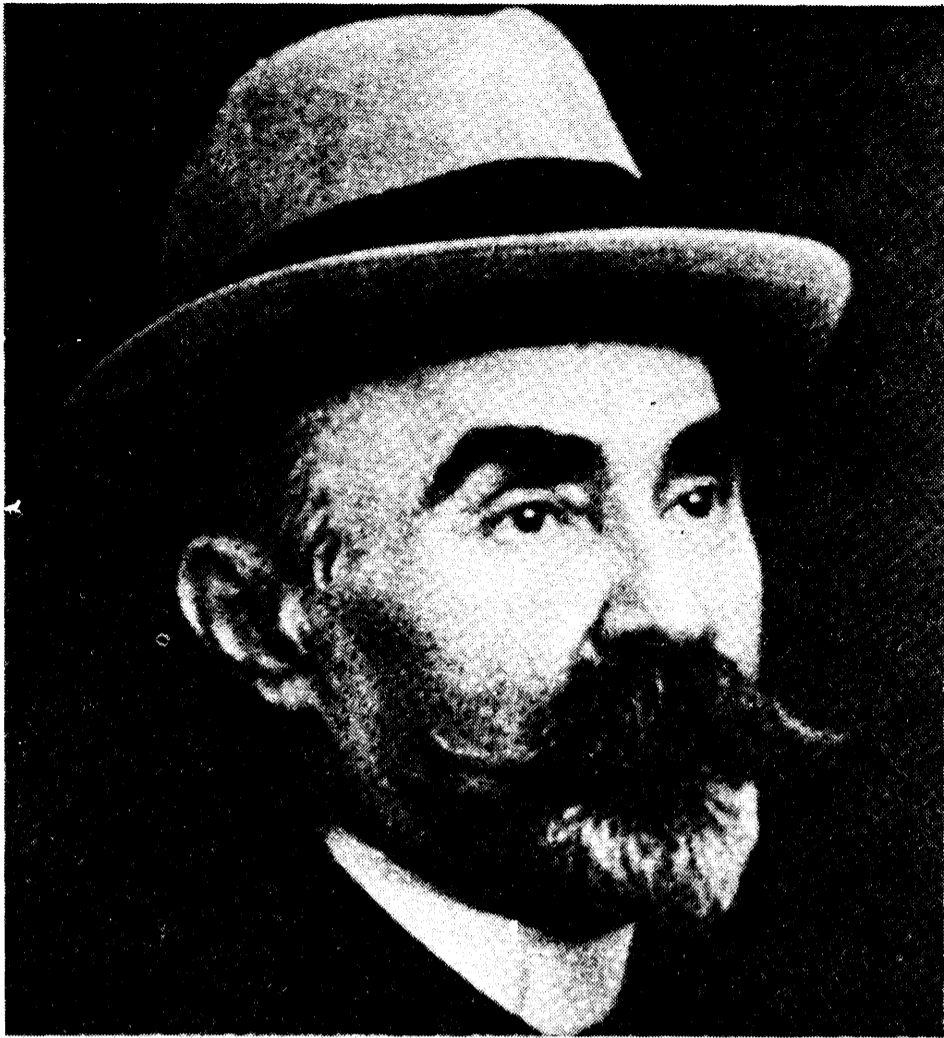
It is important to note that the printer puts into another typeface what Lenin underlines sharply in his handwritten notebook. These are always the key words. In the first point it was "objectivity," the second point, "relations." Thus we begin with the objective nature of the thing under consideration and then proceed to its relationship to other things. This brings us to the third point where the word "development" is underlined. The third aspect of dialectics is an understanding of the development of a thing. Development takes place through its own movement. It is not simply a matter of the effect of an external force upon a particular thing for this raises the ques-



Pictured above is the raid of the Philadelphia police on the Black Panthers. This can be seen as a series of facts or

we can proceed from these facts to an understanding of the class nature of the state and in this way get closer to truth.





While Plekhanov made a number of important contributions to Marxist philosophy Lenin was critical of him for failing to really develop dialectics against agnosticism.

see very clearly that negative is different from the positive. Then you go back to positive again and you think you are back where you were before. But a change has taken place. There has been a development, an upward movement. This is why Lenin says, in his "On the Question of Dialectics," that development takes place spirally. It would be circular if you went from positive to negative to positive, and ended up right where you were before. If you go from positive to negative to positive, and there is a general understanding that history moves that way, and nature, through negation, you are at a higher point than you were before, you are actually spiralling. So that you appear to be where you were before but you have actually moved forward.

#### COMMUNISM

The most classic example given by Marx is the question of communism itself. Man began with a communist society. Early man did not know inequality due to wealth. Every man was equal to every other man; he had no conception of one man being superior to another by his economic and material position. Early man lived in a primitive communist society. But he lived in a communism based on scarcity.

One man did not dominate another but nature completely dominated man. Man lived from moment to moment in hunger and in fear of nature, seeking in small bands to survive.

Then came the negation of communism, the development of class society in which one man dominated another. But this was accompanied by certain development of material wealth. Man lived as a communist 970,000-990,000 years and he spent less than 5,000 years of his life in class society. In that 5,000 years, you have a negation of communism, and development of class society, in which one man dominated another and a whole different character of society. But you had a certain growth of wealth. There was still scarcity. There was some wealth but there was still scarcity. Therefore you had the conditions for some getting the major share of the wealth, using that wealth for power to rule others through the way in which the economic system was run.

Today we project a return, a negation of the negation, we negate the class society, and we return to communism. But we return to communism on a higher level of equality of plenty rather than equality of scarcity. Therefore we return

to communism under conditions in which man dominates nature rather than nature dominating man. So we actually have the negation of the negation and we end up back where we started—but we really do not.

History is not circular. It is the fatalist who says that history is circular and human nature never changes. We actually have the development of mankind, and human nature, and we have a spiral. We are now in the same position we were before, the positive position, but we are on a higher level, a spiral. This is generally what is meant by the apparent return to the old.

"15) The struggle of content with form and conversely. The throwing off of the form, the transformation of the content."

In general this is the movement of matter. In social development there is a conflict between form and content, and at a certain point the content throws off the form and you have the creation of a new form and the transformation of the content.

#### CONTRADICTION

One example of that is the conflict between productive relations and the productive technological development of society. The content of capitalism is the tremendous expansion of industry and manufacturing. This comes into collision with the form, the way in which this manufacturing is organized: that is, the form of capitalism, commodity relations and the profit system. They come into conflict with each other. At a certain point it becomes necessary in order for that content to go into a new development, for the form to be destroyed because at every point that form holds back the development of the content. It holds the productive forces from moving forward, the productive relations conflict with the productive forces. This is the most fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

"16) The transition of quantity into quality and vice versa." (15 and 16 are examples of 9.)

9 says not only the unity of opposites, but "the transitions of every determination, quality, feature, side, etc. into every other." Lenin points out that the struggle of content and form, the transition of quantity into quality, are examples of these transitions. You can have quantitative change of the same quality. You can pile up apples and you just have more apples. You pile up enough apples, you have something else, like a landslide that completely destroys everybody; you have a totally different entity.

You can do that with anything. The classic example is water, where you have simply quantitative raising of temperature and then at a certain point there is a leap and you have steam, or quantitative lowering of temperature and at some point you have ice. Actually you can take water to a point where it is below the freezing temperature and all you have to do is tap it and it turns into ice immediately, solidly, under certain conditions. These are all examples of how quantity turns into quality, and vice versa.

The point that is being made here is that content and form, change of quantity into quality, are both reflections or examples or details of the more basic movement which is the transition of every determination into the other, that is the change of everything. These are actually the development of certain categorical descriptions of the process of change itself.

#### UNITY

"In brief dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics, but it requires explanations, and developments."

All these categories in and of themselves have to be given meaning through their use in the practice of man in the construction of the party. We must understand that what we mean by the practice of man in the construction of the party is not just simply a matter of carrying out activity on the level of appearance, but at every point going to essence, and being conscious about questions of method.

I just want to emphasize just one other aspect of this process. We have already talked about three essential features of the process. First is concrete and abstract. The movement from appearance to more essential questions and then back to appearance to change appearance. Second is that movement takes place through contradictions. A thing, whether it is a bottle of 7-Up, or a table, or a social system, is only a temporary unity of two opposing forces. It becomes something else through its own internal struggle. Third, and just as important, is an aspect of dialectics which is usually ignored: Everything is connected with everything else.

To understand anything, the first question you must ask is what is its internal contradictions. But the second question you must ask is what is its relationship to other things. It is only by putting things within their relationship, and seeking to get the most universal conceptions of relations and sides of anything that you develop any understanding of it. That is why the understanding of things is a complex process, and is not just a matter of well, here is the thing, here is the one side and here is the other side, and they are in conflict. It is a never ending process, because you need to know all its relations, you need to know all its determinations and all its shades.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Selsam, Howard & Harry Martel. Reader in Marxist Philosophy. Page 316.
2. Lenin, V. I. Collected Works, Volume, 38, Philosophical Notebooks. Page 179.
3. Ibid. Page 171.
4. Ibid. Page 208.
5. Selsam, op. cit. Page 181.
6. Lenin, op. cit. Pages 221-222. All quotes that follow from same section.



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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!

**LABOR PUBLICATIONS 135 WEST 14 STREET NEW YORK 10011**

# Lindsay—Gotbaum Honeymoon Behind City Worker Layoffs

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Three weeks ago, Mayor Lindsay announced the possibility of "payless pay-days." The leaders of the city labor movement shrugged it off as "ridiculous." Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, stated that a return to the labor conditions of the 1930s was impossible. The consensus was, don't worry, don't take it seriously, these are just pre-negotiation threats.

Last week, Mayor Lindsay announced the layoff of 500 provisional city workers. Deputy Mayor Aurelio, member of the city's new "productivity panel, said this week it was likely there would be more layoffs. The 500 represented the first mass layoff the City has seen since the depression. Gotbaum's response at first, was to criticize the Mayor for not having informed him of this measure beforehand. After an uproar on the part of the ranks of the District Council, Gotbaum was forced to threaten a fight back if there were any more layoffs.

It is significant that Gotbaum is no longer simply shrugging his shoulders. A look at the history of Gotbaum's relationship with Lindsay, however, should serve as a warning to the rank and file that he cannot be depended upon to carry through the fight.

In 1969, Gotbaum fought for and won the endorsement of District Council 37 for Lindsay's re-election on the basis of the fact that "this administration has not laid off a single Civil Service employee." He furthermore tried to justify his support by saying: "Today we enjoy true collective bargaining with really impartial fact-finding and mediation under the OCB..."

## ENDORSEMENT

But Gotbaum's attitude was probably most clearly revealed in the following statement taken from the May 1969 edition of the Public Employees Press:

"There was indeed a marked difference between the Department of Social Services negotiations of this year as against the ill-fated strike of 1965. Despite a sensitive and deep reorganization in the Department of Social Services, both labor and management were able to stay at the table night and day to avoid a strike. This was done without one worker being hurt by layoff."

The motives behind Gotbaum's endorsement now become clear. Despite the fact that Gotbaum claimed that "John V. Lindsay makes no deals. He asks nothing in return," Gotbaum has relied on Lindsay to follow policies which make it that much easier for Gotbaum to control the ranks of the District Council. The establishment of the OCB was no victory for the ranks. It was an extra added control device for Gotbaum, and a strike-breaking one for Lindsay.

## "ILL-FATED"

The so-called "impartial" arbiter of the Office of Collective Bargaining has consistently ruled in favor of the City, while preventing the workers from mobilizing to make a real fight around their demands. The rotten contract deal of 1968 in the SSEU which laid the basis for a tremendous cutback in staff and speed-up of workers is looked upon as a victory won with the aid of labor-loving Lindsay. The 1965 strike, which won workload and staffing controls is referred to by Gotbaum as "ill-fated."

The whole aim of the reorganization plan worked out by the Lindsay administration in 1967-68, and agreed to by Gotbaum, was the elimination of Civil Service staff and their replacement by non-Civil Service and volunteer help.

## LAYOFFS

In short, preparations for mass layoffs have been made for the past several years by Lindsay with the full knowledge and blessings of Gotbaum. Gotbaum's sole concern, however, like every labor bureaucrat no matter how "progressive" he is, is to control his membership and to maintain his position. His position is maintained by keeping that delicate balance in the juggling game between worker and employer.

Against this capitulation the position of the SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership has been to wage a fight at each point that Lindsay has opened up his attacks on the ranks. They consistently warned the ranks that the City would have to start waging real attacks on city labor in an effort to destroy Civil Service and the unions.

With the announcement of the reorganization scheme in the DSS in 1968, the CNL waged a campaign to show the membership that this was merely a job-cutting, speed-up scheme aimed at busting the control of the union in the DSS. In the face of the most vicious slanders, the CNL showed that it was not "anti-progressive," as the union leaderships said, to oppose the reorganization scheme, but that reorganization was the beginning battle in an all out war between Lindsay and city labor.

## JOB FREEZE

Lindsay did not just have his eyes on the DSS, however. Right after he was re-elected, he instituted a job freeze citywide. There was no permanent hiring, except in the uniformed services. This meant that anyone hired was only temporary, or provisional, and would not be certified by Civil Service. These people make up some of the 500 now being laid off. There remain 18,000 provisional city employees.

While Gotbaum was busy trying to get Lindsay elected, the CNL fought for the understanding among workers that any Democratic or Republican candidate would viciously attack the workers in this period. It was now more critical than ever for workers to break politically from the employers and build a party of their own, a labor party.

At present, the Committee is preparing a citywide campaign against the threat of layoffs and no-wage hikes in the 1971 contracts, through a struggle for a mass rally of all city labor at Madison Square Garden where proposals for a joint strike pact must be made.

## COUNTER OFFENSIVE

All of city labor faces the same attacks in this period. The only way to answer them is with a real citywide counter-offensive and the threat of general strike like the San Francisco municipal strike of last year. Workers must not be lulled into thinking that the layoff of 500 is the end. This is just the beginning. Lindsay is simply testing the response of city labor to see how quickly he can move in with more layoffs.

In Cleveland, under liberal Mayor Carl Stokes, one quarter of the municipal work force was laid off recently. That is why it is more critical than ever to build the Committee for a New Leadership into a fighting organ for workers citywide.

The key to waging a counter-offensive against the attacks is the building of an alternative leadership in the unions. This is the aim of the Committee for a New Leadership. All city workers interested in building this caucus citywide should call 360-8641.

# Philly Teachers Ratify Contract

BY A PFT MEMBER

The membership of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers was summoned to a meeting to ratify the tentative contract agreement on Veterans Day. Schools were closed for the mid-week holiday and so attendance was small.

In addition the specifics of the contract agreement were distributed to the ranks only one full day in advance with many teachers in the dark at the meeting itself. The agreement was accepted by the ranks after a month of the leadership's charades and deceptions designed to demoralize the teachers after October's militant strike action.

The Committee for a New Leadership, a group of rank and filers, sharply fought for rejection of the agreement and for a resumption of strike action around a program for victory. The CNL's position was supported by a substantial minority who understood Sullivan's role as betrayer of the teachers in calling them back to work last month without a contract.

## ROTTEN

The agreement now ratified settles absolutely nothing. The average salary increase of \$900 is to be paid next November 1971. The teaching day in secondary schools was increased with compulsory overtime. Sullivan agreed to the formation



Militant cabbies demand strike action in a rank and file rebellion against Van Arsdale.

# NY Rank And File Taxi Drivers Enraged At Van Arsdale Sellout

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Nov. 24—It was announced last night that a "general understanding" had been reached in negotiations between the Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036, and the fleet owners. The agreement is dependent on the City Council granting a raise in taxi fares.

The old contract expired a week ago and for the past week most drivers have been working without a contract, which is official union policy. Many drivers however have not gone in, and there has been significant movement among the ranks to set up pickets and fight for a "No Contract, No Work" policy.

Last Thursday hundreds of cabbies stormed the main ballroom of the Commodore Hotel and broke up the meeting of shop chairmen and committeemen shouting "Strike, Strike!" and "No More Sunnyside!" (referring to Van Arsdale's sellout a few years ago at Sunnyside Garden,

Queens). At the Commodore meeting President Van Arsdale had just pushed through a second three day extension of work without a contract.

Throughout negotiations Van Arsdale continued his policy of contempt for the union ranks, refusing to give them any information on union demands, refusing to call strike action. He called the dissidents a mob and refused to discuss with them.

What is needed now is for rank and file militants to organize a massive movement of the ranks to be prepared to vote down any contract that does not meet their demands. There can be no compromise on parity with transit workers. Because of the many ways that the "average" earnings of a driver can be figured, the ranks must demand a full explanation and get an absolute guarantee on the minimal \$174 per week for a 40 hour week. On the pension it means half pay after 20 years at age 50. Nothing less! Further, parity means paid holidays.

On safety there is no reason for drivers to wait until Sept. 1971 to get the bullet-proof partitions. The demand must be immediate installation.

# Actors Strike For Living Wage

BY A MEMBER OF ACTORS EQUITY

NEW YORK—In a move involving some 17 shows, Actors Equity Association closed down the entire Off-Broadway circuit on Monday, November 16, 1970. The leading issues in this first Off-Broadway strike in history are salaries, pensions, overtime, and the union shop.

The present Off-Broadway minimum for actors is \$75 for a six day/eight performance week, rising on a sliding scale to \$150 as the box office gross increases. So-called "name" actors negotiate for more. However, it takes virtually two months to build a regular audience for even a hit show, let alone an average one, so that box office grosses rarely rise until the show has been running eight weeks. Counting the usual four weeks of rehearsal at Off-Broadway mini-

mum, most actors in a hit show can look forward to twelve weeks at \$75 before they can even deal with the sliding scale.

One Off-Broadway producer blithely stated, "I believe everybody has the right to a living wage. But the whole philosophy of Off-Broadway is that there's never been a living wage for the actor—and if this philosophy changes, I don't think there's any solution."

Only 15% of Actors Equity is working at any one time, and New York actors must fight against the AEA bureaucracy's attempt to sell them out. The original union demand of \$200 was quickly lowered to \$125 a week, hardly a living wage by any standard.

## HOLLOW

Hollow pronouncements about "philosophy of Off-Broadway" are only a cover used to keep the actors working at a pittance, while producers are given time to operate in the cultural "Wall Street" that Off-Broadway has become. The sale of story rights to TV and movies, and the revenues from albums of musicals (even if the show folds quickly) usually involve hundreds of thousands of dollars. The actor of course never sees any of these monies. Record companies are now underwriting the entire cost of some shows, knowing that a two week run with just one good notice is enough to guarantee a tidy profit from the record sales. Naturally shows closing quickly are written off at year's end as tax losses.

The actors must realize that his struggle for an adequate \$150 minimum wage is important, crucial, and an accurate reflection of trade union struggles everywhere. Management and the union bureaucracy are using every ploy available to "keep the show going," but to compel a performer to work for less than \$150 a week demeans not only the actor but the profession.

of a committee to set up an accountability system which will begin harassment.

A more rotten contract has not been seen in recent labor history. Crying fiscal crisis the state of Pennsylvania is attempting to make the workers pay for the inflation.

It is in this context that the position of the Progressive Caucus, supported by the Communist Party, becomes especially treacherous. This group called for approval of the sellout deal saying that it was the best to be gotten since the PFT could not mount another effective strike.

## SHIELD

This thoroughly defeatist position was designed to shield Ryan and Sullivan from the rank's anger as support grew for the CNL's position. The Progressive Caucus supporting "community control" drew the fire away from the PFT piecarks and blamed the ranks for the sell out.

Teachers must not be fooled by the Progressive Caucus' radical posturing. It is the window dressing to cover over their real support to the bureaucracy and Democratic Party.

The teachers will not get their pay increases next year without a fight. All teachers must join with the CNL to fight for the salary increases and against accountability.



## FRAMINGHAM: Ford Worker Urges GM Ranks To Vote 'NO'

The following is an interview with a worker from the Natick, Mass. Ford plant who came to the Framingham GM plant to urge a "no" vote.

**Q:** What do you think of the basic issues in the contract?

**A:** I think we are being sold out. I mean this—economically we are being sold down the river. There is not enough money here now and with this cap on the cost of living until Dec. of 1971. The only reason I think that GM is holding this down is so that they can leave the money in the bank to gain interest on it. They pay us on a quarterly basis and they leave this money in the bank and it gains interest at probably 8 or 9%. God knows what GM gets on their interest and this is why they want to keep the cap on the cost of living.

**Q:** What do you think of the wage demands in the contract? What do you think should have been fought for?

**A:** Myself and quite a few people that I've talked to wanted at least \$1.00 more an hour. I don't mean package, I mean money. We are not talking about vacation, because I can't eat a vacation. We are not talking about Blue Cross and Blue Shield because my children can't eat that either. There are people on welfare making more money. I have nothing against welfare, this government should spend more money on the people in this country as far as poor people go. I think that we should have at least \$1.00 an hour more in just plain money, not including benefits.

Then you can go after benefits. I think we need a dental program. Myself, my children need braces for their teeth. I have three children and they are going to an orthodontist, they are going to a dentist

and this thing here is going to ruin me, just with orthodontist and dental work. I can't get medicaid for it and my children's teeth are as important to me as they are to Mrs. Kennedy's children or somebody else's children like that. I want my children to have good teeth, I want them to have the best in the medical area.

**Q:** What do the workers in the plant where you work think of the final Woodcock-GM agreement that's being offered for ratification now?

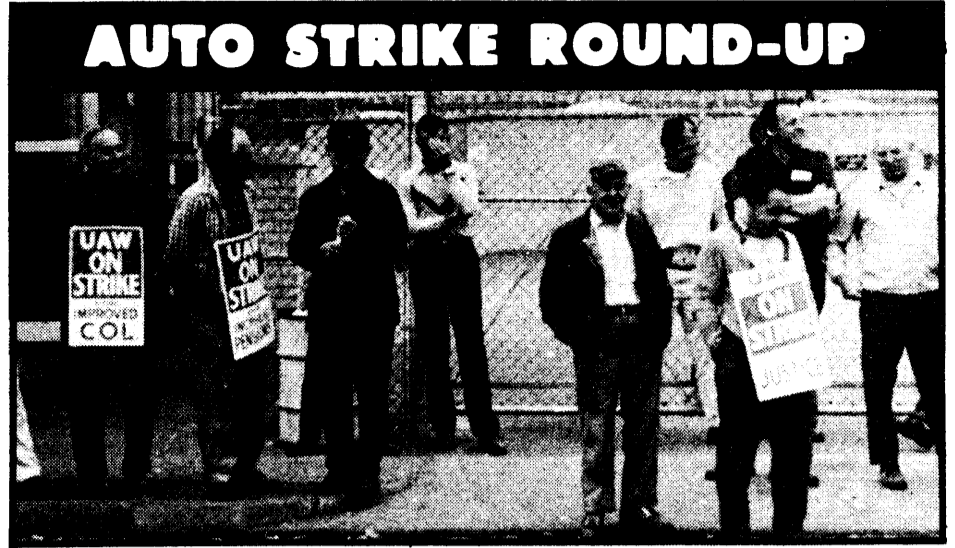
**A:** They're not very happy with it. They think that the UAW has sold us out to GM. I think they've starved these people, the workers at GM have been starved out so to speak. Everybody knows the holidays are coming up and the children are expecting toys for Christmas and expect a big dinner for Thanksgiving. I think GM just held back and waited and waited. It's not hurting them at all. They say they're losing \$90 million a day, that's ridiculous.

**Q:** What do you think of the 30 and out at age 58? The original demand was 30 and out regardless of age.

**A:** I go along with the 30 and out regardless of age. We have to make room for more people, for younger people to come in. We have widespread unemployment in this country. I think it's 9% in New Bedford, 8% in Fall River, and in Boston it's up to 7%. I think people who have done their job for 30 years, devoted 30 years of their life to a company, deserve to take a rest, to take a vacation.

**Q:** What do you think of the Woodcock leadership itself? Do you think it's possible to build an alternative?

**A:** I can't really say anything about the Woodcock leadership having been under it for only six months at the most. I think if what he's doing now is any judge of



what he's going to do in the future, I think Mr. Woodcock ought to be replaced, because this is just a sellout. There's a lot of double talk in the contract, and you have to be a Philadelphia lawyer to read it, and from what we see from the economic standpoint, it's a sellout as far as we're concerned.

**Q:** You were talking about unemployment earlier, and the way it's been rising so rapidly in the last year. What do you think of the idea of the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay?

**A:** I think it's a fine idea, a good idea. You have to get more people work, especially the hardcore people, the minority groups. There are a few who don't care to work, I don't care to myself but I do. If I could spend more time with my family I would—if we get a Saturday to begin with. I thought about this one day when I was working on a Saturday. The reason I work on Saturday is to get a little more money to help my family out. I really couldn't see why I should be working when Henry Ford jumps in his private plane and flies to his private island for the weekend, and here I am working for a few dollars, and this guy is running around with all kinds of money. How much money does the man need.

**Q:** What do you think of the recent attacks on the Black Panther Party?

**A:** I think that the attacks are unwarranted. I think the BPP is one of the finest organizations I've heard of, where they feed the poor child going to school. I've talked to a few people about this, and they don't like the way they feed them breakfast to begin with and talk to them about Marxism, about revolution and killing the pigs and police and all that stuff. And I say if you don't like it why don't you turn around and feed these poor kids that are going to school. I know what it's like to be poor. I say I'm glad the Black Panther Party is here.

**Q:** Do you think the labor movement should become involved in the defense of the Panthers?

**A:** Yes, I think it's in the interests of the labor movement to get involved in all these things. Labor has taken an awful beating as far as this money goes. There are poor people in the labor movement, and I don't know why they can't see it. They think everything is beautiful but it isn't. It might be beautiful in Framingham or Wellesley but it's not beautiful in Boston or Worcester, and I think the labor movement ought to get together, get themselves together and support groups like SDS. I think they ought to support the Panthers, because the outcome will be that everyone will benefit by it.

**Q:** What do you think of the war?

**A:** I think the war stinks. I think this system is based on war, the whole set-up is based on war. They spend more on war than they do on education and when you have a war, they don't even take care of the people who fought in the war. They spend \$20 million a month on Vietnam 7,000 miles away and they spend one tenth of that for the veterans who participated in this war. I wouldn't go. I

vote for the contract each UAW member who failed to show up to vote.

Hundreds of angry auto workers were forced to stand outside in the rain Thursday night when local officials failed to rent a hall large enough to accommodate a democratic meeting of the full membership. Moreover many complained that they were only allowed to see a copy of the full contract minutes before being asked to vote for it.

A rank and file caucus must be formed to continue the fight in the GM plants and fight for Ford and Chrysler workers to strike for a better settlement.

wouldn't defend this country.

**Q:** Do you think unemployment is part of Nixon's solution to the crisis the country seems to be in?

**A:** Yes, I think it is his plan, but if he keeps on with it he'll find himself unemployed. There are predictions that it will go up to 10% in some areas next year.

**Q:** Do you think there is a need to build a national rank and file caucus because of the sellout of the Woodcock leadership?

**A:** Something has to be done. Yes, it's a good idea, it's obvious Woodcock hasn't done the job and it's obvious the system is not going to do it. They just keep repressing the working people down. Things go on that make you sick, like the National Guardsmen who are so in love with it all. Take Kent State or the truckers out in Ohio. The Guardsmen were used against the students in Kent State, they could have used them against the Teamsters too. If they said something the National Guard didn't care for, they could have shot them. I don't know if you'd see that, the Teamsters are registered voters and there would be all kinds of hell to pay if they shot them. The labor movement would have gotten together if that had happened. They could use the Guard in this GM strike, they could use them on any strike. Next thing you know they could have their weapons on your throat and be shooting at you.

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

**A:** Well the Democrats are supposed to be for labor but it's obvious they are not. So I think we should have something going for the labor movement, the union worker, the average worker, not just union men but the average worker. I haven't seen a poor Democrat in office yet.

I read your leaflet here, I intend to hang this up, this tells it like it is. This is just what it says right here, a sellout, and nothing but a sellout.

## TARRYTOWN: Ranks Win Revote

BY A UAW MEMBER  
LOCAL 664

NORTH TARRYTOWN, N.Y., Nov. 24—Today and tomorrow, members of UAW Local 664 must vote a second time on both the national and local contracts with General Motors. Last week's vote was declared a fraud by the International Union after members of the 664 Rank and File Committee charged the local officials with ballot stuffing.

Bill Scott, Rank and File Committee chairman, said an agreement was made between local officials and the Committee to allow the Committee to post observers at the polls. "We will have the opportunity to sit in the North Tarrytown police station and watch the ballot box all night if we want to. The voting irregularities cast a shadow on all the local officials," Scott said.

Today the Committee distributed leaflets at the union hall headlined "Vote No! No Cheap Contracts! No More Ballot Stuffing!" They urged rejection of the national as well as the local contract. The leaflet stated: "Let Detroit know that we are not satisfied with the cheap national contract."

The reaction of the ranks was overwhelmingly to vote "no." The local officials' leaflet in favor of the contracts stated "Already, because of the interruptions, we lose Thanksgiving holiday pay and wages." But as one worker said: "it's stupid for us to vote 'yes.' With our new additional income of \$75 weekly unemployment compensation we can strike until past Christmas and win a decent contract."

## LINDEN: Sellout Rejected By 2-1

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LINDEN, N.J., Nov. 19—"We've never accepted a national contract, and we never will." So went the cry as auto workers of GM's Linden plant voted down the UAW's national contract by a margin of 2-1.

Meeting at the Liberty Theater in Elizabeth at 9:00 a.m. the rank and file also rejected the local contract by a 9-1 margin, thereby continuing the long tradition of trade union militancy at this New Jersey auto plant.

"We were the first local to bring up '30 and out,'" one worker told us. "We did it six years ago at the convention in Atlantic City. They laughed at us."

"We used to give Reuther fits, when they'd try to ram a contract down our throats," said another union member. "I hear Tarrytown turned the contract down, too. Good."

Such was the feeling as the meeting ended and rank and file members gathered on Elizabeth Avenue outside the theater, engaging members of the Workers League in lively discussion. "Don't you guys ever sleep?" commented one auto worker, recognizing a League member.

### LEAFLET

He was referring to the fact that the Workers League has led and supported a continuing daily fight on the picket lines at Linden from the beginning of the strike. This fight centered around the "\$1.25 leaflet" now well known at Linden, Tarrytown, and many other plants around the nation. Hundreds of these leaflets were handed out again just prior to the voting, and rank and file members carried them inside the theater, checking the issues, point by point.

One worker expressed his feelings graphically to this reporter. "I've worked 33 years here. If I work until I'm 55,



"Sell-Out" says sign as well as leaflet.

I'll have been here 35 years, and with this contract I still won't get a \$500 a month pension."

At a time when union leaders are conspiring with management to steamroll an auto settlement, auto workers must realize that the fight for a decent wage, pensions, improved working conditions, and security must continue, no matter what the outcome of the current struggle. A national rank and file caucus within the union is the only way to build a new leadership against the sell-out bureaucracy.

## ST. LOUIS: UAW Members Walk Out At Chrysler

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Over 1,200 auto workers showed their attitude toward the sellout UAW leadership on Nov. 18 when they began a two day walkout at the Chrysler Truck plant in Fenton, Mo. near St. Louis.

They were protesting the firing of a black worker who had gotten into a fight with a foreman who had been harassing him. This action clearly demonstrates the feeling of Chrysler and Ford workers toward conditions in the plants. The fact

that this was an "unofficial" strike means that UAW Local 25 officials will have a hard time forcing the rotten settlement negotiated at GM on workers in the rest of the auto industry here.

Meanwhile voting took place at Local 25 headquarters with deep grumbling in the ranks about the bureaucratic procedures used by union officials to force the contract on the membership. Many workers admitted that with the low wage increase in the new contract they would actually lose money on the strike.

One worker told this reporter that it did not matter how the members voted anyway since the "union" counted as a

# Stalinism Stands Behind Woodcock Betrayal

BY DAN FRIED

Despite widespread opposition to the Woodcock sellout GM contract in many UAW locals and the overwhelming opposition in locals such as Tarrytown, Linden, Fremont, Baltimore and the Detroit GM Tech Center to name a few, the UAW bureaucrats have been able to announce ratification of the pact, over a more than 20% opposition.

Woodcock is now trying to pressurize recalcitrant locals into signing local agreements and use the national "ratification" as the basis to push the same lousy settlement on Ford and Chrysler.

Woodcock's biggest supporters in this sellout have not only been the local bureaucrats who fell into line, but the Stalinists of the Communist Party which through their paper the *Daily World* and in their day to day activity have continued to cover up for Woodcock. At the very time when the rank and file movement could have dumped the contract, the Stalinists twisted and turned, hemmed and hawed, but refused to say where they stood on the contract.

At the November 14-15 New York regional conference of the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, the Stalinist leaders of the conference fought against a Workers League motion which urged rejection of the GM contract. During the conference, the Stalinists denounced Workers League supporters for "daring" to attack Leonard Woodcock.

## EQUIVOCATED

This was no isolated instance. From the very moment the "tentative" agreement was announced, the *Daily World* equivocated. They began by conceding that the contract had many inadequacies but then pointed out that even Woodcock "wasn't satisfied." No where do they breathe a word of the truth that Woodcock's "regrets" are just a very thin cover for his complete and total capitulation to GM, Nixon and the capitalist class.

In their only editorial on the settlement, "Warning Signals at GM & Co.," they act as if there were no struggle against this sell-out. Woodcock's name is not even mentioned. At a time when every resource should have been mobilized to overturn the contract, all that the *World* has to say is a warning that Nixon and the *New York Times* are planning an even greater anti-labor offensive in the aftermath of the GM settlement.

Under cover of the formula, "we don't want to tell the ranks how to vote," the Stalinists refuse to take sides. They

refuse to say that the Woodcock bureaucracy is using every trick in the book to get the workers back in the plants and push the same sell-out at Ford and Chrysler.

## "CRITICISM"

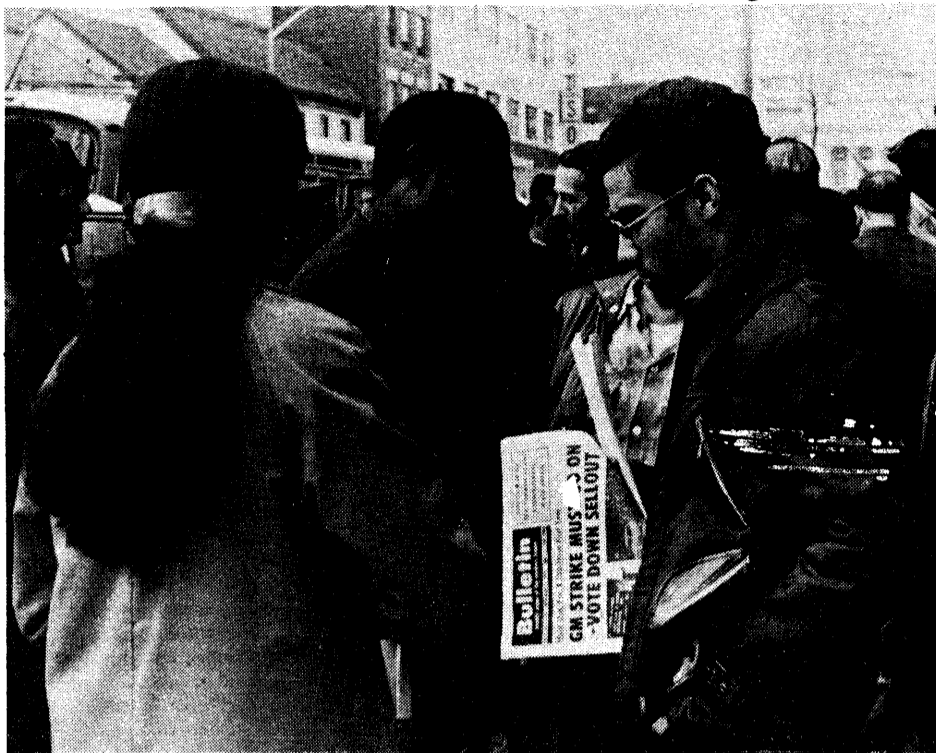
*Daily World* "economics" writer, Victor Perlo, takes the same attitude when, after presenting detailed factual material showing that auto workers will be considerably worse off after the three year contract, he remarks that "One should be wary of sideline coaching." In what amounts to a veritable plea for forgiveness to Woodcock, Perlo then says "Yet, with due credit for what the UAW negotiators did achieve, rank-and-file criticism is justified on these grounds..."

The Stalinists refuse to go from this "left criticism" to "opposition." This "criticism" is only a cover for the Woodcock sellout to which they are accomplices. While the *Bulletin* campaigned against the sell-out with a banner headline, "GM Strike Must Go On—Vote Down Sell-Out—hold out for \$1.25 an hour," and the Workers League organized mass leafletting against the pact, the Stalinists said as little as they could about rank and file opposition to the contract. Even at Tarrytown, where one of the most important rank and file opposition groups in the union distributed a strong leaflet calling for a "No" vote, the *Daily World* simply reported the "fact" that such a leaflet was distributed.

The role of the Stalinists in the struggle has been to go along with rank and file opposition to the contract only where they had to in order to be in a better position to control and isolate this opposition. Their role is to limit all opposition to "criticism" and keep it bottled up on the local level. They fear the formation of a national rank and file caucus that can take on Woodcock, Fraser and Co. in a real battle for leadership of the UAW.

## ALLIANCE

The perspective of the Stalinists instead is to form an alliance with this "progressive" section of the bureaucracy as the cement of a broader alliance with the



Linden, N.J. auto workers buy *Bulletins* on way to vote down local and national contract.

liberal bourgeoisie and liberal capitalist hacks such as Lindsay, Ottinger and Fulbright.

This policy, known today as the "anti-monopoly coalition" is a direct descendent of Stalin's "Peoples Front" of the 1930s, under whose banner the Communist Party of the world stabbed the working class in the back and slaughtered thousands of revolutionists in the purge trials in order to form an alliance with the "Democratic" capitalist states.

Today, this same counterrevolutionary policy is pursued as in the 1930s in order to protect the rule and privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. The bureaucracy above all else, fears that the conquest of power by the working class, such as was posed in May-June 1968 in France and the uprising at the same time in Czechoslovakia, will spell their own doom. That is why the French CP sold out the May-June revolution in 1968, and has done everything possible today to sellout the Palestinian guerrillas, the Vietnamese revolution and the auto workers in the U.S.

The struggle of the Trotskyist movement against this Stalinist betrayal is a struggle

for the life or death of the working class all over the world. It is the struggle for the socialist revolution against fascist barbarism.

It was the strengthening of bureaucrats like Woodcock and the "Democratic" politicians through the "Peoples Front" of the 1930s that paved the way for the triumph of fascism in Spain and Germany.

## TROTSKYIST

The Trotskyist movement must be built not by running away from the question of Stalinism, but through a fight today against the labor bureaucrats and their Stalinist supporters in the unions and a fight for a theoretical understanding of the nature of Stalinism.

The Workers League intends to carry on this fight on every level. Where the Communist Party sees the struggle in auto as concluded, we do not. The struggle to overturn the contract must now be taken up in Ford and Chrysler where a successful struggle to reject this sell-out will call into question the GM settlement itself, and open the way for a new leadership in the UAW.

## FREMONT: Leaders Are Boomed As Ranks Vote Down Contract

BY A FREMONT  
UAW MEMBER

FREMONT—With a thunderous roar of disapproval 2,500 auto workers shook their fists in defiance at our leadership's sellout and betrayal and registered an overwhelming vote to reject the national agreement and continue on strike at one of the most turbulent ratification meetings in our local's history.

This rejection climaxed a week long effort by the United Action Caucus through leaflet distribution and meetings calling for a rejection of the latest offer as well

as raising our original demands. The United Action Caucus mobilized its supporters at this ratification behind a banner calling for a NO vote, stating that this sellout means surrender to three more years of cheap wages, speed-up and unemployment.

As we filed into the Oakland auditorium we noticed that the Regional Director, Paul Schrade, had mobilized an impressive battery of leadership which included top negotiators, Bill Oliver and Dan Gross of the Regional staff, all local officers, shop committees, strike committees, and executive board. All were determined to sell us on ratification.

As Shop Chairman John Herrera introduced Schrade the vast majority folded their arms and refused to applaud. During the following introductions the few workers that did applaud felt self-conscious and stopped until only the bureaucrats were

applauding each other. President Dave Chambers announced he was one of the three delegates representing our local at the GM Conference who had initially voted against ratification (applause) while Herrera voted for it (loud boos). Then he added that after coming back to the local he had second thoughts and thought it was a good contract after all (loud boos). He added further that after meeting with the executive board and shop committee they decided to unanimously accept it and urge that our membership ratify this contract (loud prolonged boos).

There were a few shouts of "Sellout," "We need new leaders," "Clean house." Leaders began to squirm in their chairs as the membership began to loosen their vocal chords. Herrera tried to explain his reasons for voting acceptance of the contract, his appreciation for Woodcock who took on GM, the biggest corporation in the world. He said he considered Woodcock to be courageous for tackling this toughest possible fight. He considered it was a good contract because there was "something for every one" (more boosing). Then someone shouted "including Woodcock and GM." Herrera then said that we would have to stay out until February in order to get an improvement on this contract. This was followed by long cheers and shouts of "Stay out until easter," "Turn on the floor mikes."

As Herrera attempted to read the contract he was repeatedly interrupted until he had to agree to turn on the floor mikes and entertain questions from the floor. Questions and charges were hurled at the leadership. "We demand to know why you dropped the dental plan, a \$1.65 the first year, the cost of living, 30 and out." Schrade had to huddle with Herrera and Chambers and came up with the tactic of moving the agenda to the local issues in order to blunt the criticisms.

A United Action Caucus spokesman waited at the floor mikes for 15 minutes

while there was a reading of the 142 local demands. After being recognized by Herrera the speaker tried to comment on the national agreement and was interrupted by the chair with a request to limit comments to local issues. He quickly rescinded after loud shouts of protest of "Let him speak."

The speaker proceeded to hold the floor for seven minutes. Our strike is still strong, he said. It was the International who caved in right at the time that we had GM hurting. He charged that the top leadership failed to mobilize and use the union's strength and power. He stated that no other conclusions could be drawn from this strike that that the fact that our leadership sold us out and needed to be replaced. We won't crawl back into that plant on our bellies. We must deliver a large NO vote and show GM that we are not defeated. Betrayed by our top leadership yes, but not defeated. The speaker seemed to articulate the entire emotional feeling of the body as he received a standing ovation.

Paul Schrade was quick to respond when the noise subsided with a redbaiting attack. Schrade attempted to shout down the opposition but had to wait for it to subside, by attempting to defend the security measures imposed on our local strike and union hall.

The motion was made to adjourn and vote at this juncture. The ratification was overwhelmingly rejected but the vote was challenged on the local registration versus the amount of ballots being cast. Schrade took the opportunity to call the vote null and void and to order a new poll of our membership to be made the week later in order to rob us of this victory. He ordered all the local officers not to release any statements to the press in order to black out news of this debacle.

All of this will not defeat the new feeling of confidence and militancy of the membership who will carry this back into the plant.

## DETROIT: Hacks Push Acceptance

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—A feeling of frustration and doubt about the Woodcock leadership hung over the various local halls as the UAW members in Detroit voted. At Local 235 Chevrolet Gear and Axle many of the youth and the older workers were extremely critical of Woodcock's leadership.

Many voiced opinions saying that they could have gained more if they had stayed out longer. They had good reason to be critical.

A Workers League contingent as well as members of the United Caucus passed out leaflets denouncing the contract as a sellout. As the workers entered the hall a union hack and one of his toughs told the workers to "file them in the post box." They used every trick, including redbaiting, to try to get the workers to

throw the leaflets away before they read them. Once the workers realized what was happening many folded up the leaflets and put them into their pockets.

Seeing this, the hack and a few of his friends passed out union papers which urged the men to vote yes. One militant responded to the Workers League leaflet and questioned the legitimacy of the voting. As he said "Any bum could come up the street and vote." He also reported that he saw someone vote four times. These tactics used by the corrupted leadership were not isolated incidents during the voting. Local 174, Reuther's hometown local, was also the scene of much of the same activity. There were 3500 workers who attempted to fill a union hall that seats only 500. One worker pointed out that it was impossible to hear what the local agreement was.





Soldiers raise the clenched fist at a mass rally in Germany as rebellion sweeps army.

## U.S. Army Shaken By Revolt Of G.I.s In Germany, Vietnam

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Last month over 700 black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and white GIs attended a rally in Kaiserslautern, Germany against the racist and imperialist policies of the U.S. This rally brings to the fore the growing struggle of working class youth inside the army.

The problem posed to U.S. imperialism by this movement was raised by one of the speakers at the rally: "What can they do? ... Call out the National Guard? How can they call out the National Guard on the Army?"

The *New York Times* of Nov. 23 reports that the struggle of the militants in Germany has "seriously affected morale and discipline and threaten, as senior officers and noncommissioned officers conceded during a month of interviews, to undermine the combat efficiency of the 165,000-man Seventh Army."

The *Times* along with the Pentagon are consciously attempting to build up the struggle inside the army as a racial one in order to cover the hostility of the soldiers to imperialism which lies at the heart of it.

### AVOID

The real situation in the army however is even more exposed by the deteriorating condition of U.S. imperialism's fighting force in Vietnam. The U.S. is having increasing difficulty even mobilizing its units against the Vietcong. Fred Gardner writing in the *New York Times* of Nov. 21 reports a common practice in Vietnam

called the "seek-and-avoid mission." As one GI explained the procedure to Gardner: "On patrol we were supposed to go a mile and engage Charlie, right? What we did was go a hundred yards, find us some heavy foliage, smoke, rap, and sack out." Gardner continues:

"In the past two years, hundreds of thousands of American soldiers have used this tactic. Refusal to take part in combat has grown so widespread that it need no longer be surreptitious. G.I.'s leave their firebases with impunity; commanders fear that courtmartialing them will undermine whatever remains of morale. Officers and NCO's who insist on ordering troops into the field are commonly "fragged"—hit by a grenade rolled under their tent-flaps. Blatant racists are dealt with similarly. G.I.'s smoke marijuana freely, realizing that a round-up of potheads would deplete the infantry faster than you can say Hatfield-McGovern."

### MUTINY

It should be clear that there is a thin line separating this situation from mutiny. It is precisely mutiny that Nixon and the Pentagon fear and this is why they have tread carefully in cracking down.

This is the dilemma imperialism finds itself in as the youth in the U.S. and the army take up an offensive against this rotten system. The rallies last month in Germany of GIs and of 4,000 Puerto Rican youth in New York show the road forward in the fight against imperialism.

## L.A. Strike Threat To 'Scab Town'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Garment workers at Chic Lingerie have been on strike here now for five weeks. The workers, mainly Chicano women, organized by the ILGWU have demanded two weeks' paid holidays, a raise from a \$1.65 to \$2.50 per hour base pay and a union shop.

The company has responded to these demands by hiring Gladys Seldin, a notorious union buster as their negotiator. She was employed by the Hearst Examiner. Further the company has refused to negotiate with the union; the pickets have been harassed by injunctions, police and even armed thugs. The company is going all out to stop the workers from being organized.

In L.A., known to local trade unionists as a "scab town," this is not surprising. Almost the whole garment industry is at stake; only about 10% of all garment

workers are organized and the owners want this situation to remain.

On Nov. 12 and 17 support demonstrations were held at Chic Lingerie plants at Redondo Beach and Los Angeles. Students and workers, including a contingent of UAW 216 members, picketed with the strikers. Immediately after this mass picketing the company offered to sit down with the union. One of the effects of the demonstration was that some of the scabs stayed home.

Chic Lingerie now at the height of the season cannot afford to have its production fall below the present level of 40 to 50 percent capacity. The union representatives at this meeting with the company retreated. They reduced their wage demand to \$1.80 an hour and gave up the demand for a union shop. The ranks later rejected this offer. According to the Support Committee, the company also rejected the offer.

The support demonstrations were a good start; other workers were mobilized as well as students. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to look for easy ways out. A motion, at a recent strike support committee meeting to picket the Beverly Hills Synagogue of A. R. Bolton, owner of Chic Lingerie, was greeted with some enthusiasm. Moreover a boycott has been suggested and the ever-present program of food drives is not too far in the background.

The truth of the matter is this, the strike will not and cannot be won by trying to outlast Chic Lingerie. In this area unemployment is nearly 8%. The only way to win the original demands without compromise is by stopping all production. This means that the union must mobilize other area workers to hold the picket line. Further, the leadership must accept its responsibility for organizing an effective defense against the company's goon squads.

## Stalinists Aid Sellout Of British Miners Strike

BY ED SMITH

An unholy alliance of Stalinist and fake "left" union bureaucrats has finally ended the massive wildcat strike of British miners.

A delegates' conference of South Wales miners has called for a return to work by Monday, November 23, and now only eight pits in the Durham area and Scotland carry on the struggle.

By means of lies and trickery these leaders were able to break the unity of the miners' rebellion which has brought out over half of the British mine labor force and threatened to grow into the first nationwide mine strike since 1926. The ranks were determined to fight the Tory government to the finish to upgrade the miserable wages they receive. A victory for the miners would have been a crushing blow to the Tory plans for breaking the working class and would have very probably led to the resignation of the government and new elections.

This prospect was and is anathema to the Stalinists and Labour Party bureaucrats who dominate the labor movement in general and the National Union of Mineworkers in particular. A big confrontation with the Tory government and British capitalism would have required a socialist program and leadership and this is precisely what these gentlemen cannot offer.

Therefore the NUM bureaucrats of all political shades united to break the forward surge of the membership.

### STALINISTS

When the strike movement began, the bureaucracy, headed by the "left" Lawrence Daly, attacked it viciously as "violent," "red-inspired," and "union-wrecking," echoing the statements of National Coal Board boss, Lord Robens. But their efforts would have been fruitless without the help of the Stalinists.

The British Communist Party has dominated crucial areas of the coalfields for many years. When the strike movement began the Stalinists did their best to stop it. They were finally forced to "support" the strike—in the manner of the French Stalinists during the May-June events in 1968—attempts to gain leadership of the movement in order to divert it into reformist and "protest" channels and finally to strangle it.

This pattern repeated itself in the miners' strike. When the capitalists' and labor bureaucrats' witchhunt against the miners reached its peak, the Stalinists stopped the "left" gruntings they had made earlier. They then did their utmost to break the strike by telling miners in each area that since other areas had returned to work, they should do so also

## Capitalism To Blame For Pakistan Cyclone Devastation

BY MARTY JONAS

What was perhaps the greatest natural catastrophe of the century struck Pakistan recently. On November 12 and 13, a cyclone accompanied by 20 foot tidal waves swept the Ganges River Delta region of East Pakistan. The death toll may be as high as a half million.

Long before the cyclone occurred, the need was stressed by many meteorological experts for an adequate warning system. The region is a breeding ground for hurricanes and ravaging floods are a common occurrence. No warning systems were ever built by the Pakistani government. In fact, one island of 250,000 had no electricity and only one battery-powered radio.

Experts recommended building earth platforms as sanctuaries in the low level islands against the rising seas. None were ever built.

Many of the islands could have been spared the destruction of the tidal waves had the recommendation of building sea walls been followed.

At this writing it is nine days since the catastrophe and helicopters and food have only just begun to trickle in from the Pakistan government and the United States. In the interim all sorts of lame excuses have been offered for the delay.

When it comes to getting helicopters into Indochina with bombs in their bellies, there is no delay!

Under capitalism, nature is only harnessed for destructive purposes. Sea walls and methods of controlling natural catastrophes will not be built. Science is used for atomic bombs.

in the name of "unity." This was a neatly self-perpetuating policy, since these returning areas had only returned on the instigation of the Stalinists, using the same line, in the first place!

### BETRAYED

In the end, the union leadership that had sworn to go all out for the \$12 contract demand told the miners to approve the National Coal Board's measly offer.

But though the miners have been betrayed, they have not been defeated. The miners returned only under enormous pressure from the bureaucracy and the Stalinists who declaimed the strike had been defeated when miners were still joining the strike, because they felt they had no real alternative to the union leadership. Many miners boycotted the balloting for acceptance of the National Coal Board's contract offer, and already there is widespread talk of a new strike next year.

The fight for victory in the miners' strike was taken up by the British Trotskyists in the Socialist Labour League and its daily paper, the *Workers Press*. The SLL, as a result of its principled fight in the mine strike has been able to penetrate new layers of the mineworkers and the working class as a whole. In the struggle for Trotskyist leadership of the working class, the Stalinist and "left" betrayers of the working class can and will be defeated.

## WL MEMBERS ARRESTED AT LONG ISLAND SCHOOL

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

STONY BROOK, N.Y.—On November 18 three representatives of the Stony Brook Workers League Youth Club and the Juan Farinas Defense Committee were arrested at a local high school where they were talking with students about the political situation at the school and distributing information on the frame-up of Juan Farinas. The three came to Brentwood High School in response to a call for outside support made by the students' groups involved in fighting for their democratic rights.

The Workers League came to Brentwood High School to establish contact with the student body, to help put their struggle in the broader context of the national and international struggle against the attacks of the ruling class on youth. The team was able to speak with some of the students at the high school that day and had planned to hold a meeting with them sponsored by official teachers aides.

The arrest of the three Workers League Youth Club members was followed by the arrest of one of the students with whom we had spoken. This is the strategy of the school administration on Long Island, police support against the students. The Workers League will not allow police harassment to halt its efforts in organizing high school students on Long Island.

## Mass Layoffs Hit TWA Workers

The commercial airline industry has been hard hit by the slump. Close to 10,000 airline employees have already been laid off this year.

Latest casualties in the industry are the 1,500 to 2,000 TWA employees slated to be laid off by January 1 who will join the more than 400 TWA hostesses already on furlough. The company announced that the layoffs were due to the decline in airline traffic due to the economic slump and "inflationary pressures."

Not only are the airlines solving this problem with more layoffs, but the recent grant of airline rate increases which the companies had fought for will only mean further declines in airline traffic and further layoffs so long as the industry remains under private ownership. The airline unions must raise the demand for nationalization of the airlines and the entire sick transportation industry as the only way to guarantee these workers employment with decent wages and conditions.

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