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What we think

Newton Revives The Reverends

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Page 14



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Page 14



US-USSR Unite In Arms Talks

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The Soviet Union is wasting no time in implementing the line worked out at the 24th Party Congress. The headlong rush of the Soviet bureaucracy into the arms of imperialism lies behind the recent agreement between the United States and Russia to discuss troop withdrawals in Europe and arms limitations.

Leonid Brezhnev took the initiative last week by calling for mutual troop withdrawals in Europe and added that the Soviet Union would do everything possible "to achieve the strengthening of the peaceful co-existence of states, regardless of their social system."

The proposal was met with warm response by Nixon. One week later a joint statement was issued simultaneously in Washington and Moscow on a "break-through" in discussions on SALT, the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks.

The agreement provides for discussions to begin on limiting first intercontinental missile systems and second offensive weapons.

These proposals, like the European Security Conference proposed by the Soviet Union earlier, is aimed at uniting the forces of Stalinism and imperialism against the working class.

The new initiatives are opened up by the Soviet bureaucracy at a time when they face not only a deep economic crisis but a wave of struggles by workers all over the world.

The bureaucracy is all for

peaceful co-existence with the butchers of the Vietnamese but has only guns and tanks for the youth and workers of Ceylon.

All the talk about "detentes" is aimed at creating the impression that a new era of peace is dawning. But the defeat of the Mansfield proposal in the Senate for cutting the troop strength in half by the end of 1971 makes it clear that it is not so simple.

Despite the financial burden to the United States the NATO forces are essential for dealing with the upsurge of the working class that is sweeping Europe.

The depth of the economic crisis means that Nixon must think seriously of reconquering the markets of Russia and China. Thus his extreme friendliness to the Soviet proposals is the guise of a wolf in sheep's clothing.

His interests in limiting nuclear weapons is aimed at weakening the power of the Soviet Union precisely in order to attack her.

Until he is able to do so, he must utilize every capitulation of the Stalinists to weaken the working class. This is why the recent agreement spells extreme danger for the working class.



Ranks protest at NMU hall after Curran shut down port meeting when militants tried to speak.

Ranks Fight Curran Blackout

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, May 24—Dozens of angry seamen, deprived of their rights by Port Agent Labaczewski, today picketed the NMU hiring hall demanding that the scheduled port-meeting be held.

The official port meeting, scheduled for 5 pm, was cut short when Jim Morrissey seized the microphone to present his motion for changing the union rules.

The mike was cut off, the lights went out and the bureaucrats declared the meeting adjourned. Instead of leaving the men demanded their rights and left only after half an hour of confusion. The pickets were then set up. This open hostility to the leadership in the NMU has not been seen on such a level since the late 1940s.

This fight can go forward only with a strategy to save NMU jobs through the two-crew system (two crews per ship each to sail six months a year at a year's pay), ending completely any LASH and other automation in maritime, getting the passenger ships out of layup. These demands must be the center of a motion for an official strike, going out from the New York membership who are now taking the lead in fighting Curran and his rotten crew.

At the same time the New York membership must answer ship-owners' pleas of bankruptcy and the

new anti-strike laws planned by Nixon and Congress, with the demand for nationalization of maritime industry under workers control. This means fighting for a labor party.

The program presented in Morrissey's opposition leaflet "The Call" can only direct this struggle by the unemployed New York members against the "home-steaders" (men with steady jobs).

Morrissey's leaflet states that "Any seaman employed for seven months on one ship must get off, re-register and compete for

another job...Eliminate promotions aboard ship..."

This new program starts from the same point of view as Curran's, accepting fully the automation and the resulting unemployment, the increase in seaman time needed to keep Group I and unbroken pension-time status.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, through their opposition paper the **Beacon**, have come out with the same program, giving it a left cover.

The point is if the Morrissey/Militant-Solidarity Caucus program passes there will be war in the union not against Curran but between the employed members and the unemployed.

There must be absolutely no compromise on the job security of any member of the NMU.

Israel Panthers Under Attack

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The myth of "progressive," and "classless" Israel, so beloved by the Zionists to maintain their completely reactionary regime, is being exploded not only by the war against the Arab working class and peasantry, but by the war carried out against the Jewish working class in Israel.

The latest exposure of this myth has taken place around the group known as the "Black Panthers," composed of unemployed slum youth whose families immigrated to Israel from the Middle East and Africa.

The Black Panthers have existed only for a few months and are reported to have as many as 5,000 supporters. Last week they led a demonstration in Jerusalem which was attacked by police, resulting in the most serious civil disorders ever seen in Israel.

Premier Golda Meir has said about the Panthers: "There is a poison of divisiveness in Israel at this moment."

The attacks by the police and by Meir really expose the fear of the Israeli ruling class of the movement of the Israeli working class.

PATRIOTISM

Under the frenzy of a campaign for "national survival" against the Arab workers and peasants, based on the character of Israel as a "Jewish State," the Zionists have attempted to keep the working class in line with patriotism and nationalism.

Big postal strikes and teachers strikes were broken in Israel last year on the basis that they "endangered national security." The militant trade unionists who led them were labeled as "traitors" and "agents of Al

Fatah."

The movement of unemployed ghetto youth in Israel against the government is just a symptom of the tremendous class unrest building up beneath the surface.

Sephardic Jews, those from the Middle East and Africa, make up 60% of the population, yet most of them live in slum housing. They comprise the largest section of unemployed and only 8% of college students are Sephardic or Oriental Jews, while 92% are Ashkenazis or European Jews.

The ruling class has tried to suffocate the fight against unemployment, slum housing, and poor living and working conditions under Zionism. But the class struggle in Israel is tearing apart this myth.

One leader of the Council of the Sephardic Community said, "If we ever get peace in the Middle East, we will have civil war at home."

This is what confronts the Zionist regime. The struggle of the Arab workers and peasants against imperialist domination must be joined with the struggle of the Israeli working class against its ruling class, and for the establishment of a socialist Middle East, based on the unity of the Jewish and Arab working class and peasantry against capitalism.

Rizzo Victory Warning To Labor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—In the primary election here ex-police commissioner Frank Rizzo, by a wide margin, won the nomination for Democratic candidate for mayor of Philadelphia.

Trade unionists and youth have no illusion about what a Rizzo administration means. He has personally directed physical attacks on striking city employees. His record as police commissioner is a long list of violence and brutality culminating in the attack on the Black Panthers in September 1970.

Rizzo has thrown together a collection of frenzied middle class elements, open racists and fascist forces. But he also received the support of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy of the Teamsters union. This poses the greatest dangers to the trade union movement.

The attempt by the liberal wing of the capitalist class to head off Rizzo's victory clearly demonstrates the impotency of liberalism in this period. In the face of rising unemployment, severe cutbacks in municipal services, growing unrest among the youth and an impossible fiscal crisis on the city and state level,

Rizzo's opponents, Bill Green and Hardy Williams, could offer nothing but an empty collection of promises.

Indeed, the real face of liberalism was shown when Green called for the elimination of 2,000 municipal jobs, in addition to the hundreds already lost through the current hiring freeze.

The popular front strategy of the Communist Party has openly put them on the side of the ruling class in this struggle. At every

Taxi Ranks Plan Rally

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The Taxi Rank and File Coalition of Local 3036 is planning a massive demonstration outside union headquarters, at 12 noon, Monday, June 7, 1971.

The purpose of the demonstration is to demand a general membership meeting to reject the rotten sellout contract that has been negotiated by Harry Van Arsdale. This is part of the continuing struggle against Van Arsdale who last month was driven out of a membership meeting by the ranks.

Van Arsdale is not obligated to call any meeting. The ranks must combine their demand for a general membership meeting

point the Stalinists fought against the construction of a labor party and called for a "united effort to stop Rizzo" which was a clear call of support to Bill Green, the major contender.

PARTY

The only alternative to this onslaught by the ruling class is the construction of a labor party based upon the powerful trade union movement which can unite all sections of the working class and youth.

with a city-wide action of "withholding the dime," keeping full "49%," and other actions which will back up the demands for a meeting.

The rank and filers must serve notice on the union leadership, Lindsay, the City Council, and the fleet owners, that their attempts at ramming a sweetheart contract down the throats of cabbies will be met by massive resistance.

The Coalition must also demand that goon tactics, beatings, and company union blackballing of drivers must stop immediately. To pretend that the forces arrayed against the drivers will somehow evaporate is to ultimately lead the drivers to defeat.

Seale, Huggins Are Set Free!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN, May 25—Today after a six month long trial the charges against Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins were dropped.

The government was forced to drop the charges after the jury which had deliberated for six days announced it could not reach a unanimous verdict. Ericka walked out of the courthouse free after being in jail for two years. Seale still faces trial from charges stemming from the Chicago demonstrations in 1968, but is applying for bail.

The acquittal of Seale and Huggins follows by a week the acquittal of the Panther 13 in New York. Both must be seen as a blow against the capitalist

class.

Despite every attempt of the police, the courts, and the government to push through this frame-up, the juries did not buy it. In this sense the working class gave the verdict.

From what this reporter was able to determine the majority of the jurors in the New Haven trial were for acquittal. One juror told an Associated Press reporter that ten out of the twelve jurors were for acquitting both Bobby and Ericka.

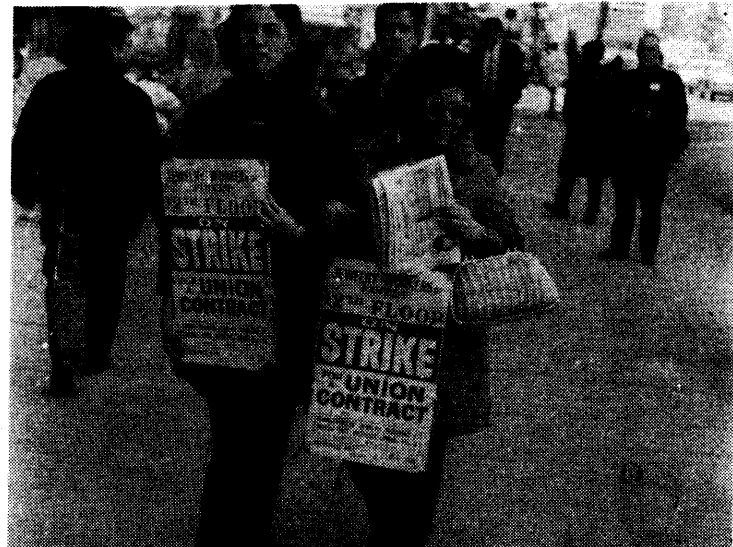
The government's case rested on the testimony of George Sams who had himself admitted killing Rackley. Substantial evidence points to his being an agent of the police.

The measures taken by Nixon and Mitchell in Washington last month are only the beginning. The actions of the Police Department in New York City this week show the future.

Kiernan, the head of the Policemen's Benevolent Association, said yesterday that the acquittal of the New York Panthers was responsible for the murders of the four policemen.

Kiernan has been joined by other spokesmen of the capitalist class including the *New York Times* and the *New York Post* in attempting to imply that the Panthers are responsible.

Pete Hamill, columnist for the *Post*, and a so-called "liberal" was the most direct, claiming that the "offspring" of the Panthers were responsible. A few months ago it was Hamill who launched an attack on the police calling them "animals" when they were on strike. Now he is the biggest cop lover and has launched the most vicious attacks on the Panthers.



Jewelry workers picket on 14th street, as their strike continues into second month. Demands are for unionization, higher wages.

City Says No Pay For Philly Teachers

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—The state government, the banks and the Board of Education have announced that unless they come up with a new tax Philadelphia teachers will not be paid beginning in June.

In addition to "payless pay-days" 2,000 teaching positions will be cut over the summer months through attrition.

This is a declaration of war against the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and part of the employers' and the government's entire strategy to dismantle the trade union movement and drive wages and working conditions back to the level of the 1930s.

Every municipal employee's job is threatened. Now after months of job freezing, budget cuts and speedup, the government has announced that nothing short of mass layoffs and

drastic wage slashes will rescue the state and city from collapse.

The time has come to take forward a massive offensive against these attacks. The only way the PFT can defend itself and throw back the government is to take up the fight for a general strike of all city labor around the demands:

1. Immediate payment of teachers wages.
 2. Restore all budget cuts in all city services.
 3. End the job freeze. No layoffs.
 4. Build a Labor Party.
- The Committee for New Leadership in the PFT has taken up this fight. All teachers must join with it to forge the only way forward for teachers and all city labor.

Kenyatta Peddles Community Control

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—Mohammed Kenyatta's presentation at the Penn State Black Arts Festival was singular in its elongated pseudo-Marxist cover for community control politics.

Masquerading behind the guise of "Marxist-Leninism," Kenyatta, head of the Black Economic Development Council of Philadelphia, went to great lengths to explain his "scientific" understanding of capitalism and the need for socialism. But when it came down to a strategy and program to advance this struggle, all that remained was some talk of a "well organized" vanguard party tacked on to the most rotten reformist politics.

His conception of a revolutionary program, which he called an "interim program," is the creation of "collective and cooperative organizations" run by the people. In other words this means community control of the schools and other institutions. He puts this rotten program forward while demagogically attacking Pan-Africanism. The latter for him is limited to the migration of Black Americans to Africa and Black capitalism. Accompanying this totally reformist program is the vanguard party, which Kenyatta throws in almost as an afterthought.

Expand this perspective internationally and one gets uncritical

(Continued On Page 12)

60 Protest Castro Purge

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On May 20th, a sharp statement was released in Paris, signed by 60 European and American intellectuals, taking up Fidel Castro for his purge of Cuban poet Heberto Padilla.

CONFESSION

Padilla's "confession" says the statement, "recalls the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witchhunts." The statement ends: "We would want the Cuban Revolution to return to what made us consider it as a model in the realm of socialism."

Among the signers are Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Tamara Deutscher, Andre Gorz, Monte Johnstone, Alberto Moravia, Alain Resnais, Jorge Semprun and Susan Sontag.

Some of these intellectuals, most notably Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre have been ardent and uncritical publicists for Castro's bourgeois nationalist regime for an entire decade. In so doing, they have helped sow the ground for these new purges as well as the accompanying attacks on the Cuban working class.

These 60 intellectuals, along with the Socialist Workers Party, stood for a whole decade in proclaiming Castro's "model in the realm of socialism" as an alternative to Stalinism. Now they are forced to compare its development to Stalinism itself.

But the core of these intellectuals have consistently refused to come to grips with the method of Stalinism which gave rise to the purges. Sartre, de Beauvoir and Moravia have hung around the Stalinist movement for many years; Monte Johnstone is a leader of the British CP. They just carried their grovelling method over to Castro's regime.

We support the statement on behalf of Padilla and his comrades. We say that this defense can only be carried forward through a complete break with Castro and the building of the Trotskyist movement in Cuba as part of the Fourth International.

DICTATORSHIP

The entire capitalist class from Nixon on down opened a war against the Panthers in order to beat back the struggle of the working class and to destroy all opposition to their system. The lessons it has learned in this trial and its inability to stop the struggles of the workers and youth, are that now it must prepare to go over directly to dictatorship.

Now it will begin to launch its offensive against the working class outside the confines of bourgeois democracy through extra-legal measures. It has already begun its war against the courts and in particular against the jury system in New York.

Cops Get Shotguns For War On Youth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The two unrelated attacks on policemen here last week are being used by the police department to create a situation of civil war in New York.

Last Wednesday two cops were machine gunned when they attempted to stop a car which had gone down a one way street. On Friday night two policemen were shot and killed while leaving a housing project in Harlem.



Plainclothes cop armed with shotgun outside Harlem precinct.

Edward Kiernan, President of the Patrolmens Benevolent Association, immediately announced that if "they" wanted a "war" that is what they would get. He claimed that revolutionaries were responsible for the shootings and urged the District Attorney to establish grand juries to investigate revolutionary groups and to impose maximum sentences in assault and weapon cases.

He urged the cops to arm themselves with shotguns and flatly stated that they should shoot to kill.

Despite denials in the press that the police have already armed themselves with shotguns, on Saturday a *Bulletin* reporter saw plainclothesmen enter the subway station at 145th Street, all armed with shotguns.

SHOOT

The police are being whipped into a racist lynching frenzy and the incidents are being blown up to make it seem that a full blown conspiracy to kill policemen exists despite the fact that the Panther 13 were just acquitted for such a charge.

One policeman in Harlem told a newsman: "No one shoots to kill, but believe me from now on, I'm aiming there and if he dies that's his problem."

After the shooting on Wednesday the *New York Times* re-

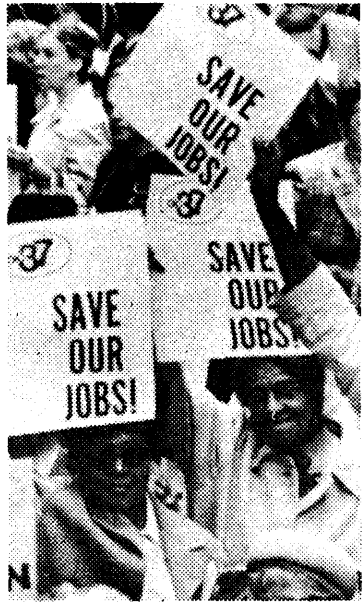
DESTROY

Kiernan's answer to the situation facing the capitalist class was clear when he said "If it's necessary, we will patrol the streets in tanks."

The victory for Seale and Huggins can only strengthen the struggle to free Angela Davis and all political prisoners.

But as the capitalist class prepares for dictatorship and civil war, the central lesson we must draw is the necessity to build a movement of the working class which can defeat and destroy capitalism.

UFT Rallies Against Cuts



DC 37 workers at UFT rally.

BY KAREN FRANKEL
NEW YORK—Last Thursday, the United Federation of Teachers, with the support of DC 37 held a demonstration here protesting the budget cuts. The tone of the demonstration was "write your congressmen" and "pressure the Democrats."

Both Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, and Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers, spoke at the rally, and neither of them even mentioned strike action against the layoffs and budget cuts.

At one point in the rally, during Shanker's speech, a group of people, including some teachers, supporters of the Progressive Labor Party, began shouting for

strike action. Immediately, one of Shanker's goons provoked a fight, and the police jumped in and beat up the militants. Four of them were arrested on the spot and dragged off to jail.

The incident was indicative of the tremendous fear of the bureaucracy of their inability to contain the ranks desire to fight the old strategy of pressuring the "friends of labor." The rank and file, at this point, knows it must go much further than simply maneuvering with so-called liberal politicians.

EXPOSED

The conditions are being set for mass strike action in the City of New York. Now that the CSEA (state civil service employees) is slated to go out on June 15, the pressure on these municipal labor leaders has never been greater. Their old relations with the liberal politicians are becoming more exposed each day, as each day pressure builds for strike action.

This is why militants in the unions now will have to be suppressed through physical force. This is why Gotbaum had to have goons surrounding him at the last delegates' meeting of District Council 37.

The bureaucracy is running scared now, and is trying to avoid the two central questions of general strike action against the attacks, and the political break from the ruling class through the formation of a labor party.

Brute force, however, will not prevent the working class from taking up these questions which are so sharply posed in this period.

Nationalists Reject Fight in Local 1199

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The trade union bureaucracy is totally incapable of defending the interests of the working class in the face of the growing economic crisis.

This is being demonstrated every day, in the acceptance of increased unemployment and vicious budget cuts and layoffs of city and state workers, and in the continued partnership with the bosses' political parties.

Every wing of the bureaucracy, from the Meany's to the so-called "left" or "progressive" union leaders, as well as their Communist Party boosters, must be fought tooth and nail.

But the dangers to the working class come not only from the bureaucracy and the Stalinists. Nationalism continues to play the role of diverting the struggles of Black and other minority workers.

These workers are more and

more looking for a road to struggle against the bosses and their bureaucratic leaders. But they are diverted into Black and "third world" caucuses which play into the hands of their enemies.

Threats of layoffs are multiplying. Closings are threatened of outpatient clinics at major voluntary hospitals and of as many as eight of the municipal hospitals. Some hospitals have begun to lay off non-union personnel while demanding the right to lay off union members and setting the stage for doing just that. Hospital workers now have to face the vicious budget cuts in addition to the direct threats to jobs.

As the last meeting of Guild Delegates in 1199 showed, more and more workers see the need of a fight and are demanding one from the leadership.

At this meeting a supporter of the Rank and File Committee of 1199 made the following motion:

- 1) that the Guild Delegates Assembly call a citywide demonstration against the attacks on hospital workers and health care.
- 2) that the Delegates Assembly go on record in favor of a break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and for the formation of a labor party to fight for the interests of the working class and minority peoples.
- 3) that the Delegates Assembly calls for support of all city workers facing layoffs and calls for a general strike led by the Municipal Labor Committee against the budget cuts and layoffs.

ACTION

Every single delegate who spoke in the discussion following this motion spoke on the need for strong and massive action by the union. Many delegates wanted to know why the 1199 leadership was doing even less than District Council 37 of the AFSCME.

The response of 1199 President Davis to the floor discussion was to admit that "this country is going through the worst stage in its history" and that we face "either decay and destruction—or something new is going to come."

While Davis promised to bring back a report at the next meeting, he wanted at all costs to avoid a vote on the motion presented

(Continued On Page 12)



Leon Davis

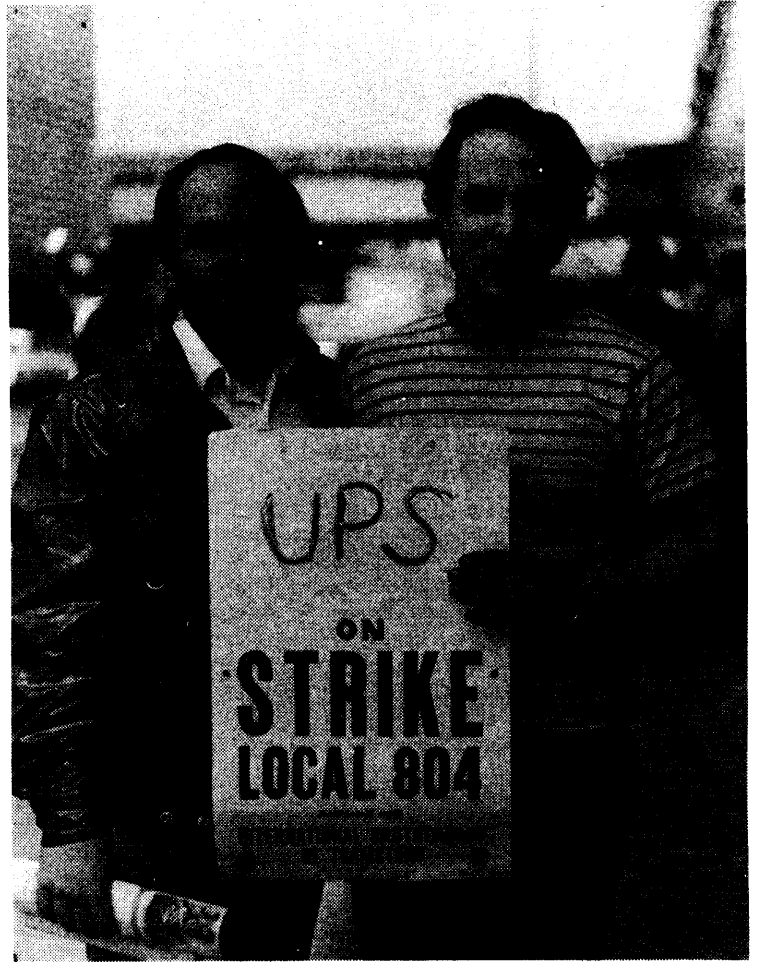
more looking for a road to struggle against the bosses and their bureaucratic leaders. But they are diverted into Black and "third world" caucuses which play into the hands of their enemies.

Recent developments in New York's Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers point up sharply the need for Marxist understanding and leadership to meet the crisis.

LAYOFFS

With the deepening of the capitalist crisis the attacks facing hospital workers have been steadily growing more serious. The job freeze instituted several years ago at most of the hospitals in the New York area is now quickly leading to actual layoffs.

The 1199 leadership has consistently minimized the seriousness of the crisis where it has not denied it outright. But now it is out in the open for all to



United Parcel Service workers picket at 12th Avenue in Manhattan. Strike of warehousemen and drivers in New York and New Jersey began last week after contract negotiations broke down when the management refused to meet the wage demands of the workers.

Yale Talks Break Down

BY DAVE FRANKLIN

NEW HAVEN—Negotiations between Yale University and the union of its striking employees, Local 35, broke off on May 7 over the question of job security.

Yale intends to break the union by replacing as many workers as possible with bursary students.

Talk of tripling the number of bursary students from 280 to 840 is only the beginning of Yale's strategy of eliminating at least half of the 1,157 jobs. The virtual extinction of the union would come next.

SECURITY

This strike threatens the job security of the Yale workers at the same time as it poses a life or death question to the union itself. Yale, one of the leading training grounds for the ruling class, now takes a lead in carrying out the objectives of the ruling class: smashing the organizations of the working class.

As New Haven's largest employer, Yale is giving the go-ahead signal to the rest of the bosses in New Haven.

This union busting must come to an end through the mobilization of New Haven labor in a city-wide strike in defense of the endangered local.

Yet Vincent Sirabella, Business Manager of Local 35 and president of the New Haven Central Labor Council has refused to do this. Instead he has launched a campaign for "community" support, a move that fits in snugly with his plans to run for mayor on the Democratic Party ticket.

STRATEGY

This is a time when a rank and file committee has to be built to fight for the kind of strategy that will win the strike, basing itself upon the demands for an 18 month contract, \$2.00 minimum hourly wage increase, 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to end the job freeze, full escalator clause, drop all charges against students and workers made during the strike.

9 Sentenced In Leningrad

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On May 20th, 9 Leningrad Jews were sentenced to from 1 to 10 years in prison camps after a 10 day trial.

Soviet authorities had attempted to link this group with an earlier group of 11 defendants who had been charged with treason and with attempting to hijack an airliner.

This group had been convicted and sentenced to terms ranging from 4 to 15 years last December.

The Leningrad group which has just been sentenced was connected to the earlier group in its efforts to leave the USSR for Israel. Some of the defendants had signed petitions addressed to the United Nations and engaged in other activities of that kind. But the authorities were not able, according to their own accounts of the trial, to prove that this group was actively involved in any hijacking plot.

Therefore the accusations boiled down to violations of Articles 70 and 72 of the Soviet Criminal Code. Article 70 makes it a crime to circulate "slandorous fabrications which defame the Soviet state or social system, or circulating or preparing or keeping, for the same purpose, literature of such content." Article 72 makes it a crime to belong to an "anti-Soviet organization."

Thus the bureaucracy is punishing pro-Zionist Soviet Jews

for their dissident views and political activity. The trial, of course, is not only a warning to dissident Jews, but to the youth and the working class. The Stalinist methods now being used more and more frequently are directed against the working class opponents of the bureaucracy.

WARNING

This trial is another warning to these opponents to stay in their place. Any principled opposition will be and has been slandered as anti-Soviet, and amalgamated with the Zionists and other anti-communist trends.

The bureaucracy's hostility to Zionism did not prevent it from supporting the creation of the state of Israel or from pushing for a deal now to maintain imperialist and Zionist power in the Middle East.

It only helps Zionism by its use of anti-Semitism, driving Jews into the Zionist camp and helping the Zionists to develop their campaign for mass emigration of Jews to Israel. It feeds Zionist feelings and then uses these trends to intimidate the growing revolutionary opposition.

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., 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 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. 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.

Steel Talks Open Big Wage Fight

BY DAN FRIED

Formal negotiations began last week in Washington between the United Steelworkers of America, headed by USWA President I.W. Abel and the big nine steel producers.

Despite the gala, convention-like atmosphere in the grand ballroom where the negotiators sat, the talks were held under the sharp impact of the Nixon-Congressional strikebreaking action against the railroad signalmen, and the recent eruption of the international monetary crisis.

Continuing the sellout course of trying to hold the steelworkers down to the wage pattern of the can industry or even worse, Abel made it clear that he thought the railroad workers were handed a pretty good deal by Nixon and Congress which might well be applied to the steelworkers.

The breaking of the railroad strike means not only the preparations for binding arbitration throughout the transportation industry, but above all is part of Nixon's and the employer's strategy to put the lid on the steelworkers when their contract expires August 1st.

Very likely the steel bosses and the Abel bureaucracy will need the help of open government intervention of some kind in

order to enforce a wage settlement. They fear a revolt by seething rank and file steelworkers who have not had a cost of living escalator since 1959 and who have been hurt by inflation even more than the auto workers during this period. Many steelworkers now earn less than \$3.00 an hour, with bottom grade iron ore miners making \$2.37.

OPEN

In addition, the steel contract negotiations take place at a time when the U.S. ruling class is finding it harder and harder to avoid an open confrontation with the organized working class. In the aftermath of last month's dollar crisis, Federal Reserve chief Arthur Burns has again called for an "incomes policy," and a wage-price review board as the way to "restore price stability."

There is no doubt that this policy, together with the enforced 13.5% wage increase over 21 months "granted" the railroad signalmen is aimed at the throats

of the steelworkers.

The danger is that government intervention can be used not just to hold the steelworkers to the can "pattern" of \$1.00 an hour over 3 years for the lowest grades but to push them down even lower.

Abel has promised the steelworkers that they will see a "substantial" wage increase and a full cost of living escalator in 1971. But this talk is a very thin cover for his headlong flight from the kind of struggle with the big nine and the government that can even begin to meet the needs of the steelworkers.

The reality is that the can workers got only \$1.00 to \$1.10 an hour over 3 years and a cost of living escalator which does not

(Continued On Page 12)



A burned out section of Brownsville block, where youth rebellion swept after city and state cut budgets in education and welfare.

Cops Arrest, Brutalize Brownsville Youths

BY ERNIE LEWIS

BROOKLYN—The explosive movement of the youth against the attacks by the capitalist class has found expression in the recent ghetto rebellions in Brownsville and Bedford Stuyvesant.

These rebellions were directly connected to the recent New York City budget cutbacks. These cuts not only threaten the layoff of 90,000 city workers but also mean cuts in welfare, education and antipoverty programs. Needless to say this represents a tremendous threat to the already low living standards of the youth who took part in these rebellions.

In fear that rebellions will take a more conscious expression, the government has stepped up the harassment of youth in these areas.

As a result the Third World Front, which has its roots in Brownsville, has come under severe attack with the arrest of several of its members and supporters.

One of the youths arrested is charged with having an imitation pistol. He was beaten until he lost hearing in one ear. Several young girls were held for questioning in the shooting of a cop in an effort to develop another frame-up case equivalent to the attacks on Bobby Seale and Angela Davis.

The only way forward against these attacks is the fight for labor to call a general strike and to build a labor party. The only force which can arm these youth for this fight is Trotskyism. What is required now is the building of a revolutionary youth movement.

Madison Students On Strike

BY TOM HENDERSON

MADISON, WIS.—Student workers at a number of University of Wisconsin eating complexes went on strike last week in a fight for recognition of their union, the Resident Halls Student Labor Organization, and for a contract with the University which would guarantee that recognition.

The RHSLO also wants recognition outside of the state Civil Service statute, III.80, which is generally applied to state employees and forbids them to strike, and the repeal by the University of a ruling which would require all student workers in the eating complexes to live in University dorms.

Predictably, throughout the strike the University has shown the utmost determination to crush the strike and lay the basis for destroying the RHSLO.

On Friday, May 11th, the first day of the strike, university cops were stationed at every picket site and began a systematic intimidation of strikers. Picketers were pushed around when scab trucks came through, and a

total of six union members were arrested for "disorderly conduct."

BEATING

That night the University's anti-union campaign continued with the arrest of five students and the brutal beating of one stemming from a food fight in a struck cafeteria, begun by students in support of the strike.

With budget cuts coming from the state legislature, the University is trying to break the union to make the workers and students pay for the economic crisis.

The RHSLO can only win by taking up a fight to mobilize the ranks of labor in support of the RHSLO strike.

FBI Recruits The Scouts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

If all these years you have thought that the Boy Scouts were just busy helping little old ladies across the street and building campfires, you have only to look at the latest documents stolen from the FBI's office in Media, Pa.

J. Edgar Hoover, who has for years been inviting the top Boy Scouts to Washington to see him, has been making use of the unwitting youth. Under an experimental program entitled SAFE,

20,000 scouts in Rochester, N.Y., were given special identification cards with police, FBI and other emergency numbers on it and were asked to report on any "suspicious" activities they noticed in their neighborhoods.

These reports only recall the methods of Hitlerite Germany and the preparations the capitalist class are making towards dictatorship. They obviously will stop at nothing to defeat the working class.

INTERVIEW WITH SANFORD KATZ, PANTHER LAWYER

The following are excerpts from an exclusive interview by the Bulletin with Sanford Katz, a defense attorney for the Panther 21 whose trial just ended with an acquittal.

BULLETIN: The not guilty verdict on all counts after only 90 minutes deliberation and at the end of an 8 and a half month trial is undoubtedly a tremendous kick in the teeth to the government sponsored campaign against the Panther Party, and all that it entails. What do you think of the suggestion that the trial outcome proves that it is possible to obtain justice in America?

KATZ: It is possible to obtain justice in America, if you are fortunate enough to obtain the services of the magnificent jury that we were fortunate in obtaining. And I think institutionally the legal system is quite capable of taking care of and insuring that this is not going to happen again with any great ease—will not happen at all.

This is what is going on in New York at this very moment. This weekend the state legislature is deliberating whether to



Sanford Katz

amend the new Code of Criminal Procedures which goes into effect in September. It contains the provision that the selection of the jury, the questioning of jurors will remain with the defense counsel, and the prosecutor, in other words with the lawyers. The law and order people and the district attorneys have been working very,

very hard and of course this verdict has given them new impetus, to abolish this. They are working to have the New York legislature adopt the federal practice, which limits the questioning of prospective jurors to those questions asked by the judge. This would eliminate the role of the lawyers.

If this were the practice in our case, the jury would have been out 9 minutes and convicted all the Panthers on all counts.

BULLETIN: The editorial in the New York Times took the opportunity at the time of the acquittal to denounce the Panthers for their rhetoric, their goals and aims, etc., and insisted that the trial outcome proves the Panthers are completely wrong in their indictment of capitalist justice in the U.S. I would assume you do not agree with this.

KATZ: Most definitely not. I think the outcome of the Panther trial indicates and establishes the contrary. The system did not work and the system does not work. Right from the outset there

was a studied political determination made—I say the outset, I mean back in the summer of 1968 when the Panther Party was first born in New York. At the very beginning the Bureau of Special Services infiltrated the party. Indeed some of the first members of the party in New York were cops. That was a political determination and it had as its ultimate goal the destruction of the party, the elimination of its leadership, and the elimination of as many Panthers as possible.

Then in April 1969 when the party had been in New York less than one year, they found the appropriate moment to strike. The leadership of the party was eliminated, removed from the streets by the simple expedient of using the system, fixing bail at \$100,000, which in effect removed these people from the street for 25 months. Only 4 of the 21 were able to make bail.

The system is geared, you can view it from any perspective—you can view it from the stand-

point of bail, from the point of view of the selection, the hand-picking of the judge—all done with perfect propriety, within the rules of the system.

You look at Judge Murtagh's role, you analyze the record and you realize that the facade of justice was maintained. All the forms were used, but they were used in such a manner that only forms remained and the substance of justice was denied.

The jury was very quick to pick this up. In our meetings with them at the impromptu celebration that we had, it was quite clear that the verdict was a direct slap in the face to the judge who they felt to be so biased against the defendants. It was also a slap at the prosecution.

The prosecution was intent upon destroying the party by a sham conspiracy. Everyone knew the party's life was at stake, and yet they insisted throughout the trial that politics had no place, no role in this case. That's an outrageous lie that no one on this jury bought.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Witchhunt- A Warning

The witchhunting attack of Representative Ichord and the House Internal Security Committee on NPAC and the Socialist Workers Party serves as a warning to all workers and militants. It follows close on the heels of the massive police action against the May Day Tribe in Washington, D.C.

Representative Ichord is a member of the Democratic Party from the state of Missouri. Other members of the same capitalist party, Senator Vance Hartke and Representative John Conyers, Jr., are sponsors of NPAC. Neither uttered a word of protest when earlier it was the May Day Tribe that was under government attack.

Similarly former Democratic vice presidential candidate Muskie protested when the FBI kept tabs on his appearance at an ecology day event but made it clear he had no objection to their watching the Progressive Labor Party.

When Jerry Gordon of NPAC stated that Ichord is "desperately trying to revive the McCarthyism of the 1950s" he is dead wrong in one respect. There is nothing "desperate" about Ichord's action which finds its expression in other forms such as the mass jailings of the May Day Tribe.

Precisely because capitalism is in danger of its continued existence, precisely because the monetary crisis reflects its desperate condition, redbaiting and direct attacks on existing democratic liberties must be intensified. Those who dismiss such attacks express their own complacency and confidence in the continued prosperity of capitalism.

Ichord is in dead earnest as is Vice President Agnew. They represent the public face of the private efforts of the FBI and other government bodies which are preparing for the complete suppression of all working class tendencies and militants. They only await the proper moment to implement their dictatorial schemes.

The attack on the Socialist Workers Party by a key member of the same party which shared a common platform with SWP spokesmen in Washington a month ago expresses the great danger of coalitionism in this period. The attacks on working class tendencies are class attacks carried through by both parties of capitalism. Hartke and Ichord represent the same class and Hartke will do tomorrow what Ichord does today—or be replaced by his class.

April 24th together with the Ichord investigation points out the future for the SWP. The capitalist class will utilize the SWP together with the CP to break the movement of the working class through coalitions while at the same time preparing the concentration camps for the members of the SWP and CP.

The SWP is already preparing to move from coalitionism in the peace movement to capitalist coalitions in the political field through its support to bourgeois capitalist La Raza Unida parties and Black parties such as Jesse Jackson and others are trying to cook up. This, we predict, will be the lesson the SWP draws from its defeat and the radical coalition's victory in Berkeley.

This will be its real "Strategy for the 70s." The triumph of Ichord and Agnew will be the result unless the SWP is decisively routed politically now.

Danger Of Coalition

Last Sunday, Senator Eugene McCarthy at a rally in Minneapolis called for "a new party and a new policy and a true America." At the same time Shirley Chisholm speaking for the "Black Caucus" in Congress said that "new coalitions" and "new political combinations" are being formed today in the U.S.

McCarthy and Chisholm now join the chorus for a coalition which will make capitalism more palatable to the millions of workers, youth and minorities that are finished with the Democratic and Republican Parties.

These forces which include sections of the liberals, the trade union bureaucracy, the Stalinists and revisionists, are moving rapidly to head off a movement towards an independent arm of the working class, a labor party.

The real danger in the situation was sharply pointed out last week in the primary in Philadelphia where the bankruptcy of the liberals opened the door to the victory of the right wing Rizzo.

There is only one class, one party, and one program capable of defeating Nixon and all his cohorts in the Democratic and Republican Parties—that is the working class organized in a labor party fighting on a socialist program.



Come aboard! You'll be safe here!

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

Church": "It was born in an attempt to enable and empower Black People to survive the racist and exploitative system of slavery in America." The truth is that Christianity was brought to Black slaves to make it possible for slavery to survive. The task of Black people then was not to survive under slavery but to destroy slavery itself.

The task before Black people and the working class as a whole now is not survival under the rule of class slavery but the destruction of class slavery, of wage slavery itself through socialist revolution. We know where Father Neil and his Episcopal Church will stand on the question of socialist revolution. It will stand with the exploiters of the world for that is where religion has always stood.

Huey P. Newton writes in the May 1st Black Panther: "The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when Black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of non-violent action toward the sterner actions."

But Father Neil states: "The Black Church once again affirmed its rightful purpose in the person of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the organization of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference." The BPP under Huey P. Newton has now turned a full circle right back to what it originally fought. Neil is right in one respect, the "rightful purpose" of the Church is that of King—to turn the masses away from revolutionary struggle to harmless protest tied to capitalism.

When Huey P. Newton called for the socialist revolution in America and for a turn to



Huey Newton



Martin Luther King

dialectics we were among the first and only to defend him. The liberals and the Communist Party dropped the Panthers like a hot potato. A section of the Panthers under Eldridge Cleaver prepared their split returning to the deadend of adventurism Newton was seeking to get out of.

But Newton stopped halfway. He saw the dialectic as a technique to be applied to current appearance around him. He refused to root the dialectic historically and therefore in a materialist way. This in turn was a denial of the dialectic itself.

Theory develops concretely through the struggle of the communist movement. It cannot be developed outside this movement, and no revolutionary practice is possible outside revolutionary theory. The central struggle for theory has been Trotsky's struggle for Marxism against Stalinism. Huey P. Newton has refused to face up to this question. And so his turn toward dialectics remains idealist.

Idealism is the philosophy of the bourgeoisie in a period of capitalist decay. Religion is the most reactionary form of idealism.

There is no good religion. The working class can only be emancipated through a direct struggle against idealism and religion through the scientific training of the workers in materialist thinking.

There is no way forward for the working class including the mass of Blacks except through the leadership of the Trotskyist movement. Trotskyism itself has been under attack for over a decade from within by idealism in the form of Pabloite revisionism. Therefore it is not accidental that the Socialist Workers Party, which has embraced Pabloite revisionism, has also embraced the most reactionary idealist trends of our time.

It uncritically supports the Cairo United Front which is headed by the very same Christian ministers that the BPP now supports. It embraces Black nationalism which is a completely idealist mystical and reactionary outlook because a scientific investigation shows irrefutably that Blacks are in no sense a nation. Nationalism thus has no materialist base in reality and can only play a reactionary role in the service of capitalism in the same manner as religion.

The Workers League is unalterably opposed to all churches and religions, Black nationalism and every other form of idealism. We stand on the scientific program of Marxism which holds that capitalism is in crisis; that capitalism is at the heart of exploitation and racism, and that it can and will be overthrown by the working class and only the working class led by the revolutionary Marxist party. The Workers League is this party.

Phila. SMC Denounces MPI Attack

The following resolution was passed by the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee on May 22nd against the attacks by MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia) on members of the Workers League.

1) We reject and denounce all physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement; we specifically affirm the right of all tendencies to freely present their views and to sell their literature; we oppose all government or hooligan attacks on these rights.

2) We ask all tendencies, whatever their political differences, to reject charges that groups on the left are government agents. These slanderous charges, including one that Trotskyists are agents of the CIA or FBI, are now being brought forward to justify physical assaults on left tendencies.

3) We denounce the MPI's attack on the Workers League, which the MPI has admitted responsibility for.

AN OPEN LETTER TO

JOSEPH HANSEN

BY ROBERT BLACK

IN TWO PARTS

The following articles are reprinted from the Workers Press.

IN THE PAST three sections of this letter we have looked at the record of the struggle for Trotskyist principles against revisionism within the international movement.

The SWP resolution on an early reunification, far from embarrassing the SLL, only adds one more to a long list of documents confirming that it was the SWP leadership that betrayed Marxist principles in their desire to merge with the European revisionists.

They show that it was the SLL, while opposing unprincipled unification, which fought for the maximum possible clarification in every sector of both camps around the issues raised by the 1953 split, the Cuban Revolution, the crisis of Stalinism and the approach of a new wave of revolutionary struggles in the advanced capitalist countries. The record speaks for itself.

With this record in mind, let us return to the question of Cuba and Castroism.

In a resolution adopted by the National Committee of the SLL on July 21, 1962, we said:

'In our opinion, the Castro regime is, and remains, a Bonapartist regime resting on capitalist state foundations. Its Bonapartist nature is determined by the fact that the working class, because of the Stalinist misleadership, is unable to take and wield state power—while on the other hand the big comprador-bourgeoisie which supported Batista is too weak and decimated to retake the power in the present period.'

So we were careful to differentiate between the social layers tied to Batista and those that rallied to the Castro regime, while stressing the fact that there had been not a social but a political revolution.

Power had not been transferred from the capitalist class to the workers and their rural allies, but had been captured by a section of the capitalist class previously excluded from government—the radical petty-bourgeoisie.

These elements had to remove from positions of power the pro-Batista direct representatives of the compradors and latifundists, i.e., those capitalists and landlords tied most closely to US capital.

Theoretical clarity on the Cuban revolution demanded that this aspect—the continuity of the Cuban state—be stressed:

'The regime, however, is a variety of capitalist state power.

The Castro regime did not create a qualitatively new and different type of state from the Batista regime.

'What it did do was to clear out the old judges, administrators, bureaucrats, diplomats and policemen and replace them with people who supported Castro. The old institutions were filled with new personnel.'

Bland assertion

Your bland assertion that according to the SLL 'another "Batista" [again—the quotation marks] installed "state capitalism"' is presumably based on this paragraph.

Here you betray a similar method of distortion to that used by the Stalinists in their slander campaign against the Fourth International during the period of the 'Popular Front'.

Then, Trotskyists insisted that despite the many differences between the two regimes (i.e., the legal existence of workers' organizations, workers' parties, etc.), Franco's fascist dictatorship and the Spanish republican government were both, in class content, bourgeois.

Such a correct Marxist designation of the Spanish republican government did not of course prevent partisans of the Fourth International from fighting in the Civil War on the side of the republic, in defence of the gains made by the working class (and challenged not only by Franco but the Stalinist-reformist coalition in Valencia).

But seizing on this correct analysis of the Spanish republic, the Stalinists accused Trotskyism of equating the regime under Azana with that of Franco.

Now you take up this slanderous method and try to turn it against the SLL and its supporters in the international movement. Just like the pre-war Stalinists, you now come up with the formulation that for the SLL, 'Castro is another Batista'.

As for Cuban 'state capitalism', this concept exists only in your fertile imagination. None of our basic documents on the Cuban Revolution has employed this term.

You further impute that for the SLL, there has been no revolution of any kind in Cuba; for example, you say:

'If Lora today agrees with Healy that no revolution occurred in Cuba . . .'

Where have we stated that 'no revolution occurred in Cuba'?

In the same document from which we have already quoted (and which you have distorted almost beyond recognition) we stated:

'We are in no circumstances prepared to join in the adulation of the "superb" leadership of the Cuban revolution.'

We recognized that a revolu-

tion had, in fact, taken place but we refused to designate its social content as proletarian and socialist and its leadership as a substitute for a party based on the programme of the Fourth International.

This we made explicit in a later section of the same resolution:

'Despite or rather because of all the economic and social changes that have taken place in the last two to three years, Cuba has witnessed, not a social revolution which has transferred state power irrevocably from the hands of one class to another, but a political revolution [please note, Comrade Hansen, a political revolution] which has transferred power from the hands of one class to another section of that same class.'

This is what we said of the Cuban revolution in 1962. We uphold it today. Nevertheless, you dishonestly try to convey to your readers the false impression that we deny a revolution ever took place in Cuba.

This conveniently evades our main and principled difference, which is not whether a revolution occurred, but its social content, and the theoretical and political implications of designating Cuba a workers' state.

We can understand your reticence in actually dealing with and replying to the analysis made of your record on the Cuban revolution. You in fact have nothing at all to say on the

reproduction of your past statements, other than:

'For all his diligence the writer sedulously avoids quoting a single item that would require going into the theory of the revolution. In this area the SLL has not advanced a millimetre since Healy first discovered where Cuba is on the map.'

Again, you substitute cynical attempts at humour for principled politics. Your 'theory of the revolution' was quite simple. To quote once again from your article in the winter, 1965, issue of 'International Socialist Review':

Bright perspective

'Most heartening of all, from a political point of view, was the appearance in Cuba of a leadership whose origin was completely outside the communist movement but which evolved in the course of the revolution itself towards Marxist positions. Thus dawned the bright perspective for which the Trotskyist movement has struggled since its inception.'

This is the essence of your 'theory of the revolution'. It threatened to lead directly to the liquidation of the Fourth International, which, you so falsely claim, has been struggling since its inception for . . . the

emergence of leaderships 'completely outside the Communist movement'!

Was it for this that the pioneers of the Left Opposition struggled and died in Stalin's slave camps?

Was it to the Castros and the Blas Rocas that Trotsky issued his call for the Fourth International after the collapse of the Third International before the challenge of German fascism?

No wonder you try to create a subjective diversion from your record on Cuba, reproduced in our first 'open letter'. Because today you are vainly trying to pose as the man who always saw and warned against the dangers of capitulating to Castroism. You of all people!

With the quotations from your earlier articles on Cuba in mind, let us look again at the speech you made to the New York branch of the SWP on June 4, 1969. (This is one of the documents that we reproduced in the latest number of 'Fourth International'.)

As you say in your opening remarks, the speech was a report on the Third Congress of the Unified Secretariat (Pabloites).

You refer to differences that arose over the resolution on Latin America, 'around which the sharpest differences appeared at the Congress'.

In answering those at the Congress who argued in favour of 'engaging in military prepara-





Leaders of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, 1928. Seated l. to r. Serebryakov, Radek, Trotsky, Boguslavsky, Preobrazhensky. Standing l. to r.: Rakovsky, Drobni, Beloborodov, Sosnovsky. All died at the hands of Stalin.

tions for rural guerrilla war on a continental scale, no matter how small the forces might be in any given country,' you replied (and mark your own words):

'Our conclusion was what this line of argumentation implied was an adaptation to the limitations of the Cuban leadership.'

Hardened opportunist

Yet this is precisely what you have been doing and advocating within the SWP and internationally since 1960!

Now, when Maitan takes this line to its ultimate conclusions, you recoil in horror. Such has always been the hallmark of the hardened opportunist. Your European co-thinkers pursued the same unprincipled tactics in their relations with the pro-coalitionist majority within the Ceylon LSSP. Now you reproduce the same formulations in relation to Maitan and the advocates of all-or-nothing guerrilla war in Latin America.

In order to take your distance from this suicidal line you now come forward as a critic of Castroism, having been one of its most consistent publicists for close on a decade.

But, even when criticizing Castro, you betray the same pragmatic method that in 1960 served to elevate the Cuban leadership to the rank of instinctive Leninists.

You argue in fact that Castroism 'worked' in the late 1950's and early 1960's, but that it cannot work today. You even try to defend Castro's bloc with the Cuban Stalinists on these same pragmatic grounds.

The following excerpt brings out your idealist method quite well:

'Under the peculiarities of the situation in Cuba at that time, they succeeded, through guerrilla warfare and its development, in gaining power. This was their great positive achievement. But this very achievement, in the peculiar form in which it occurred, also tended to set the subsequent course of this leadership along lines which they have not yet transcended.' [Even now, you hold out hopes of a further evolution of Castroism towards Trotskyism.]

'First of all in Cuba they utilized the Communist Party. They dismantled it, tried to put it together and make something new out of it. It was like using old bricks in a new building. They found the Cuban CP useful in this respect.' (Emphasis added.)

These infamous lines deserve to rank with your cynical reduction of dialectical materialism to 'consistent empiricism'. The main point about Stalinism, the fact that it is the principal counter-revolutionary force on the world

arena, simply does not enter into your analysis of Castro's dealings with the Cuban CP.

He simply took it apart and put it together again. Significantly you use a totally mechanical image—that of dismantling and rebuilding—to describe the adaptation of Castro to the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy and its Cuban agents.

According to you, the fault of the Castro leadership lay not in its relationship to Cuban Stalinism—there the method had worked, it was 'useful'. The error was to extend this strategy to the rest of Latin America!

Yet you more than anyone else in the SWP had earlier insisted that one of the strong points of the Castro leadership was its clear demarcation from Stalinism.

To quote again from the summer 1960 article in 'International Socialist Review':

'To finally break the hypnosis of Stalinism, it became necessary to crawl on all fours through the jungles of the Sierra Maestra.'

And in the autumn 1965, issue of the same journal:

'In fact, there is no better memorial to the 25th anniversary of Trotsky's death than the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy undertaken jointly with Lenin over 40 years ago is today being waged in earnest in Cuba.'

WHEN the fraudulent nature of Castro's anti-Stalinism is exposed—his refusal to denounce the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia and his silence over the Stalinists' betrayal of the May-June 1968 French general strike — even now you soften the blows.

'Here, one of the limitations [!] of the Cubans showed up. In splitting with the Venezuelan CP, they did not make any political accounting over what Stalinism's role was, and they sort of [sic!] buried the whole thing and ended up in a very small minority.'

How did this 'limitation' escape your attention for nearly ten years? Yet even now you still seek to present the Castro leadership as unconscious anti-Stalinists, just as once they were 'unconscious Trotskyists'.

The problem is presented by you as unresolved. As if the Castroites still intended to clarify their relationship with Stalinism, but have not got around to doing so. Their current line is only an 'error'.

In your comments on the Latin American Resolution (also reproduced in 'Fourth International') you say:

'The course followed by the Cubans shows that they decided that if errors were to be made, they should be on the side of caution so as not to jeopardize the flow of material aid. This explains why the Cuban Stalinists were not reproved for their gross attacks on Trotskyism and why Castro himself could make the kind of attack he did at the Tri-continental Conference in January 1966.'

Here it is worth recalling that a year after Castro's Stalin-style diatribe against Trotskyism, you put it down to a case of mistaken identity. It was: 'at best a mistaken identification of Trotskyism with the bizarre sect of J. Posadas, and at worst, nothing but a belated echo of old Stalinist slanders'. (ISR, Nov.-Dec. 1967.)

In 1967: a 'belated echo'—and that 'at worst'. But in 1969, you discreetly revised your analysis. Castro's anti-Trotskyism, though still not his real political position, had become part of his adaptation to the Soviet bureaucracy. You continue:

Ambiguous attitude

'It explains, too, why the Cubans took such an ambiguous [!] attitude during the May-June 1968 events in France and why to this day they refrain from publicizing the role of the French Trotskyists in the French upsurge. And it explains why Castro, with very important reservations, it is true, came out on the side of the invaders of Czechoslovakia.'

What do you, then, conclude from this catalogue of events—some of them truly historical—in which Castro has ranged himself consciously with Stalinist counter-revolution in both E and W Europe? :

'In short, the Cubans have not yet settled accounts with Stalinism.' (Emphasis added.)

So even now, you hold out hopes of such a development. There can be no mistaking this, for you add:

'Until they have done so, it is misleading to say without qualification, as the resolution does in point 11: "This leadership by its attitudes, its actions and generalizations has contributed in a decisive way to the maturing of a new vanguard".' (Emphasis added.)

You balk at such a formulation now, demanding 'qualifications' which you fail to specify.

East Germany, 1953: The workers' uprising by the Castro regime with the US-Insip Invasion in 1961.



Yet we know of no objections raised by you against the following statement in the ISR of Fall 1965:

... there is no better memorial to the 25th anniversary of Trotsky's death than the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy undertaken jointly with Lenin over 40 years ago is today being waged in earnest in revolutionary Cuba.'



Batista

None of your 'qualifications' here!

You now object to the formulation that the Castro leadership 'has contributed in a decisive way to the maturing of a new vanguard'. Perhaps you hope your own party comrades will forget what you wrote on this subject in ISR Winter 1966 (only



Fidel Castro



Blas Roca

Surprising of June 1953 was equated inspired 'Bay of Pigs'



France May/June 1968: No support from Castro regime for French workers and students.

a few weeks before Castro's public slanders against the Fourth International):

'And once again we were offered fresh evidence of the importance of Castroism as one of the manifestations of the rise of a new revolutionary generation, a new revolutionary leadership on a world-wide scale that points in the most unmistakable way to the resurgence of revolutionary socialism as embodied in the programme of Lenin and Trotsky.'

Opportunist adaptation

On every aspect of Castroism, you are now trying to stealthily edge away from the positions you upheld for nearly a decade.

You gently take Castro to task for his neglect of theory:

'The Cubans, likewise, conceded the field of theory to the Stalinists under the hardly laudable [*sic!*] guise of ridiculing the "theorists" as against men of action, who don't need to learn about revolution in books inasmuch as they are practising it with guns.'

Presumably you would direct this barb against the author of the following proposition:

'To fulfil their desire to turn the promise of a better life for the humble into reality, these men of powerful will found they had to put Cuba on the road to socialism. They discovered this through practical experiences and not through preconceived notions . . . The Cuban leaders themselves have made no major contributions as yet to the theory of their own revolution.'

'They firmly maintain that they are the practical men of action who have so much to learn about theory. This is a responsible attitude that actually reveals a respect for theory.' (Emphasis added.)

The only problem is, Comrade Hansen, that you were the author of these lines. What was for you in 1961 'a responsible attitude that actually reveals respect for theory' has now become 'hardly laudable'.

It is not Castro who has changed, however, but simply the

form of your opportunist adaptation to his leadership. For in the end, you still come out with the old line intact, having first 'qualified' it with provisos on the belatedness of Castro's final break from Stalinism:

'We have regarded the Cuban leaders as the first contingent of a new generation of revolutionists free from the crippling influence of the Stalinist movement. This was the main thing we hailed in the Cubans when they toppled the capitalist structure in Cuba. Arriving at revolutionary conclusions on the basis of their own thinking and their own experience, they were the harbingers of a great new development.'

So, even in the guise of a statement critical of the liquidationist and adventurist Latin-American Resolution, you keep the door ajar for further adaptations to petty-bourgeois nationalist groupings in the future.

According to you, we can confidently expect new 'unconscious' revolutionaries to follow in the footsteps of the Cuban 'harbinger'.

Hypocritical strictures

This, of course, raises the question of the whole future of Trotskyism as an independent revolutionary force. We dealt with this aspect of your adapta-

tion to Castroism in our first 'Open Letter', but we cannot let pass the hypocritical strictures on the dangers of liquidationism which you address to the supporters of the Latin-American Resolution:

'The main resolution [which you endorsed] speaks of the "possibility" for revolutionary Marxists to "broaden their field of action". The draft resolution on Latin America specifies: "working as an integral part of OLAS". The main resolution leaves open the tactical question; the subsidiary resolution closes the question.'

You then issue the following warning:

'To make an organizational adaptation of this kind could have very serious consequences for the Latin-American sections of the Trotskyist movement, whose problem is precisely the one indicated in the main resolution—to doggedly continue "to build their own parties and their own International". In what way becoming an "integral part" of the OLAS would help in building "their own parties and their own International" is hard to say.'

Hard to say or not, precisely this liquidationist line was in fact advocated in your own ISR (Summer 1961):

'As for the Cuban Trotskyists, we would take it for granted that they would hail such a development [i.e., the building of

a Castro-led revolutionary party] and participate in it as completely loyal party builders. The Castro leadership would naturally be elected to head the party. They have demonstrated their fitness and capacity to such a degree that we think every Cuban revolutionist would give them a vote of confidence.'

Let us make it clear once and for all. Your position now, as a critic of the ultra-liquidationist line of Maitan and others in no way absolves you from primary political responsibility in these developments.

You were in fact their most consistent advocate within the SWP, and pushed harder than anyone for a unification with the European revisionists precisely because of your agreement on the nature of the Cuban revolution and the Castro leadership.

Perhaps you hope your recent criticisms (mild though they are) of Castroism and its revisionist apologists will serve as a smoke-screen, obscuring the long history of capitulation to the European Pabloites via your empirical, impressionist reaction to the events in Cuba.

That is why you refuse to answer the questions addressed to you in our first 'Open Letter'.

But since then, Castro's political evolution has become even clearer. First there was the April 19 number of the Cuban Communist Party weekly 'Granma', which likened the June 17, 1953, rising of the E German working class against Stalinism with . . . the US-backed invasion of Cuba by right-wing exiles in April 1961:

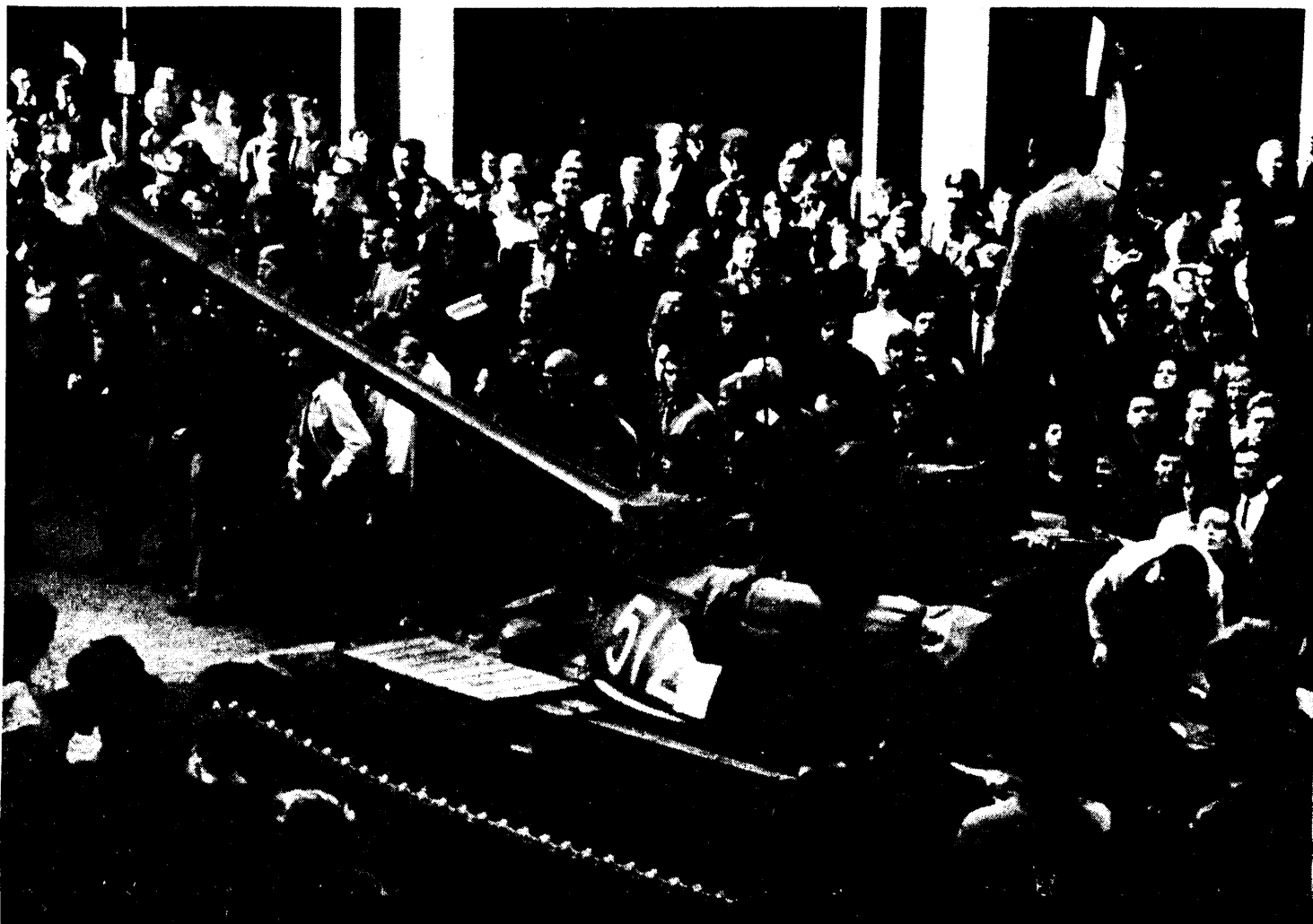
'With the approach of April 17, a date that recalls the opening of the victorious offensive launched by our people against the mercenaries in the pay of Yankee imperialism who landed at Playa Giron, the young Germans recall June 17, 1953, when the counter-revolution supported by W German imperialism tried to raise its ugly head in the German Democratic Republic.'

Significantly this typical Stalinist smear was allowed to pass unchallenged in the revisionist press.

ONE OF Castro's biggest attacks on Marxism was launched in a speech he made commemorating the Lenin Centenary.

In it, Castro defends the theory peddled by you since 1960 — that revolutionary activity up to and including the overthrow of capitalism can be carried out by non-Leninists:

'It may seem paradoxical to call men revolutionaries who aren't Marxist-Leninist. But there is no such paradox. We call this



Castro, praised by Hansen for his opposition to Stalinism, supported the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.



K. G. Maslennikov, Brezhnev, Brezhnev, Brezhnev. Standing l. to r. presented at the hands of Stalin.

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Fidel
Castro



The problem is presented by you as unresolved. As if the Castroites still intended to clarify their relationship with Stalinism, but have not got around to doing so. Their current line is only an 'error'.

In your comments on the Latin American Resolution (also reproduced in 'Fourth International') you say:

'The course followed by the Cubans shows that they decided that if errors were to be made, they should be on the side of caution so as not to jeopardize the flow of material aid. This explains why the Cuban Stalinists were not reproved for their gross attacks on Trotskyism and why Castro himself could make the kind of attack he did at the Tri-continental Conference in January 1966.'

Here it is worth recalling that a year after Castro's Stalin-style diatribe against Trotskyism, you put it down to a case of mistaken identity. It was: 'at best a mistaken identification of Trotskyism with the bizarre sect of J. Posadas, and at worst, nothing but a belated echo of old Stalinist slanders'. (ISR, Nov.-Dec. 1967.)

In 1967: a 'belated echo'—and that 'at worst'. But in 1969, you discreetly revised your analysis. Castro's anti-Trotskyism, though still not his real political position, had become part of his adaptation to the Soviet bureaucracy. You continue:

Ambiguous attitude

'It explains, too, why the Cubans took such an ambiguous [!] attitude during the May-June 1968 events in France and why to this day they refrain from publicizing the role of the French Trotskyists in the French upsurge. And it explains why Castro, with very important reservations, it is true, came out on the side of the invaders of Czechoslovakia.'

What do you, then, conclude from this catalogue of events—some of them truly historical—in which Castro has ranged himself consciously with Stalinist counter-revolution in both E and W Europe? :

'In short, the Cubans have not yet settled accounts with Stalinism.' (Emphasis added.)

So even now, you hold out hopes of such a development. There can be no mistaking this, for you add:

'Until they have done so, it is misleading to say without qualification, as the resolution does in point 11: "This leadership by its attitudes, its actions and generalizations has contributed in a decisive way to the maturing of a new vanguard".' (Emphasis added.)

You balk at such a formulation now, demanding 'qualifications' which you fail to specify.

East Germany, 1953: The workers' uprising of June 1953 was equated by the Castro regime with the US-inspired 'Bay of Pigs' invasion in 1961.



Yet we know of no objections raised by you against the following statement in the ISR of Fall 1965:

'... there is no better memorial to the 25th anniversary of Trotsky's death than the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy undertaken jointly with Lenin over 40 years ago is today being waged in earnest in revolutionary Cuba.'



Batista

None of your 'qualifications' here!

You now object to the formulation that the Castro leadership 'has contributed in a decisive way to the maturing of a new vanguard'. Perhaps you hope your own party comrades will forget what you wrote on this subject in ISR Winter 1966 (only



Blas Roca

a few weeks before Castro's public slanders against the Fourth International):

'And once again we were offered fresh evidence of the importance of Castroism as one of the manifestations of the rise of a new revolutionary generation, a new revolutionary leadership on a world-wide scale that points in the most unmistakable way to the resurgence of revolutionary socialism as embodied in the programme of Lenin and Trotsky.'

Opportunist adaptation

On every aspect of Castroism, you are now trying to stealthily edge away from the positions you upheld for nearly a decade.



Castro, praised by Hansen for his opposition to Stalinism, supported the



France May/June 1968: No support from Castro

You gently take Castro to task for his neglect of theory:

'The Cubans, likewise, conceded the field of theory to the Stalinists under the hardly laudable [sic!] guise of ridiculing the "theorists" as against men of action, who don't need to learn about revolution in books inasmuch as they are practising it with guns.'

Presumably you would direct this barb against the author of the following proposition:

'To fulfil their desire to turn the promise of a better life for the humble into reality, these men of powerful will found they had to put Cuba on the road to socialism. They discovered this through practical experiences and not through preconceived notions... The Cuban leaders themselves have made no major contributions as yet to the theory of their own revolution.'

'They firmly maintain that they are the practical men of action who have so much to learn about theory. This is a responsible attitude that actually reveals a respect for theory.' (Emphasis added.)

The only problem is, Comrade Hansen, that you were the author of these lines. What was for you in 1961 'a responsible attitude that actually reveals respect for theory' has now become 'hardly laudable'.

It is not Castro who has changed, however, but simply the

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Castro was silent on 1968 massacre of students, workers in Mexico.

the man who isn't satisfied with the society in which he lives, with the prevailing injustice; who wants changes, who has the instinct, the vocation of a fighter, the instinct, the vocation of a revolutionary. . . .

This same speech—supposedly in honour of Lenin, but in substance an attack on everything he fought for—also contains an attack on unnamed critics of the Cuban leadership and of the Soviet bureaucracy:

'As we all know, there are today super-revolutionary theoreticians, super-leftists—veritable supermen, if you like to call them some name—capable of disembowelling imperialism in two seconds, in words; many super-revolutionaries who haven't the slightest notion of reality or of the problems and difficulties involved in a revolution; urged on by that feeling nurtured by imperialism, they bear tremendous hatred. It is as if they could not forgive the Soviet Union for existing, and this, from leftist positions.

'They would like to see a Soviet Union modelled to their far-fetched image, to their ridiculous idealizations. A country is, first of all, a reality, and a reality that must be the result of many other realities.'

In other words, Castro begins from the 'empirical fact' of the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy, which, as he explains, is a reality that is the result of many other realities.

Kremlin lies

Acceptance of these 'realities' demands capitulation to Stalinism all along the line. Castro therefore still defends the Kremlin occupation of Czechoslovakia:

'There are some who do not

want to forgive this country for having adopted the position it took at the time of the Czechoslovakian question [sic!]. I am speaking of those hacks of the left. And someday a discussion, an ample debate, will have to be held, somewhere, in some forum.'

Somewhere, but not in Havana. Sometime, but not now. Some forum, but not the Cuban Communist Party or its press.

And echoing faithfully the lies of the Kremlin hacks, Castro continued:

'We are certainly not going to act in the name of a bourgeois logic, a bourgeois concept, a bourgeois policy.' [What Castro here calls a 'bourgeois policy' is the Leninist principle of self-determination!]

'What was important to us was the counter-revolutionary process that was taking place there [in Czechoslovakia], the process of betrayal of Marxism.'

Castro openly aligns himself with the enemies of workers' democracy in Czechoslovakia, with the Stalinist cliques preparing new show trials on the orders of the Kremlin bureaucracy. This is the 'anti-Stalinism' of the Castro leadership which you publicized year in and year out through the columns of the SWP press!

The evolution of the Bonapartist regime in Cuba is far from complete. We refer to Castro's support for Latin American bourgeois regimes, which, for opportunist and tactical reasons, lean on the working class and sections of the peasantry to secure a better bargaining position with US imperialism.

It is to these regimes (such as the Peruvian junta) that Castro is referring when he states:

'On July 14 last year, at the beginning of the sugar harvest, we stated what our position would be in connection with isolated countries which might

wish to re-establish relations with us. On that occasion we said and reiterate today that in the case of a nation prepared to scrap the trash of the immoral OAS [the US dominated Organization of American States] sanctions, to act with independence and full sovereignty, that is not a party to the economic blockade against our country or aggressions against our country, in that case, we would accept a renewal of relations with such a country. We would take a reciprocal attitude toward a country that assumes that position, and would be willing to maintain relations with such a country on a basis similar to that which we have maintained with Mexico.' (Emphasis added.)

Hand of friendship

Here Castro, quite openly, offers the hand of friendship to any regime—whatever its internal policy—that displays the least sign of independence from the OAS.

In the case of Mexico, this friendship goes hand in hand with the massacre of more than 200 students in 1968 and the continued persecution and imprisonment of left-wing groups right up to the present.

Likewise in Peru, Castro's support and praise for the junta take priority over the persecution of militants such as peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

Blanco's attacks on the Castro regime's foreign policy have now been endorsed by Douglas Bravo, a prominent former supporter of Castro in Venezuela:

'Can one choose the way of economic recovery, sacrificing concrete plans for the liberation of Latin America? It seems to us that the principles of proletarian internationalism, of "continentalism", as defended by the Cuban revolution, by Commanders Castro and Guevara, are being sacrificed.'

The new strategy of the Castro leadership is quite openly opportunist. It is turned towards a 'left' development in the very backbone of reaction in Latin America—the Catholic Church and the military:

'An upsurge has been noticeable of late in Latin America in sectors of the church and military—two forces which are the strongest pillars of reaction—oligarchy and imperialism. Perhaps the last thing the imperialists expected was a movement that acquired an awareness of armed forces and set itself the task of carrying out a programme of development for the country. A programme of development that is carried forward consistently will lead to a revolution.' (Emphasis added.)

The anti-working class character of the Cuban leadership, and the state foundations upon which it has rested internally, now finds its expression quite nakedly on the arena of international politics.

Demonstrated hostility

How does this work out in practice?

Last year thousands of Trinidadian workers demonstrated their hostility against the pro-imperialist Williams government. A section of the armed forces refused to act against the workers, and mutinied.

Only the arrival of British and US warships on the scene enabled the Williams government to beat back the offensive of the workers and quell the army mutiny.

Your own journal reported these events, and concluded:

'Whatever the immediate outcome, none of the underlying causes that have brought Trinidad to the boil are going to be solved by the Williams regime under British and American patronage. And the same ferment that has exploded there is build-

As the regime in Trinidad put down the 1970 'black power' revolt with imperialist backing, Castro applauded the Williams government for its courage in standing up to OAS (the US-dominated Organization of American States).

Below: A black-painted crucifix in Trinidad.



ing up in several other Caribbean countries.'

Now let us turn to Castro's speech, made on the very day—April 22, 1970—that found these struggles in Trinidad coming to a climax with the arrival of imperialist forces in the area:

'... we must say in all frankness that we truly appreciate the declarations made by the government of Trinidad-Tobago, courageously condemning the blockade against Cuba (applause).'

At this point the Cuban leadership and the Latin American revolution (of which the struggles in the Caribbean are undoubtedly a part) find themselves ranged on opposite sides. Castro praises the Williams regime for its 'courage' while it shoots down workers and implores the armed forces of imperialism to come to its rescue.

As an advocate of 'black power', you know that this slogan was prominent during the Trinidad events of last April. But you were conspicuously silent on the bloc formed by Castro with Williams against its followers in Trinidad.

Castro's open betrayal of the Peruvian, Mexican and Trinidadian working class and peasantry is only the beginning of a new stage in the evolution of Cuban leadership.

On the one hand—adaptation to Stalinism in its most repressive form, as in Czechoslovakia—on the other closer links with pro-imperialist regimes in Latin America.

And internally, as the economic problems of the regime mount with the failure to reach the sugar target, ominous warnings are heard about the failings of workers and the need for sterner discipline.

Despite these developments,

Castroism is still treated as a healthy tendency that can even at this late hour evolve towards Leninism.

Revisionism in the form of Pabloism bears a great responsibility for the disorientation of thousands of Latin American militants.

Hoping to reproduce the Castro formula in the rest of the continent, they destroyed both themselves and the movements they led. Heroism was not enough.

Already, theoretically blinded by the idealist and activist ideology of Castroism, they fought with their hands tied by Stalinism, which all the time worked through the reactionary regimes of Latin America for a compromise with the forces of imperialism.

This was not only the story of Guevara, but countless unnamed martyrs throughout the continent. The time has now come to make a political, theoretical and historical accounting of ten years of Castroism.

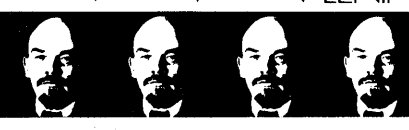
As its main publicist within the SWP, you have acted as a conduit for relaying petty-bourgeois ideology into your own party.

Castro's individualism found a ready response in your own native American pragmatism, against which Trotsky warned so many times in his period of political collaboration with the SWP.

You have betrayed the heritage of Trotskyism, and served as the mouthpiece for the enemies of the Latin American socialist revolution.

Not only the Socialist Labour League, but the entire international movement, will indict you for this treachery. ⤴

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BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL SERIES 1

50¢ LABOR PUBLICATIONS
135 West 14 Street,
New York City, 10011.

This pamphlet records Lenin's study of Hegel in philosophical and theoretical preparation for the October Revolution. It is essential for an understanding of the inseparability of Marxist philosophy from the working class struggle.

BOOKS

MELODY FARROW

LENIN ON DIALECTICS. By Cliff Slaughter. *Bulletin International Series I.* May, 1971. Labor Publications. 50 cents.

The first American printing of Cliff Slaughter's pamphlet is an indispensable weapon for understanding the dialectical method and its meaning for the construction of a revolutionary party.

Its publication comes at a crucial period. Capitalism is in its deepest crisis and the responsibility of building a leadership within the working class falls on the Trotskyist movement. This task, as the pamphlet emphasizes again and again means the development of Marxist theory, and in particular in a struggle against the Stalinists and revisionists such as the Socialist Workers Party.

The struggle against revisionism must be deepened today because the theoretical errors of the Pabloites have directly led to the massacre of the JVP youth in Ceylon. The pamphlet makes it clear that this struggle cannot simply counterpose our ideas to the revisionists. We must understand the method of dialectics and the bourgeois method of the revisionists and carry this understanding forward in the building of an independent movement.

Slaughter's pamphlet is based on Lenin's *Notebooks*, written in 1914-1915. The *Notebooks* were actual notes that Lenin made in his study of Hegel's *Logic*. The pamphlet is an excellent introduction to a fuller study of dialectics.

Why did Lenin take up a detailed study of Hegel on the eve of World War I? Lenin sought to probe the development of philosophy historically and to read Hegel materialistically. Lenin did not merely criticize Hegel but carried forward the logic of his study by building the Bolshevik Party which led the Russian Revolution only two to three years later.

We must study this pamphlet today as preparation for the tremendous class battles that are rapidly developing.

Hegel's importance was that he defended the dialectical method against the traditional philosophy of his day, Formal Logic, in which thought was seen as fixed abstract categories. Hegel stated that everything had to be seen as a process, that dialectics was not a master key to be applied as a set of rules, but was the self movement of reality itself.

However, as Slaughter explains, this dialectical method was trapped in idealism, that is, Hegel thought that thinking was primary and did not reflect the material world. The material world was for Hegel only a pale reflection of thought.

This meant that no matter how important Hegel's break with formal thought was, it did not imply any change in the world since he viewed thought as developing separately from society.

By turning Hegel "on his head, or rather on his feet," Lenin was laying the basis for the overthrow of capitalism. Dialectics meant an understanding of the opposite class forces in capitalism and their development at each period of history.

Dialectical thinking developed at this time because it reflected the breakdown of capitalism and the emergence of the working class as a force which fought to free itself from exploitation.

Theoretical understanding is not a contemplation of reality but must become a factor in that reality. The revolutionary party must base its strategy on this probing of reality and develop its tactics accordingly. Our intervention in the struggles of the working class can change the course of history.

Slaughter does not leave the question at this. If dialectics is an understanding of the class forces in society as it develops at each stage then theory cannot be developed without exposing today's revisers of Marxism, the Pabloites and Stalinists. The Trotskyists must contribute to Marxism and build a party by fighting these tendencies just as Lenin fought the Mensheviks and opportunists of his day.

Slaughter shows how the revisionists rather than beginning from an understanding of the whole phenomena, its material roots and contradictions, only sees aspects of this whole and bases its perspective on them. Such was the case in Cuba where certain features such as nationalization were abstracted from the context in which they occurred. This led the Socialist Workers Party to characterize a country as a "workers state" which is now preparing dictatorial measures against the workers and dissidents.

The logic of basing themselves on isolated impressions and facts was to liquidate the very thing that Lenin devoted his life to—the building of a conscious leadership. To abandon leadership means to hand over the working class to the bourgeoisie as the Pabloites did in Ceylon.

Militants in the Panthers and other organizations who are seeking to take forward Huey Newton's turn to dialectical materialism should read this pamphlet to under-



stand how philosophical questions find expression in program and organization.

Without such a study which returns as Lenin did, to how theory has developed and is enriched by practice, the building of a Trotskyist party cannot go forward.



Cliff Slaughter

BOOKS

PAT CONNOLLY



George Jackson

SOLEDAD BROTHER, The Prison Letters of George Jackson. Bantam Books (Paperback). 1970. \$1.50.

When George Jackson was 18 years old, he was given an indeterminate sentence—from one year to life imprisonment—for allegedly stealing \$70 from a gas station.

He has spent the last ten years of his life in the California prison system. Seven of those years have been spent in solitary confinement.

Jackson, along with two other Black inmates, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, now face charges which mean a mandatory death sentence if convicted.

In August, 1970 his 17 year old brother Jonathan Jackson was murdered by the police after he entered the San Rafael courthouse armed with shotgun and rifle and took a judge as a hostage in an attempt to free the Soledad Brothers.

This collection of letters, written from 1964 to 1970, are mostly to his mother and father, as well as a few intense letters to his younger brother. The final letters published in this book—those to his lawyer, to Angela Davis and to a woman he loves, were written in 1970.

REVOLUTIONARY

These letters do not reveal the details of his prison life. What they do reveal is Jackson's intense and growing revolutionary convictions.

Permeating the letters, is his isolation from the movement, the development of the world outside and of the class struggle as a whole. They reflect, over the six years they cover, his being cut off from the world except for his family, under constant tension, fear of being set up for murder by the authorities, constantly on his guard.

At the same time, he is in a sense in

a crucible of the political development of Black nationalism—the prisons of America—where Malcolm X and countless others entered the nationalist movement.

His letters to his parents are therefore both very removed and at the same time are part of a political struggle. He wages a fight through the mail to have his parents remove his brother Jonathan from Catholic school, and with his mother against the self abasement and humility of religion.

His letters to his father, Robert, over the whole period, are dominated by a sharp, bitter attack on the bankruptcy, the futility and the reactionary character of Martin Luther King-type non-violence, pacifism and passivity:

"The Kings and Wilkins and Youngs exhort us...to turn the other cheek to prove our capacity to endure, to love. Well that is good for them perhaps, but I most certainly need both sides of my head."

"What can I say to you my friend? I've been wondering if it would be best to lie to you and hide myself, say only what I know so well that you like to hear. I hesitate to do this because you have been lied to so much already...I've got a pain deep in my stomach and I'm tired of pretending that the obvious doesn't exist and that this is the best of all possible lives. It is not, and if a concentrated effort isn't made to finally learn and use the lessons set forth in history, unthinkable chaos will result."

His political struggle for years is in a way restrained and confined to the struggle to convince, explain, polemicize with his parents, from a different generation and thus is in many ways distorted and removed from the new developments in the class struggle.

PREPARATION

He is preoccupied with preparation for battle, with steeling his body and mind. He does one thousand fingertip pushups a day, exercising four hours, to dissipate tension and sexual energy and to prepare for battle. He practices eating as little as possible so that no scarcity of food in prison or outside, will affect him.

He studies Swahili, Spanish, plans to study Arabic and Chinese. He reads Marx, Mao, Giap, reference books, dictionaries with a singlemindedness of purpose as he searches for an understanding of the history, the continuity of the struggle he faces.

"Our principle enemy must be isolated and identified as capitalism. The slaver was and is the factory owner, the businessmen of capitalist Amerika, the man responsible for employment, wages, prices, control of the nation's institutions and

of Europe and the U.S. which was responsible for the rape of Africa and Asia. Capitalism murdered those 30 million in the Congo. Believe me the European and Anglo-American capitalists would never have wasted the ball and powder were it not for the profit principle."

He studies and reads to search for the roots of the struggle, to find the understanding that will smash what exists, capitalism.

But his isolation, from the whole development of Marxism and the movement of the working class prevents him from getting to the Marxist method. He proceeds with a formal logical method, with the method of empiricism, a non-dialectical approach to understanding.

IDEALIST

He therefore proceeds in a very idealistic way, separating his studies of history and economics from the actual development of the class struggle and the working class, and especially from the question of philosophy.

Therefore he can write later (April 10, 1971 *Black Panther* paper) on perspectives for revolution by starting with the definition of a syllogism, beginning with the method of thought of the bourgeoisie and unable to penetrate the history he writes of. He speaks of the "old worker's vanguard parties" and their failures, but cannot get to the roots of the failures in the 1930s—failures which were rooted in the conscious counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism.

He writes of "the nationalistic fervor created by a capitalistic war adventure supported even by most of the vanguard parties of the time (WWII)." But the "vanguard parties" which supported capitalism and nationalism were the Communist Parties, the Stalinist parties, internationally and it is precisely this support of capitalism which lay the basis for the defeats of the working class and its failure to make a socialist revolution in that period.

Only the Trotskyist movement, founded out of the sharpest theoretical struggle against the degeneration of Stalinism in the international communist movement, is capable of carrying out a principled fight against capitalism, while Stalinism collaborates internationally in the preservation of the capitalist system.

The betrayals of Stalinism, rooted in its abandonment of Marxism and dialectical materialism, is the question which confronts George Jackson, as it must confront all who fight for socialism. This is the question with which he must grapple in order to fight for socialist revolution and the smashing of capitalism.

Soledad Brother

TV MARTY JONAS

BY MARTY JONAS

"A Part of the Family" shown on New York's Channel 13 on Wednesday, May 19th is one of the most effective indictments of capitalism yet shown on television.

The 90 minute film shows the effects of three separate deaths on three families in 1970.

The first is the family of Carmine Macedonia, 21 years old, killed by a mine in Vietnam.

The second is the family of Philip Gibbs, killed by Highway Patrol and the National Guard at the Jackson State Massacre.

The third is the family of Allison Krause, one of the four students killed at Kent State.

All of these families have been victims of the attacks by capitalism on the working class and youth. All are obsessed and outraged by the way in which the life of a young member of their family was simply snuffed out by the United States government.

The family of Carmine Macedonia which includes nine children expresses their thoughts at the dinner table, at church, at the

cemetery. Mr. Macedonia, a postman, discussed his son's death while on his mail route:

"Mr. Nixon and Mr. Johnson ought to come around to some people's houses and just sit around a while when there's a death like this in the family, and maybe they'll sort of get a different aspect of what's going on. Because I certainly think that between Johnson and Nixon, these two presidents, one of them should have ended this thing."

VIETNAM

Mrs. Macedonia says: "It isn't right that they should send one boy like that to Vietnam to shoot people. It's not right. The war has gone six years and it will last six years more and I know my little boys will go—one is 7 and one is 12. They'll probably be going to it. And my boy Angelo?

He's going to be 18 next month and he's going to register for the draft and then he said he's going to go and do what Carmine did. But we don't want him to because we feel that we lost one—we don't want to lose another."

We have been introduced to Carmine already at the beginning of the film through home movies of him at various ages, while a voice is saying, obviously over an army communications line: "656-25, 656-25, I've got another body here if you can get somebody to pick it up."

Philip Gibbs' sister, at his grave marker, tells the camera that Black people will rise up and take revenge for the death of Philip Gibbs and many others. Philip has two sons, she says, and they will take care of those that killed him.

Philip was killed while just walking past the women's dormitory at Jackson State. "Why would the National Guard or the Highway Patrol shoot into a girl's dormi-

tory?" she asks.

BUTCHERS

Allison Krause's father reflects on his daughter's death: "She loved people—she hated war. I guess she cussed—is that any reason to kill her?" He shouts at the camera: "Bullets took her away because she was out there hollering at the brave National Guard—You Butchers!"

The most effective parts of the program are the interviews with Mr. Macedonia. He seems to be trying, as many workers are today, to understand the war, and is groping toward a class understanding of it. He says of the war that it, "exposes so much vice and so much corruption....How many men in Washington have lost sons there? Maybe some of them—one or two—but not a big percent."

But the only way the guns of the government against the working class in Vietnam and at home are going to be stopped is through the struggle of the working class to destroy the capitalist system.



Angelo Macedonia

STEEL...

(Continued From Page 5) take effect until the second year of the contract. The reality is that Abel is trying to use the auto and can "pattern" against the rank and file at a time when they are looking for an opening to go way beyond this.

The recent contract of the USWA and ASARCO after a 7 and a half month strike provides for a 45c first year increase and second and third year wage "re-openers." This is the direction Abel is heading.

This is why Abel and "left" apologists in the Communist Party are completely silent about the recent settlement of \$1.30 an hour for bottom grades won by the Aluminum Workers International Union. Abel and his Stalinist friends are also afraid that

the ranks will take up the fight for a wage gain that would bring the workers to a minimum of \$10,000 per year for the lowest grades. This was called for by Anthony Tomko, former president of the McKeesport Local 1408. This demand is now being carried forward by the Workers League call for the organization of a national rank and file caucus to fight for an immediate \$2.00 across the board increase as the central demand of the steel contract.

On the other side, the Communist Party is doing everything possible to cover up for Abel's retreat on wages just as it went all out last year to provide a smokescreen for Woodcock's sellout of the auto workers. In their article on the opening of the steel negotiations, the Daily

World apparently considers the can contract pattern entirely adequate, comparing it with "the meager three percent" of the present contract.

Rather than raise any alternative to the wage demands of the bureaucracy, the Daily World plays up the efforts of many secondary bureaucrats in the USWA who try to channel the militancy of the ranks solely into the questions of the right to strike over local grievances, racial discrimination and other legitimate questions at a time when the paramount question is wages and the preparation for an all out battle both with the steel barons and the government. This is how the CP and these "progressive" bureaucrats try to get the heat of the rank and file off Abel.

1199...

(Continued From Page 4)

by the Rank and File Committee supporters.

While Davis objected to the "insinuation" that the union was "in bed with Lindsay" he proceeded to show that was just where he had led it. He explained that while Harry Van Arsdale of the Central Labor Council said we should fight Lindsay he felt that we should fight Albany!

POLITICAL

A political fight and political break with the capitalists is key. This means the building of a labor party on a program of defending the interests of the entire working class. This should include the demands for a fight against unemployment through a shorter work week, protection against inflation, the complete outlawing of discrimination, rescinding of all cuts in social services and the nationalization of basic industry under workers control.

It is this fight which the union bureaucracy fears above all else, and it is for this reason that a fight inside the unions is so critical.

Nationalist tendencies, or those influenced by nationalism, which do not begin from a class perspective, only strengthen the

In the same way, the Stalinists applauded every subterfuge employed by the Woodcock bureaucracy of the UAW to cover up the retreat on wages which ended up as a sellout not only on wages but on everything else in last year's contract. They tried to cover their betrayal with a lot of "militancy" over local grievances and only after the strike did they make some criticisms of their friend Woodcock.

ALTERNATIVE

The role of Stalinism in the labor movement is to provide a left cover for the "progressive" bureaucracy which they see as instrumental in the formation of an alliance with the liberal capitalists. The CP becomes an active ally of the

Abels and Woodcocks who sell out the workers and of the "liberal" Democrats and Republicans who join in the breaking of strikes as in last week's attack on the railroad signalmen.

The only alternative for the steelworkers is to take up the struggle now for a new leadership in the USWA around the demands for an immediate across the board increase of \$2.00 an hour the first year together with the four day week at five days pay. These demands must go hand and hand with the demand for the nationalization of the steel industry under workers control and the fight for a labor party. This is the aim of the call by the Workers League for the formation of a national rank and file caucus on this program.

KENYATTA...

(Continued From Page 3)

support for all so-called "progressive nationalists" who mouth socialist phrases. Kenyatta included in this category such "progressives" as Kwame Nkrumah, Fidel Castro and the MPI. Although he made no mention of the attack by the MPI on three Bulletin salesmen, he did take a swipe at Trotskyism through an attack on the SWP.

During the discussion period, Kenyatta totally avoided facing the crucial political questions. When a Workers League spokesman raised the question of

Stalinism and referred to their murderous role in Ceylon and Pakistan, Kenyatta retorted that it was arrogant to criticize Mao.

After all, he said, look at all the gains China has made. One must not be too harsh on China for its mistakes. Thus, Kenyatta stands with the Khans, the Bandaranaiques and the Stalinists who are murdering the workers, peasants and youth.

Only the Trotskyist movement, the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International, can build an alternative to these betrayals.

Bulletin
weekly organ of the workers league

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hand of the union bureaucracy. This is the role played by groups such as the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement.

HRUM held a two day conference at City College of N.Y. on May 15 and 16. This conference was attended by over 150 workers and youth, including many 1199 members.

HRUM was formed nearly two years ago. It has attempted to organize hospital workers and youth in the ghetto to fight against the conditions in the hospitals.

HRUM reflects the determination of sections of youth to struggle against capitalism. These youth know from their own experience that this system has to be destroyed. But it is not enough to want to fight.

This is the dilemma facing HRUM today. It does not understand the role of the labor bureaucracy or of the labor movement itself, but it is thrust into a struggle for which this understanding is an absolute and immediate requirement.

HRUM is torn between a nationalist outlook and a class fight. Its nationalism was expressed at the conference in the organization of separate workshops for white workers, in the statement that the job of the white worker militants was to go out and or-

ganize whites, in the statements that the unions were company unions, and that our slogan should be "down with unions."

HRUM sees itself as a "Third World Health Workers Organization." It sees itself as outside and consequently hostile to the unions. Flowing from its nationalist conception is its program for community control, the idea that it must concern itself primarily with health care and with somehow solving the crisis of health care by making the hospitals and other institutions responsible to the community.

Thus nationalism leads directly to reformism. This is the logic of petty bourgeois revolutionism, a disdain for the working class and its struggles. The turn away from the working class and the unions is a turn away from the fight for revolutionary strategy. It can only end up with schemes for community control and subordination of the central political struggle to reforms and to the capitalist class.

That is why the Bulletin supports the demand for a general strike against the budget cuts and layoffs and the proposal for a fight for a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans. This is the only way to take forward a united working class into the struggle against capitalism.

Renault On Strike

French Workers Defy Stalinist Leaders

BY MELODY FARROW

The four week old strike of 50,000 French workers at the Renault auto plants is exploding the very fragile relationship between the working class and the government of Pompidou and Chaban-Delmas.

None of the workers demands were resolved by the General Strike three years ago. The new upsurge, led by the Renault workers upsets all the plans of the French rulers to reach some kind of financial stability in the wake of the worst economic crisis since the war.

The Renault strike takes place in a bitter struggle against the Stalinists who sought to contain it. The maneuvers of the Communist Party are no longer sufficient to hold the workers back.

The Communist Party and the union it controls, the CGT, were forced to come out as open strike breakers while the Trotskyists won the support of thousands of workers and played a leading role in the strike.

At Le Mans, where the strike began when 82 machine operators demonstrated throughout the factory for a strike, the workers have just rejected the latest offer negotiated by the CGT, by a vote of 2,000 to 1,725.

Earlier in the year, the CGT and Force Ouvriere (controlled by the Socialist Party) had negotiated a 6% wage increase for the production workers. But the Le Mans workers wanted 3% more. 52% of the workers voted April 29 to strike immediately on the issue but the union claimed the margin was too small and called another vote the next day.

More than 1,000 workers refused to participate. Even those who did voted 1,225 against 979 for unspecified "action."

DESPERATELY

The French government knows that it must settle accounts with the workers. The day after the strike began at Le Mans, Renault management announced there would have to be layoffs.

At this point the CGT desperately attempted to keep the strike from spreading. At Le Mans the skilled and monthly paid staff workers were told to keep working. The union declared that the most effective action would be to plead with pro-government deputies to intervene in Parliament on the workers behalf.

All eyes were now on the big Renault plant at Billancourt outside Paris where the CGT has a majority of the 8,000 workers. Billancourt has a tradition of militancy and sit-ins. It was in the forefront of the 1968 General Strike.

The CGT secretary at Billancourt announced that "any attempt to use the movement for ends other than those agreed by the workers will be combatted with the utmost firmness. This warning is addressed to those who constantly preach revolution, a revolution against the CGT.

This "tough" language and slander of left organizations could not disguise the fact that control of the workers was slipping rapidly out of their hands.

When Renault issued layoff notices at Billancourt the maintenance workers in Department 77 voted to strike and demonstrated throughout the factory. Christian Herve, a Trotskyist who is a CGT shop steward in this department, said:

"We won large support from large numbers of workers because we have a consistent record of fighting against the Stalinists. But they did their best to prevent the strike."

The next day the CGT insisted on a strike vote although occupation was already going ahead. When 60% of the workers voted for strike, they refused to announce the strike until everyone had been laid off and gone home, hoping that things would cool off over the weekend. Only 500 workers controlled by the CGT were left to occupy the plant.

VICIOUS

The CGT now claims that there is no strike at Billancourt. They claim that the occupation is only to protect it from the leftists who they claim seek to destroy machinery. Anyone who wants to work

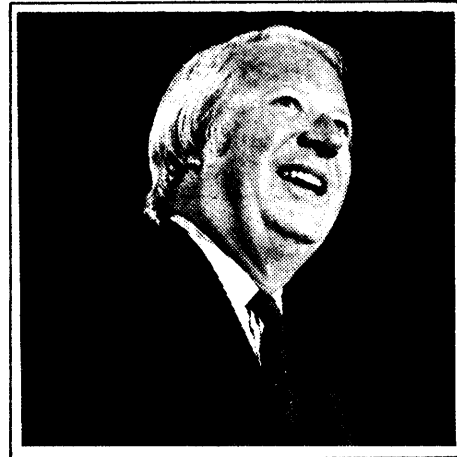
can do so said Yves Audeve, a CGT official.

Faced with such a massive movement of the rank and file the Stalinists cannot rely only on maneuvering. They must wipe out any left wing opposition that can give a lead to workers.

This is the meaning of the vicious attack by Communist Party members on 16 members of the AJS (Alliance of Youth for Socialism) and OCI (International Communist Organization). A gang of 200 thugs was recruited to attack the Trotskyists at La Courneuve, a housing project outside Paris. Five were sent to the hospital with serious injuries.

At the Flins Renault plant, also occupied, left wingers who came to sell their paper were chased away by the CGT. At Le Mans CP squads chased a group of left wing youth until they were forced to jump into the river to escape.

This is accompanied by ruthless expulsion of militants within the union. Gilles Langlois, a 25 year old clerk at Billancourt, was expelled from the union after 18 months for fighting for a 200 francs a month cost of living compensation.



BY DENNIS O'CASEY

"Bourgeois economists, pacifists, business sharpers, day dreamers, and mere bourgeois babblers are not averse nowadays to talk about the United States of Europe. But that task is beyond the strength of the European bourgeoisie which is entirely corroded with contradictions. Europe can only be united by the victorious proletariat." (Trotsky, Leon, "Whither Europe," 1926)

The tentative agreement reached between French President Pompidou and British Prime Minister Heath on British entry into the Common Market at Elysee Palace last week is being heralded by the world bourgeoisie as something of a major historic event. Heath and Pompidou are pictured as achieving what such illustrious predecessors as Churchill and DeGaulle could not, the unification of capitalist Europe.

This picture is, however, a complete fraud. What Trotsky wrote of the inability of the bourgeoisie to unite Europe holds with every bit as much force today as in 1926.

Beneath the thin appearance of unity brought on by last week's Common Market accord, the reality of the matter is that European capitalism stands on the threshold of collapse into anarchy and depression far worse than the 1930s.

IMPOSSIBILITY

What is represented by the sudden willingness of the EEC partners, particularly France, to accept the British application is the recognition of the EEC partners of the impossibility of their present position. The battering taken in last month's monetary explosion has revealed that they can no longer stand alone either against the American bourgeoisie or the European working class.

"I have tried to appeal against the expulsion," he said, "but since I was expelled in February I have heard nothing from the appeals committee, and was not allowed to appeal to the Congress which is my right."

CRISIS

The physical attacks and suppression of any democracy within the CGT is producing an even greater crisis for the Stalinists. The workers have refused to join in the assaults because the record of the Trotskyists in the plants is clear. No amount of slander and attacks can cover the Stalinists retreat from a fight with the government.

While the Stalinists urge a return to work the Renault strike is already producing sympathy actions by other sections of the working class.

Several shops at the Berliet truck factory at Lyons have gone on strike. Busmen near Billancourt and sanitation men in Paris have taken action and there may be action among the rail workers.

On May 14th the CGT held a "day of action" in the engineering industry for a 40 hour week and retirement at 60. However, in light of the Renault strike, 40,000 workers turned out to proclaim solidarity with Renault despite the CGT's efforts



to hold the numbers of demonstrators down.

The CGT claimed that the Le Mans workers "simply want life to be less hard" but at every point the workers fight to express their revolutionary aims. They have no illusions that the present government will grant them anything.

The Renault strike makes it clear that the workers can and will break the chains of Stalinism and that Trotskyists can win the support of workers who have been dominated for years by a powerful Stalinist apparatus. It is possible because the crisis is destroying all the old relations.

In a period when Stalinist control is breaking up, it is only the Trotskyists who have given a conscious expression to the movement of the workers and have battled in the plants against the CGT officials.

Common Market

Strategy To Slash Wages

In fact, the monetary upsurge of three weeks ago forcing revaluation of several currencies, and the flotation of the German Mark has virtually torn the EEC apart. With Renault workers threatening to push the class struggle in France over into a new May-June, with Volkswagen profits down 42% from last year under the pressure of German workers and the last revaluation, and with angry farmers on the march all over the continent, the EEC bourgeoisie are now at an impasse.

This is why the door to Europe is now thrown open to Heath. Heath for his part represents the section of British capitalism which is enjoying less and less of the world market, faces the most intransigent working class in Europe and therefore has longed for many years to get inside the EEC tariff wall.

RIVALRY

The door is now thrown open to Heath, however, not for the construction of some supranational capitalist Europe whose strength would eventually rival the United States, as "bourgeois economists," "day dreamers" and revisionists would have it. On the contrary, the only level at which unity will take place is in the joint effort of the entire European bourgeoisie to smash the European working class. Other than this an expanded Common Market means nothing more than increasing dog eat dog rivalry which has already broken out with renewed ferocity inside the existing EEC.

At the heart of the strategy of the capitalist class throughout Europe, however, is the determination to use the expanded Common Market to divide up the European proletariat and pit one section against the other. Thus British Economics and Finance minister John Davies has been threatening car workers at British Leyland for a number of weeks, saying that unless wages fall and productivity rises they will be thrown onto unemployment lines by cheaper automobile imports from the Continent.

The same strategy can be applied in every industry. Expansion of the Common Market will make possible the flow of investment capital toward those areas where the working class is least organized. It will make possible the use of the betrayals of the labor bureaucracy in any one EEC country against the working class in every other.

The expanded Common Market amounts to a counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the international bourgeoisie. European and American alike, against the European proletariat, nothing more.

In 1969, at the time of the Soames Affair, DeGaulle denounced British entry as nothing more than an American Trojan Horse. This remains as true today as in 1969. All that has changed is the desperation of the European bourgeoisie. So "corroded with contradictions" is this class that the struggle of Europe against America must now proceed through a Common Market expansion which will actually strengthen the hand of American capitalism against its European rivals.

The question as to whether or not the European bourgeoisie, particularly Heath, will be able to impose the reactionary Common Market on British labor is yet to be seen. Even British opinion polls show conscious opposition to the Common Market to run at 60%.

Last month the tremendous hatred of the British working class and now whole sections of the middle class for continued Tory rule was expressed in a massive Tory defeat in local elections. What is posed is the tremendous possibility that now exists for the British working class to force the Tories to resign, and put a stop to both Market entry and the Industrial Relations Bill.

REVOLUTION

This struggle, however, must inevitably take on revolutionary proportions. The bourgeoisie, for its part, is already preparing against this development. This is why it greeted so ecstatically the defeat of the Mansfield Amendment last week that would have withdrawn American troops from Europe.

We say that the perspective that must now be realized is the one laid down by the early Communist International of which Trotsky states:

"Back in 1923 the Communist International proclaimed that it is necessary to drive out those who have partitioned Europe in order to unify it, in order to create the Socialist United States of Europe."

It is necessary in order to unify Europe to drive out the European and American bourgeoisie through socialist revolution.



The following is a letter received by the Socialist Labor League, British Trotskyists. It was smuggled through Mrs. Bandaranaike's wall of censorship and reveals the true horror of the Ceylon crisis.

For obvious reasons we cannot print our comrade's name—it could cost him his life. This letter is an indictment of the vicious repression now being waged by the so-called United Left Front coalition of Community Party Stalinists, Lanka Sama Samajist former Pabloite revisionists and Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

It exposes the tacit connivance of the Unified Secretariat's LSSP (R) (supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.) headed by Bala Tampoe; they haven't lifted a finger to save the victims of the repression.

The repression in Ceylon is now being turned not only against the

Exclusive Letter

The Brutal Reality Of Ceylon Betrayal

courageous fighters of the People's Liberation Front (JVP), the "Guevarist" organization which began the rebellion against the coalition, but against thousands of other young militants.

THE INSURRECTION IS now in its last days. In the areas where the JVP had support the army regained control by resorting to all the inhuman methods seen in Vietnam: mass executions, inhuman torturing, bombing out of whole villages, and now concentration camps as well. You can't imagine the extent of this.

By now well over 20,000 will have died. Dead bodies daily float down the Kelani river. They shoot arrested people.

A lecturer in geography at Peradeniya University who was arrested just prior to these events has been tortured to death. One Trotskyist in Ratnapura has been tortured to death and his mother has taken acetic acid.

We don't know what has happened to many of our own people.

They are after us now. Police raids are frequent.

The police are in the habit of taking hostages. In three personally-known cases they have taken off the rest of the family including small girls until the people they want surrender.

The bloody lies of the paper and radio are all nonsense.

This is a war against the youth now and fast spreading into a war against

the whole left movement. The government has swung sharply to the right.

BANNED

Yesterday they announced the banning of nine papers—Kamkuru Pavath, Thoruna Satana, Tho'lilar Seydi and Virodhaya are among them. Four papers of the JVP and Ginipupura are the others. Everywhere the repression against us is being stepped up.

At the moment we are underground. We couldn't even get out because they introduced this exit-permit thing.

We are heading for a serious repression.

It will take time to get used to the new situation and begin our work again in the new conditions. But it is a question as to how long some of us may be able to live in the open. You may know that Shanmugthasan and Watson Fernando are also under arrest.

The government is now leaning more and more on the armed forces hitting out against the militant left with the craven support of the "left" leadership who are even refusing to defend their own supporters who have come under attack.

The whole situation is in a flux.

The capitalist state was so shaken up during the first few days that if there was any independent mobilization of the working class in the cities, the power would have fallen into the hands of the workers.

But thanks to the LSSP and CP the working class was tied to the govern-

ment and passively looked on while the uprising was being brutally smashed.

Though the masses were not with the JVP, they were not actively pro-government either.

As the brutality and viciousness of the armed forces began to be felt, a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction spread through all layers of the population.

But this mood has no way of expression. The cabinet has in the meantime given approval to a proposed rise in the Ceylon Transport Board bus fares.

The Minister of Labour has tabled new labour laws which really clamp down on all the democratic rights of the workers in the factories and workplaces.

They can be sacked for the slightest disobedience. They can't "malign" the employers, etc.

RAIDS

There is a massive crisis inside the LSSP and CP. Wasudeva Nanayakkara is remanded. A large number of LSSP and CPers have had their houses raided and have been harassed by the police.

The LSSP (R), after adapting to every political weakness of the JVP and glorifying it, couldn't raise a finger to mobilize any support for them when they really needed it.

Our only defense is the most powerful international campaign by the movement. Take up the banning of our papers, the police persecution etc., etc. We cannot even have the consolation of reading the Workers Press now.



Bala Tampoe, LSSP (R)

ALL THOSE, like the People's Liberation Front (JVP), who turn their backs on the vast experiences of the working class will have to capitulate in some way or other to the imperialists and capitalists.

The JVP's experiences are full testimony to this. On the question of immigrant estate workers who are a very considerable and decisive section of the Ceylonese proletariat, the JVP line was racist and reactionary.

First they tried to show to the other sections of the masses that the estate workers are a privileged layer of the working class.

At their meetings they very consciously put forward distorted statistics to prove this. They also branded the immigrant workers as agents of Indian imperialism, which according to them was the biggest imperialist threat in Southeast Asia.

Maoists today use the same argument to support the butchery going on in East Bengal under Yahya Khan, who, according to them, is supposed to be a progressive who fights against Indian imperialism.

JOINED HANDS

The JVP, in the guise of a fight against "Indian imperialism," objectively joined hands with the estate owners, the real agents of western imperialism, against the estate workers who are threatened with loss of work due to the bankruptcies

Ceylon Emergency

LSSP Masked Class Nature Of Coalition

faced by the tea plantation industry, and who are fighting for six days work a week.

Amid all this, Pabloite Bala Tampoe at the annual conference of his trade union the CMU (Ceylon Mercantile Union) introduced the JVP leader as a true Marxist-Leninist.

This was not surprising to anybody who knows the role of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat.

While the Pabloite leaders were naming the JVP leader a Marxist-Leninist, he was busy slandering the Trotskyist movement as a CIA agency, using all the lies invented by Stalinism.

This naming of the JVP as a Marxist-Leninist party by the Pabloites was a part of their liquidationist policies. It meant giving up the struggles to build the revolutionary party in Ceylon.

As the first step of this liquidationist policy Bala Tampoe formed an unprincipled united front without a word of criticism of the JVP.

The first meeting organized by this body was held in the estate area to protest against the killing of workers in the Keena Kele estate.

Another racist organization among the estate workers which was called the Young Socialists also joined this united front to denounce the killing of the two workers.

APPEAL

The United Front leaders claimed that it was the united front of the urban proletariat represented by Bala Tampoe and of the unemployed youth and peasantry represented by the JVP and the estate workers represented by the Young Socialists.

The politics of all these petty bourgeois tendencies was clearly expressed in the resolution they jointly passed at their first meeting.

This resolution was an appeal to Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike asking her to bring forward legislation to defend workers from police brutality.

This was the perspective behind the so-called united front. To ask the head of the capitalist state to intervene to make sure that justice is being done to the

workers by its own police apparatus.

ILLUSIONS

This was not the only incident through which the Pabloites tried to strengthen the illusions about the role of the government among the workers.

When the coalition came into power their attitude towards it was very similar to the policy of "responsive cooperation", which was practiced by the LSSP toward the first Bandaranaike government in 1956.

When the coalition government this time appointed a constituent assembly with proper representation of all the reaction-

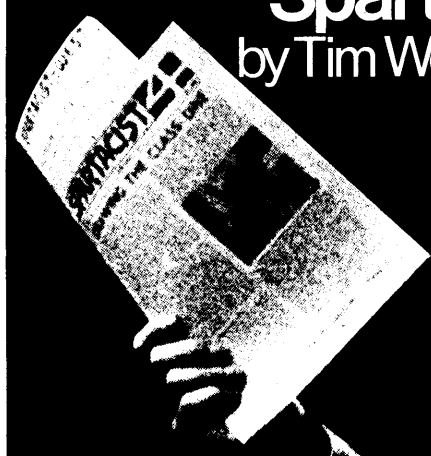
ary forces in the country, the Pabloite LSSP took a stand to support that measure saying that it is a progressive move taken by the coalition towards national independence.

What the coalition was trying to do was to exploit the burning need of the workers and peasants to break away from the imperialist set up of the country, to strengthen the capitalist state apparatus in order not only to suppress any left movement but also to assume more power so that they can "wipe out insurgents" as they now claim to be doing.

to be continued

What Is Spartacist?

by Tim Wohlforth



Indispensable for an understanding of the subjective idealist method of the petty bourgeoisie, and the roots of its hostility to Marxism in its hostility to and fear of the working class.

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University Suppresses Daily Cal.

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—The board of regents' long search for an excuse to silence the *Daily Californian* has finally been rewarded. A series of confused editorials, preceding last weekend's People's Park memorial madness, is being used in an attempt to fire the three senior editors of the *Daily Californian*.

The editorials, and the events themselves, reflect the growing confusion and hysteria in the middle class. Their theme was the "retaking of people's park," an adventure which is truly distant from the ever sharpening class struggle, despite the editors' rhetoric about "contradictions" and the abolition of private property. Saturday's day-long confrontation gave the regents the excuse they needed.

An emergency meeting of the University Publishing Board (a committee which controls all U.C. student publications) was called and the representatives of the University forced through a motion to fire the three editors on the grounds that the editorials had been instrumental in bringing about Saturday's events.

This attack on the press is most ominous coming at a time when massive strikes are threatening to break out across the country. While this attack is on a paper which reflects the most senile form of middle class radicalism, it is only the prelude to massive attacks on the press in general, and working class papers in particular.

STOP PRESS, May 23—CWA President George Beirne on nationwide TV hookup today informed the national membership that Bell Telephone Company's latest offer of 11% was tantamount to a wage cut and had been voted down unanimously by the National Committee, recom-

CWA Leaders Stall On Strike

BY A CWA

LOCAL 9410 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Communications Workers of America is at a crossroads right this minute—shall they follow the bureaucracy to a sellout or shall they strike the Bell Telephone System to win their wage and conditions demands and to force job security?

CWA Local 9410 leadership here has posed this question quite succinctly at a membership meeting held May 18, 1971 in San Francisco. Picking up on National President Beirne's lead of "we don't want a strike," Local 9410 president George Kirkpatrick proclaimed great "unhappiness" that no progress has been made in negotiations.

Branham High Bans League

BY BRANHAM HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

SAN JOSE—Last week the Workers League was officially banned from use of all school facilities at Branham High School.

In a meeting with Branham's principal, Burl Fields, Fields informed Workers League supporters present, that the Workers League was on the U.S. Attorney General's list of "subversive organizations," and that Branham High School could not be associated with "such a subversive organization." He went on to say therefore that the Workers League would be

mending a strike vote to be taken by mail ballot. The CWA must immediately call for a strike vote meeting to petition their stewards for it. Preparations must be made for fighting for a 100% walkout to completely shut down the Bell System.

He attempted to convince the membership that he was sorry, but that the bargaining wasn't his sphere of influence—this to a group of workers that knows all too well that the company has been operating on a day-to-day contract extension since it officially expired April 30, is the height of presumptuousness! Indeed he has the gall to say that we, the underpaid and threatened membership "should all be unhappy with the company."

UNITY

What is clearly needed is a united strike of all CWA locals, contracts up or not, in conjunction with the Order of Repeatermen and Toll Testboardmen around the central demand for an absolute minimum of 25% wage increase for the first year, vastly improved

denied any further use of school-rooms at Branham High School for political activities.

The attack on the right of the Workers League to publicly hold meetings is an attack on all militants and working class groups. It comes precisely at a time when the working class internationally moves closer and closer to civil war with their respective ruling classes.

This attack on the democratic right of students to publicly express their views stands as an ominous warning that as the crisis of capitalism deepens the ruling class is preparing the most massive wave of repression ever seen in the history of the United States. This is the meaning of the new detention without trials laws now being introduced into the Congress by the U.S. Justice Department.

The Workers League Club is taking up a fight at Branham to hold a meeting on the ban. Already hundreds of signatures have been obtained from students on a petition to defend our rights.

West Coast News

pension and benefit system, 30 hour tours for 40 hours pay and a guarantee against layoffs as the company moves towards greater automation.

The meeting evidenced clearly a large force of members willing and ready to set up picket headquarters, picket tours and captains and to strike immediately, on the basis that the real contract lapsed long ago and that the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. offers are so bad that it's not worth waiting for the next one. But what does brother Kirkpatrick have to say to this group? He insinuates that he is doing everything to insure a settlement short of calling a strike. When pressed by members on this hesitancy, he claims that things will roll "when it's time."

Brother Kirkpatrick's actual method is to persuade the Congressmen to write or call the PT&T president to beg him to give us a raise—he proudly re-

ported that out of 32 Congressmen only Barry Goldwater refused aid.

OFFENSIVE

The CWA is now in the front line of the wage offensive with rank and file workers prepared to fight for a big increase.

The bureaucracy is desperately afraid of the coming confrontation and has done everything possible to put off a strike. The latest gimmick is a nationwide TV address by President Beirne to be followed by a mail strike vote. After this a strike date will be proposed for some time in the future.

What is now required is an all out campaign for a massive rejection of any settlement short of the basic demands and preparations for an immediate strike.

The CWA must take its fight to the rest of the labor movement to guarantee the strength to shut down the entire communications system.

Roofers Threaten Nixon's Guidelines

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—Three weeks after Roofers of Local 45 voted to strike, there are still no picket lines at construction sites in the San Diego area.

As soon as the roofers walked off the job, the other construction trades ranks were prepared to leave, but thus far the union leadership has refused to back up the roofers' contract demands with a strike.

This smells of only one thing: sellout. Faced with a militant rank and file prepared to strike for a huge wage increase, the leadership is giving every concession to construction contractors, allowing them to continue work while the roofers are being starved into submission, waiting for a strike that has not been called.

Such a situation is a serious threat to the roofers. A strike right now is of decisive importance because contractors in housing and apartments are so anxious to get the jobs done that they are not at all united in their willingness to fight and take a strike. Several contractors had signed tentative agreements that acceded to the union demands. Without a strike, the roofers remain isolated while construction continues and their ranks are dispersed.

TREACHERY

The union leadership is pushing this treachery because they are sitting on a powder keg. The ranks are demanding a contract that amounts to a 67% wage boost over two years, with \$1.75 the first year, and an unlimited escalator. A victory in this struggle would give a lead to other construction trades negotiations in the near future, and put a lot more pressure on leaders; pressure already at the point where some construction bureaucrats have been forced to call for a general strike.

These leaders are doing their best to head off the inevitable confrontation between construction workers and the federal government.

What these leaders are doing is tying the union to the capitalist state through the wage review board.

These traitors are putting into practice what they proclaimed on paper some weeks ago. The leadership of Local 45 is part of the utterly reactionary San Diego Building Trades Council that issued a full-page "Open Letter" in the local capitalist press praising Nixon's attacks on the construction workers, and agreeing that the capitalist crisis must be thrust onto the backs of the working class. That letter received an official stamp of approval when the AFL-CIO in San Diego, overjoyed at what they saw, hailed that action as a model of responsible union leadership, and suggested that all other councils issue similar letters.

Now the roofers are tasting the poisonous fruit of that logic. But the way forward is still clear. Answer the "Open Letter" with open war against sellout leaders. Shut down the construction sites!

Steel Fight...

(Continued From Page 16)

ceiling on company profits and dividends and stop price increases instead of attacking our wages.

Q. How can the rank and file intervene in the contract struggle?

A. The only way is to tell the union presidents that they better not come back with another sellout contract. If they do come back with a sellout we ought to wildcat. We should not go back to work until we get what we want.

Q. Do you think Nixon and the government will try to break the strike or wildcats?

A. If it's hurting the big shots he will. He'll definitely try to break the wildcats.

Q. What should the union's response to government strike-breaking be?

A. We screwed up by accepting and working under the 1968 sellout. If it's a sellout package we should go out. We should not go back until we win. We should hold out no matter how long and hard it is.

Protester Gets Stiff Sentence

BY ALEX CRAIG

SAN JOSE—The stiffest sentence ever dealt in a campus disturbance case in Santa Clara County was handed down here last week by the Superior Court to a San Jose Liberation Front member.

Everyone, from Lib Front members to veteran policemen, was surprised at the severity of Superior Court Judge James Scott's decision against 20 year old Darrell (Gino) Varadan. Varadan has been sentenced to an indeterminate sentence of one to ten years in the State Penitentiary for his participation in a physical confrontation with

tactical squad police during a recent anti-recruiting demonstration at the State College.

Scott ruled that Varadan will spend the first four months of his sentence under observation at the state medical facilities at Vacaville. The judge will then determine if the youth is "rehabilitated" and will finalize the sentence.

Varadan originally faced four felony charges, all of them exorbitant and accompanied by astonishingly high bail. Three of them, however, along with felony charges against two of the other defendants in the case, were dropped when he pleaded guilty April 20 to a felony charge of assault on a police

officer. He was convicted for dropping a concrete disk on to a squad car from the top of a college union loading ramp.

The severity of the sentence raises disturbing questions as to what faces the fifteen other defendants in the case who still await sentencing. But, even at this point it is clear that the venomous advice of Attorney General John Mitchell and Vice President Agnew is not falling on deaf ears. Their support of mass arrests and abandonment of the last shreds of bourgeois justice is meant to clear the road for all out war against not only students but also workers and their organizations here and internationally.

It is also clear that the era of protest politics, violent or otherwise, is ancient history and will now not even begin to defend Varadan and the tens of thousands like him across the country against the mounting offensive of the ruling class. Only the fight for Marxism, the independence of the working class, and the revolutionary party, none of which the SJLF seriously considers, can defend democratic rights and living standards in this period.

BERKELEY CLASS SERIES

Pragmatism Marxism & The Party

135 Dwinelle

Tuesday Nights
7:30

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

Reagan Budget Means Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Governor Reagan served notice on state and municipal employees that they could only expect sharper attacks in the next period.

"The people of California are undergoing hardships. They are being laid off. They are being fired. Businesses are closing. Earnings are down... We must absorb some of this sorrow without imposing increased taxes on the people."

In plain English, the state faces virtual bankruptcy, enormous deficits and continued recession. This means a wage freeze and preparations for mass layoffs must proceed with very little room for compromise.

All of Reagan's demagoguery about welfare and the poor taxpayer cannot conceal the fact that he is headed for an all out clash with state employees.

The cuts planned in state assistance to the cities mean increased attacks and layoffs of municipal workers when the state budget is passed.

Workers in San Jose and Santa Clara County have just been informed that they face a total wage freeze. Large scale layoffs are now under way in San Mateo County. The story is the same across the state.

CRISIS

The union bureaucracy now faces an unprecedented crisis. Every attempt at compromise only brings on sharper attacks. The situation is now so serious that the S.F. Labor Council has now been forced to admit that its entire political policy has been proved bankrupt.

They have been forced to declare in making preparations for the annual S.F. COPE dinner that they intend to oppose every single member of the Board of Supervisors for re-election on the basis that not one of the supervisors was prepared to support the wage fight of city employees.

Just in case any worker gets the idea that they intend a real

fight the major speaker at their \$30 a plate dinner is to be none other than the chief strike-breaker, Mayor Alioto.

Such maneuvers only expose these labor "leaders" all the more sharply in front of the ranks.

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The recent march in Sacramento called by the teachers brought out almost 2000 workers on a Saturday despite every effort of the labor bureaucracy to see to it that it was not publicized or built.

A recent meeting of workers threatened by layoffs in San Mateo County showed the way forward when a motion calling for a fight for a state wide general strike was overwhelming passed.

It is precisely because such a perspective can now win wide support that the bureaucracy had to fight tooth and nail to keep the teachers' rally small and under control.

State and city workers must now draw important conclusions from these developments. Reagan's budgetary attacks can only be defeated in action that goes far beyond protest and local isolated strikes. The labor bureaucrats must be forced to fight before this budget goes through in July.

The struggle must be taken into every employee organization for motions to demand a statewide labor conference to set the date for a total shutdown to defeat the budget cuts and layoffs. The real logic of S.F. COPE's conclusions must now be taken forward with a complete break from the two strike-breaking parties and the fight for a labor party



Farm workers in the UFWOC in south San Diego County have been on strike for two months against the growers. Chavez leadership tries to turn workers toward church and liberal politicians.

Chavez Betrays Farm Strike

BY RICHARD RIVERA

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It is quite clear that Chavez' function here is to hand over to the waiting arms of the liberals and Mother Church this extremely militant section of labor, comprised largely of "Green Card" workers who live in Mexico. It was only after the ranks had initiated the strike action in support of twelve fired co-workers that UFWOC officially stepped in.

Since that time, the UFWOC leadership has done everything possible to cut off these initial moves of a section of the working class to unite internationally against the bosses. It is precisely this international movement of the working class which the capitalist class fears most. And it is at this point that the UFWOC bureaucrats enter, making pleas to the church for support and refusing to lead the struggles into a general

strike of all agricultural workers in San Diego County.

TAMING

At an organizing meeting called by Chavez here, it became apparent that he was making a strong appeal to the middle class liberals to aid him in taming the ferocity of the local workers. The doors were heavily guarded by his goons and persons wishing to enter the small hall were subjected to a thorough frisking and general screening to insure that "undesirable elements" were excluded. The undesirables turned out to be hundreds of farm workers who were left standing outside, while doctors, lawyers, professors, and other such middle class liberal trash were well represented in the meeting.

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Bishop is interested in bringing "both parties together," and that is precisely what Chavez is attempting to accomplish, at the expense of the workers.

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The growers are already organized and pledged to stand together against the union. The only way forward for the farmworkers in San Diego County is to strike all county agriculture. Instead, Cowan poses that "We (UFWOC) don't like strikes and we don't want one under way at Egger-Ghio. They are too expensive for the workers and really serve no purpose."

That sounds a lot like Nixon talking. This "organizer" is attacking the working class with the same argument that all the agents of the capitalists use. She is organizing the defeat of farmworkers.

What is necessary is to dump Chavez and the rest of his treacherous cohorts by replacing them with leaders who must answer directly to the workers; leaders who will push forward for a general strike against all San Diego County agriculture in the interests of the workers on both sides of the border.

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Q. Describe what you did before working at Bethlehem.

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90% of the people that voted, wanted to go on strike, and the president went to the contract talks and voted the way Abel wanted him to and probably the other presidents of the other locals did the same thing because they are looking out for themselves, and not for their membership. I think the contract was a sellout.

Q. What do you think of the upcoming contract?

A. I think the leaders of the locals will go to the contract talks and do the same thing as they did in 1968, that is, whatever Abel wants them to do. We have no say so in ratifying the contract. Abel will do whatever the government wants him to do. He will go along with a Taft-Hartley or a contract extension.

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