

## Break Aluminum, Can Pattern

# STEELWORKER RANKS CAN WIN 2 DOLLARS



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### POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

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This settlement, lauded by the top leaders of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and denounced as "inflationary" by the Administration, is in reality an attempt by an unholy alliance of Abel, Nixon, U.S. Steel and Wall Street to foist the can-aluminum "pattern" onto the more than 350,000 workers who produce the country's basic steel.

As such, it aims to establish this "pattern" throughout industry—to saddle the American working class with a "pattern" that does not even begin to meet the needs of steelworkers or any other workers.

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# PL'S WAR AGAINST LENIN

BY LUCY ST. JOHN



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Page 10

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Over 13,000 workers and youth marched behind the banners of the AJS, French Trotskyist youth movement, in May 22 com-

memoration of the Paris Commune of 1871. The banner above reads: "The Commune Is Not Dead!"

# 13,000 Celebrate Commune

BY MARTY JONAS

The 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune was commemorated in Paris by an enormous show of the power of Trotskyism.

The Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (French Young Socialists) on the weekend of May 22, held a march of over 13,000 strong through the Pere Lachaise Cemetery and past the Wall of the Federals followed by a massive two day national rally to build the AJS.

The demonstration to pay homage to the first workers state and the heroes who fell in its defense was comprised of large contingents not only from the AJS, but from the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International), and the Comites

des Alliance Ouvriere (Committees of Workers Alliances).

The demonstration brought the huge Trotskyist contingent together with leaders of the Socialist Party and contingents from Force Ouvriere, the country's second largest trade union.

## COMMUNE

The march was fifteen-deep across the street and led by the

banner of the National Committee formed to commemorate the Commune. The AJS carried a giant banner proclaiming that "The Commune Is Not Dead." As the march passed the plaque dedicated to the martyrs of the Commune, shouts of "Long Live the Commune!" and the singing of the "Internationale" were taken up. As the banner of the OCI passed the memorial, a tremendous shout of "Long Live the Fourth International" went up from the demonstrators.

The march culminated a major national campaign by the AJS. The two-day rally that followed was a great step in the building of the French Trotskyist youth movement. 4,000 delegates crowded into the Mutualite Hall in the center of Paris. The delegates had been elected by at least ten times their numbers of students and young workers at meetings across the country.

## FUTURE

Charles Berg, AJS National Secretary, made clear the intention of the French Trotskyists to lead the working class in completing the fight started by the workers of the Commune in 1871.

"We are in the period" of the

imminence of the revolution and we must win tens of thousands of young workers who are today fighting the employers and the government," he told the delegates. "We marched not merely to commemorate the Commune, like a working class Bastille Day, but to affirm that the Commune is not dead and to prepare the future rule of Soviets all over the world."

Subsequent speakers all voiced their determination to crush the capitalist government of Pompidou as well as the counterrevolutionary politics of the Stalinists which keeps that government in power.

## OVATION

A standing ovation was given Helene Fargier, the young teacher who was gravely injured by Stalinist thugs two weeks before, when she opened the discussion of Comrade Berg's report.

"The more the Stalinists attack us, the bigger the crisis will get inside the CP," she said.

The packed gathering voted unanimously for a resolution pledging maximum support to the International Youth Rally in Essen, Germany, on July 4 and 5.

# Renault Strikers Return

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

On May 26th, Renault workers at the Le Mans combine voted to return to work after the Stalinist controlled union, the CGT, forced through a secret ballot. The vote was 3,769 to 952 for acceptance of a compromise agreement worked out between CGT leaders and the government of Pompidou which owns the auto combine.

The strike began at the LeMans transmission plant after 82 workers of Department FF wildcatted because the agreement negotiated by the Stalinist bureaucracy earlier in the year was completely inadequate.

The LeMans workers, mostly younger men, had struck for a complete revision of the pay system, for production workers, a 3% upgrading of pay scales and an end to the system where men are paid according to which machine they are operating.

The wildcat was soon joined by 5,500 production workers, who proceeded to shut down the other Renault plants at Boulogne-Bilancourt, Flins and Sandouville. The Stalinist leadership did its utmost to prevent the spread of the strike to all other plants, preferring instead to utilize "token stoppages" to pressure Pompidou into a more reasonable position.

CGT leader Seguy openly came out against general strike action at a recent union meeting understanding that such a movement, three years to the day after "May-June 1968" would explode with an even more ferocious impact.

## REACTIONARY

The Communist Party displayed in the Renault strike the most reactionary face. First it prevented the spread of the strike to other sections of

industry. Second, it failed to raise the political implications involved in the strike which culminated in mass sitdowns and factory occupations. Third, true to its historic past the CP launched the most vicious attacks against the French Trotskyists.

It refused to defend stewards and militants at the Boulogne-Bilancourt plant and organized physical assaults on AJS (French Trotskyist youth) newspaper sellers at the LeMans plant and at the housing project in suburban La Corneuve. As a result of these attacks several comrades were hospitalized with razor and knife wounds and truncheon blows.

The French OCI campaigned throughout the strike for general strike action and for continued factory occupation until all demands put forward by the LeMans workers were met.

## RESPONSIBLE

The settlement resolves nothing. The workers received a small pay rise for the lowest paid sections and a 500 franc bonus for returning. Half of this money will be taken out of future pay packets. In return for these crumbs workers' bonuses were cut to 200 francs during the summer. Management has also agreed that only workers with more than eight years experience (less than half) will

not suffer pay cuts if they are shifted from one machine to another.

It is the Communist Party that must be held responsible for this sellout. The CP now functions as an open agent of French capitalism. Enormous dangers are now posed to the French working class unless the crisis of leadership is resolved. The French Trotskyists have been strengthened by their crucial role during the wildcat. Only the OCI is now able to provide the conscious leadership which can break through the counterrevolutionary tentacles of Stalinism and lead the working class to power.

BY TOM GORDON

On May 27th, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, fresh from a purge of pro-Moscow leaders from his government, signed a 15-year "friendship and cooperation pact" with Soviet Union President Nikolai Podgorny.

The treaty binds Egypt and the Soviet Union to "make efforts toward achieving and ensuring a lasting and fair peace in the Middle East in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter." Both parties pledged concerted action against any "danger to peace," and mutual noninterference in the internal affairs of each regime.

The Soviet Union will continue full military, economic, and technical aid to Sadat's bour-

geois regime.

This treaty can only be another blow aimed directly at the masses of the Arab Revolution. Its role is only to try to halt Sadat's swing toward the United States, by promising more aid to help in the repression of the masses in Egypt and in strengthening the Egyptian regime against new guerrilla outbreaks which are occurring even now.

## VAGUE

This is why Podgorny refuses to say one word about the Egyptian Communist Party members and sympathizers now jailed for opposing Sadat's plan to reopen the Suez Canal even without a full Israeli pullback. This is why he has only vague phrases of "support" for the

guerrillas coupled with material military and economic supplies for Sadat.

The New York Times, despite the Kremlin's left talk, reports that in Washington "the Administration's Middle East specialists do not believe it (the treaty) will hurt the negotiations toward a reopening of the Suez Canal... They also believe that the Soviet Union continues to favor such an agreement..."

The world economic crisis is forcing bourgeois nationalists like Sadat and Ceylon's Mrs. Bandaranaike to line up openly with imperialism and repress the national and working class movements at home.

Podgorny's treaty will provide Sadat with another "left" cover for a deal with the Zionists at the expense of the Arab masses. This has been the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East all along.



Stanley Hill, head of SSEU, at press conference, where he tried to bury the question of general strike demanded by SSEU ranks.

## SSEU Ranks Demand General Strike Action

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The determination of the ranks of SSEU-371 to carry through the fight against layoffs to the end was clearly expressed at the SSEU Delegate Assembly meeting on May 27th.

At the meeting, a motion was overwhelmingly carried which called upon SSEU-371 President Hill to do the following: call publicly for a general strike of city labor to coincide with the statewide strike called for June 16 by the CSEA; fight in District Council 37 for this general strike; use the publicity facilities of the SSEU to this end, including an immediate press conference; have a petition circulated throughout DC 37 calling for a membership meeting of the whole District Council.

The decision by the Delegates Assembly represents a major step forward by the city labor movement as it comes into the sharpest conflict with a federal, state and city government determined to wipe out literally hundreds of thousands of jobs, forcing millions of workers back to the depression era.

In the Department of Social Services alone 288 caseworkers,

30 housing and development workers and 5 homemaking workers, all SSEU members, have been laid off. Literally thousands of SSEU and other city employees face the chopping block as the Albany legislature

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## 40,000 GIs On Heroin

BY DAVID NICHOLS

The Senate halls echoed with the startled gasps of senators last week, on being told that over 15% of the American GIs in Vietnam were hooked on heroin.

But before the echoes could die down, it was exposed that the CIA, the goon squad of the very imperialist system these senators so faithfully serve, was the pusher. Air America, the air arm of the CIA, has played no small role in the heroin plague of 40,000 GIs.

The GI in Vietnam starts smok-

ing marijuana almost as soon as he steps off the plane and as the days grow longer he graduates to higher stuff. He takes the turn to drugs because he is against the war. He dreads as each day goes by going out to fight a war he despises. He hates the officers and enlisted Non-Coms (the lifer) and when he gets the opportunity he would rather fragg (blow up) them than the Vietcong.

How he gets the heroin in the first place was explained by Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D-Ill.) and Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.) in their report "The

World Heroin Problem" last week. In their report they stated that the Air America, an arm of the CIA, had been used to transport heroin and that through complicity with the puppet government in Vietnam that heroin was openly sold on the streets of every major city in Vietnam.

### RECONNAISSANCE

Opium grows at an altitude of over 2,000 feet which means that the heroin does not come from Vietnam but from the rest of Southeast Asia. Laos, Cam-

(Continued On Page 14)

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Over the past two weeks the Vietcong has delivered blow after blow against the United States and South Vietnamese armies. The high command is not sure where they will find the NLF forces next.

An American armoured column bringing supplies to the Cambodian border was attacked and halted on Route 1 last Monday. This attack was followed up by mortar barrage on eight American and South Vietnamese bases, ranging from 85 to 100 miles from Saigon.

A naval repair barge was attacked and damaged, also 100 miles from Saigon and the closest attack near Saigon in months occurred when mortar rounds did extensive damage to a rear supply base.

Camranh Bay, which the generals have always claimed was invincible, was infiltrated last Monday by six Vietcong soldiers who blew up 1.5 million gallons of gas.

Now, in another major defeat for the United States, Snoul, a Cambodian city 115 miles from Phnom Penh, has fallen to the NLF.

In 1970 it was the first city to be taken by a force of 3,000 men during the invasion of Cambodia. Once captured it was hailed as a major victory. Last week an outnumbered force of 2,000 Vietcong retook the city. As of this writing, the entire 8th Task Force, an elite group trained in the Laos invasion, has not been able to drive the workers and peasants from Snoul.

These attacks are incontrovertible proof that the Vietnamese workers and peasants are capable of completely driving the United States out of Southeast Asia. The GIs are so thoroughly demoralized and fed up that the Army brass can not mount any meaningful offensive action.

### OPPOSITE

The reaction of the Stalinist leadership of North Vietnam is just the opposite. Instead of seeking a complete victory in

Vietnam and the rout of imperialist troops which would place the question of a workers and peasants government in Vietnam on the agenda, this leadership seeks to contain the NLF's offensive power while secretly working for a political deal with Nixon.

### CONCESSIONS

Just when victory is possible the North Vietnamese government hints it is considering new concessions on the issue of war prisoners.

Charles Read, a representative of the American Friends Service Committee who was recently in Hanoi, announced that senior officials in North Vietnam had indicated that Hanoi would begin releasing prisoners as soon as Nixon set a date for withdrawal.

This represents an even greater capitulation than was made to Nixon in Hanoi's Peoples Peace Treaty. The official position at the Paris Peace Talks is that they will only "discuss" the release of prisoners after a withdrawal date is set.

These sinister behind the scenes maneuvers are a sharp warning to all those forces who collaborate with the Stalinists in the anti-war movement.

Nixon has no intention of withdrawing. He will only use the concessions of the Stalinists to drive a knife deeper into Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union and China.

### BRUTAL

We warn that the new moves of the Hanoi bureaucracy are preparing the most open and brutal stab in the back of the Vietnamese Revolution. It is the independent mobilization of the working class in the U.S. which must assure the victory of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia.

## STEEL WORKERS MUST FIGHT FOR \$2.00 AN HOUR

(Continued From Page 1)

aluminum pattern is a regression toward the level of the contract won in the General Electric strike.

The aluminum settlement calls for \$1.00 an hour over three years which includes a total of 25c an hour cost of living adjustment paid only in the second and the third year of the contract. The cost of living escalator, which steelworkers lost in 1959 will bring additional increases in the second and third years of the contract only after the guaranteed 25c is paid and even then the workers are short-changed, getting only 1c an hour increase for each 0.4% rise in the consumer price index.

This pattern, estimated at 31% over three years falls below even the recent congressionally imposed 13.5% in the rail industry not to mention the demand of the signalmen's union for 54% over three years. Today, Western Union employees are on strike for an estimated 16% wage increase in each year of a two year contract.

The 1970 Teamsters settlement of \$1.65 an hour in wage increases over three years, which broke the back of the miserable G.E. sell-

out is far closer to the needs of the steelworkers. This settlement was won only after a series of wildcats and full-scale rank and file revolts by the Teamsters against the original aims of the Fitzsimmons leadership.

It is this kind of battle that the ranks in steel must now prepare around the central wage demand of an immediate \$2.00 an hour wage increase now, with an additional 50c an hour in the second and third years plus a full cost of living escalator.

Unlike Abel who, with his huge salary and expense account can say that he is concerned about the need of the steel companies to make profits, the workers have to start from their own needs and not yield to the blackmail of the employers. This means a campaign now in every local for an immediate \$2.00 an hour raise—a campaign to force the local leaders to take up a commitment for this demand.

This means, that with the right of the rank and file to ratify the contract completely non-existent, the steelworkers must prepare now for wildcat action if necessary to win the \$2.00 an hour first year increase.

In the course of this struggle

it is necessary to find out who the real friends and enemies of the rank and file workers really are. The Communist Party which attempts to gain influence in the USWA through "militant" talk about the right to strike over local grievances, a fight against racism and other legitimate questions, completely allows Abel & Co. to call the tune on the central question of wages.

In a recent editorial in the Daily World which expresses the views of the Communist Party, the General Electric strike was held up as a model for the steelworkers rather than as a rotten sellout which even the Department of Labor called "non-inflationary." While the G.E. pact stirred widespread rank and file opposition in the largest locals for the I.U.E. because of its wage provisions and token c.o.l., the Daily World now says that the "General Electric workers struck and defeated the big business conspiracy of that time."

The program for the steel struggle put forward by the Progressive Labor Party in its newspaper Challenge is just a "left" version of the CP's. In its full page program, the PLP "Steel section" left out the question of

wages altogether while giving prominence to the fight against racism, the fight to "smash male superiority", against the Vietnam war, in support of "ghetto rebellions" as well as a number of other demands.

Both the CP and PLP avoid the struggle against the Abel bureaucracy and its replacement with a real workers leadership in the USWA. The Workers League is now carrying forward this fight around the campaign for the formation of a national rank and file caucus in the USWA to fight for a program which includes the following demands:

**WAGES:** An immediate across-the-board increase the first year, of \$2.00 an hour; an extra \$0.50 for the iron ore miners, plus 50c an hour increases for the second and third years of the contract. Full cost of living escalator to start the first day of the contract.

**JOB SECURITY:** Abel's talk of the 4 day week at 5 days pay must be made a reality. This is more and more urgent as unemployment and layoffs increase.

**GRIEVANCES:** Repeal the "no-strike" clause from the contract.

**RACISM:** A fight to completely wipe out all discrimination

towards Black and Latin workers in upgrading and all other working conditions.

**SPEEDUP:** No cooperation with speedup job cutting. Stop overtime working now which allows the companies to continue stockpiling.

**NATIONALIZATION:** The private capitalist ownership of the steel industry is more and more used against the steelworkers. If, as Abel and the employers say, the need to make profits for the owners conflicts with the needs of the workers for decent wages and conditions then the steel corporations should be nationalized without compensation, under workers control and operated in the public interest.

**LABOR PARTY:** Nixon and the Republicans are in a total alliance with the Democrats including all those so-called friends of labor. The government's protection of the steel companies, governmental strikebreaking action such as employed against the railroad workers and the bi-partisan plans for a wage-freezing "incomes policy" can only be fought by the power of an independent party of labor, representing the overwhelming majority, the working people.

# Cops Murder Black Youth In Chattanooga

BY A

BULLETIN REPORTER

The rebellion of hundreds of youth in Chattanooga, Tennessee over the past week mark a new upsurge in the class struggle in the South. The government has answered this explosion with cold blooded murder.

The disturbances in Chattanooga began on May 22 when hundreds of Black youth were refused refunds for a cancelled performance by the Wilson Pickett Review. The police proceeded to further provoke the youth with insults and harassment.

Two thousand National Guardsmen were called into the city by Mayor Robert Walker and a curfew imposed. Three hundred youth were arrested, most of them on Sunday night. On Monday morning, local lawyers appointed as temporary judges cranked out cases in makeshift courtrooms.

Taking their cue from New York City who last week were instructed to "shoot to kill," Chattanooga Police and National Guardsmen killed unarmed Leon Anderson, an unemployed Black youth on Monday night.

Wylie Williams, a friend of the murdered man, said "Leon was just stumbling along...and right at the corner they just opened up on him. They didn't yell or give him any warning or get out of the cars or nothing. They just opened up from the right side through the windows...I heard one of the troopers hollering at Leon. He said, 'Get up nigger, get up, nigger'."

DYING

The cops then cursed and kicked Anderson as he lay dying. His last words were, "I did nothing."

The same night in Drew, Mississippi, drunken vigilantes murdered 18 year old Joetha Collier, a Black high school graduate on the way to her graduation party.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a civil rights leader from Mississippi, stated that "I believe they had watched this girl, because she was black and smart...This was too much, because they don't want to believe that black people have the capacity."

Attorney General Mitchell's call on police departments to deal with protests through mass arrests, was carried out by Chattanooga Mayor Walker's arrest of thirty youth protesting the death of Miss Collier.

NIXON

The murders in Chattanooga and Drew occurred as Nixon made his way to the South sharing a platform with George Wallace. It is precisely in Wallace's direction that the capitalist class is moving using racism and open repression to crush the movement of the workers and youth.

The period of protest and begging for changes is over. The uprisings in the South take place at a time of massive working class struggle throughout the country.

The central task now confronting the working class is the construction of a political weapon, a labor party, to unite the working class, youth and minorities to challenge Nixon and the entire capitalist system.



Leon Anderson was murdered in cold blood by Tennessee troopers at same time as Nixon toured South with racist George Wallace.

## Strikes Spread Against Layoffs In Illinois

BY JONAH GALLATIN

CHICAGO—Throughout the small industrial cities of central Illinois, the workers' demands for job security and wage increases to protect their stan-

dard of living are being met with fierce opposition from the employers and the government.

Massive layoffs and plant closings have thrown more than a thousand workers out of jobs in a dozen cities across Illinois from Rock Island to Danville.

In Urbana, Magnavox laid off nearly 300 workers just last month, and now the company is threatening to shut down its plant permanently, which will throw hundreds more out of work.

LAID OFF

In Danville, both General Motors and Continental Can have laid off hundreds of workers this year. Workers at the Esco Corp. plant in Danville have been on strike since January, with the company refusing to bargain in good faith. The workers' demand of a 75¢ per hour wage increase was turned down with the insulting offer of only a 13¢ increase and no cost of living increase.

In Peoria, the workers of UAW Local 974 voted overwhelmingly (5,553 yes—92 no) to strike Caterpillar Tractor Co. over local grievances such as line speed up and murderous job reclassifications which the company refuses to discuss.

Of course the city and county police have worked closely with the bosses, harassing pickets and in some cases escorting scabs into struck plants.

Clearly the workers are showing no lack of determination to fight the employers. The strike at Esco and the pending strike at Caterpillar are only the latest in a series of strikes that have spread across Illinois since late last summer, including a long and bitter strike at the large Staley plant in Decatur.

Yet the determination to fight the bosses is insufficient. What is urgently required is a fighting program which will raise the workers' struggles to a political level.

Only a labor party built through the struggles of the workers can effectively carry forward the fight that the workers at Esco, Caterpillar and Magnavox are now waging.

## Scab Truck Kills N.J. Gas Picket

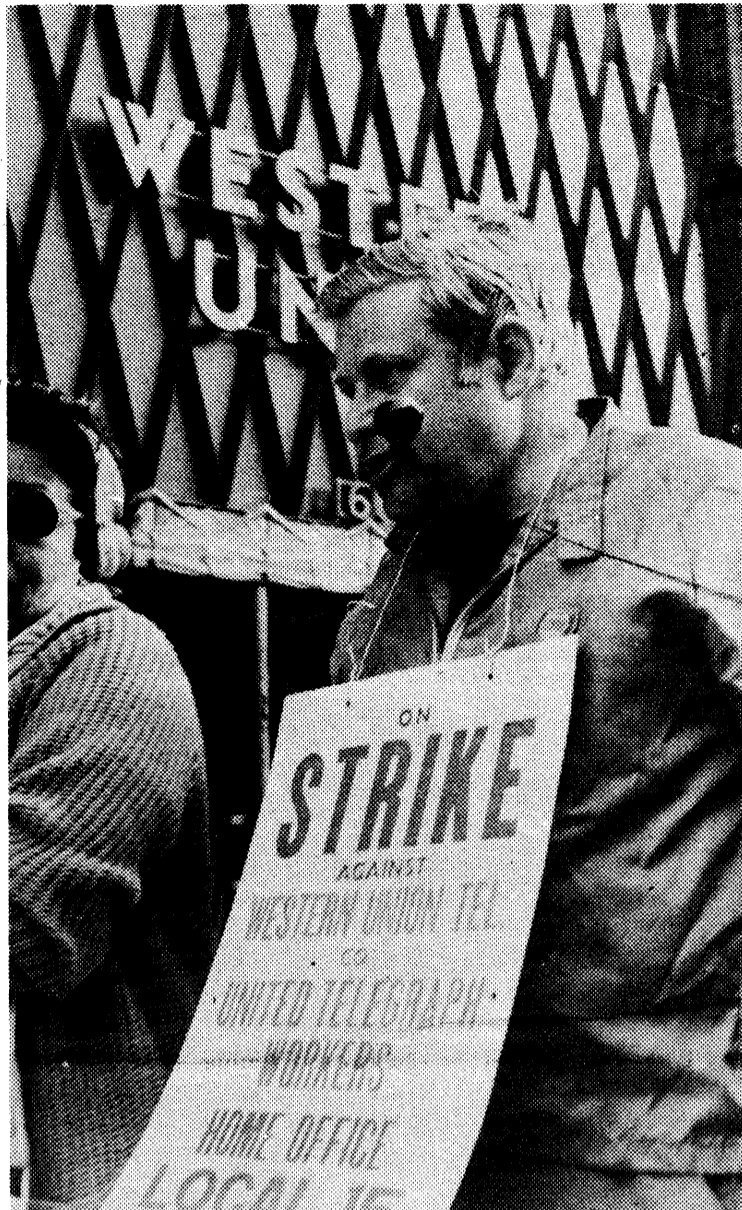
STOP PRESS—Newark, N.J., June 2—The Petroleum Trade Employees Union charged today that William Williams was "run over and killed" by a scab gasoline truck driver at the Texaco plant here. Alfred Riddoch, PTEU's president, stated: "They put supervisors on trucks and other people armed with guns, and now there's a killing. It's a throwback to the vicious days of the 1800s and the 1930s, when the human life of a working man was disregarded entirely."

The union is demanding an increase of \$120 weekly over two years.

This killing comes at the same time as the anti-union lockout of the Newark Evening News. Both events follow the defeat of the Newark Teachers strike which has emboldened the employers to try to break the labor movement in Northern New Jersey and elsewhere.

There must be united action of the trade union movement including mass picketing and up to a general strike to defend the gasoline drivers and the newspaper workers.

'This is what the AFL-CIO pulled back from in the NTU strike allowing those workers to be driven back to work and defeated without even a wage increase the first year of the contract.



A massive picket line was thrown up in front of Western Union as strike began. Workers main demands center around wage hike.

## Pickets Up At Western Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, June 1—A huge picket line formed in front of the main offices of Western Union this morning. This was the beginning of a nationwide strike against the giant company by Local 1177, Communications Workers of America and the United Telegraph Workers, AFL-CIO.

As of this morning the strike was solid, with operators, engineers, clerical, and other workers out. Other than a two day strike in 1966, the last strike against Western Union was in 1952 and lasted 56 days.

The fight is over wages and

job security. The unions are demanding a 25% increase. The average wage now is \$3.57 an hour.

The company has offered 6% effective June 1, 1971 for the first year; 10% effective June 1, 1972 for the second year. This increase, however, is not across the board—all fringe benefits will come out of the package. One worker told us that the offer comes to only 1 or 2% per year.

The unions are also fighting plans by Western Union to wipe out up to 5,000 jobs by contracting work to outside non-union outfits.

## Ohio Panthers Arrested

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The acquittal of the New York 21 and the dismissal of charges against Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in no way mean that Nixon intends to stop his repressive actions against the Black Panther Party.

As the New York 21 trial went into its final stages, New York police arrested three members of the Dayton, Ohio branch of the Black Panthers on April 28.

The three arrested, Area Captain Mike Motley, Raymond Dillard and Cheryl Simpson, had come to New York to observe the New York 21 trial and confer with both factions of the New York Panthers. Plainclothes po-

lice stopped and illegally searched their car, and arrested them on concealed weapons charges. No weapon was ever produced.

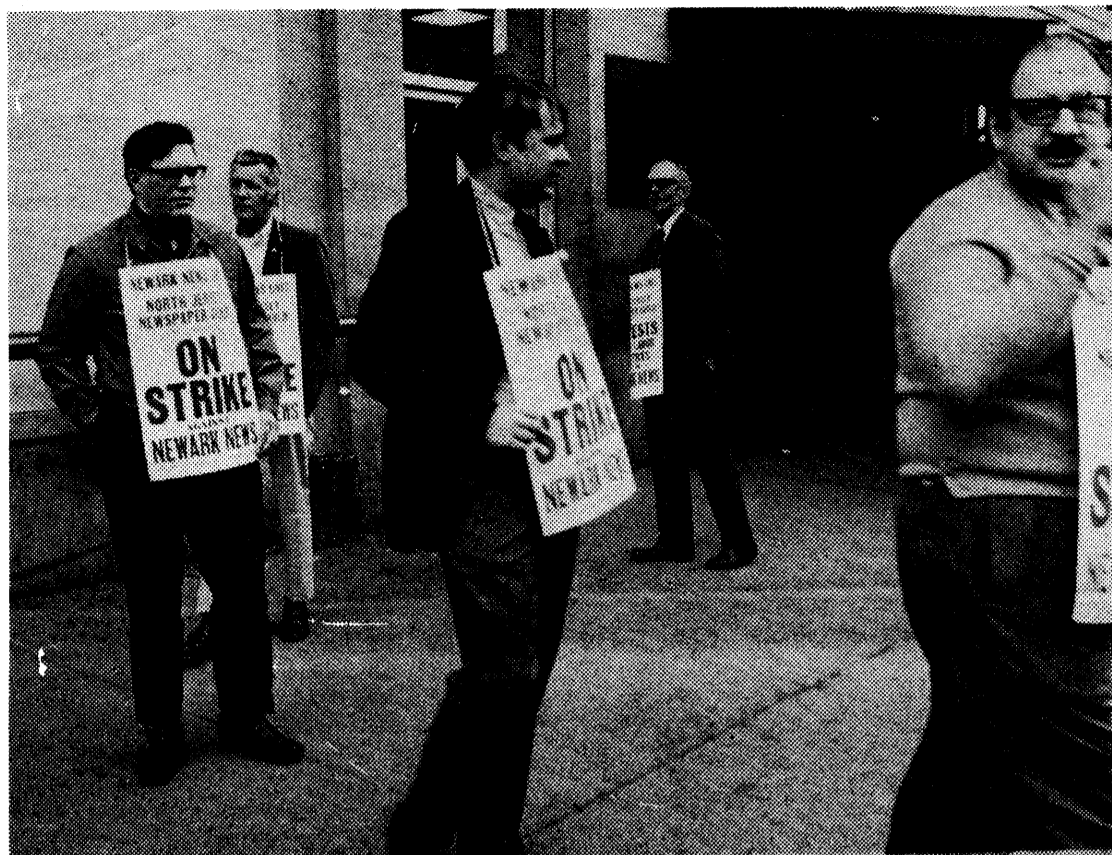
Simpson has been released on her own recognizance, while Dillard and Motley are being held on \$5,000 bail apiece. They were denied a preliminary hearing and their cases bound over to the grand jury without one.

All news of this has been so far blacked out in the New York daily press.

What is now essential is for the labor movement to take up a fight for the immediate release of the defendants and the dropping of all charges against them.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Newspaper Guild workers, writers, reporters, clerks, picket offices of Newark News.

## Guild Strikes Newark Paper

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK, N.J.—The Newark Evening News, New Jersey's second largest newspaper, remains shut down solid by a strike of some 170 Newspaper Guild editorial employees.

The fond hopes of the management, Media General, a "conglomerate" based in Richmond, Va., to resume publication were dashed when all the other crafts representing the News' 1100 employees respected the Guild picket line.

A union picket captain told the Bulletin that Media General "is currently breaking a newspaper strike in Richmond, Virginia where the unions didn't stick together, and so the printers lost 180 jobs, but here the unions have stood together and the strike is solid."

The Guild has been working without a contract since February 19th when they won union recognition in an NLRB election. Under these conditions, the management has maintained an arbitrary wage scale with reporters' salaries ranging from \$120 to \$300 per week, "depending on how management rated them." Clerks and other editorial workers are making \$80 per week. We were told in one case, an employee in the Guild bargaining unit has been earning the spectacular wage of \$58 for a full week's work!

Despite the fact that the management recently raised its

## Mass Labor Action Can Defeat Yale Injunction

BY KLAUS KNIGHT

NEW HAVEN, May 30—Two workers and 17 students were arrested today in the strike of Local 35 against Yale University. Yale in its drive to break Local 35 moved oil trucks through the picket lines with the aid of some 15 New Haven police.

It was the retreat of the union leadership Thursday when faced with a court injunction which led to the attacks. Instead of responding to the injunction with a call for all New Haven labor to stop the trucks and prepare to shut down the city if Yale tried to use the injunction, Sirabella promised the bosses the workers

price from 10 to 15¢ and increased its advertising rates, it complained that it was too poor to grant the wage demands of the Guild of \$255 for the first 6 months, \$265 for the next 6 months with an 11% increase in both the second and third years. Furthermore, the company is insisting that because of the newspaper's poor financial condition, 30 employees must be laid off as a condition for signing any contract.

### KEY

The demand for these layoffs is the key issue that led to the breakdown of negotiations. This demand along with the attempt to hold back wage increases represents the increasingly hard line that the employers are taking in all industries in an attempt to get the union bureaucrats to capitulate on job security as the price for a contract.

Recently the News has reduced its work force by some 300 employees. Employment in the newspaper industry has declined drastically all over the U.S. as the employers have increasingly taken the road of merger and monopolization.

The picket captain told this

would not stop the trucks.

The Greater New Haven Labor Council, headed by Local 35's business manager, Sirabella, has issued a statement condemning the university for its plans to replace hundreds of workers with bursary students. But this statement contains no strategy for action against Yale. The Council represents about 90 New Haven unions and 25,000 workers. The power to call the New Haven labor movement to action rests in this body's hands.

The Workers League is demanding that Vincent Sirabella and the Labor Council call a mass rally of labor in New Haven against the attacks on the Yale workers and the entire city labor movement.

reporter that there can be no compromise over job security: "As far as layoffs are concerned, that's pretty basic. Many unions have contracts which guarantee a worker by name a job for the length of the contract. You have to take a stand on the job security issue. This paper has been in decline in recent years but we don't see how they can improve the paper by cutting down on the staff...They've raised the price, they've raised the advertising rates..."

### WAGES

Guild members must make it clear to their leadership that not only should they stand fast on the job security question but that there can be no backing down on the union wage proposals which are basically for parity with New York City Newspaper Guild scales.

## Minneapolis Teachers Face Loss Of Past Gains In Survival Fight

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS—All the gains won over the past years in the very survival of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (MFT) itself are today called into question.

That is the central warning from this past year. All the lessons from that period following the 1970 strike must now be brought into full discussion inside the MFT.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" which ended the 1970 strike in a compromise has been torn to shreds by the "Gentlemen" in the School Board, the legislature and the courts.

The settlement provided that striking teachers would receive a lump sum payment one year after the strike equal to the increase the scab teachers received.

It paid teachers for seven days during the strike when the schools were closed by the Board. It also promised to "overlook" that section of the state's no strike law which takes away striker's tenure for two years.

For one year the leadership

# Leaders Try To Block ILA Strike

BY TOM GORDON

ILA President Gleason is continuing his frantic search for some deal, any deal, which will avoid a strike this fall. At the recent meeting of the New Orleans Containerization and Shipping Exposition, he stated:

"I would be a sucker to call a strike this fall. With my membership getting the guaranteed annual wage and other benefits it would be foolhardy for me to even consider a walkout."

Gleason also called for more unity between maritime unions in order to prevent strikes. He called the unity between the ILA and the Masters, Mates and Pilots "just the first step in a master agreement among all sea unions to work together to help the hard pressed merchant marine."

"If we don't do the job ourselves and end the strikes that are hurting the image of American shipping," Gleason continued, "the government will surely do it for us."

Gleason's newest "program" is for a four-year contract, extending the fifty-mile stripping and stuffing provisions to 100 miles, and for cooperation with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union by which it would pledge not to strike until September 30, if at all.

### "PROGRAM"

This "program" coupled with Gleason's pledge of no strike can only mean a sellout for both the East and West Coast dockers.

The shipping employers are preparing now to undermine the guarantee and to make further drastic reductions in the dock labor force in this fall's contract. Gleason's holding up the danger of government intervention as a reason to avoid a strike is an attempt at complete capitulation to the shipper's demands.

### GOVERNMENT

But the danger of government intervention is very real. The recent Presidential-Congressional action to break the railroad signalmen's strike and Nixon's plan to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry is aimed at the throats of the longshoremen this fall. The ILA ranks must prepare now to take on both the shippers, the government and the treachery of the Gleason-Scotto leadership.

The ranks of the ILA must prepare for the contract battle by fighting for a program to defeat the employers and the government:

**Keep the guarantee and extend the guaranteed 2080 hours yearly and the New York container bonus to all ports!**

**For a two-year national contract with \$1.65 an hour raise the first year and \$1.00 the second.**

**Boycott all LASH and other automated ships, which threaten to make the whole ILA obsolete. For a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.**

**Nationalize the shippers who claim they can't afford to pay!**

**Defeat all anti-strike legislation!**

**Build a labor party!**

of the MFT went the way of the courts and the legislature to protect this settlement when it came under direct attack launched by labor-hating ex-governor Lavander, all to no avail. The lump sum settlement was taken away. The seven days pay are now being deducted from striking teachers' paychecks.

### FIRED

Glen Ray, a militant with years of tenure has been fired without even the right to a hearing. To add insult to injury he had all seven days pay from last year deducted in his final check. Since teachers are not eligible for unemployment, Ray is forced to go onto welfare.

These vicious attacks are followed by the 1971-1972 salary proposals of the School Board which are so far below what the teachers are demanding and need, it is absurd.

On May 26th, the MFT voted overwhelmingly to take a strike vote in December. This reporter talked with MFT officials Norm Moen and Dale Holstrom about the strike next fall. Both officials declared that the teachers have to stay out until every question is nailed down tight.

"We tried working through the system this year and have found out that it doesn't work. Next fall is not going to be a clean strike. No one is going to cross our picket lines. It might just come down to an insurrection," Moen declared.

These militant words remain only words. On May 24th they held a press conference announcing a special membership meeting May 26th to set a strike vote for June 9th. At this meeting Glen Ray spoke. The meeting of 300 teachers out of 1500 voted to postpone the strike vote until September. The leadership made little attempt to mobilize the ranks.

### PREPARE

Every retreat from the militancy of last spring's strike on the part of the leadership has only emboldened the School Board. They too are preparing for next fall.

The situation must be turned around now, at the June 9th meeting. The leadership must project a program to beat back the attacks of the School Board. This must be based on the campaign to draw on the support of the entire labor movement.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## CP Sabotages Labor Party Fight

The more the American working class moves into action and towards a political break from the capitalist parties, the more the Communist Party moves to the right to head off this development.

The Democratic Party is on the rocks precisely because whole sections of the working class will not buy it any more. In this situation the Stalinists seek to use the splits in the capitalist parties to create a new reformist "coalition," to revive the reactionary perspective of the Popular Front.

Above all the CP's job for capitalism is to prevent the independent mobilization of the working class and the construction of a labor party. To this end the Stalinists will stop at nothing.

This has been made clear in the CP's statement on the recent primary victory of right wing Frank Rizzo in Philadelphia and its plans for "swiftaction... to build a coalition against Rizzo."

The CP concludes after the election in the May 28 issue of the Daily World: "What is required is not panic but the widest mobilization of all peoples' forces, Black, white, trade unions, peace organizations, and community groups, to develop independent muscle and find ways to break out of this tight box."

The CP offers three alternatives to "develop independent muscle." The first is to run an "independent" candidate. The CP says this would be difficult because of legal restrictions, but could be used "to pressure Republican candidate Thatcher Longstreth as well as Rizzo."

The second is "to pressure the Republican machine to substitute...a candidate more in keeping with the needs" of an "independent coalition."

The third which the CP says would be "premature," at least until the other two are explored, is to support the Republican candidate Longstreth.

Longstreth, mind you, is not just any man in Philadelphia. He is one of the heads of the Chamber of Commerce!

Such is the inevitable logic and great danger of the CP's "lesser evilism" and coalition politics. Whether it is through direct support to the capitalist politicians or through the building of a so-called "independent" coalition, the CP maneuvers to tie the working class to capitalism.

Key in the Stalinists' strategy is its relationship to the trade union bureaucracy. Of late the CP has taken to printing interviews uncritically with such labor bureaucrats as Woodcock and Abel. The CP is supporting Abel completely in his attempts to hold back the wage offensive of the steel workers.

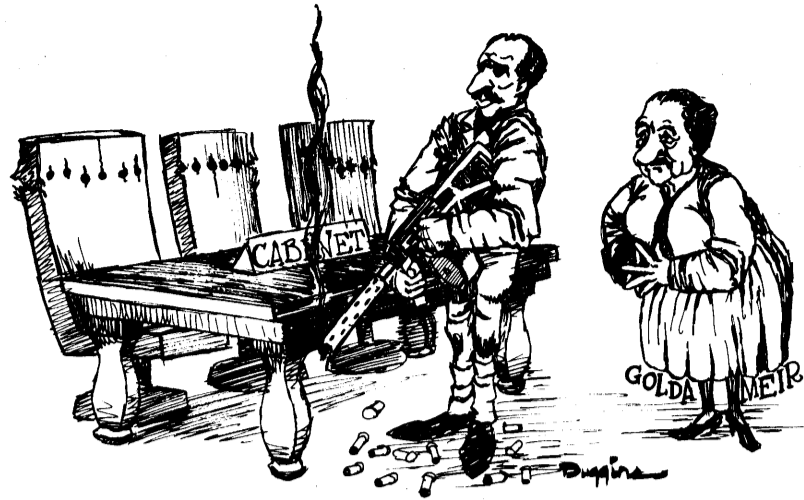
It is precisely this wage offensive that is now ripping the capitalist system and its parties apart. It is no accident that it was a rank and file steel worker at the CP's beloved labor-student conference in St. Louis who raised the necessity for the labor movement to offer an alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties. The demand for a labor party was also raised at last year's steel convention which Abel sought to quickly table in order to maintain the ties of the union to the Democratic Party.

It was in the aftermath of the tremendous steel strike in 1946 and the whole upsurge in the working class after World War II, that the call went out from the ranks of the labor movement: Build A Labor Party!

This is the movement that must now be prepared in the trade unions. But this requires the most uncompromising struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and its Stalinist henchmen. In the 1940s the CP moved to head off the struggle for a labor party by supporting the Progressive Party. This is what the CP is preparing today with its "coalitions" and even its support to "liberal" Republicans.

Nixon and the entire capitalist class are readying their plans to smash the wage offensive and the trade unions with wage freezes and anti-union legislation.

The struggle of the steel workers now comes into direct confrontation with these plans and raises above all the fight for the independent mobilization of the working class and the construction of the labor party.



"Courageously done, Mr. Sadat!"

## What we think

### Kidnapping In Argentina—The Logic Of Pabloism

On May 30, a Swift's meat plant manager in the Argentine industrial city of Rosario, Stanley Sylvester, was released after a week's captivity by the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), supporters of the Pabloite United Secretariat which is also supported by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. His release was secured by the distribution of \$62,500 worth of food, blankets, and clothing to the Rosario poor by the Swift management, the major demand of the kidnapers.

The action is a reflection of the absolute bankruptcy of middle class radicalism. Just two months ago yet another general strike wave hit the industrial city of Cordoba in a situation of military dictatorship. The action itself was carried out on the anniversary of the death of Luis Blanco, a fifteen year old student killed in clashes with police during the great Argentine general strike movement of June 1969.

The week following the kidnappings Argentine President Lanusse reshuffled his cabinet in a desperate attempt to maintain a balance between the military and an increasingly militant labor movement, which sees 30% wage increases chewed up by inflation in two months at the same time as Argentina's economic crisis makes a peso devaluation inevitable.

In this situation Lanusse announces that among those selected for his new cabinet are leaders of the Peronist labor unions. The followers of this Bonapartist demagogue have dominated the Argentinian labor movement for decades. Now this leadership is being drawn into Lanusse's cabinet precisely to discipline and stop the forward movement of the working class.

The way is rapidly being cleared for the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class to clear out capitalism in Argentina forever.

In a situation never more favorable to the building of the Trotskyist alternative, the supporters of the United Secretariat

are incapable of anything but a propagandistic exercise in middle class radicalism against a "foreign exploiter" in the tradition of the Uruguayan Tupamaros (enthusiastically endorsed by Castro). In a situation where the struggle for Trotskyism is number one on the agenda, the supporters of the United Secretariat can engage only in middle class terrorism.

This is Pabloism in action. Its role has always been and always will be to disarm the struggle for the leadership of the working class by Trotskyism, substituting instead the maneuvers and protests of sections of the "radical" or "progressive" middle class.

It would be a great mistake therefore to consider the activities of the ERP as simply an Argentinian question. The responsibility for the actions of the Argentine Pabloites falls squarely on the shoulders of the American SWP.

It was precisely around this question of guerrillaism that the SWP organized its split from the International Committee of the Fourth International and its reunification with the Pabloites. Point 13 of the 16 points upon which the unification took place reads as follows:

"Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasants and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semi-colonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in the colonial countries." (our emphasis) ("For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement").

Nor should it be considered strange that the ERP includes all sorts of Guevarist elements and conducts its struggles on a guerrillaist basis. It is following the program laid down for it in the SWP resolution. "The Problems of the Fourth International—And the Next Steps" states:

"In addition to mobilizing support for the Cuban cause, as they are doing, Trotskyists in Latin America should try to bring together all those forces, regardless of their specific origins, which are ready to take the Cuban experience as the point of departure in their own countries."

In 1964 the SWP tried to avoid its responsibility for the great betrayal of the LSSP by simply breaking off relations with it. In order to carry out this abandonment of the SWP's responsibilities, the supporters of the International Committee, now organized in the Workers League, were expelled from the SWP.

This time, however, the question cannot be evaded as in Ceylon, because the actions of the ERP are based squarely upon the theories formulated by the SWP itself to carry out the 1963 split.

What must now be understood above all is that the middle class radicalism and guerrillaism represented by the Latin American Pabloites, which Hansen and his friends are desperately trying to disassociate themselves from, is but an expression under Argentinian conditions of the essence of Pabloism, the other side of the coin of the Pabloite work of the SWP and YSA in the United States.

Both stand absolutely against the independent class action of the working class for its own demands. They substitute instead protests and reform movements of the middle class—peace parades and community control, under conditions of bourgeois legality in the United States, kidnappings for food and blankets under a military junta in Argentina. But all are actions which destroy the independent political movement of the working class.

The responsibility this entails on the members of the SWP and YSA can only be met by a thorough examination of the SWP's split with the International Committee in 1963, of the whole struggle of the International Committee against Pabloite revisionism from its origins to today.

### ANN ARBOR SMC HITS HOOLIGANISM

On May 12, 1971, the Ann Arbor SMC voted to reaffirm its stand against the use of physical violence to settle political disputes within the movement for social change. Further, the Ann Arbor SMC reaffirms the right of the Workers League, and any other tendency, to distribute its literature anywhere and at anytime that it chooses without threat of physical intimidation.

# 1 On the Road to Revolution III

FOR THE LAST decade Maoism and the Maoist bureaucracy in China have been able to cover their counterrevolutionary politics behind left-sounding propaganda, slogans and denunciations of "Soviet revisionism." But as with all centrist tendencies when the hour of danger approaches, when it becomes impossible to balance between reform and revolution, the true nature of these tendencies breaks out on the surface. Thus the Maoist bureaucracy openly aids the butchery of Yayha Khan against the Bangla Desh and extends its hand to U.S. imperialism.

In order to make the Chinese Revolution Mao broke pragmatically from Stalin who openly supported Chiang Kai Shek and the capitalists. Later Mao, again pragmatically, reacted to Khrushchev's counterrevolutionary dealings with U.S. imperialism. But now it is clear to all that with the return of the prodigal son to the lap of Stalin, no matter how "left" Stalinism may appear at any particular moment its essence remains Stalinist and counter-revolutionary. This is the lesson of the events in Pakistan.

This is the lesson not only for China but for all those tendencies which reacting to the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the betrayals of the Communist Parties throughout the world grabbed onto the shirrtails of Mao. This is the lesson for the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S.

In 1961 a group which was to form the Progressive Labor Movement and later the Progressive Labor Party broke from the American Communist Party. But this break was a pragmatic one, for at no point did the leadership of PL attempt to get to the roots of revisionism. Since its break it has stumbled pragmatically from one position to the next, from one hysterical zig-zag to the next. It has gone from support and defense of the Soviet Union to today calling it a "fascist state," from uncritical support to Black nationalism to the denial today of the demand for self determination under any conditions. Early in its history it lined up uncritically with Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. But in the latest issue of *Challenge* (May 21, 1971), it suddenly announces (and none too soon we might add) that "the CCP is no longer following a revolutionary course."

But this time PL has stumbled itself into a hole which will break it from even the flimsiest connection with the working class movement and Marxism. Behind all of PL's left chants and slogans is its war against Marxism, against dialectical materialism and against the working class.

## ROAD TO REVOLUTION III

This is the meaning of the discussion now going on inside PL centered around a basic document on strategy entitled *Road to Revolution III*. This document printed for internal consumption and entitled "NC (National Committee) Report on the Continuing Struggle Against Revisionism" is probably the most blatant attack on every principle of Marxism that has ever appeared in the history of the working class movement.

The document makes two central points which are supplemented with "Background Reports." The first is that the roots of revisionism go back to Lenin and the strategy of the Bolshevik Party for the October Revolution, particularly its approach to the peasantry. The second point is that socialism has been "reversed" in China, primarily because Mao followed Lenin's perspective. To Lenin and Leninism, the leadership of PL counterposes the Paris Commune and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

PL has begun in this document to call into question the whole existence and continuity of the Marxist movement, the experience and historical gains of the working class and with this its ability to take power today. This is how PL assesses the history of the working class movement in its internal report:

"As is so often the case, the leaders not only did not lead, they did not understand the dynamics of the social forces they were struggling to keep up with. The communists thereby developed a false consciousness of what they were involved in, and the masses of working people accepted this consciousness, which thus became a causal factor in future developments. That what actually happened bore no relation to what

# PL'S WAR AGAINST LENIN BY LUCY ST. JOHN



the communists thought was happening or would happen demonstrates how little they understood the social dynamics of our revolutionary age. And in this kettle are to be found all the leaders of the communist movement, each of whom based his polemic against the other on this or that aspect of Lenin's analysis—which was wrong to begin with. That is the fundamental reason for the equivocal character of communist theory and practice. When it tried to explain its correct actions it did so incorrectly, for a correct analysis contradicted the general line. When it attempted to straighten itself out and get closer to reality, all it could really do was sink deeper into the hole, or commit a series of absurdities, scholasticisms or crimes whose only redeeming feature was their noble intent. The final result was the complete collapse of the movement, its practice and its theory, and the consequent rebirth in 'socialist' garb of anarchist theory and petty-bourgeois politics." (1)

This is a fitting description not of the history of the Marxist movement but of PL itself. Above all it reflects the scepticism and despair of the middle class radical who has severed himself from this movement and its strategy and today finds himself bankrupt in the

face of the tremendous struggles of the working class internationally.

## ORIGINS OF PL

While it is important to deal with PL's actual attacks on Lenin and its distortions of history, it is essential that first of all we understand the origins and history of this organization and the philosophical method from which it proceeds.

In 1961 a group around Milt Rosen, presently head of PL, was expelled from the American Communist Party. While PL has never published any material actually dealing with the split, it appears that it was primarily centered on the question of the CP's orientation to the trade unions, its support to the Democratic Party and its conservatism in the student movement.

In a "discussion article" entitled "The Party and the Labor Movement" published in the May, 1959 issue of the CP's *Political Affairs*, Rosen urged the CP to take up a more militant line in the trade unions. "It is not sufficient for us," said Rosen, "merely to echo the demands of the trade-union leaders, or just to fight for the positive proposals that emanate from the labor hierarchy." (2) Rosen also urged that the "question of Socialism" be brought into the trade unions.

However, while inside and outside the CP, PL refused to come to grips theoretically with the revisionism of the CP. Above all it refused to confront the question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism. Inside the CP, the group began to raise criticisms of the Soviet Union and were branded by the CP as Albanians.

The basic group consisted of a section of the CP's trade union group including Rosen, sections of the Communist Party youth, and middle class intellectuals like Mort Scheer who had been well trained in the CP in Stalinist slander and falsification.

This group around Rosen had its roots in the Foster section of the party. Foster together with James P. Cannon, who was later to become the leader of the American Trotskyist movement, represented within the early CP the native born American workers and the orientation to the American working class. At the same time both Cannon and Foster reflected the weakness of American radicalism, its nationalism and pragmatism, its hostility to theory.

Cannon took a step, a step which in fact made possible the building of a Leninist party in the U.S., to break with this theoretical backwardness when he



Joseph Stalin



supported Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Foster, however, lined up with Stalin and for the next 30 years followed every twist and turn of the Soviet bureaucracy's policies.

While Foster was considered to be a great organizer, he nevertheless functioned in the trade unions by adapting to the union bureaucracy. Foster was an avowed pragmatist who once described Lenin's policies in terms of "common sense."

Foster's perspective was to build a movement in the United States which combined militant trade unionism together with loyalty to the Soviet bureaucracy. Of course the whole history of Foster and the CP show this to be impossible. The Soviet bureaucracy and its policies reflect an adaptation to the pressures of imperialism on the workers states and the substitution of compromise with imperialism for world revolution. At the same time militant trade unionism which denies the necessity for Marxist theory leaves the working class under the dominant ideology of the capitalist class and politically tied to it. As a result of this perspective the CP in the 1930s led the working class into an alliance with Roosevelt and into defeat.

The bankruptcy and anti-working class character of Foster's perspective was openly revealed when his group which had a majority in the leadership, lined up against and expelled the Gates section of the leadership which controlled the *Daily Worker*. After the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution the Gates group began to raise demands for a true historical accounting of the Stalin era. Gus Hall, writing in the February 1971 issue of *Political Affairs* in anniversary of Foster's 90th birthday, singles out Foster's valuable service in this struggle.

"Foster also played a leading role in the defense of the Party against a group of revisionists and liquidators led by John Gates, in 1956." (3)

Foster thus became the hatchetman for the Soviet bureaucracy against the working class, supporting the counterrevolutionary bloodbath unleashed by the bureaucracy against the Hungarian workers. This was very much the logic of his perspective.

This is the heritage of PL and in particular Milt Rosen, who was a few years later expelled by the Fosterites for precisely the perspective Foster had functioned upon in an earlier period.

Shortly after leaving the CP, PL (then the Progressive Labor Movement) stated that it had broken from the CP because it had "become shackled by liberal illusions" and had "abandoned the fight for socialism." It was "no longer willing to undertake an uncompromising, principled struggle against class collaborationists in the labor movement and against liberal imperialists in the Democratic Party."

At the same time PL proclaimed that it did not want a "fratricidal war" with the CP, an "avowedly Marxist-Leninist group" whose "positive achievements" should be recognized. (4)

Rosen and the leadership of PL sought to construct a Stalinist movement in the traditions of Foster but this time outside of the Communist Party and in a period of the deepening crisis of Stalinism internationally. In other words he sought to build an American movement which "built a base" in the working class through militant trade unionism together with an alliance with the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally.

At the heart of this perspective was the refusal of the leadership to break with pragmatism, to take up a theoretical struggle against its past and its roots in Stalinism. It has refused to probe to the roots of revisionism in Stalinism and its opportunist adaptation to the conditions which grew up in the Soviet Union and internationally after the October Revolution. Above all PL has refused to confront the struggle of Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement against Stalinism.

As the crisis of Stalinism deepened with the whole period of international capitalist crisis opening up in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it found its reflection in the growing split between China and the Soviet Union. Reacting empirically to the split, PL took up sides with Mao and the Chinese bureaucracy. It thus shifted its alliance with the bureaucracy to China. This was a pragmatic alliance for at no point did PL approach the unity from the standpoint of principle or of constructing an international movement. With Stalinism and the CP discredited in the eyes of many militants, Maoism provided PL with a left cover particularly among the youth and minorities for its opportunism and conservatism.

#### ROAD TO REVOLUTION I

In *Road to Revolution I*, the founding document of the Progressive Labor Party written in 1964, we can get a look not only at the perspectives of PL in this period but also the political underpinnings for its evolution from *Road to Revolution I* to *Road to*

#### Revolution III.

In *Road to Revolution I* PL sought to formally separate out the history of the American Communist Party from the international movement and the developments within the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party.

"Revisionism always came forward in this country based on the theory of 'American exceptionalism,' that the development of capitalism in the U.S. was different than in other countries; that a revolutionary outlook was not necessary; for the U.S. imperialists, it was claimed, were different from other imperialists, as they did not follow an expansionist policy. Enlightened capitalists, they could make automatic concessions to their own workers. Therefore, there could be an evolutionary path to socialism rather than a revolutionary one." (5)

This "theory" PL attributes to the leaders of the CP, in particular to Browder and Lovestone. This PL sees as the "negative" side of the CP.

But, according to PL, the CP also had a "positive side":

"After the expulsion of Lovestone, the Party developed a militant pragmatic approach which appealed to workers during the Depression and produced a mass base for the CP..."

"...By utilizing its militant pragmatic approach the CP was able to recruit tens of thousands because of its hardhitting fight for reforms. The CP fought for social security, industrial unionism, unemployment insurance, wage and hour laws, public welfare and all the other gains credited to the New Deal. And, of course, the Party standing on the side of



From Left to Right: William Z. Foster, an early Stalinist leader PL bases itself on; Jerome, Epton, Rosen and Scheer at founding of PL. Their empirical break with CP was not a break with Stalinism,

bourgeois democracy, was in the forefront of the anti-fascist struggle.

"The CPUSA played a heroic role in this period among American workers, defending the Russian Revolution and its gains. As such, it was the sole group in this country that opposed the attempts of U.S. imperialism to 'strangle the baby in its cradle.'" (6)

PL attributes the positive side of the CP to Foster then adds up the good side and the bad side and comes to the following conclusion:

"On balance, despite thousands of devoted revolutionary-minded members, the CP was a party of reform not revolution." (7)

PL then tackles Stalin and the Soviet Union in a similar way:

"The over-riding feature of the growth of socialism in the USSR was its consistent anti-imperialist line. The Soviet Union was a beacon to all workers. In its infancy, relying on the Soviet People, it threw back united imperialist intervention and dared to build socialism; later it bore the brunt of the onslaught of the Nazi-war machine, smashed it to bits and turned once more to performing miracles of socialist construction and reconstruction..."

"While one can point to errors of Stalin and the Soviet leadership in this period, it is generally recognized that there existed a militant revolutionary line..."

"Their unyielding anti-imperialist line and their generally correct application of Marxism-Leninism made it possible to defeat imperialism time after time, encouraging hundreds of millions to take the road to socialism and freedom." (8)

PL admits that Stalin made "errors," he did not "apply proletarian democratic centralism," killed innocent people, and "stifled inner party debate." Again through a balancing process it concludes that Stalin was a "proletarian revolutionary." (9)

As for the development of revisionism internationally and within the Soviet Union, PL simply lays it at the doorstep of Tito and Khrushchev and the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union where it sees the "crystalization of developing revisionist trends." (10) What disturbed PL, however, most of all about the Congress was Khrushchev's attacks on Stalin which "prepared the ground for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed." (11)

Instead of a dialectical analysis of history, the roots of revisionism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union we are treated to eclecticism. PL abstracts out of history, out of reality, certain impressions and aspects of reality, which it seeks artificially to set up as opposites and resolve in its head.

As Lenin pointed out, particularly in his struggle with Bukharin on the trade union question, (12) all we get from such a definition are various sides of a phenomenon and nothing more. With this method we cannot get to its essence and fundamental character. To understand any phenomenon from the standpoint of dialectics we must study and know its contradictions, all its sides and connections and relationships. Secondly we must take the phenomenon in its development, its changes and connections with the real world. We must analyze it concretely, on the basis of the development of human experience and knowledge. We must seek to understand reality as part of it and as participants in changing it.

But PL does something quite different. First of all it removes the American Communist Party and Stalin from history and from the historical period and the class struggle internationally. It re-

moves them from the developments within the Bolshevik Party after the October Revolution. It approaches them from outside the continuity of the Marxist movement.

PL approaches the question of revisionism as a middle class commentator picking and choosing certain aspects of history and making a judgment upon them. In other words we have the good and bad, the positive and negative sides of the CP and Stalin.

But this method has absolutely nothing to do with dialectics or with Marxism. Marx in fact took this up sharply in his polemic with Proudhon in the *Poverty of Philosophy*.

"For him, M. Proudhon, every economic category has two sides, one good, the other bad. He looks upon these categories as the petty bourgeois looks upon the great men of history: Napoleon was a great man; he did a lot of good; he also did a lot of harm." (13)

Marx goes on to describe how Proudhon approaches the economic category of slavery in this way:

"What would M. Proudhon do to save slavery? He would formulate the problem thus: preserve the good side of this economic category, eliminate the bad..." (14)

This very much reflects the outlook of the middle class caught between the capitalist class and the working class and attempting to balance between the two to avoid the class struggle. Since all you can do with this method is describe the various sides, you cannot make an independent assessment or take a side. It in the end becomes an acceptance of the existing reality, of the existing leadership of the working class and ultimately of capitalism. All you can do is patch up this reality just as Proudhon did with slavery.

For PL it represents its acceptance of American pragmatism and its attempt to find a compromise between the working class and the interests of capitalism as they are expressed in the Stalinist and trade union bureaucracy.

Since it is impossible for them to do anything but make a distinction between good and bad, PL's judgment is really not made objectively but subjectively. It is based on what works for it at any particular time.

In this way PL picks and chooses from history in order to justify its position. In other words PL picks out and classifies as positive the CP's "militant pragmatic approach" to the trade unions and its "heroic role" in the working class in the 1930s and 1940s. This really becomes PL's way of accepting almost totally the positions of the Communist Party in this period. At the same time it does not have to answer for its fruits in the betrayal of the American working class. While PL concludes that the CP was a party of reform this flows not so much from its assessment of the CP as it does from its existence outside it.

In the same way PL defends Stalin and Stalinism and his "anti-imperialist line," without taking responsibility for his crimes. While PL attacks Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin in 1956, it fails to even mention the Hungarian revolution which shook the international Stalinist movement. Following Foster's lead Rosen and his group supported those tanks when they rolled against the Hungarian workers.

PL's analysis, its method, becomes a cover for its politics. In this way it avoids the fundamental questions and above all the question of Trotskyism.

The point for Marxists is not to pick the good side

Soviet Union, but the ruling bureaucracy.

It was Stalin himself who helped install Lovestone in power. "American exceptionalism" was merely the justification for the popular front which tied the American workers to the trade union bureaucracy and to Roosevelt. The popular front was in no sense an "American exception" but was carried out by all the major CPs in the Comintern.

Foster's "militant pragmatic approach" to the trade unions meant above all adaptation and support to the trade union bureaucracy. Foster included in his "left-center coalition" such "militants" as John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman. This approach laid the basis in the unions for the popular front which tied the workers to the Democratic Party.

The defeat of the British General Strike, the Chinese Revolution, the rise of fascism in Germany and Spain, the murder of an entire generation of Bolsheviks—this is the content of Stalin's "militant revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist line."

The basic perspective of PL mapped out in this document becomes a "militant pragmatic approach to the unions" and its loyalty to Stalinism internationally. But as we said with Foster, this is an impossible position, more impossible for Rosen because of the deep crisis of Stalinism today. As history has shown there cannot be any compromise between the working class and Stalinism. This only means the subordination of the class to capitalism and its destruction.

### ROAD TO REVOLUTION II

In *Road to Revolution II* we begin to see the logic of this perspective as PL is forced to break the com-

No longer capable of simply avoiding the question of Trotskyism, *Road to Revolution II* contains a clear statement by PL affirming the correctness of Stalin and his reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" against Trotsky.

"Communists have always understood that revolution cannot be imported or exported; that the working class of each country has to smash the state power of its 'own' bourgeoisie and establish its own working-class state power. It is not new to say that primarily by its own efforts a working class of any one country must defeat its own national bourgeoisie and build socialism. Stalin's historic struggle to defeat Trotskyism was precisely over this question. Trotsky maintained that it was impossible for the Soviet Union by its own efforts to build socialism without the European proletariat winning state power...." (15)

This becomes not only a defense of Stalin but of its pragmatic relationship with Stalinism internationally.

"One's own-thinking—'one's own efforts' or 'self reliance'—respect for other parties and other comrades'...these are all correct ideas if placed within a specific historic context...."

"Thus, self reliance and independence are valid when combined with the basic slogan of 'Workers of All Nations, Unite'...." (16)

But the real fruits of this relationship and of PL's refusal to probe to the roots of revisionism in Stalinism, its refusal to confront Trotskyism, are borne out in the next section of this document.

Suddenly PL announces that the "Soviet revisionists have already restored capitalism in the Soviet Union." (17) After lengthy quotes from *The Worker*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *New York Times* PL concludes:

"Within the Soviet Union the essence of capitalism has been restored. Everything from Lieberman's plan to the ability to will complete fortunes to heirs gives the game away. Within the Soviet Union a crop of millionaires has arisen complete with the problem of dealing with their corrupted offspring. The capitalist spirit has swept the Soviet hierarchy and the overlords of industry which it represents." (18)

And how did the process occur?

"Revisionism received a qualitative boost at the 20th Party Congress of the S.U. It was at this Congress that the process of restoration made the 'great leap.' However, the roots of revisionism in the Soviet Union go deep. The ideological transformation of the masses didn't nearly keep abreast of the material development of Soviet society...."

"Stalin recognized the rightist danger and its consequence early..." (19)

In response to these developments PL asserts that "Mao and the Chinese party are implementing the essence of Leninism" and that the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" is now "the center of the struggle against revisionism." (20)

PL starts from the counter-revolutionary alliance between the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucracy against the Chinese revolution. It couples this with some surface impressions of Soviet reality, abstracting out of the history and development of the Soviet Union its planned economy and nationalized property relations, concessions made by the bureaucracy to the pressures which reflect the growing crisis of world capitalism inside the Soviet Union. PL then concludes that the working class has suffered its greatest defeat since the rise of fascism in Germany. The Soviet working class has been crushed and a new capitalist class has taken power, taken power without even a single battle.

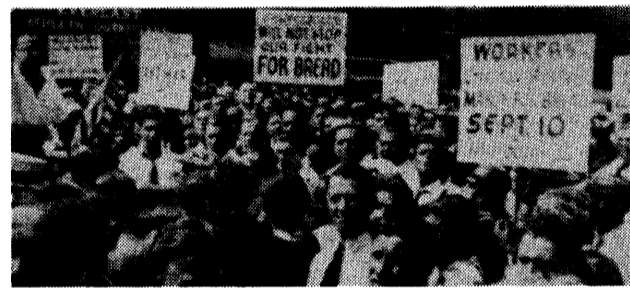
Both PL and the Chinese Communist Party reacted empirically to the crisis shaking the Stalinist bureaucracy and the moves by the Soviet bureaucracy and a section of the Chinese leadership towards rapprochement with imperialism. Both maintained a slavish defense of Stalin and socialism in one country while putting forward the reactionary theory that capitalism had been restored in the workers states.

But they reacted to these developments from different historical and material circumstances. While Mao denounced the Soviet Union as capitalist he was limited in carrying out the logic of such a perspective by the fact that he is part of a bureaucracy resting on a workers state and October. Mao must defend this state through maintaining alliances with other workers states against imperialism while at the same time he seeks a compromise with imperialism.

But Rosen and the leadership of PL have no such roots or responsibilities. Thus they can carry out the logic of Maoism. PL exists within the belly of U.S. imperialism as a petty bourgeois group hostile to theory, based on Stalinism but outside of the Communist Party, open directly to all the pressures of capitalism. Thus PL can simply with a stroke of the pen write off the gains of October.



PL supported crushing of Hungarian Revolution, and defends role of CP in thirties, right, at unemployment rally.



promise and turn against the working class.

In the period between *Road to Revolution I* and *II* PL adapted to the surface developments of the deepening class struggle particularly the radicalization of the students. In an earlier period they had adapted to the movement of the Blacks with their uncritical support to Black nationalism.

More and more they turned from what had earlier been primarily a trade union perspective to a student perspective. They opportunistically adapted to middle class protest movements and to student power. In this period PL took over and then dissolved the May 2nd Movement, recruiting a section of it.

PL did not seek to win the students to a working class perspective which requires a fight for Marxism and theory. Rather it adapted to middle class radicalism recruiting the students to help out the workers. More and more PL saw itself outside the working class "serving" it. The Worker-Student Alliance became a substitute for the difficult struggle to penetrate the working class and construct a party capable of leading it to power.

The penetration of the working class and the construction of the revolutionary party is first of all a theoretical question which can only be confronted within the continuity of the Marxist movement and the development of dialectical materialism. But it is precisely this that PL sought to avoid.

In *Road to Revolution II* PL attempts really for the first time to deal with the developments in revisionism internationally. In particular it reacted to the crisis within the international Stalinist movement and its manifestation in the open split between the Soviet Union and China.

Much of the equivocation, the attempt to straddle the two sides, the good and the bad of Stalinism, is gone. This only reflects the inability theoretically to straddle the class struggle, at a time when that struggle was deepening.

and reject the bad side of Stalinism but to come to an assessment of it historically. This would mean confronting its essential counterrevolutionary character and its role in defeating the working class internationally. But to do so would unravel everything for PL. It would above all force it to confront the real opposites which reflect the interests of the working class and capitalism within the working class movement—that is Trotskyism and Stalinism.

To approach it in this way PL would find that the good and bad sides of the CP and Stalin were really united and merely aspects or completely logical expressions of the overall policy of the Comintern. At the heart of both the "American exceptionalism" of the CP and the so-called "anti-imperialist line" of Stalin and the Soviet leadership was the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country."

This theory expounded by Stalin after Lenin's death was the expression of the interests of the bureaucracy which developed in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. This bureaucracy reflected the pressure of imperialism on the isolated workers state.

The rise of the bureaucracy coincided with the defeats of the working class internationally, particularly in Germany. Stalin, who had always been disdainful and hostile to questions of theory, became the spokesman for a bureaucratic caste.

"Socialism in one country" rejected the perspective of world socialist revolution and substituted a nationalistic and conservative perspective for defending the Soviet Union through alliances with the bourgeoisie internationally. Under Stalin the parties of the Comintern led workers into struggle behind a program of subordination to the diplomatic maneuvers and the narrow national interests of not even the

to formally Communist and the development of the Bolsheviks in this country 'exceptionalism,' the U.S. was 'revolutionary' U.S. imperialism from other expansionist powers. Thereafter, the Party developed which appealed produced a approach the CP fought, unemployment welfare New Deal. the side of

As for the development of revisionism internationally and within the Soviet Union, PL simply lays it at the doorstep of Tito and Khrushchev and the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union where it sees the "crystallization of developing revisionist trends." (10) What disturbed PL, however, most of all about the Congress was Khrushchev's attacks on Stalin which "prepared the ground for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed." (11)

Instead of a dialectical analysis of history, the roots of revisionism and the degeneration of the Soviet Union we are treated to eclecticism. PL abstracts out of history, out of reality, certain impressions and aspects of reality, which it seeks artificially to set up as opposites and resolve in its head.

As Lenin pointed out, particularly in his struggle with Bukharin on the trade union question, (12) all we get from such a definition are various sides of a phenomenon and nothing more. With this method we cannot get to its essence and fundamental character. To understand any phenomenon from the standpoint of dialectics we must study and know its contradictions, all its sides and connections and relationships. Secondly we must take the phenomenon in its development, its changes and connections with the real world. We must analyze it concretely, on the basis of the development of human experience and knowledge. We must seek to understand reality as part of it and as participants in changing it.

But PL does something quite different. First of all it removes the American Communist Party and Stalin from history and from the historical period and the class struggle internationally. It re-

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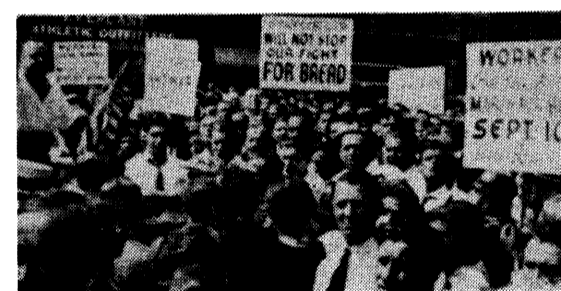
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The basic perspective of PL mapped out in "Road to Revolution II" becomes a "militant pragmatic approach" to trade unions and its loyalty to Stalinism. But as we said with Foster, this is a position, more impossible for Rosen and his group in the deep crisis of Stalinism today. As history unfolds there cannot be any compromise between the working class and Stalinism. This only means the destruction of the class to capitalism and its destruction.

**ROAD TO REVOLUTION II**

In Road to Revolution II we begin to see this perspective as PL is forced to be



From Left to Right: William Z. Foster, an early Stalinist leader PL bases itself on; Jerome Epton, Rosenberg and Scheer at founding of PL. Their empirical break with CP was not a break with Stalinism,

PL supported crushing of Hungarian Revolution, and defends role of CP in thirties, right, at unemployment rally.

moves them from the developments within the Bolshevik Party after the October Revolution. It approaches them from outside the continuity of the Marxist movement.

PL approaches the question of revisionism as a middle class commentator picking and choosing certain aspects of history and making a judgment upon them. In other words we have the good and bad, the positive and negative sides of the CP and Stalin.

But this method has absolutely nothing to do with dialectics or with Marxism. Marx in fact took this up sharply in his polemic with Proudhon in the Poverty of Philosophy.

"For him, M. Proudhon, every economic category has two sides, one good, the other bad. He looks upon these categories as the petty bourgeois looks upon the great men of history: Napoleon was a great man; he did a lot of good; he also did a lot of harm." (13)

Marx goes on to describe how Proudhon approaches the economic category of slavery in this way:

"What would M. Proudhon do to save slavery? He would formulate the problem thus: preserve the good side of this economic category, eliminate the bad..." (14)

This very much reflects the outlook of the middle class caught between the capitalist class and the working class and attempting to balance between the two to avoid the class struggle. Since all you can do with this method is describe the various sides, you cannot make an independent assessment or take a side. It in the end becomes an acceptance of the existing reality, of the existing leadership of the working class and ultimately of capitalism. All you can do is patch up this reality just as Proudhon did with slavery.

and reject the bad side of Stalinism but to come to an assessment of it historically. This would mean confronting its essential counterrevolutionary character and its role in defeating the working class internationally. But to do so would unravel everything for PL. It would above all force it to confront the real opposites which reflect the interests of the working class and capitalism within the working class movement—that is Trotskyism and Stalinism.

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This theory expounded by Stalin after Lenin's death was the expression of the interests of the bureaucracy which developed in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. This bureaucracy reflected the pressure of imperialism on the isolated workers state.

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The penetration of the working class by the construction of the revolutionary party is a theoretical question which can only be resolved within the continuity of the Marxist method. The development of dialectical materialism is precisely this that PL sought to avoid.

In Road to Revolution II PL attempted for the first time to deal with the development of revisionism internationally. In particular it dealt with the crisis within the international Stalinist movement and its manifestation in the open split between the Soviet Union and China.

Much of the equivocation, the attempt to balance the two sides, the good and the bad of the class struggle, has gone. This only reflects the inability to straddle the class struggle, at a time when the class struggle was deepening.

**SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN MINNEAPOLIS**—The deepening crisis of capitalism as expressed in the recent monetary crisis and preparations for a new period of civil war internationally and great class movements in the United States was the main concern of the National Committee Plenum of the Workers League held here over the Memorial Day weekend.

On the basis of this perspective plans were laid for the publication of the first Trotskyist daily in the United States in the coming period. A circulation and fund campaign was approved which will make it possible for the Workers League to launch a daily paper by January 1st, 1974. At the same time a national intervention into steel related to the August 1st contract expiration in basic steel was also worked out.

The meeting was held here in Minneapolis where in the 1930s the American Trotskyists had led the general strike movement. It was held at a time when new conditions of capitalist crisis were laying the basis for class actions in the United States on even a broader and deeper scale than the 1930s.

Attending the meeting were 45 National Committee members, alternates and guests representing 20 branches and organizing committees of the Workers League in the United States and Canada.

#### PERSPECTIVE

The main point on the agenda was a perspective report from the Political Committee presented by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary. The recent monetary crisis, Comrade Wohlforth noted, is a sign that the assessment we made at our National Conference in the beginning of January was correct. The wage offensive of the working class has continued unabated on an international scale and this offensive is the most revolutionary aspect of the present world situation. It is this which is undermining American capitalism and which stands behind the crisis of the dollar.

The capitalist class is now forced up against the wall economically and must prepare a head-on attack against the working class. The American ruling class has first of all placed as much of the economic burden as it can on Europe and this is the meaning of its refusal so far to devalue the dollar. But this process has grave limits in that the fates of Europe and America are more closely intertwined today than ever before. It is thus necessary for the American bourgeoisie to prepare for new attacks on American workers.

What this means, Wohlforth stressed, is that civil war conditions are being created now in Europe and that the struggle of American workers will not be far behind. In fact it is now possible for revolutionary developments to take place in America simultaneous with or even in advance of Europe.

The bourgeoisie still seeks to avoid a head-on conflict with the tremendous power of the American working class in the trade unions knowing full well that in time this must take place. Therefore it prepares, prepares, prepares. Underneath the surface of compromise a dictatorship is being prepared. This is the meaning of Agnew's attacks on the press, the virtual martial law sweeps against the May Day Tribe, the growing police power everywhere. Faced now with the reversals by juries of its legal lynching of the Panthers it must now prepare for a dismantling of the jury system itself. This is the meaning of its wage control proposals for construction and transportation.

#### NEW DEVELOPMENTS

These conditions are preparing the way for profound new political developments. The Democratic Party is now leading toward a fundamental break-up brought about by the open collision between capital and labor. The Democrats have shown beyond a doubt that they stand with capital so it is getting more and more difficult for the trade unions to maintain their ties with this party.

The conditions have now been created

not only for a sharp class movement in the trade unions leading up to and including a general strike but at the same time profound rank and file movements for a labor party. Faced with this situation the Communist Party together with various liberals are now pushing for new "radical coalitions" to maintain bourgeois politics in a new form. The Socialist Workers Party is heading in the same direction but through the form of bourgeois Black and Chicano parties. The SWP could well plan to work out some form of support for at least parts of these new coalitions.

#### LABOR PARTY

The struggle for a labor party must

class, seeks to maintain it in a dependent protest mold behind the middle class and middle class issues, or ignore it altogether in favor of movements of the middle class. What it opposes most of all, Comrade Wohlforth stated, were those with the presumptuousness to insist that this independent movement of the working class go forward and that a leadership be developed out of this working class on the basis of Marxism, to lead this class to power.

#### RADICALISM

This is why petty bourgeois radicalism opposes so vehemently anyone who seeks to construct a revolutionary party today on the basis of conscious Marxism.

## WORKERS LEAGUE PLANS DAILY PAPER



Above left: T. Wohlforth at 1966 founding conference of Workers League; right, L. St. John speaks at weekend school, 1968. Right center, WL contingent in 1967 march. Bottom: April 24, WL held independent rally under banner of Lenin and Trotsky.

now take on a new agitational form in the trade unions. Our own struggle around this question has fallen way behind the objective developments in the United States and internationally and the Workers League will have to take up a sharp struggle to develop an actual movement for a labor party NOW in the trade unions. This movement, of course, will be part of the construction of caucuses and an alternative leadership in the unions.

#### BATTLE

As the main classes prepare for a battle which will determine the future of mankind the petty bourgeois radical circles, thrown up in the past period as the first expression of the massive movement to follow, are thrown into deep crisis and propelled to the right. This strata is more than happy to "serve" the workers, to use the workers as pressure and protest to gain concessions from capital. It is even willing to carry out adventures and sacrifice their lives "for" the workers and as a substitute for the actions of the workers themselves. But above all, Wohlforth emphasized, it fears the independent movement of the working class itself on the historic scene.

So it lashes out against the working

exists a "new radicalization" which will be extended into the 1970s. This "radicalization" is unlike the 1930s and is characterized by the protest movements of the petty bourgeoisie over war, sexism, homosexuality, student power, nationalism. It then proposes that the working class will enter this petty bourgeois movement behind the programmatic positions of the petty bourgeoisie and their leadership. It will add only its "social weight" to the movement of the petty bourgeoisie transforming the radicalization into a "revolutionization." A new "transitional program" composed of liberal reform demands is developed for this movement and the "old" Transitional Program is maintained as a museum maintains an historic document.

#### LIQUIDATIONISM

It is no accident, Comrade Wohlforth stated, that now it is forced to come over to Mandel's liquidationist theory that it is no longer a party but a "nuclei" of a future mass party to be carved out of the radicalization process. Without a perspective rooted in the Marxist materialist assessment of the crisis of capital, without a perspective rooted in the working class and the working class alone, a party cannot be maintained. It now holds the liquidationist theories of Cochran whom it fought in 1952. The essence of revisionism is liquidationism and the SWP has now become the center of this liquidationist movement.

In conclusion Wohlforth urged that the Workers League not only make the struggle against revisionism central to the life of all the branches but take up this fight now in the working class itself. We must develop the party now through the struggle today to develop a base in basic industry and to construct a youth movement rooted in working class youth. The development of the Bulletin will be central to this.

Within this framework the National Committee heard reports from Steve Cherkoss and Mike Ross on the fight in steel. A perspective was developed to carry forward the struggle to construct a rank and file caucus in steel and build Trotskyist cadres in steel.

#### BULLETIN

The National Committee meeting concluded with a special report on the Bulletin. It was announced that the subscription campaign had been successful pushing paid circulation over 8,000. Plans were laid to complete the stated goal of 10,000 paid circulation by September 30th.

At the same time a more long range perspective was developed to double the circulation again raising it to 20,000 through a three stage campaign ending in December 1972. Over the same period a sum of \$70,000 will be raised to purchase a web offset press and related equipment. Within a year of the installation of this equipment the Workers League will be prepared to launch its paper daily with national distribution.

A discussion was held on the significance of this perspective. It was noted that Lenin and Trotsky posed the need for daily papers in all countries in the 1920s when the Communist International stressed that the task was the conquest of the masses as preparation for the conquest of power. Groups like the SWP have no perspective for a daily paper because they have no perspective for power. The Workers League on the other hand fully intends to construct the mass revolutionary party which will bring the American working class to power. For this a daily paper is an absolutely indispensable weapon in the conquest of the political allegiance of millions of workers.

The strength for such a daily paper will come from the theoretical struggle against liquidationism and its expression through our penetration deeply into the working class. Only out of this class can the wherewithall for a paper be brought forward. Only through a theoretical struggle can we carry through such a penetration. The daily paper itself will then open up a new stage of the battle for the support of the vast majority of American workers. In this battle the struggle for the labor party linked with the transitional program will be critical and the paper will be the weapon for carrying forward this fight.

# BOOKS

BOB MICHAELSON

**THE TRIALS OF JIMMY HOFFA.** By James R. Hoffa as told to Donald I. Rogers. Chicago. Henry Regnery Co. 1970.

"This was not a good time for organized Labor. Other unions lost membership almost as steadily as we gained it...Teamsters' wages continued to grow, too...I pressed for areawide labor contracts, working ever closer to the goal of a nationwide bargaining agreement.

"I was creating a change in the structure of one of the oldest unions in organized Labor, as well as the largest."

These are quotes from Jimmy Hoffa's autobiography. They give clearly the conditions in which he, as president of the only major union in the country which was expanding and developing considerably in the face of "bad times" for union organizing, was persecuted by Robert Kennedy and the American bourgeoisie.

It was a time—in the late 1950s and early 1960s—when the other major unions, including the UAW and the Steelworkers were actually losing membership, when the postwar boom was lulling vast sections of the working class into political stupor.

In the light of this, one would think that Hoffa, in his book, would link the objective conditions facing his union and himself with the vicious, bulldog tenacity with which Kennedy, first as a counsel for the McClellan committee, and later as U.S. Attorney General harassed Hoffa and the Teamsters union in those years.

On the contrary, Hoffa saw this as simply a personal vendetta in which Kennedy used the fear and hatred that sections of the capitalist class had for the Teamsters as a way to get ahead for himself and his brother John. He didn't see the need of the capitalists to smash back the powerful organizing attempts of the Teamsters in the South and throughout the West.

From the very beginning of his work in the labor movement, Hoffa was a staunch defender of the capitalist system. In his autobiography, he constantly comes out in favor of the "status quo" and bourgeois democracy.

## INDIVIDUALISM

In his reminiscences, Hoffa recalls the "raw courage" of his mother, who had to single-handedly bring up and feed her children in the midst of poverty and depression. His conclusion is that although welfare programs are necessary, they must not be allowed to destroy "the individual desire for self-reliance and self-betterment."

Hoffa stresses "rugged individualism" throughout the book and states how "I read and re-read the Horatio Alger books, and was a devout believer in all of the virtues spelled out in them."

With such complete belief in bourgeois ideology, one wonders how he could even have involved himself in the labor movement in the first place. But Hoffa answers that question himself:

"By entering the labor movement as an activist, I could help do something about eliminating conditions such as those existing in Kroger's warehouse (his first organizing attempt), and at the same time I could enter an arena that might permit me to gain a higher degree of personal success as well."

Such a comfortably pragmatic way of killing two birds with one stone has not been without its rewards. His "higher degree of personal success" led by the 1960s to Hoffa's having co-ownership in a truck-leasing firm which was doing a booming business with trucking companies that his own union membership was working for.

But Hoffa's blind faith in capitalism was even more sharply expressed in his relationship with Trotskyism. To Hoffa, "economic justice means a just return for the fair and faithful performance of duty... I believe that responsibility is a two way street bisecting the economy of the free-enterprise system, and that if a worker



is to be totally responsible to his employer, then the employer must be totally responsible to his worker. One cannot function without the other.

"I could find no way, in 1937, to equate my idea of the labor movement with the efforts being made then by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communists...To me, all Communists are nuts."

Hoffa came into contact with Trotskyism in the 1930s in Minneapolis, where the SWP had led the fight to organize all the Teamsters in the city, after which Farrell Dobbs, Karl Skoglund, and the Dunne brothers set out to organize the over-the-

road drivers throughout the entire Northwest.

Hoffa calls Dobbs "the master architect of the Teamsters' over-the-road operations" and "a crackerjack organizer." But he makes it clear that although he was "studying at the knee of a master," he considered Dobbs to be a "nut" because his Trotskyist ideology was keeping him from realizing his full potential in the labor movement. It wasn't practical if one wanted to get ahead.

In 1941, Dan Tobin, president of the Teamsters, pledged full support to Roosevelt's preparations for war. He decided that

# The Trials of Jimmy Hoffa

part of that preparation was to rid the Minneapolis Teamsters of the Trotskyist leadership which was agitating against the imperialist war that was looming.

Hoffa was sent back to Minneapolis to do the dirty work. He states:

"When I was called to Minneapolis to help reform the ranks of the old Teamsters, I left Detroit feeling like a patriot embarking for the front, knowing that I faced certain dangers but determined to restore the democratic American principles to the foreign-dictated mess existing there."

Hoffa dove into the work and with the aid of the FBI which raided the SWP headquarters in the city, jailing Dobbs and other SWP leaders, he was able to return the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 back into the hands of Tobin.

Hoffa is proud of the part he played in prostrating the Teamsters before Roosevelt and his imperialist plans in Europe and Asia. All he did, he did to save the "democratic process." Twenty years later, this process tried and convicted him and was used in an attempt to destroy the organizing work of the Teamsters.

Because Hoffa rejected Marxism, Trotskyism and based himself on the needs of capitalism, he himself was impotent before the onslaughts of Kennedy, who had the whole capitalist government and court system behind him.

If this book were seen in a literary light, it would have to be discarded as trash. It is an artistic zero.

But the importance of this book is the lesson inherent within it—that because Hoffa rejected Marxism, he helped set the Teamsters up for Roosevelt's policies in the Second World War and could not defend the Teamsters when they were attacked politically by the capitalist government. Because Hoffa rejected those "Communist nuts", he laid the basis for the destruction of the Teamsters by keeping them tied politically and ideologically to their class enemy.

# FILMS

JOE BELLO

# Mad Dogs & Englishmen

**MAD DOGS AND ENGLISHMEN.** Starring Joe Cocker with Leon Russell. Distributed by MGM.

This has been a hell of a year for rock. Ten thousand graduates of Woodstock are all thrown in stockades in Washington, more than three of rock's luminaries overdose, Dylan invests in New York City brownstones, James Brown shifts for the State Department, the Fillmore East will close in June, and Mick Jagger just married into the Nicaraguan ruling class.

The times, they are a-changing!

## DOLLARS

Well, rock may be dying, folks, but MGM is determined to squeeze a few more dollars from the middle class kiddies in the suburbs with its latest GP rated offering, *Mad Dogs And Englishmen*, or the saga of Joe Cocker performing in all the pleasure palaces of America (Plattsburg, N.Y., and Dallas, Texas are included among such palaces).

Here's how it happened. A&M Records (Herb Alpert controlled) had a hot property in Joe Cocker. But ya gotta keep the product moving. Solution: a filmed nationwide tour starring Mr. Cocker, Leon Russell, his pianist-guitarist-arranger, and any assortment of friends and animals which will perpetuate the myth that well-meaning children can sing and perform and make the world better.

The picture is a documentary of this spring 1970 tour. Joe Cocker continues to be a powerful performer, but the film is a fraud. It would have you believe that

all is well in rocktown, that singers and musicians wander around the country performing before adoring audiences, making lots of money, and having a wonderful time.

Just the opposite is the case. Groups are starving, audiences can't afford the prices, and record companies are going out of business. The Jefferson Airplane hollers "revolution" courtesy of RCA, while RCA's technology continues to murder workers and peasants in Indochina. Shows you where rock is at!

The film attempts to knit together all the mystical and quasi-religious claptrap so prevalent in rock culture's flight from the class struggle. What results is a sad, and empty film, one that poses capitalist solutions far worse than the stockades the May Day Tribe found in Washington.

## GARBAGE

Through all this middle class garbage plows Joe Cocker, working class lad that he is. Somehow you feel even he doesn't buy the hypocrisy the film serves up in grand portions. The quiet rap about his boyhood in Sheffield, England, cuts right through the lilying idealism of the film. In fact whenever the music stops, and the camera is on Cocker, another message, however confused, comes through. How many more working class singers can the system co-opt before it all comes crashing down?

If you grew up on Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding or—best of all—Ray Charles, Joe Cocker will not be that much of a surprise. But make no mistake—he's good. He has none of the preening quality or self indulgent attitude of most current



singers. His specialty is singing other people's material better! His performing is straight out—raw power from the gut.

Leon Russell's backup band plays good, solid, if somewhat unexciting rock. The photography is adequate, depending upon all the "Woodstock zooms and cuts" to hype the film's supposed message.

If you already like Joe Cocker, then the fifteen or so songs he sings very well are worth the price of admission. But otherwise be prepared for a rotten film.



Revolutionary Communist League, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, demonstrates before government terror campaign.

This appeal is made by Wilfred Pereira, residing at No 27, Arethusa Lane, Colombo 6, who is the registered proprietor, printer and publisher of the following newspapers which have been banned by the Competent Authority under the Emergency Regulations:

**Kamkaru Puvath, Virodhaya and Thollalar Seydhl**—organs of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) **Tharuna Satana**—organ of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY).

We note with grave concern that the aforesaid newspapers have been banned by the Competent Authority with effect from April 25, 1971, under the Emergency Regulations. In this connection we wish to place before you the following submissions in support of our request that the ban be rescinded and that our democratic rights be restored to us.

This appeal is made by the proprietor, printer and publisher of the aforesaid newspapers on behalf of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League. The Revolutionary Communist Youth is the youth organiza-



Mother of rebel youth mourns.

BY MELODY FARROW

The *Daily World*, organ of the American Communist Party, has finally broken its silence on Ceylon, over a month after the rebellion of the Maoist youth began.

For weeks the *Daily World* reprinted nothing but the official statements issued by Bandaranaike's United Left Coalition government.

Now that the rebellion is in the last stages, now that at least 20,000 have been killed by the government, now, after bodies of the youth have been floating down the rivers every day, the *Daily World* crawls out with its own article to justify the whole thing.

The seemingly understanding and dispassionate tone of the article "Tragic Rebellion by Youths in Ceylon" rests upon the bones of the youth, workers and peasants who were massacred.

Pomeroy's article is nothing but a web of cynical lies and distortions. One thing is clear, the Communist Party of Ceylon which is a member of the coalition government must now openly defend the bourgeoisie and everything that is required to protect its interests, including the most savage butchery against the left.

Pomeroy begins:

"The attempted insurrection that began in Ceylon early in April against the popularly elected government of Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has been a tragedy that draws attention

## Ceylon

# Daily World Justifies Repression

to one of the gravest problems of many underdeveloped countries: the difficulty of developing a balanced economy fast enough to absorb educated youth."

Pomeroy then praises the progress made under Bandaranaike in education but admits that "for a great many it is a graduation (i.e. from college) into unemployment or into the menial occupation of their fathers."

"Ceylon's enormous problems could not possibly be solved in the short term. The ousted UNP (right wing party) regime had left the treasury empty, and foreign bank loans were due.

"The Bandaranaike government had to postpone most nationalization plans, to declare austerity and to turn again to the International Monetary Fund for loans..."

### SLANDER

The coalition was never set up to bring about socialism despite its demagogic promises. Bandaranaike presented the Ceylonese Communist Party and the other coalition partner, the LSSP, with a choice—join the government or face a military dictatorship. The purpose of the CP joining with an openly capitalist party was to hold back the struggles of the working class.

The *Daily World's* claim that the government was attempting to move in that direction is starkly refuted by the fact that the rice ration for each Ceylonese was cut shortly after their election and plantation workers on strike were shot down with the approval of the Communist Party.

But then the real slander, dug out of the traditional Stalinist arsenal begins. The article continues:

"These youth groups were well financed and the CIA and the United National Party have been mentioned as suppliers of funds. Peter Keuneman, the Communist Minister of Housing, warned in a radio broadcast...that 'Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna is a potentially fascist and

# Ceylon Trotskyist Appeal

## "Restore Our

tion of the RCL.

The RCL is a Trotskyist organization, the Ceylon Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and was founded in June 1968. Our programme and policy is based on the Founding Programme of the Fourth International, known as the Transitional Programme...

None of our newspapers have been published (and that for technical reasons) since the declaration of the present Emergency on March 16, 1971. The question of violating the censorship, whether "voluntary" or imposed by Emergency decree, does not, therefore, arise as a reason for banning them. Nor can our newspapers be deemed to be "illegal" as they are duly registered with the Registrar of Books and Newspapers.

### LAW

We observe that all the other newspapers banned along with ours belong either to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) or to similar organizations (even though politically at variance among themselves) popularly known as "Che Guevarist," or which advocate "guerrilla warfare," whether of the Guevarist or Maoist variety.

The RCL and the RCY have thus, by implication, been included in the category of "insurgent organizations" and our newspapers in the category of "subversive literature" under the conditions prevailing since April 5.

As a consequence, members and sym-

pathizers of our organizations and independent persons who have in their possession even back copies of our newspapers or other publications of ours are exposed to the danger of losing not merely their personal liberty, but even their lives at the hands of the forces of "law and order." The signatory to this appeal himself and other members of the Political Committee have been threatened with physical elimination...

However, it should be abundantly clear to any political literate who has followed our press that our politics can by no stretch of the most-fertile police imagination be put in the same category as the politics of the JVP (which is purported to be the government's main enemy at the moment) and similar Guevarist or Maoist organizations.

### PROSCRIPTION

Between our politics and the politics of those other organizations—as also between ourselves and the traditional "left" leaderships—there lies the unbridgeable gulf that exists between Marxism and the several varieties of petty-bourgeois reformism.

The putschism or conspiratorial adventurism of such organizations isolated from the working class is only the obverse side of the counterfeit coin of parliamentary reformist opportunism, which the petty-bourgeois agents of the bourgeoisie try to palm off on the working class as genuine Marxism.

When we differentiate ourselves from

terrorist movement which serves the interests of sinister forces who have not yet declared their hand.

"Whatever the source of its encouragement, the abortive revolt of Ceylon's unemployed youth has left thousands of dead and has been costly to Ceylon's already weakened economy."

This slander is accompanied by a paternalistic assurance by the Ceylonese Communist Party of its recognition that the "rebellious student youth have legitimate grievances, that their protests are rooted in grave social problems..."

We ask the *Daily World* again: How do you explain the fact which you have never admitted but which has been in all the newspapers, that not only Britain, Pakistan, and India have sent military supplies to aid Bandaranaike but the United States as well? Why would United States imperialists be on your side and supposedly be financing the JVP at the same time?

Who were the thousands of youth who died and how did it happen? In your May 25th issue you state "But at the end of last week the government announced the rebel bands of unemployed young people had nearly all surrendered."

If there were any left to surrender! There is only one thing that the *Daily World* must try and conceal: the horror of the real massacre that took place that was no less brutal than Yahya Khan's massacre of the East Bengalis.

But it did not end there. The other major lie that must be exposed is Pomeroy's assertion that "...the unions organized defense units around the factories and in neighborhoods against terrorist attacks."

In other words, the article conveys the impression that only the JVP was under attack and that workers sided with the government.

The campaign against the JVP was an excuse for Bandaranaike to wipe out resistance among other left groups and

to intimidate the working class in preparation for even greater attacks.

Our comrades in the Revolutionary Communist League were arrested, tortured and killed although they had no connection with the JVP. Peasants in the villages were also killed and terrorized not by the youth but by the army. The vast majority of workers did not join the Stalinist organized vigilante committees.

The repression against the JVP was an attack on the struggles of the working class. It thus means the beginning of the end of the coalition.

The main concern of the *Daily World* is that the pressures of the workers and youth for real change will upset their attempt to establish peaceful co-existence with the bourgeoisie. This is at the heart of the coalition.

They are now attempting to present the impression that "the situation is gradually returning to normal" and boast that major reforms such as nationalization, land and tax reform are proceeding.

The coalition cannot be patched back together again. In order to appease Bandaranaike the Communist Party must collaborate in the most vicious attacks on the working class.

The only road for Ceylon is the taking of power by the working class. As the struggles of the workers become stronger the military will attempt to take over, its road to victory paved by the betrayals of the Stalinists as in Greece and Indonesia. During the present crisis in Ceylon Bandaranaike did not hesitate to arrest even Communist Party members.

This is the real face of coalition politics and the Popular Front which the American Communist Party carries out in the United States by supporting liberal Democrats. Ceylon will be the future for all if we do not defeat Stalinism and mobilize the workers independently for power.

# Democratic Rights Now!"

those other organizations and parties, we do not for one moment imply that we condone the suppression of their newspapers. Nor do we demand that the press of our political opponents be suppressed. On the contrary, we stand for the democratic rights of all political parties and organizations that base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name and for the socialist transformation of society, irrespective of the means they advocate... Proscription and press gags are above all, a means of suppression resorted to by governments which cannot find any other answer to the political arguments of their critics and opponents.

As this appeal will show, we are justified in believing that herein lies the reason for banning our newspapers.

In this appeal, however, we are only permitted to plead on behalf of our democratic rights. If and when those rights are restored to us, we shall take up once again for public agitation the question of general democratic rights, in defense of which we have always been in the forefront...

## ENTHUSIASM

As Marxists, we believe that the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can be won for the struggle for socialism only if the youth can acquire faith in the ability of the working class to lead society onto a new road. The working class can inspire this faith only by its strength, the firmness and determination of its actions and the clarity

of its perspective. The propaganda and agitation carried on by our newspapers was always inspired by this unshakable belief in the leading role of the working class. Our newspapers, with their emphasis on Marxist theory and method for ideological arming of the working class, were not only vehicles for propaganda and agitation; they were above all a school of Marxism. And for us Marxism is the distilled essence of the historical experience of the international working class...

A veritable burning of the books has now been set in motion by banning our literature.

## HOSTILITY

Of all the political parties and organizations in this country that claim to be socialist, Marxist, Leninist or Trotskyist, it was only the RCL and RCY that made a sincere and serious attempt to develop the consciousness of the working class as the only progressive class which holds the key to the socialist transformation of society. And in this connection we made a special effort to wean the youth—which, in the words of Karl Liebknecht, is "the flame" of the proletarian revolution"—away from the petty-bourgeois adventurism of the JVP and its policy of isolation from the working class...

As a result of our propaganda and agitation and emphasis on Marxist theory for building the new revolutionary

leadership, we incurred the hostility of all the political parties whose Marxist pretences were at stake.

As their terrorist arm there came forward the JVP who tried to silence us by means of thuggery. What the JVP failed to do has now been accomplished by a "socialist" government with the connivance of "Marxists" by means of the Emergency Regulations which today are ostensibly directed against the JVP.

Nevertheless, during the brief period of our existence, and while we enjoyed the democratic rights that are now denied us, we did succeed in winning to the banner of the Fourth International the best elements of the workers and the youth. This is a gain for the working class that terrorism, whether private or state-sponsored, can never destroy.

## BANNED

Today, precisely at a time when everybody who is still allowed to speak, from the Marxist pretenders to the bourgeois champions of "law and order"...it is precisely our newspapers that are banned and put into the same category as those of the very organization that misguided the leaderless youth.

We declare most firmly and categorically that the responsibility for the present situation is not ours in any way whatsoever. That responsibility must be laid fairly and squarely at the door of those who, mouthing Marxist

phrases, kept the working class divided and disoriented and in a state of complete impotence by their class-collaborationist politics. The entire blame must be laid on those who deprived the working class of the possibility of leading the youth and thereby drove the latter into the arms of petty-bourgeois adventurers and demagogues and converted them into the cannon fodder of the forces of "law and order."

## STRENGTH

We believe that it is only the organized strength of the working class and not the "organized violence" of the capitalist state that can bring the "misguided youth" "back to sanity" and "reclaim" them for the socialist reconstruction of society...

In the name of humanity, whose fate today is threatened by the forces of international reaction, and in the name of the international working class who alone can fight and overcome those forces, we appeal against the banning of our newspapers and for the restoration of our democratic rights in order to allow us to resume our work for the building of the revolutionary party in Ceylon as part of the international party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, which is a *sine qua non* for the building of a new world.

On behalf of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League.



Estate workers rally against anti-working class policies.

Emergency rule is not new in Ceylon. Although it was masked by the so-called parliamentary democratic form, every government in power since 1956 has kept the country under emergency powers for most of the time.

Sometimes it was due to the struggles of the National minorities for their democratic rights as in 1957 and 1958.

Mostly it was due to the struggles of the working class which were erupting between 1958 and 1969.

But the fighting capacity of the workers was always contained within the bounds of reformism as a result of the deliberate attempts of reformist and Stalinist leaders.

Through retreats, sellouts and capitulations these leaders very consciously worked out the plan for this counter-revolutionary coalition government.

## COLLABORATED

Stalinists who collaborated with British imperialists and their agents in the National Congress during the Second World War continued their support very openly for the capitalist rule in Ceylon since 1947.

In 1947 the Stalinist Communist Party of Ceylon formed a united front with the extreme rightist United National Party.

## The Ceylon Emergency

# Record Of Stalinist Betrayal

Since 1951 when Mr. Bandaranaike broke away from the UNP government, the CP gave its full support to him.

After selling out the biggest uprising of the workers and peasants in 1953 they again supported Mr. Bandaranaike's government of 1956.

Not only that. When this Bandaranaike government introduced the new Public Security Act, through which Mrs. Bandaranaike today operates her military regime, the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF) which was under Stalinist leadership, was the only major trade union organization which did not join even the one-day general strike called to oppose it.

This is how the Stalinists in Ceylon worked out their strategy of reactionary coalition politics.

## BITTER

These are the counter-revolutionary policies which flow directly from the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" formulated to serve the bureaucratic apparatus within Soviet Russia at the expense of the gains made by the socialist revolution of 1917.

Workers, peasants and the youth throughout the world have seen the bitter fruits of these Stalinist policies in countries like China in 1926, Spain in 1936 and Indonesia in 1965.

Ceylon is heading towards the same lines today and it won't be very long before the day of the Ceylonese Suharto or Lon Nol.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) could have put a stop to these Stalinist counter-revolutionary measures had it been guided by the Marxist-Leninist methodology and policies of the Fourth International.

The LSSP, which showed signs of narrow nationalism and liberalism from its very beginning, was supplied with the sanction and the cover-up to continue along those lines by the Unified Secretariat led by the renegade Trotskyists Michel Pablo, Ernest Mandel, Joseph Hansen and Pierre Frank.

Thereby the LSSP was moving not along the road to Bolshevism, but along the path of class-collaboration and capitulation to Stalinism and imperialism. These same traditions of liquidationism are carried on by the LSSP (R) which related to the United Secretariat today.

Amid these betrayals of the Stalinists and Pabloites a ruthless exploitation of all the weaknesses of each and every section of the left will be carried out by the coalition as it moves toward its ultimate goal, the fascist dictatorship.

Today the coalition butchery is directed not only against the JVP (People's Liberation Front).

## PRISON

The leader of the CP (Peking wing) has been put in prison. Blood-thirsty police and military forces are pursuing the leaders of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League.

They have already framed numbers of prominent Trotskyists.

Under the emergency laws power is vested in the hands of the police and other armed forces. Virtually all civil rights are abandoned.

This is the first round of attacks aimed at the militant youth who are isolated from the working class at the moment. There can be no doubt the main and final target of these counter-revolutionaries is the working class.

The coalition government of Ceylon has received support from every other major reactionary regime. Nixon-Kosygin-Yahya Khan-Indira Gandhi. All of them have rushed to help the Ceylonese government to defend its democratic right to butchery.

## RESISTANCE

Mao has kept silent, perhaps because he is so busy supplying aid to Yahya Khan in his fight against 75 million people who are in struggle for their right of self-determination.

The naked treachery of Stalinism is

becoming more and more open today. Toward the end of the 1960s, linked to the crisis of imperialism, Stalinism began to face sharp resistance from the working class throughout the world.

It is important today that all workers in the Stalinist Communist Parties all over the world force their leaders to condemn the treachery of the Ceylon Communist Party and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and Peking which continue their support for the coalition government.

Events erupting in all corners of the world today, once again prove the correctness of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which stated very clearly that the crisis of this epoch is the crisis of leadership of the working class.

This leadership can be built only by the Trotskyists who consciously study and develop the Marxist method through the experiences gained from the victories and the defeats of the working class movement throughout the world.

## RECKLESS

"Reckless actions, revolts, partial resistance or hopeless hit-and-run attempts to oppose reaction will not help.

"What will help is a clear understanding of the situation, endurance and determination of the workers' vanguard, preparation of forces for the armed uprising for the victory of which conditions at present are extremely difficult but still possible if the facts and trends mentioned in the thesis coincide." (Lenin, Vol. 41, p. 442)

This warning of Lenin in 1917 is more than relevant for the situation in Ceylon today.

Basing themselves on the traditions of Bolshevism, revolutionary Trotskyists will fight against all the Stalinist and reformist tendencies within the working class to build the independent revolutionary party as the vanguard of the socialist revolution in Ceylon.



Gustav Husak

## Czechoslovakia

# World Stalinists Embrace Invaders

Europe and agreed to limitations on nuclear weapons. Following its recent 15 year treaty with Egypt the Soviet Union is preparing similar treaties with the other Arab states at a time when these governments are working for a deal with Zionism.

In Spain the Stalinists joined fascist Franco's May Day celebration while Franco's troops jailed workers and in Ceylon the Communist Party directed the guns itself against rebelling unemployed youth.

### ALLIANCES

As capitalism goes into crisis and is forced to attack the working class, revolutionary explosions break out in every corner of the globe. These struggles force the Soviet bureaucracy into more and more reactionary alliances in order to preserve the existence of the privileged bureaucracy in the workers states.

This is why the theme of the Congress was the 1968 invasion. The repeated denunciations of the "right wing revisionists" and in particular Dubcek, the repeated declarations of support to the invasion can only mean that more of the same is to come. It is a clear warning to the entire working class of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Despite the American Communist Party's statement in the *Daily World* that "The preceding two years and the weeks of preparation signaled the end of the period of consolidation" and the entering of a "new period," the Czech CP Congress is testimony to the tremendous crisis they face.

The crisis is so great that it was three years after the invasion before they could consolidate a leadership faithful to their Soviet masters and even hold a congress. During the past three years 300,000 party members were purged and thousands of youth and workers simply turned their backs on the party and its meetings.

The real 14th Congress was held secretly in a factory by the Czech workers shortly after the invasion. It was later declared invalid by Husak.

Husak has emerged as a firm supporter of the Moscow line. He stated at the Congress:

"Today we can responsibly declare that the advance of counter-revolutionary forces has been repelled, the socialist system defended."

"Petty bourgeois notions were spread about socialism, the self criticism of the party was misused to denigrate its entire history and the whole period of socialist reconstruction."

### BREZHNEV

But it was primarily Brezhnev who set the hard line tone of the Congress. In an informal talk to auto workers he denounced "two faced politicians who spoke so much about humane socialism," referring to Alexander Dubcek, the former party leader. Brezhnev stated that the "right wing revisionists broke democratic laws of socialist Czechoslovakia."

The presence and role of Brezhnev at the Congress indicates the tremendous pressure being brought against Husak to initiate more political trials against those who openly fought the Stalinist repression as well as the Dubceks. Just one day before the Congress opened Moscow radio made a broadcast in which the Czech events were compared with the 1956 Hungarian uprising:

"The tragedy was deepened by the fact that in the leadership of the Czech CP there was its own kind of Imre Nagy—Alexander Dubcek."

Dubcek then "became the rallying point of the rightist and counter-revolutionary forces."

The comparison with Nagy, who as Hungarian Prime Minister during the 1958 uprising was later shot as an "agent of imperialism" makes it

clear what Moscow has in mind not only for Dubcek but for the growing opposition within the Soviet countries.

Brezhnev spelled out why suppression of opposition to the bureaucracy was so critical in this period.

### "FACTS"

"All those who do not shut their eyes to the facts can see that today it is the socialist community that represents the most reliable stronghold for European peace."

"...We see attempts to sabotage progress in ensuring European security and we know who is behind this." He explained that the sabotage was directed against the Soviet Union's attempts to solve European problems not "in a single package all at once." Brezhnev is referring to the Soviet Union's flexible attitude towards reaching separate agreements with the capitalist governments that will stabilize the domination of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy over the working class.

The American CP has nothing but praise for the counter-revolutionary gathering. It is one Communist Party that has never wavered in its approval for every counter-revolutionary act of the Soviet Union. That is the American Communist Party.

They have faithfully repeated every slander against workers and youth in Czechoslovakia. They unreservedly supported the crushing of the Hungarian revolution and covered up for the shooting of the Polish workers last year.

Two members of their National Committee, Erik Bert and Roscoe Proctor, attended the 14th Czech Congress in complete solidarity with the bureaucracy and its plans to step up repression.

The blood of the millions of workers and youth who have taken up the fight against Stalinism and imperialism are on the hands of the American Communist Party.

### BY MELODY FARROW

Twelve hundred delegates and 1500 guests to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia wildly applauded and chanted: "Long Live the Soviet Union" as their party chief, Gustav Husak, turned and personally thanked Leonid Brezhnev for the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The slavish and frenzied adulation of the most right wing representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy betrays the Stalinists' tremendous isolation from and fear of the working class.

In fact, this was not just a congress of the Czech CP, but brought together Stalinist leaders from all over—Edward Gierek from Poland, Honecker from East Germany, two representatives from the American Communist Party and last but not least, Brezhnev.

The Congress was an attempt to consolidate the forces of Stalinism against the new upsurge internationally of the working class.

The real purpose of the Congress was to clear the way for further collaboration with imperialism. It comes at a time when the Soviet Union is rapidly dropping its anti-imperialist stance to make deal after deal with imperialism.

Shortly before the Congress began, the Soviet Union offered a plan to discuss mutual troop withdrawals from

## SSEU . . .

(Continued From Page 3)  
prepares to implement "Option B," thus cutting in half revenue for the city.

### JUNE 16

State employees, whose union, the CSEA, failed to get Rockefeller's decision to lay off 10,000 state employees reversed, have voted for statewide strike action on June 16.

In addition, 2,300 state employees in Middletown, New York have voted to go out

"indefinitely on June 1 until all layoffs are rescinded and budget cuts restored."

At the same time, Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37, is attempting to head off a battle. Gotbaum announced at a DC 37 delegates meeting on May 18 that the council would call a strike of all its members if the recent pension plan negotiated with Lindsay did not pass. Now that it appears that the Republicans and Democrats in the legislature are rapidly making

plans to choke the pension plan, Gotbaum is talking about "selective strikes" here and there.

Hill must now take the mandate of the Delegates Assembly directly into the District Council and fight Gotbaum's policies.

### CENTRAL

Hill held a press conference on May 28, introducing several of the laid off workers. At the conference, Hill buried the important decision of the Delegates

Assembly, the call for the general strike.

This call for the general strike must be made central. The fight must be brought forward to see that Hill brings this fight into the District Council.

It was through a long intensive campaign in the SSEU by the Committee for a New Leadership to mobilize the ranks that the call for a general strike was passed at the Delegates Assembly.

Hill must demand that Gotbaum convene a membership meeting of the whole District Council to vote on the SSEU motion. The fight for a general strike must

be taken all the way to a break by labor from the Democrat and Republican parties.


Hill said at his recent press conference that he is for a labor party, but it would be a monumental job of organization. In the meantime we must pressure whoever we can get results from.

We say the fight must start now. The CNL's fight for the labor party has found growing support in the SSEU. The fight for a general strike and the labor party must be taken into every local of the city labor movement.

**MARXISM  
& AMERICAN  
PRAGMATISM**

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

LENIN LENIN LENIN LENIN



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BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL SERIES 1

## GI DRUGS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

bodia, Thailand and Burma are the major heroin producers in Southeast Asia. It is from these countries that Air America ships this White Death.

The CIA has been working in these countries for years. It has not forgotten the lessons of British imperialism which used similar methods against the people of India and China.

For years the CIA has been sending 12-man CIA trained reconnaissance teams into all of the heroin producing countries. It is common practice for these teams to set up on hilltops, preferably high hilltops, for observation.

The U.S. has at its disposal and has been using U-2s with cameras equipped to see the pores of a golfball at 40,000 feet and has not spotted any of these distinctive looking plants. None of these recon teams have spotted any heroin.

Obviously the CIA is not blind. If the CIA hoped to dull the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people against imperialism their plan has backfired. It is the American army that is now on drugs and it is Nixon and the entire capitalist class and their war which are responsible.

It is the offensive of the working class in the army and in the trade unions that will spell the doom of imperialism and its wars.



## West Coast News

# Reagan: No Pay Hikes, More Layoffs Planned

BY BILL WINGFIELD

SANTA ANA, May 19—Last week the *Bulletin* reported the launching, in Anaheim, of Governor Reagan's campaign to whip up reactionary hysteria among homeowners against California's 2,290,000 welfare recipients.

In Anaheim, Reagan blamed welfare costs for impending increases in property taxes and counterposed funds for welfare to funds for education.

That campaign was extended in Sacramento today—this time to California's 170,000 state employees. To this section of the working class, Reagan counterposed funds for welfare to funds for wages.

Speaking to 400 state workers, Reagan demagogically proclaimed that "only" when California's welfare and Medi-Cal systems are "reformed" will "salary adjustments receive the financial priority they deserve."

The context for Reagan's demagoguery was a cynical explanation for the fact that his proposed budget projects no across-the-board wage increases for state workers—not even a cost of living increase.

"The people of California," said Reagan, "are undergoing hardships. They are being laid off. Businesses are closing and earnings are down." Therefore, continued Reagan,

"State government has an obligation to see if we cannot 'ourselves' absorb some of this sorrow imposing the burden of increased taxes on 'the people.'"

Then came the threat: Reagan pointed to Rockefeller's firing of 8,000 state workers in New York, and advised the workers that they were "fortunate" that his budget "contains enough money to keep them employed—let alone provide them with salary increases!"

Reagan's coupling of the threat of layoffs with his attack on those already laid off followed by one day the recommendation of his State Social Welfare Board that welfare payments be denied to strikers since they are "voluntarily participating in a trade dispute."

The board, like Reagan, justified its attack on the working class by references to abstractions such as "the public." "As a matter of policy," asserted Reagan's board in a 12-page statement, "the economic impact of trade disputes on families of strikers should not become an area of public responsibility."

And the board's manifest cynicism is also at least equal to Reagan's. According to the board, workers' families "should be able to take economic precautions against a possible strike because termination dates of labor contracts are known well in advance..."

## Daily Cal Shut Down

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY, May 29—The University of California has abolished the *Daily Californian* as a campus newspaper.

This new assault on the press, billed as a "compromise," came after the firing of three members of the paper's Editorial Board and threat of legal action against the paper for "conspiracy to incite to riot." The whole affair was precipitated a few weeks ago when the *Daily Cal* called for another People's Park adventure in a series of editorials.

The change in the status of the *Daily Cal* from a campus paper to an independent paper was conceived by the University regents in order to attempt to destroy the dissident daily without provoking a sharp confrontation with the students.

Since the *Daily Cal* has in recent months acquired a large amount of paid advertising and since the University has promised the paper a loan as a farewell present, stunned local radicals are contemplating the possibility of an independent radical daily on the Berkeley campus next fall.

What has been missed and will soon be realized, is that the paper has been deliberately put in a precarious position. Use of press facilities will still be conditional on the permission of the Student Senate and finances will depend on the University's loan and the good graces of local advertisers. The administration clearly hopes to

be able to pull the rug out from under the paper whenever necessary.

Furthermore the University has made it clear that there will be no more student newspapers. This incident must be seen as part of the repression and censorship which the ruling class is preparing in order to stem the upsurge of the working class and youth.

## Leaders Try To Split Farmworkers

BY RICHARD RIVERA

SAN DIEGO—The Supreme Court has refused to examine a suit attempting to cut off Mexican Green-Card workers from their jobs here in San Diego.

The suit was filed by representatives of the AFL-CIO and domestic farm laborers because, they claim, these workers drive wages down and throw domestic labor out of work. They imply that they pose a potential scab force in a strike or union organizing situation such as the one being conducted in the fields here by UFWOC.

The very filing of such a suit by the AFL-CIO, represents a vicious attack by the union bureaucracy on a section of the working class at a time when Mexican and American farm workers begin to unite in preparation for an all-out fight against their common enemy.

Had the leadership of UFWOC

# Portland Teachers Attacked

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND, ORE.—A clash between Portland teachers and the school board is developing in the wake of the refusal by the board to complete contract negotiations with the teachers association.

The Portland Association of Teachers is in the Circuit Court attempting to force the board to participate in impasse talks on wages and benefits. The board, in a reply to the lawsuit, charges the PAT "conspiracy to engage in a strike" contrary to state laws forbidding strikes by public employees.

The PAT is charged with attempting to "intimidate, coerce and extort teacher wages and benefits in excess of what they could obtain by lawful persuasion... (and) to obtain control of district education policies."

Board refusal to negotiate with the PAT has the purpose of breaking down the teacher organizations and beating back the rising militancy that was expressed last fall in the near election of the Portland Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) to represent the teachers as the bargaining agent in negotiations with the school district.

PANIC

The PAT bureaucracy, with the board coming down and the teachers moving forward, is in a panic. PAT is being forced, by the very logic of its "teachers as professionals" position and its opposition to the organized labor movement, to carry out a betrayal of the teachers' interests.

At a mass meeting of all Portland teachers in April, the PAT rigged a "shotgun" ballot that allowed only a choice between accepting the school board two-year contract offer, including a salary increase of only 3.6 percent and rejecting the offer as well as authorizing a strike to begin the following morning.

A PAT member, who voted to reject the offer and strike, explained that "the PAT leaders had failed to make even the most obvious preparations for a strike. No effort had been made to enlist the support of the Portland Federation of Teachers and organized labor."

"In fact, PFT offers of sup-

port were rebuffed, and union officers were told that PFT and labor support was not necessarily needed for a successful strike. Teachers were never informed about the protection they could expect in case of a strike. In short, teachers rapidly concluded that striking under that kind of inept leadership would be suicidal."

About 200 teachers walked out of the meeting without voting, while another 200 marked "abstain" on the vote cards. About 800 teachers voted to accept the school board offer, while 400 voted to reject it.

COVER

The PAT president, Chuck Meek, in a transparent attempt to cover up the association's betrayal, announced after the vote was tabulated that "we cannot in good conscience sign this school board offer. The Portland Association of Teachers is the teacher's agent for bargaining, not capitulation."

The PAT now is contending that the teachers' vote was "strictly advisory and never meant to be binding." Before the mass meeting, the PAT announced that "the results of the teachers' vote will be final, binding and decisive."

The school board now is contending that the teachers have voted to accept the contract offer and is refusing to participate in further negotiations or impasse procedures.

The PAT backed down on virtually every demand during negotiations with the school board and is now offering to accept the decision of the impasse panel as absolutely binding on both parties.

LEVY

On May 3, Portland voters turned down the special operating levy requested by the school district. The levy proposal is to be voted on again June 10. The board has threatened to cut the school year a month short and plans to cut teacher

salaries more than 7 percent next year if the special levy is defeated again. The board is offering only a 3.6 percent salary increase while threatening the teachers with about 11 percent fewer working days.

DEMAND

Neither Portland teacher organization has taken up the fight to defeat this attack on teacher's wages. The PFT is hard at work, preparing, and waiting, for a representational election in the fall. The PAT is attempting to smother teacher militancy in the swamp of bureaucratic maneuver and legal hassles, and to come up with a sell-out contract from binding arbitration.

Portland teachers must demand that the school board call an immediate representational election to vote out the PAT and elect the PFT as the teacher bargaining agent. Militant teachers must construct a rank and file caucus now to take up the fight for the demands: A one-year contract! Class size and teaching conditions in the contract! An 11 percent salary increase plus increments! A full school year's pay even if the school year is cut short!

## Chrysler Closing

(Continued From Page 16)

paper at the plant and outside the union meeting.

The Woodcock-Schrade leadership of the UAW has absolutely no policy to fight plant closings and layoffs and completely accepts the right of the employers to do this. No job protection was provided for auto workers in the 1970 contract sellout.

In this period of deepening capitalist crisis, plant closings are becoming the order of the day. The upcoming copper, aluminum, and basic steel negotiations pose this question very sharply. The employers are attempting to solve their crisis by creating massive unemployment, breaking the unions and driving wages and working conditions back to the 1930s.

NATIONALIZATION

We say if the auto and steel bosses and all other owners of basic industry cannot afford decent wages and safe working conditions, provide full production and full employment then the industry must be nationalized under workers' control with absolutely no compensation. The fight to build a new leadership within the UAW means the fight for the nationalization of basic industry under workers' control and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, as the only way to unite the working class in the fight for full employment.

**STALINISM & TROTSKYISM IN THE USA 50¢**  
By Fred Mueller

The only existing history of the real role of the American Communist Party.

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STRIKE

The rank and file must take up the fight for their interests and dump Chavez. The strike must be organized against all of the county's growers. The growers associations have agreed to one thing: no single grower or group of growers will be destroyed by the unionization move.

They have pledged mutual financial support and have the backing of the state-wide growers association to insure that strikes and boycotts of whatever duration against individual growers will not succeed.

The ranks must see it is in their interests to unite with "Green-Card" workers and pull them into the struggle against the county growers and the rotten leadership of Chavez.

ever intended to take up a serious fight for the interests of the ranks, there would be no such question of "Green-Card" workers. There would be strong picket lines in the fields which no scab would dare to cross, and "Green Card" workers would be on those picket lines.

The charge that "Green-Card" workers drive down wages carries no weight in fields that are "closed shop." They throw no one out of work with a contract agreement of full employment for all.

SELLOUT

But, with the recent turn by the agricultural labor leaders to the church, and now the courts of the enemy of the working class, it should be clear to the ranks that these "leaders" have no intention of making the fields "closed shops." In fact, what this suit represents to the ranks is the first bitter taste

# West Coast News

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

## Alioto Plans No Strike Law

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

**SAN FRANCISCO**—At the end of the city workers strike here in March, 1970 the labor bureaucracy announced a "great" victory—the city would bargain collectively with its workers.

Of course there were "a few details to work out." Now more than a year later city workers still do not have collective bargaining.

Instead of a collective bargaining contract, Alioto and the Board of Supervisors are trying to sneak in almost unnoticed an ordinance pertaining to employer-employee relations in the city and county of San Francisco.

Its provisions are almost identical to the Industrial Relations Bill of the Tory government in England. The ordinance sets up MERP (Municipal Employees Relations Panel) with three members—one is appointed by the

Mayor, one by the Board of Supervisors, and one by the Chief Administrative Officer.

The members of MERP earn only \$200 a day while rendering their services. MERP has the power to punish unions who refuse to cooperate with the ordinance through stopping dues deductions.

It can "meet and confer" with city unions but no union can "engage in a strike, slowdown or work stoppage of any kind against the city and county."

### OUTLAWED

In other words strikes by city workers will be outlawed. The ordinance itself explains its stinking purpose: "The city and county also retains the right... to relieve its employees from duty because of lack of work or other legitimate reasons."

Needless to say San Francisco city workers are not covered by unemployment insurance.

Already the word is out that many "temporary" workers will be laid off (most temporaries have been working for the city for years but civil service just does not bother to give them examinations).

For workers who complain, there is a merry-go-round like procedure. In any dispute, if the two parties cannot agree on a mediator, a mediator is appointed by the Mayor. Then if the two parties still cannot agree, a "fact finding board" is set up whom the mayor again appoints if the two parties cannot agree.

Finally on top of the pyramid is another "impartial arbitrator" whose ruling is binding. This system of compulsory arbitration thus destroys the trade unions as independent organizations of the working class.

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The Caucus is running candidates in the union election on June 9th on the program of calling for general strike action and the

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### SHOWDOWN

The union bureaucrats while making unhappy noises about the ordinance, are preparing to cooperate with it. San Francisco city workers now face a showdown.

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Squads of armed MP's drove off the demonstrators, whose ranks swelled to 500, both Black and white, as incidents broke out all over the base. The highlight of the battle was the burning of an officers' barracks. Nearly 150 airmen were under arrest and guard by midnight Sunday.

This open rebellion by a large section of the armed forces inside U.S. borders marks the beginning of the death knell of American capitalism. Now, as the government, through Mitchell-Agnew-Burger, prepares for methods of dictatorship, the collapse of the primary instrument of that dictatorship, the armed forces, is directly posed.

In the face of this upsurge of GI's and airmen, liberal Senator John Tunney made a trip three days later to Fairfield (just outside Travis) to denounce revolutionary violence and to blame the development of "black racism" for the revolt.

### MILITARISM

At the same time, Nixon warns the graduating class at West Point to prepare for a fight against this revolt within the armed forces and calls for militarism along the lines of Germany 1933. The capitalist press, doing its part to whip up the middle class hysteria against the airmen, only reports on fistfights and name-calling between Blacks and whites and builds the incident as a racial one.

The way forward for the struggle in the armed forces, the trade unions, and among the youth is the fight of all sections of the working class for a labor party based on the trade unions.

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Naturally the Chrysler bosses and their stooge Mr. Conselmagne have not the slightest concern for the permanently laid off workers. Their only concern is profits: Many of the 1,200 workers have put in more than 15 years with the company, and because of the heavy unemployment in this area and

their age, it will be almost impossible for them to find work.

The announced plant closing comes just four months after 750 workers were laid off at the same plant. In recent peak production years, the plant has employed about 2,500 workers. Neither the UAW International, District, nor the Local 230 leadership offered any real resistance to this massive layoff. No program to fight layoffs and total plant closings has been put forth by these labor bureaucrats.

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