

UNIONS DEMAND GENERAL STRIKE

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Political Committee Statement

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Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Political Committee Statement

The decision of Nixon's Pay Board establishing the rules on the wage increases for Phase Two of the wage freeze represents an attempt to perpetrate the

Workers' general strike and labor party against wage freeze and war (above and p. 5)

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Nov. 6- 'Nixon Out, Labor In'



BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—Three hundred trade unionists, students and youth from Manhattan, Brooklyn, Connecticut and Long Island marched behind the banners of the Workers League in the antiwar demonstration here on November 6th.

Raising the only alternative to the protest politics of the Stalinists and revisionists in the fight against Nixon's wage freeze and the war in Vietnam, the banners of the contingent demanded: "Smash Phase Two, Call a General Strike," "No Return to the 1930's," "Nixon Out, Labor In '72," "Defy the Freeze, Jobs For All, Build a Labor Party," and "Defend Juan Farinas." Youth from East New York and Fort Greene in Brooklyn carried banners calling for the building of a revolutionary youth movement to fight unemployment, racism and repression.

The contingent led by red flags chanted "Nixon Out, Labor In," "Labor Off the Board," "Smash the Freeze with a General Strike," and "Build a Labor Par-

ty for '72."

Spirited contingents of 75 in Philadelphia, 40 in Washington and 50 in Chicago marched behind Workers League banners. In Minneapolis over 100 workers and youth marched seven miles in the bitter cold. Joining the Workers League contingent were "Workers for Peace," farmworkers and teamsters calling for a general strike and a labor party in '72.

PRINCIPLE

In an independent rally held both before and after the demonstration in New York, speakers from the Workers League pointed out the need for general strike action of the working class against the wage freeze, the necessity to force labor off the

wage board and to fight for a labor party. They spoke about the fundamental principles of Marxism—of the independence of the working class from the state, of the need for an international perspective and understanding in order to defeat the capitalist class for good, and bring the workers to power.

The role of the youth was said to be critical in this struggle. Unlike the revisionists, however, the Workers League sees the question of the youth not as worship of the "ongoing radicalization," but as the struggle for the youth to take up Marxist theory, to become the leadership in the working class through the building of an international Marxist party based on principle—not on opportunist adaptations to this or that superficial movement. At this rally, the Workers League announced its first youth conference on December 18th for the formation of a revolutionary youth movement in the United States.

This perspective stood in sharp contrast to the Stalinists and revisionists. From New York to San

Francisco these demonstrations were small. In California where NPAC contended that it would draw a half million, a mere 3,000 marched. The CP youth movement, the Young Workers Liberation League, brought half as many youth as the Workers League.

The reasons for this are clear. As class divisions deepen with the intensification of the crisis, middle class protest becomes superfluous. With the masses of the youth, shaken by the Attica events, and the masses of workers, being thrown into direct conflict with the government over the wage freeze, the task is to pose the way forward against the government.

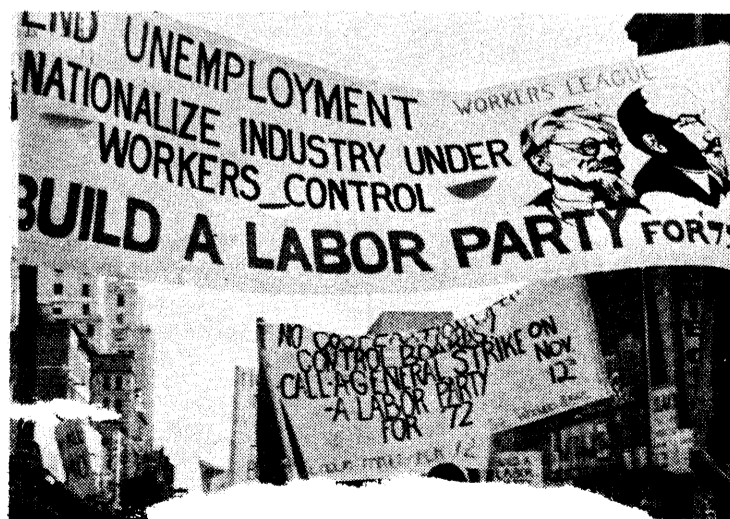
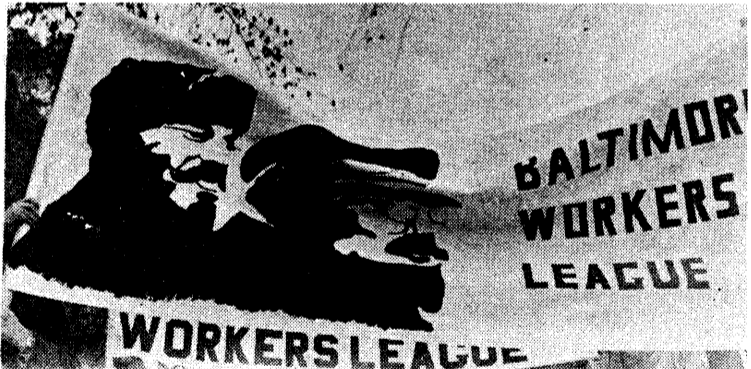
All the official speakers at the demonstration presented only one thing—the illusion that capitalism could be reformed, by more young people voting and more "progressive" capitalist candidates. Vance Hartke, Senator from Indiana, and supporter of the wage freeze, used the platform to push his campaign for the Presidency.

None of the speakers from the various revisionist organiza-

tions, including the Socialist Workers Party, posed the need for general strike action against the wage freeze or for a break from the capitalist parties responsible for the war in Vietnam and for the attacks at home.

Despite the fact that the SWP tries to justify its popular front in the peace movement with capitalist politicians by stating that if brought down to speak, the liberals will be exposed, they made no public criticism whatsoever of these politicians. Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of NPAC, went so far as to claim that Nixon was bringing the troops home because of all the demonstrations by the antiwar movement. He didn't bother to explain why Nixon was increasing the air attacks on the North, however.

The Nov. 6th antiwar protest was a last dying gasp of the middle class protest movement. Only the Workers League opposed itself to all of this, and raised the program to mobilize the working class and youth against the government.



Pictures at top of page show views of Workers League contingent at Nov. 6 march in New York. At bottom of page are pictures of Workers League demonstrations in Washington (upper left), Chicago (lower left), Minneapolis (upper right), and Philadelphia (lower right). Workers League also sold 100 Bulletins in Boston (center picture).

General Strike Movement Grows

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MIAMI BEACH, November 9—The Executive Board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union demanded today that the AFL-CIO "take whatever action is necessary, including a national work stoppage or general strike," in order to defeat Nixon's wage freeze and Pay Board. The Meat Cutters Union represents 500,000 trade unionists.

This follows similar demands for general strike action against the freeze by the Illinois AFL-CIO and the California AFSCME.

The AFL-CIO is holding their

Bethlehem Innovations Slash Jobs

BY ED BELLINO

BETHLEHEM, PA.—Bethlehem Steel Corp. has announced plans to go ahead with the construction of a continuous casting facility to produce slabs at the Burns Harbor, Indiana plant. This is the first such facility to be installed at any Bethlehem mills.

This process, which revolutionizes slab production, will be able to provide slabs to supply the hot-and-cold-rolled sheet mills, the tin mill products line, and the sheared plate mill. According to Bethlehem Corp. chairman Stewart S. Court, the process is "one of the truly major developments in the steel industry which will play an ever increasing part in future productive processes."

But the real meaning of this development is clear. Like the installation of the Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF) in many mills, including the planned construction of a second BOF at the Bethlehem, Pa. mill, the new slab producing operation will mean the loss of numerous jobs. Such is the manner in which developments in productive technique serve only to enable the steel bosses to extract greater profits off the backs of fewer workers.

The feverish experimentation and cooperation among steel corporations is intertwined with the strategy of the Nixon Administration to drive back the wages and standard of living of American workers. The wage control board will attempt to weaken the trade unions and set up the ranks for massive layoffs, followed by increased production via speedup and the introduction of "truly major developments" in technique like the new slab facility.

Steelworkers can expect nothing but betrayal from USWA President I.W. Abel who is presently cavorting with Nixon's wage control board.

The fight for the formation of a national rank and file caucus in the USWA against Abel must be stepped up around the demands:

- Stop the layoffs; 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.
- Indefinite SUB payments at full union scale for laid off workers.
- Nationalization of steel under workers control.
- No cooperation of any sort with the Pay Board.

biennial national convention at Miami Beach and the labor leaders face a decision there on how to react to the Pay Board's recent votes to refuse retroactive pay increases and keep all further wage gains to 5.5% or less.

Many bureaucrats still argue for caution, but as the rank and file members of these unions continue to demand action, delegates to the convention are more and more being forced to take a stand one way or the other.

Edward Carlough, president of the Sheet Metal Workers Union stated that "If President Meany wants to resign from the Pay Board, he has my support."

President Lyons of the Iron Workers Union and a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO said that "it would not make much sense to be on the board"

if the Pay Board continues to vote 10-5 against labor.

The AFL-CIO Convention has the choice of either accepting the Pay Board and its anti-labor decisions which can now only deepen in their attacks on the working class; or they can demand that Meany and all labor representatives leave the Pay Board permanently.

Rank and file trade unionists must now follow through with these steps already taken by fighting within all unions to demand that the AFL-CIO call a general strike and to take all union members off the bosses' Pay Board.

STOP PRESS, November 9.—Today the New Haven Federation of teachers, Local 933, called for a national general strike against the Pay Board and the wage freeze. The strike call was in support of the demand raised yesterday by the meatcutters' union.

Ronald O'Brien, president of the local, said that the union's contract had been broken and that the union's policy was now, "No Contract, No Work."

Gotbaum Backs Meany Stand On Board

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Nov. 8th—Tonight AFSCME District Council 37 President Victor Gotbaum appeared at a negotiating committee meeting of all those locals representing City workers who have not yet signed contracts.

His talk before the committee was supposed to be a report on the progress of the negotiations with the City and "labor's position" on the wage freeze.

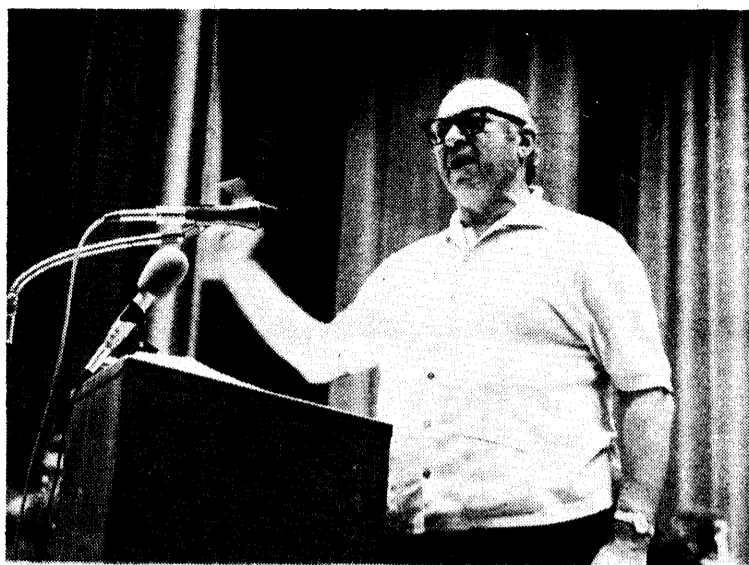
Gotbaum, a so-called progressive labor leader who was a featured speaker at the Nov. 6th peace rally, stated that he and AFSCME President Jerry Wurf completely endorsed Meany's position on the Pay Board. He said that Meany had not been passive and it was necessary to sit on the Board in order

to work out a nationwide agreement with management.

When a militant delegate took the floor and demanded a motion calling on Meany and the other labor members to immediately walk off the Pay Board and stating that any form of cooperation with Phase Two will be used by Nixon to cut labor's throat, Gotbaum could only answer him with a red-baiting attack and an attempt to pit the older delegates against the younger.

Stanley Hill, President of SSEU-371, took the floor to say that pressure should be put on Meany, to let him know that labor is "angry." He never raised the necessity of withdrawal of labor from the Board.

Gotbaum then reassured Hill, stating, "Jerry (Wurf) assures me George (Meany) has been fighting hard." Hill then sat down,



Abe Feinglas, head of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union.

AFSCME Local Votes For A General Strike

BY AN 1164 REPORTING TEAM

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—AFSCME Local 1164, University of Minnesota employees, following the lead of California AFSCME workers, November 3rd took up the fight against the labor bureaucracy and Nixon's wage freeze.

The local passed resolutions supporting the call for a national conference of all AFSCME locals and demanded:

1. an emergency delegates conference of all locals in AFSCME

Council 6 to discuss action against the freeze and recent state legislation.

2. a nation-wide general strike of all labor to end the freeze.
3. no cooperation by labor with any control boards.

These resolutions express the anger of all state employees against the miserable wage increase finally granted by the legislature. Because of the Phase II control board, state employees will not even get the increase. Add to this the vicious new tax bill, and state employees are further in the hole.

The resolutions are also an expression of the tremendous movement of workers across the nation against their bureaucratic leadership and against Nixon's attempts to destroy their living conditions.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR

When a resolution demanding that AFSCME call a conference of all labor to build a labor party for the '72 elections was proposed, a member of the Progressive Labor Party immediately jumped to his feet in opposition. It is through the building of a labor party that the working class will

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UMW Ranks Demonstrate In Washington

BY TOM GORDON

Coal miners in the United Mine Workers are continuing their six-week strike against the Nixon wage freeze. UMW ranks, despite every effort by the official union leaders to sabotage the strike, are fighting to beat back the employers who refuse to bargain seriously, hoping that the wage freeze will invalidate any victory won by the ranks.

On November 4th, one thousand miners met in Morgantown, West Virginia, and marched on District 31 UMW headquarters to present their demands. In the week of November 5th, demonstrations of hundreds of miners in Washington, D.C. at UMW headquarters finally forced union president Tony Boyle to promise that strike benefits would be paid, but only after 30 days of the official strike, which started only on October 11th, following a walk-out by the ranks on September 30th.

Roving picket squads of 200-300 men in automobiles had closed down nonunion mines by October 19th, shutting down the R & F Coal Co. and Cravat Coal Co., both in eastern Ohio. Weirton Steel mines and Liberty Coal mines, in West Virginia, have been shut by the pickets.

COUNTERATTACK

The government has wasted no time in the counterattack. Judge Ralph Pryor in West Virginia issued an injunction demanded by Weirton Steel to stop the pickets. Thirty miners were hauled into court and only "peaceful picketing" was allowed. The companies now plan to start shipping scab coal. Using the government's tactic in the East Coast longshoremen's strike, the courts are trying to force the miners back one local at a time, avoiding using Taft-Hartley at this point.

The official demands of the strike are for a \$50 per day wage, up from \$35 at present. The union also is demanding that

royalties paid into the UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund be increased from 40¢ per ton to 80¢. Rank and file groups are demanding that the contract be submitted to the ranks for ratification.

So far the companies have offered only an insulting 8.3% wage increase, an increase to a maximum of \$46 per day, and even this full amount to take effect only at the end of a three-year contract. They have also offered a measly 18¢ increase in the royalties paid to the union funds. After these ridiculous offers were made, secret negotiations took place between UMW president Tony Boyle, Secretary of Labor James Hodgson, and R. Heath Larry, representing the owners. The only strategy put forward by Boyle after this meeting was to step up the pace of bargaining. This meeting and the intervention of West Virginia governor Arch Moore pose the greatest danger to the strike.

The union ranks must demand

that the union stay out for the full \$50 wage and 80¢ royalty in defiance of Nixon's wage board. This means the fight must be taken up in the union to defy the courts' injunctions and force the scab mines to close down tight, now that the coal shortage is beginning to really hurt the utilities and coal-hauling railroads.

ASSAULT

The miners face the most brutal assault on all their wages and conditions built up over many years of struggle. Behind the employers, leading this assault is Nixon, the Democrats and Republicans and the wage freeze. The fight in defense of the miners is now a life and death struggle to stop all cooperation of labor with the freeze in Phase II, and to build a labor party that can fight to bring the mines under control of the workers themselves through nationalization without compensation to the capitalist owners.

Kremlin Supports Bolivian Dictator

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Not even three months have passed since workers and students were murdered during the ultra-right wing military coup in Bolivia, but the Kremlin bureaucracy is already competing with the United States and other imperialist governments for the favors of Colonel Banzer, who heads the military dictatorship.

The Soviet Union has poured more than \$6.5 million into the coffers of the Banzer regime since the August coup. While this is a small sum compared to the \$100 million that has been donated by the imperialists, the financial backing expresses the Stalinist bureaucracy's solidarity with the counter-revolution.

The inflow of Soviet rubles combined with American dollars has placed U.S. Ambassador Ernest Syracusa "in the happy position of being able to state that international confidence in Bolivia has now been restored."

The Stalinists bear a major responsibility for allowing Banzer to come to power by having given uncritical backing to the previous Torres nationalist regime. Torres refused to allow the arming of the workers, permitting the military dictators to take power despite the eagerness of the workers, particularly the miners, to fight.



A recent march of British Trotskyist youth, the Young Socialists, against Tory unemployment.

British Workers Fight Traitors

BY DAVE NICHOLS

A growing movement of trade unionists and workers throughout England are demanding the expulsion of the 69 Labor Party members who turned traitor to the working class by voting with the hated Tories for Common Market entry.

The workers know that entry was rejected by a party vote of 5 million to 1 million, yet these back stabbers defied their wishes by supporting entry into a capitalist cesspool which would mean greater hardships heaped upon the workers. Workers also know that the vote of these traitors was decisive in keeping the Tories in power.

At recent demonstrations in Liverpool and Merseyside where thousands of workers gathered to fight Tory unemployment, Victor Feather (a pro-Market man), head of the Trades Union

Congress, was shouted down and not allowed to speak while workers who called for expulsion of the traitors were cheered.

The Electricians and Plumbers Trade Union, Britain's fifth largest union, along with the National Union of Mineworkers and the Glasgow branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers are calling for the expulsions.

In the local Labor Party branches represented by some of these renegades, the rank and file of the Party has called for their expulsion.

ANGRY

This angry mood of the working class has forced Labor Party leaders like Harold Wilson and Anthony Wedgwood Benn from their openly conciliatory position towards the traitors to a harsher position, in an attempt to cover up for their own responsibility in this contemptible affair.

Wilson, in a recent speech reflecting the growing hostility of workers towards these men, stated that any future vote which sided with the Tories, "...will be a vote for the men who have wantonly, willfully, and in fulfillment of their doctrinaire ambitions imposed unnecessarily, unemployment and anxiety on millions of households in the country and their families."

This same tough talking Wilson could be found prior to the election calling the traitors "honorable men" who should be praised for their "reasonable behavior." This was despite the brazen admission before the working class by those "honorable men" that they planned to keep Heath and the Tories in power, thus paving the way for further attacks on the workers!

Even in the face of this treachery, Wilson still does not heed
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Strikes Rock Franco Regime

BY MELODY FARROW

Spanish car workers at the giant SEAT plant in Barcelona, a subsidiary of Fiat, returned to work November 2nd after two weeks of strikes and bloody police clashes.

The return is far from permanent. Tension is high as news spreads of the death of one of the SEAT workers who was shot by police during the demonstrations two weeks ago. The strike in Barcelona is just the beginning of a new working class upsurge throughout Spain against the hated fascist Franco regime.

The strike began October 18th when the morning shift at SEAT walked out to protest the con-

tinued dismissal of twenty workers for a strike last June.

The next day, October 19th, police invaded the plant and drove the 6,000 strikers out. Thousands of workers and students answered this attack by demonstrating their solidarity with the strike.

The SEAT management retaliated by closing down the plant, laying off 5,361 workers for six days and suspending another 4,691 for three days.

Litton Uses Cops To Protect Scabs

BY J. SZANDOR

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—A strike by workers to unionize the Litton Industries plant in Erie, Pa. brought police reaction on November 2. About 150 non-union non-striking employees attempted to cross the picket lines after forming a motorcade one block from the plant entrance. To prevent this, the pickets, about 100 workers, started a bonfire of crates and railroad ties. This act, however, brought firemen, and police and sheriff's deputies who began to escort the scab motorcade into the plant. The pickets rushed the motorcade, but the police with some

scuffling, pushed the pickets back and allowed the scabs to enter.

The use of police in breaking strikes is not unique in western Pennsylvania. The coal bosses in Pennsylvania and Ohio have employed police, sheriff's deputies and "deputized" vigilantes to protect their strip mining equipment from roving pickets of the UMW who have attempted to end scab mining. The Erie police intend to be at Litton each shift break, but the workers intend to maintain the strike, which has been going on for two weeks now. Only the unity of the workers can answer this attempt to use the state to break strikes.

Copies of an appeal of the car workers were circulated throughout Barcelona calling on Fiat, Renault and Citroen workers in Italy and France to take solidarity action.

This appeal was answered October 21st when 10,000 workers in and around Barcelona staged token strikes and 150 workers defied the government's bans and marched through the city with clenched fists shouting "Neither Franco, nor Juan Carlos, but a socialist state."

On the week-end of October 23rd Spanish police charged into a crowd of demonstrators beating everyone in sight with their clubs.

Following the six day lock-out the afternoon shift returned but refused to work and this time the night workers joined the strike. Again half of the workers were suspended.

On October 29th the Workers Commission, the illegal workers union, issued a call for a General Strike in Barcelona in defense of free trade unions.

This call marks an important step forward in the struggle to unite the whole Spanish working class in a political fight against Franco and his hand picked successor Juan Carlos.

In Spain strikes and demonstrations are banned by the government. The masses of workers have turned their back on the puppet government controlled labor organization, Sindicatos, and support the underground

UAW Wildcat At St. Louis Auto Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—The rising tide of rank and file militancy across the country was reflected here recently. A wildcat strike broke out at the Chrysler Truck plant in Fenton, near St. Louis.

The grievances included demands for improvement of working conditions, a tightening up of safety precautions and reinstatement of suspended workers with full pay. The men described the working conditions at present as "intolerable." Lack of ventilation fans cause the temperature in some sections of the plant to rise to 130 degrees and lead to the accumulation of noxious fumes. The workers have been fighting to change these conditions for many months but the local 110 leadership has given in to management on every point.

WOODCOCK

While the local grievances formed the basis of this strike action, the anger of these workers for the wage freeze is close to the surface. One of them on the picket line told this Bulletin reporter, "Woodcock should be working for the union, not for Nixon's wage board. This wage freeze discriminates against the workers. What we need is people in Congress who represent the working people."

The Fenton Chrysler plant is quite new. It was built in 1965. The present working conditions and lack of safety precautions are the deliberate policy of the management. Chrysler has been on the brink of bankruptcy for a number of years. This corporation has resorted to building a completely inadequate plant in an attempt to maintain profits and increase productivity at the expense of the working conditions. It has also been necessary to weed out those workers willing to take a stand against the company.

The recent introduction of the GMAD plant at the St. Louis Chevrolet plant is a step in the same direction and GM workers are now facing similar treatment. Already militant workers have been fired on the slightest pretext. Tommie Pierson from the old Fisher Body plant who took an active role in the very militant rank and file struggles last spring, has been "indefinitely suspended" for being absent for one day. This is usually a common practice and under most cases was covered by the union contract.

The present economic crisis is forcing the bosses to take back the gains of the working class with the wage freeze and the creation of mass unemployment. The present union leadership shows no intention of fighting back. A new leadership must be formed from the rank and file which can take this struggle forward with a call for a general

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ILA Ranks Fight Sellout Threat

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—The entrance of Federal labor mediator J. Curtis Counts into the negotiations between the New York Shipping Association and the ILA reflects the stepped up activity of the Nixon Administration.

This activity is aimed at breaking the unity of the ILA ranks and pressing for a sellout contract over the basic question of the 40 hour weekly guaranteed

income with no strings attached.

As we reported last week, at a nearly secret membership meeting Scotto proposed that the ILA find a way to get the men

time as there is a coastwide settlement based on the 2080 hour GAI for all men.

In Baltimore, the militant ILA ranks forced the local leaders to defy a "temporary restraining order" which would have put the men back to work. The port is still shut solid. The men are staying out in response to the employers' refusal to honor the wage guarantee (35 hour week).

The restraining order is however being followed up with a full scale injunction under the secondary boycott provisions of Taft-Hartley, which is expected to be approved by the court on November 11. The leadership is still saying that they will also stand up to this injunction because the employers continue to refuse to honor the terms of the old contract.

The pickets correctly claimed that cargo was being diverted from New York to Philadelphia to scab on the New York dockworkers. In addition, Philly dockworkers have made it clear to Bulletin reporters that they have no intention of returning to work after November 13, when the injunction runs out, until such

Socialist Candidate For Mayor Polls 11%

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—The results of the mayoralty campaign here sharply express the political developments within the working class. Socialist Party candidate, Perocco, who waged almost no campaign, pulled 5,000 votes (11%) in this highly industrial town where unemployment has soared over the past months. It was in the 1930s that McCleevy who ran on the Socialist ticket was elected mayor of Bridgeport.

The liberal Republican, Panuzio, endorsed by several unions, unseated 3-term Democrat Curran by a margin of just 3 votes out of a total turnout of 46,000.

The *New Haven Register* remarked that the number of votes Perocco received was "startlingly high." This turn of thousands away—not from politics—but away from the bosses' parties is what lies behind the recent statement of Driscoll, President of the Connecticut State

Labor Council. He said that "behind the label Democrat we are now apt to find just as conservative or even reactionary a stance toward labor...as in the most Meskill-oriented Republican." He then called for a "working class coalition."

This reporter asked an older worker what he thought of the outcome of the Bridgeport mayoral election. He said, "The other candidate should have won." To which the reporter said, "Do you mean the Democrat?" "Oh, no," he replied, "the Socialist should have won. We need a party for our interests."

And at the same time, the New Haven Central Labor Council in an unprecedented decision, declared itself neutral in the New Haven mayoral contest.

As the hatred of the working class towards the capitalist parties grows, the foundation is being laid for a labor party that will fight for the interests of all workers.

back to work without the guarantee while negotiations continue. He gave as a reason the "isolation" of New York as a result of these injunctions and the refusal of the NYSA to budge on their demand for restrictions of the guaranteed income.

A leaflet warning of this sellout and stating that Gleason himself must take responsibility for the so-called isolation of New York was issued in the Port of New York by the ILA Committee For a Decent Contract. The leaflet pointed out that the struggle against the shipowners was a struggle against Nixon and the wage freeze and against efforts to divide East and West Coast longshoremen with the Taft-Hartley injunction.

The leaflet further stated, in opposition to Scotto's talk of isolation and defeat:

"We demand that Gleason and Scotto withdraw from all negotiations, secret or otherwise, with the NYSA until such time as it is agreed that there will be a uniform contract for all ports on the East and Gulf Coasts, and that no men will go back in any port without the full 40 hour guarantee."

When this leaflet was distributed at a New York portwide checkers meeting, Gleason spent the entire meeting reading it aloud word by word and attempting to refute the charges of betrayal by simply dismissing it as "communist propaganda."

Gleason admitted that in the meetings with Secretary of Labor Hodges, the NYSA had tried to get the ILA to agree on a ceiling on the Guarantee Fund of \$10 million whereas they now claim to be paying out \$30 million annually and have plans to put many more men out of work.

Gleason claimed that his refusal to accept this offer was proof that there would be no sellout, and pledged a fight for the 40 hour guarantee for all men including '69 and '70 checkers who are not presently covered. He claimed that the ILA would not back down regardless of any injunction. He further claimed that "progress" had been made in talks with the shippers and that in talks with Bridges, he had begun to persuade the ILWU in the direction of a merger into a single union.

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1199 Settles For Crumbs From Yeshiva

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The strike of 200 maintenance and clerical employees of Yeshiva University, members of Local 1199, ended on November 10th with the meager gain of \$10 per week over one year.

Before the strike Yeshiva workers were only making the minimum of \$100 per week. The present contract will not even bring these workers up to the minimum of \$118 that hospital workers won one year ago. The minimum now for the majority of 1199 members is \$130.

The workers had been working without a contract since June 30th. For almost four months the University refused to offer anything while 1199 was asking for a big wage increase and the same health, pension and dental benefits



Bulletin reporter talks with longshoreman on Boston docks.

Newark Racist Wins Election

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Only a few weeks after he helped to foment racial conflict between white and Black students at Irvington and Barringer High Schools, Anthony Imperiale was elected to the New Jersey State Assembly from Newark.

Imperiale is a racist demagogue who since the 1967 rebellion of Black workers has been organizing a neo-fascist force. He has been concentrating his attacks on Black workers, but that is only the preparatory stage.

Like Hague in the 1930s, Imperiale will be used by the capitalists to whip up a middle class hysteria against the working class as it enters into political struggle against the attempts by the bankers and corporations to depress their living standards.

BLOC

The Democratic and Republican Assemblymen are trying to bloc against Imperiale, who ran as an independent after he was overwhelmingly defeated in the Democratic primary. But their bloc is based on their fear that Imperiale is too openly racist and says out loud what the other politicians whisper to each other.

The Republican governor, Cahill, even stated that his Party rejects Imperiale's support, even though the State Assembly is now split 39-39 between the two parties and Imperiale's vote can give the 39 Republicans the ma-

majority. But even more important, Mayor Kenneth Gibson, a Black liberal, denounced Cahill's statement on the basis that Imperiale was elected by the people of his district. He compared this with Julian Bond, the Black politician whose election was overturned by the Georgian State Legislature.

Gibson is clearly trying to befriend this neo-fascist and blatant racist for his own political ends. The struggles of Black workers and the working class as a whole against racism and political repression is of interest to Gibson only to the extent that he himself can aid that repression.

IMPOTENT

These liberals and politicians are completely impotent to take up a fight against Imperiale because they basically agree with him. The only alternative to such fascists—and to bourgeois ilk like Gibson as well—and the only way to defeat them is with the struggle to organize the working class to build their own labor party.

This labor party must fight to unite the trade union movement with all unorganized and unemployed workers and youth on a program directed against the attacks of the government and corporations represented by Nixon's wage freeze and growing unemployment. This can only be done through the unity of all workers, Black, white and Spanish-speaking against racist demagogues such as Imperiale.



UFT is sponsoring rally on Nov. 18 to defend youth against budget cuts. Workers League will mobilize youth on its program for it.

as the other union members.

The union was finally forced to strike November 2nd but Yeshiva refused to budge, crying that it was bankrupt and the union's demands were exorbitant.

As soon as the strike began the capitulation of the 1199 leadership came out in the open. All the demands for benefits were dropped and the leadership literally pleaded to the University for any kind of settlement.

The leadership accepted the Yeshiva plea of bankruptcy and issued a leaflet explaining that their wage demands were so modest that the University could afford it and even apologized for "inconvenience to the academic community."

For over a week the Yeshiva workers remained isolated. After the first week plans were made to have a mass picket line of all

1199 members at each Yeshiva center but no real campaign was made to bring out the 40,000 hospital workers in the city. It was obvious that the 1199 leaders were using this demonstration as a threat but were anxious to avoid a repetition of the powerful mobilization of 6,000 workers that took place October 1st against the wage freeze.

It is absolutely clear that if the 1199 leadership had organized massive solidarity action from the beginning of this struggle the original demands could have been met.

The only way to have won this fight was to see it as a battle not just against Yeshiva but against Nixon's wage freeze which lay behind the University's refusal to negotiate. This strike was an important test of 1199's verbal opposition to wage controls.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

(Continued From Page 1)

most gigantic swindle on the entire working class in the history of the American labor movement.

The decision of the Pay Board is to take billions of dollars out of the workers' pockets to add to the swollen profits of the bosses.

Meany and the other labor bureaucrats have refused to walk off the Board, thereby collaborating with Nixon and the employers in the attempt to destroy all the gains won in the struggle of the unions since the 1930s.

"They have abrogated our contracts," declared Meany in reaction to the Board decision. On this score, Meany is absolutely correct. The ruling establishes a 5.5% ceiling on new wage increases, eliminates all retroactive increases due the workers during the period August 15th to November 13th in violation of past and future contracts, and gives absolute power to Nixon's Board to veto each and every contract now in effect or still to be negotiated. This means that ALL UNION CONTRACTS ARE NULLIFIED.

Rather than fight this, as Meany and UAW President Leonard Woodcock had threatened in September, the labor members of the Board including Floyd Smith of the Machinists, I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers and Frank Fitzsimmons are still trying to make this stacked Board work.

This criminal action is reflected in the words of USWA President I.W. Abel who stated: "I haven't given any thought to leaving the Board. Just because we lost the first go-around doesn't mean we aren't going to change the effectiveness of the Board."

The millions of rank and file workers in this country whose wages are being reduced or slashed in effect by as much as one half as business gets ready for a new wave of price rises after November 13th might have a thing or two to tell Mr. Abel and his friends about the "effectiveness" of this Board. Its effectiveness has been more than proven in the attack on the unions and defense of the employers' profits.

Resolutions must now be taken into every union meeting—local, regional and international—calling for labor to get off the Board, and proposing a general strike of the entire labor movement until the entire apparatus of the wage freeze is smashed. This fight has to begin with a struggle for these resolutions and a fight for the labor party at the UAW Special Convention in Detroit on November 13th.

The delegates to this convention must in particular, demand that UAW President Leonard Woodcock resign immediately from the Board regardless of what Meany and the others do. Many thousands of UAW members in industries ranging from aerospace to farm equipment will have all their retroactive pay due during the 90 day freeze eliminated and their deferred wage increases under old contracts limited to 5.5%. Even the 6.5% increase that the auto workers are still supposed to shortly receive is in danger and subject to the veto of the Board.

The UAW delegates must demand that Woodcock stick with his original threat of renegotiation of any contracts interfered with by the Pay Board backed up by strike action. They must take up and pass a motion to implement UAW West Coast Regional Director Paul Schrade's recent statement that "If Nixon and the Pay Board's program is to prevent working men from getting what they are owed, there should be a general strike and a new labor party."

A fight for these resolutions by the delegates to the UAW convention can now play a critical role in reversing the capitulation of Meany and the other labor leaders. These leaders must be told that if they continue on the Board a campaign will be started for their censure and removal from office.

The Pay Board's ruling will hit millions of workers who are scheduled to get increases up to 10% this year, as well as countless others who will be denied retroactive raises.

To speak of giving the Pay Board another "go-around" under these conditions is only to give Nixon and Company more time to prepare the hangman's noose.

A fight must be taken up for absolutely no cooperation with this Board or the wage freeze in any form. A declaration must be made that as far as the unions are concerned, the Pay Board itself is "null and void." This must be taken into every union local in the country with the demands:

- Labor off the Board!
- Prepare a general strike to force the abandonment of the wage freeze in any form!
- Prepare a campaign NOW for a labor party in '72 against Nixon and the Democrats!



"Do a good job, and there's more where that came from!"

What we think

CP Boosts Liberal Candidates

The off-year 1971 elections took place at a time of tremendous crisis for the labor movement. The wage freeze and Nixon's Phase Two plans are designed to turn around the wage offensive of the organized working class.

There is absolutely no choice for the workers as long as they have only the Democratic and Republican parties of unemployment, inflation, war and wage freezing to choose from.

This was sharply expressed in the New York State vote on the transportation bond issue. This bonanza for the banks and construction interests was backed by every major capitalist politician in the State.

The campaign failed because millions of workers simply refused to believe the lies of the bosses, who promised that a few billion more in state debt would enable them to set aside some crumbs to prevent a transit fare rise.

The fact remains, however, that both big business parties supported this swindle, just as they support the wage freeze and every other means of making the working class pay for the crisis. Thus the working class is completely disenfranchised by the phony two party capitalist system. Yet the trade union leaders continue in their support for these parties.

At this critical moment, when the working class more than ever before desperately needs its own political party, the Communist Party does everything in its power to sabotage this fight. It supports the union leaders who refuse to fight Nixon. It fights on all fronts to defend the liberals and reformists just as their outlook is being completely exploded by the capitalist crisis.

The depth of the crisis and the determination of the working class to fight back is also beginning to be reflected within sections of the trade union bureaucracy. That is the significance of West Coast UAW leader Paul Schrade's statement calling for "a general strike and a new labor party" if Phase Two of the freeze prevented the workers from getting what they are owed.

Schrade has always been boosted by the Stalinists as one of their favorite "progressive"

union officials. One can imagine the embarrassment at the CP's Daily World offices when this statement was reported just days after the Stalinists had sought so desperately to remove these exact demands from a demonstration against the wage freeze.

Schrade cannot be relied upon to follow up on his call. Instead of demanding that he do this, however, the Stalinists simply reprinted his statement, without comment, some ten days later in the Daily World. At the same time the Daily World continues with its policy of absolutely refusing to call for a break with the Democrats and the liberals of both parties.

Thus the Stalinists continue to faithfully carry out their role of rearguard of the working class. In this case not only do they tail behind the class, they tail behind the union bureaucrats themselves. When a section of the bureaucracy tries to do some fancy footwork in response to rank and file pressure the Stalinist traitors are sometimes put in an embarrassing position.

Just how serious the Stalinists are about Schrade's statement and the ever-growing disgust with the capitalist parties is shown by their reports on the election campaign.

Does the Communist Party and the Daily World point out that the working class had absolutely no choice in the elections, no means of fighting for its interests? Of course not. According to the Daily World, "analysis of yesterday's elections, the last big voting before the 1972 presidential campaign, showed no single overall pattern but a series of popular advances and some defeats."

According to the Daily World, "on the positive side observers saw the reelection of Black mayors in Gary, Indiana, and Highland Park, Michigan, and the election of Black mayors in Englewood, N.J., Kalamazoo and Benton Park, Michigan... On the negative side were the elections of 'tough cop' Frank Rizzo as mayor of Philadelphia and the defeat of independent black candidate Arnold Pinkney in Cleveland." The World also welcomed the success of Democrats in New Jersey, but claimed that this was "clouded" by the election of ra-

cist Anthony Imperiale.

Furthermore, claimed the World, "The general trend (among Black voters) was to vote for Black candidates, reflecting the growing national consciousness among African-Americans."

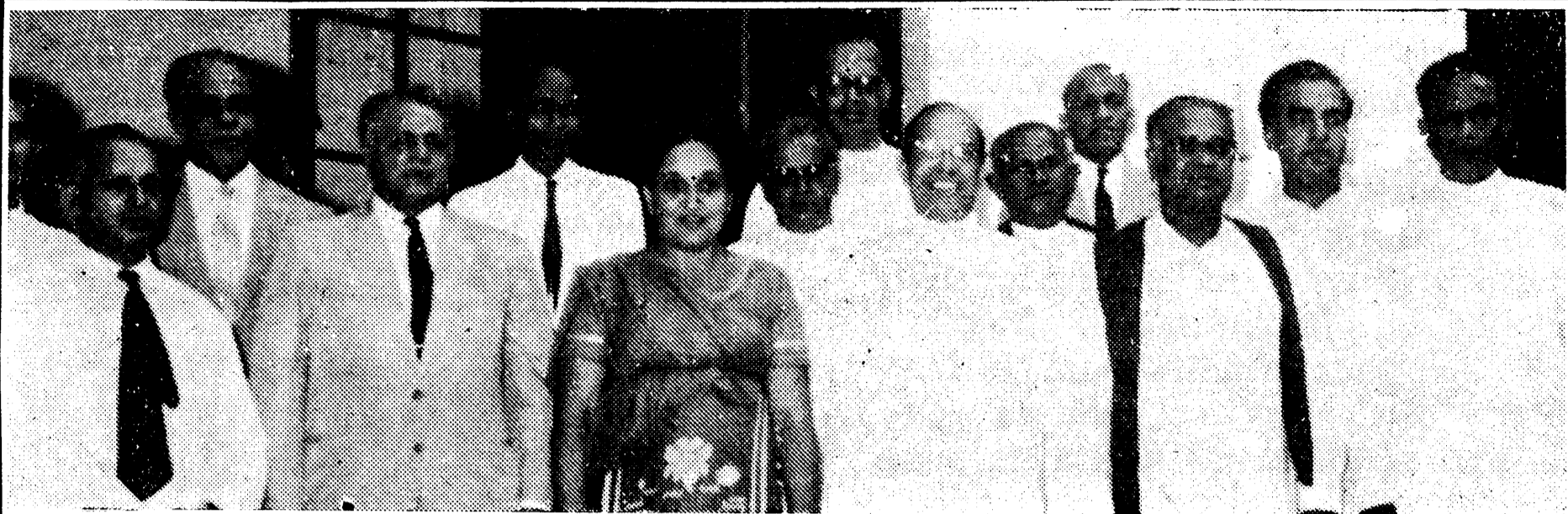
At a time when the workers face the most serious attacks ever, the Stalinists pay lip service to a fight and go right on supporting the various liberal servants of the employers. While they pay lip service to "Black-white unity" in order to fight racism they welcome Blacks voting for Black candidates who are absolutely no different from their white counterparts, who are thoroughly committed to defending capitalism.

Just a few short weeks ago, after the imposition of the wage freeze, the Stalinists made a few militant noises about the treachery of the Democrats and their role in putting the wage freeze legislation in Nixon's hands. They never meant a word of it.

They peddle "moderate" Democrat Kevin White as the alternative to Mrs. Hicks in Boston, "liberal" Republican Longstreth against Rizzo in Philadelphia, and Carl Stokes' hand-picked candidate Pinkney against the law and order candidate in Cleveland.

This is a question of principle, not of tactics. The political candidates of the capitalist class can do nothing but represent that class once elected. They cannot be won over and pressured and their role at times of deepening crisis is even more dangerous, feeding right wing and pro-fascist tendencies. The law and order campaigns and racist agitation can only be answered by a fight to mobilize the entire working class united against the employers' attacks.

Any other policy must play into the hands of the bosses. That is exactly what Stalinism does with its support to the liberals which paved the way for the fascist victories in the 1930s. The record of the Stalinists on this score is one of betrayal for nearly forty years, beginning with their support to Roosevelt in the U.S. and the "democratic" capitalist parties throughout the world.



The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

By Michael Ross

PART FOUR

THE BLOODY RESULTS OF REVISIONISM

Almost fifteen years of the opportunism of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Equality Party) had finally come to a head on June 7, 1964, when a special party conference had overwhelmingly voted to join the capitalist government of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka (Revered Ceylon) Freedom Party. The revisionists of the United Secretariat were forced to break all ties with their largest affiliate.

The bulk of the Ceylonese workers, however, maintained all sorts of illusions in the LSSP-SLFP government, illusions fostered by the many years of misleadership by LSSP leaders especially N.M. Perera, Leslie Goonewardene and Colvin R. DeSilva. The United Secretariat of Pablo and Mandel had covered up for these people until it was too late to do anything about their betrayals—now this same United Secretariat tries to place the blame on anyone and everyone but themselves.

To cover up for their betrayal, the LSSP leaders claimed that the SLFP was not a party of capitalism or of reaction, and that moreover, the coalition spelled the death of capitalism and imperialism on the island.

They were aided in these explanations by the capitalist press of Ceylon, which lost no time trying to prove that Mrs. Bandaranaike's government was the victim of "Marxist" infiltration tactics.

At this point, Mr. C.P. DeSilva, right wing minister in the coalition government, dissented, saying that the LSSP had unconditionally capitulated to Mrs. Bandaranaike. History was to prove DeSilva right—if any proof was really needed.

LESSONS OF THE SECOND COALITION

It was by utilizing the illusions of the working class in the coalition government that the LSSP leaders, with assistance from those of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, were able to allow Mrs. Bandaranaike to inflict important setbacks on the working class and its trade unions.

This was most graphically illustrated with the way the LSSP and CP dismembered the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations. The JCTUO had been formed nine months before the coalition, around a program of 21 demands with which were united, for the first time in history, all 14 of the major unions and labor federations on the island, both in the urban areas and on the plantations.

The first action of the LSSP coalition ministers was to withdraw five federations under their domination from the JCTUO, leaving nine organizations, and taking away the majority of those based in the cities. Before the coalition, the LSSP had controlled unions encompassing some 70% of urban trade unionists on the island.

Then the pro-Moscow CP came forward in late October, 1964 to further disrupt the JCTUO. CP leader Pieter Keuneman led a walkout of three federations from the Committee when it rejected his proposal to tie the JCTUO to the coalition bandwagon.

This was followed when the main plantation workers union, the Ceylon Workers Congress led by Thondaman, announced that they favored submitting the 21 demands to the government but not to the estate owners, because the Estate Employers Federation was absolutely opposed to these demands. What both Thondaman and the employers whose agent he was and is conveniently forgot to mention was that the plantation workers had had no wage increase since 1949!

During the course of negotiations with the plantation owners, it came to light that LSSP leader N.M. Perera, now the Minister of Finance, had made a trip to London in 1960, during which he purchased a 1,000 acre tea estate. Yet this had been the man along with Goonewardene and Colvin R. DeSilva that the United Secretariat had promoted as representatives of the "only mass Trotskyist party in the world" virtually down to the moment they had entered the coalition.

But despite all the efforts of the reformist and Stalinist misleaders, the class struggle reasserted itself repeatedly. This was brought out most sharply in the Velona Mills strike, a five month struggle begun in July, 1964, over the recognition of the Lanka Weaving Mills Workers Union. This was led by members of the LSSP (Revolutionary), the new section of the United Secretariat.

Here is the real face of the LSSP traitors in the government showed itself. They did not hesitate for one moment to support the use of the repressive forces of the capitalist state against their political opponents. The bulk of the strikers, young women between fifteen and eighteen years of age, were repeatedly assaulted by armed thugs and baton-charged by the police, with silence emanating from the LSSP leaders.

Mass support for the strike rapidly developed, with twelve unions under the leadership of members of the LSSP (R), the pro-Chinese CP and even the SLFP demanding that the LSSP-dominated Ceylon Federation of Labour work to nationalize the mill. The reformists replied that this was out of the question. Therefore, when Colvin R. DeSilva tried to address the strikers, he was, for the first time in his life, jeered and shouted down by a working class audience.

Then came the coalition's most despicable action of all, their most blatant attempt to win over the extreme Sinhalese Buddhist racists. Mrs. Bandaranaike moved to find a "final solution" to the "Indian question" along lines that couldn't have made Hitler more proud. On October 29, 1964, she signed a pact with Indian Prime Minister Shastri concerning the stateless Tamil Indian plantation workers. Some 525,000 of these workers were to be deported to India over a fifteen year period, with another 150,000 to follow. Those who remained would

be given Ceylonese citizenship, but placed on a separate electoral roll, a racist measure seen elsewhere only in South Africa. Some 30 years before in the colonial State Council, Perera and Philip Gunawardena had strenuously opposed Indian immigration—now this policy came home with a vengeance.

But it is a credit to the strength of the Ceylon labor movement that little of this deportation has been put into effect.

What was the real attitude of the United Secretariat on the citizenship status of the Indian Tamils? Mandel quotes a letter to the LSSP from the Secretariat of July 1, 1963, which says the following:

"Concerning point 14(b) we think that in order to avoid any ambiguity, it must be made clear that the option of deciding the citizenship rights of persons of Indian origin should not be left ultimately to the goodwill of the government of India, but to the people directly concerned, although we recognize that there is nothing wrong in the principle of negotiations between India and Ceylon on the subject." (78)

What sort of "Marxism" is this where capitalist governments are granted the right to negotiate in "principle" or otherwise over the fate of a stateless national minority?

Throughout the short life of the second coalition (the first between a capitalist party and a workers party in Ceylon had lasted from 1956 to 1958), the ten points put forward by Perera as condition for joining the government were never given serious consideration. But of the four points added by Mrs. Bandaranaike?

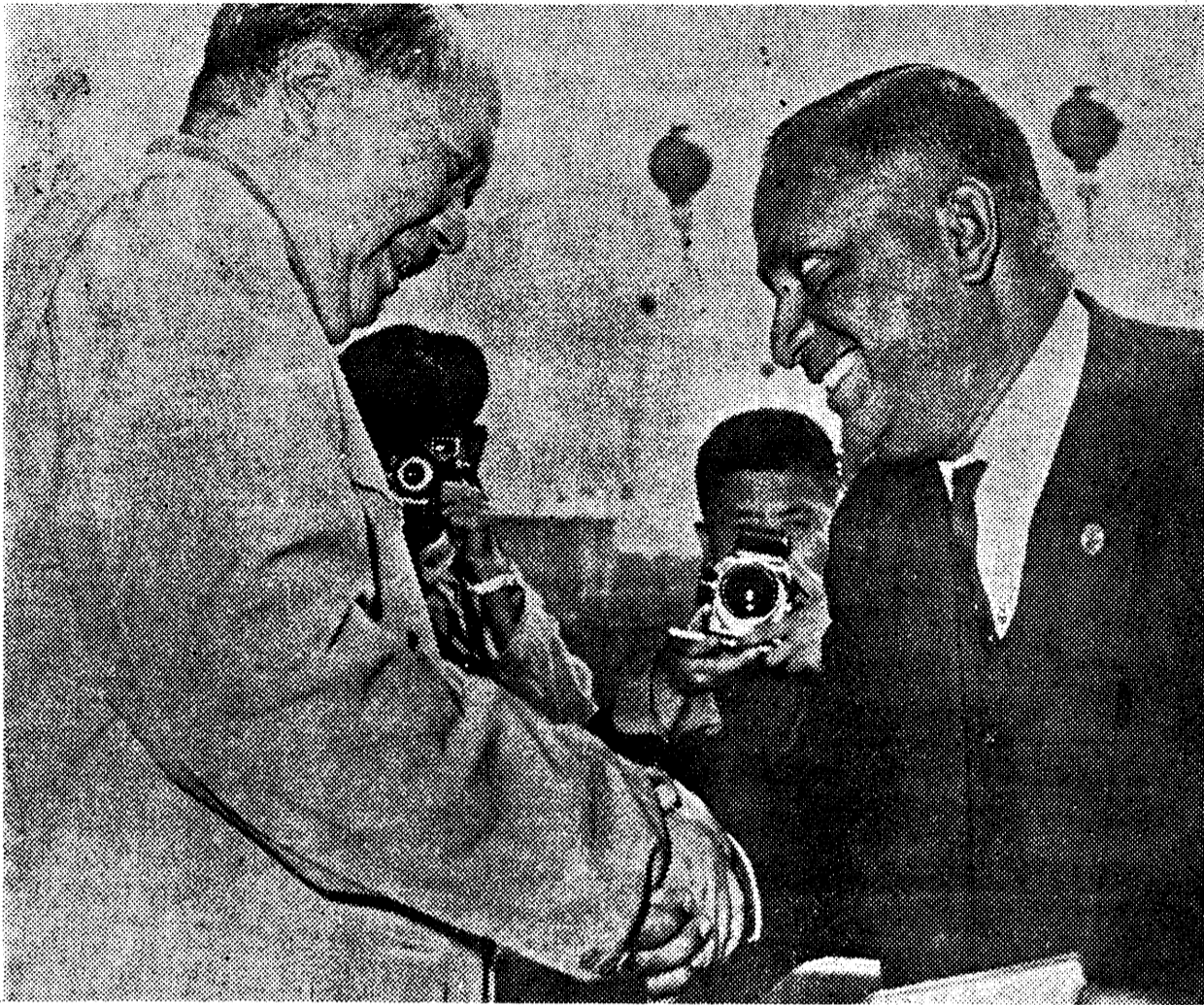
Two of these were definite. Buddhism became the official state religion, and photos of Perera and his lieutenants praying to Lord Buddha began to fill the daily press—although some of them had been engaged in these same prayers for over twenty years—it was now just a bit more blatant.

In addition, not only was a coalition set up, but a no-contest pact, with the right to allocate seats granted solely to Mrs. Bandaranaike. The reformist LSSP leaders had moved quickly from permanent revolution to permanent coalition.

But despite the coalition's success at alienating and antagonizing large sections of the working class, it failed completely in its attempts to ingratiate itself with the capitalist class and the reactionary Buddhist priests.

Nor was the coalition very successful at winning financial backing from British imperialism. A visit by Perera to London to seek aid was turned down. This was a vote of no-confidence in the ability of the coalition to discipline the working class.

Then the coalition made a move which brought about its downfall. They decided to nationalize Lake House, the major chain of right wing daily newspapers. Both left and right wing elements attacked the move, each for its own reasons. The United National Party and the Buddhist priests claimed, falsely, that this was an



N. Sanmugathasan, head of pro-Peking Ceylon CP greeted by Mao Tse-tung in Peking.

attempt to set up a workers dictatorship. The left wing parties and unions correctly pointed out that the coalition was trying to suppress every means of independent political expression.

Resignations of government MPs began and Parliament was again prorogued, the second time in 1964. When it reconvened on December 3rd, the right wing of the SLFP, led by C.P. DeSilva, Minister of Lands, crossed the floor to join the opposition. The vote on the press nationalization bill was a defeat for the government, 74-73. The second coalition was dead, and new elections were called.

One point about the entire period of this short-lived coalition should be noted. Although Mandel and Pablo had broken all relations with the LSSP right wing around Perera and Moonesinghe the moment they had entered the coalition, they had not done so with the centrists led by Goonewardene and Colvin R. DeSilva. Although these elements had remained in the same party as Perera, these two gentlemen also retained the somewhat dubious distinction of maintaining their membership on the Pabloite International Executive Committee. Mandel and Pablo were keeping their foot in the door.

It was only after the defeat of the coalition that Mandel and Pablo announced that:

"A motion from the LSSP (Revolutionary Section) expelling Colvin R. DeSilva and Leslie Gunawardena (sic) on charges of following the betrayers in Ceylon was placed before the International Executive Committee for consideration and the body declared that in view of the action of the LSSP (Revolutionary Section), which was uncontested by either Colvin R. DeSilva or Leslie Gunawardena (sic), the two are no longer within the ranks of the Fourth International and are consequently no longer members of the International Executive Committee." (79)

At this time, the International Committee of the Fourth International said that for the LSSP (R), now led by the old left wing leaders of the LSSP, to break the grip of the reformists, nationalists and Stalinists over the working class and build a real mass revolutionary party on the island, it was necessary to understand the connections between the coalition and the politics of the United Secretariat—and to break decisively, once and for all, with the United Secretariat and function as an affiliate of the International Committee.

But with little exception, the LSSP (R) leaders believed that it was still possible to both build a revolutionary party in Ceylon and maintain their connections with the United Secretariat. This was even after the United Secretariat revisionists had totally disoriented and paralyzed the fight of the left wing against the opportunists in the LSSP through the medium of the United Left Front.

This was the assumption of Karalasingham, Tampoe, Samarakkody and Maryl Fernando, the principal political leaders of the LSSP (R). History was to shortly prove them dead wrong.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE RENEGADES

The second coalition having fallen and the struggle for the 21 demands sabotaged beyond recognition, the LSSP leaders continued their collaboration with Mrs. Bandaranaike. For this is the logical outcome of revisionism in all of its forms—collaboration with the capitalist class, especially its liberal sections, whether or not this takes the particular form of a coalition government.

With the support of the pro-Moscow CP, the LSSP and

SLFP signed a new no-contest pact to fight the upcoming elections. These elections were set for March 22, 1965, and the SLFP-CP-LSSP led coalition quickly showed how they intended to fight it, by the use of racism so vile that even the UNP seldom dared to engage in.

They started their campaign at a big mass rally to hustle votes for the coalition on December 9, 1964, making special mention of the supposed benefits to be brought by the Shastri-Bandaranaike pact.

They then moved towards whipping up Sinhalese Buddhist chauvinism. The coalitionist moves of the LSSP and CP had had one advantage. It had brought them additional financial backing, so much so that they could begin the publication of daily newspapers, the "Janamathaya" of the LSSP and the "Attha" of the pro-Moscow CP. Through their pages, as well as those of the LSSP weekly "Janasathiya" were published some of the most vile racist and communal filth to ever fill the columns of supposedly working-class newspapers.

This campaign went on both before and after the elections.

They accused the UNP of plotting with the Federal Party (a Tamil communal party) to make Tamil an official language. The LSSP now went all the way with "Sinhala Only." And among the "crimes" of the UNP it was alleged that this party, which had once victimized Tamil civil servants, would now give them their jobs back.

It was further alleged that the only Sinhalese Buddhists who supported the UNP were those who did not have a clear understanding of Buddhist philosophy, as did, say, N.M. Perera.

With a few changes of names, the coalitionists were shouting the same racist slogans as their predecessors of the MEP did in 1956.

Even the Catholic Church felt the wrath of the coalitionists. The CP and LSSP press charged the UNP with committing such crimes as nominating Catholics for municipal office in Colombo and for membership in the Senate. This, which the LSSP and CP themselves had done years before from among their members who had come from Catholic backgrounds, was something the coalition made sure they never did again. From then on, only those with a "clear understanding of Buddhist philosophy" were nominated by the CP and LSSP.

The LSSP (R) had learned little from their struggle as the left wing of the LSSP. They brought with them many of the weaknesses of the old party.

To begin with, the LSSP (R) leaders never viewed themselves as part of an international movement, taking its international responsibilities to be primary. It was this view of itself in 1953 and 1954 that had allowed the LSSP leaders, while disagreeing with much of what Pablo said, to continue to remain in the same organization, so long as he left them to do what they pleased on the island. It was this same lack of international perspectives that led Lora of the Bolivian POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) to break with Pablo at the same time, and devote his party entirely to Bolivia. This has now led to the military staging a come-back in that country.

In Ceylon this was immediately seen when Mandel and Frank entrusted the publication of their English journal "Fourth International" to the LSSP (R), a journal in existence almost ten years. It promptly was shut down.

It was this refusal to start with the struggle for internationalism, for Marxist method and theory, that was the

real beginning of the end of the LSSP (R). Whole sections of that party found out that the United Secretariat was not the least bit concerned in building a revolutionary movement on the island, but in basking in the glory of the LSSP (R)'s leadership of the Mercantile Union, much as they had held up the old LSSP to ward off criticisms from the International Committee.

As a result, the defections soon began. Osmund Jayaratne, who was Mandel's full-time troubleshooter in Ceylon, now chose the possibility of a warm parliamentary seat to revolutionary struggle, and rejoined the LSSP.

Both the coalition and the LSSP (R) went down to defeat in the elections. The coalition wound up with 55 seats, and the UNP-led forces with 66. With the aid of the Federal Party, a new government was formed. The LSSP (R) was overwhelmingly defeated in the four seats it contested, being crushed by LSSP and Federal Party candidates.

The LSSP (R) leaders were waking up to the fact that it was no easy matter to break the working class from its traditional leadership, no matter how treacherous such leaders were. All of the major LSSP (R) leaders, each in his own way, ran away from the struggle to build the new leadership in the class.

Now the UNP government of Dudley Senanayake showed its true face. In December, 1965, the police baton-charged demonstrating students. Then they introduced the Special Provisions Act providing for a limited use of Tamil—this was intended to help whip up Sinhalese racism and further divide the working class, and make future government attacks easier.

The LSSP, CP and Mrs. Bandaranaike then went so far as to call an anti-Tamil strike on January 8, 1966 against the Special Provisions Act. The UNP government secured the mass firings of thousands of militant workers misled by the coalitionists who had answered the strike call.

The LSSP leaders were being consistent. They had turned May Day, 1965 into a pogrom against Tamil workers in Colombo. A few months later it was reported that:

"Reliable party sources said that the N.M. Perera-Anil Moonesinghe faction of the LSSP is lobbying heavily for a break with the Fourth International..."

"The N.M. Perera-Anil Moonesinghe faction, according to reliable Left sources, scored a major victory against the Leslie Goonewardene-Colvin R. DeSilva faction when they sabotaged plans for holding Trotsky memorial meetings on August 20." (80)

Yet the Special Provisions Act around which the coalitionists had whipped up the racism brought out more clearly than ever another fact—the completely capitalist nature of the Federal Party. The act established Tamil as an official language only in the Northern and Eastern provinces, where Tamil was the overwhelming native tongue. It retained a subordinate status to Sinhalese in the island as a whole. Yet this was the logical outcome of the politics of the Federal Party and the workers and peasants it misled—to seek concessions within the framework of capitalism. This was what led the Federal Party from its inception to make deals with either the UNP and SLFP. But through the LSSP (R) leaders could correctly point all of this out, they followed it up with little practical work to develop a revolutionary party among either the working class or the minorities.

As for building a revolutionary party in Ceylon and throughout the Indian subcontinent, the LSSP (R) leaders



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got no help whatsoever from the United Secretariat. The Secretariat's affiliates held a world congress in Rome in 1965 in which the Ceylon disaster was discussed in—ninety minutes!

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE

This period in Ceylon following the defeat of the coalition should have enabled the LSSP (R) to build up a substantial movement and win over a section of those workers misled into the coalition by the Stalinist and revisionist leaders. But because the LSSP (R) was also among the misled, misled by the Politics of the United Secretariat, it instead went from one disaster to another.

After Jayaratne, the next group of defectors were those around V. Karalasingham. His faction, in complete opposition to Bolshevik discipline, had been allowed to publish a public journal, "Sakti," which was completely outside party discipline. This faction early in 1966 decided to return to the LSSP.

Karalasingham produced a pamphlet, *Senile Leftism*, to justify his retreat to the LSSP. Karalasingham blames Samarakkody and the LSSP (R) for the downfall of the coalition. But throughout his sophisticated justification for the coalition runs a thread of the politics of the United Secretariat. For had they not for years argued that revolutionaries should enter mass Stalinist and reformist parties to help "mass pressure" turn these organizations into revolutionary parties? Karalasingham was being consistent. We shall see more of his later evolution shortly.

The final step taken by the LSSP (R) to build a revolutionary party and a united front of working class organizations to resist the government's new attacks (the UNP had used the January 8th strike to invoke a state of emergency) was the creation in 1966 of the United Committee of Ceylon Trade Unions. Besides Tampoe's Mercantile Union, it included the Bank Employees, and on the plantations, the Democratic Workers Congress and the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union.

It was under the leadership of this united front that the bank workers and the bulk of the plantation workers came out on strike, forcing the pro-coalition plantation unions to go along to achieve one of the first wage increases on the plantations since 1949.

But the LSSP (R) leaders frittered away these opportunities presented by the building of this United Committee. Moreover, it was an indication that their opposition to the government was to remain confined to a trade union, syndicalist level.

The real turning point was reached when the world economy took a turn into deeper crisis in 1967, with the devaluation of the British pound. This was followed by the devaluation of Ceylon's rupee by 20 percent.

This meant a vicious slash in the living standards of the working class on the island, and the LSSP and pro-Moscow and pro-Chinese CP-led unions were forced to strike against the devaluation. Yet Tampoe refused to call his union out in support of the others, using the excuse that the leadership of the other unions was inadequate and would lead to defeat.

The LSSP (R) was getting ready to split wide open. A section of the party led by Samarakkody and

Kulatilake broke away shortly after realizing that the United Secretariat had no intention of building a revolutionary party on the island or anywhere else. They sharply criticized the role of the Secretariat in its resolution on the six day war between the Arab states and Israel in 1967. This resolution had not called for the military defeat of Israel and had shown no perspective for building mass revolutionary parties in the Middle East. For a few months the United Secretariat tried to reunite the groups and considered both its affiliates, and then finally threw their lot in with Tampoe.

Another group had been developing around the *Young Socialist* journal since 1964, led by Wilfred Pereira, who had seen the role of the Pabloites in preparing the coalition very early. This group had tried to turn the *Young Socialist* journal towards a new development of Marxism and towards the International Committee. But the editor, Sydney Wanasinghe, preferred to keep the journal a literary affair, to print long essays on various features of the Ceylonese bourgeois constitution, etc.

After four years of political struggle this group broke both with Wanasinghe and the LSSP (R), to found the Revolutionary Communist League, affiliated with the International Committee, in June, 1968.

Because of the development these comrades had made in their course of struggle with the revisionist elements they were shortly after the split to lay the basis for a youth movement, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, and expand from the publication of one Sinhalese paper, *Virodahya*, to five papers, in English, Sinhalese and Tamil.

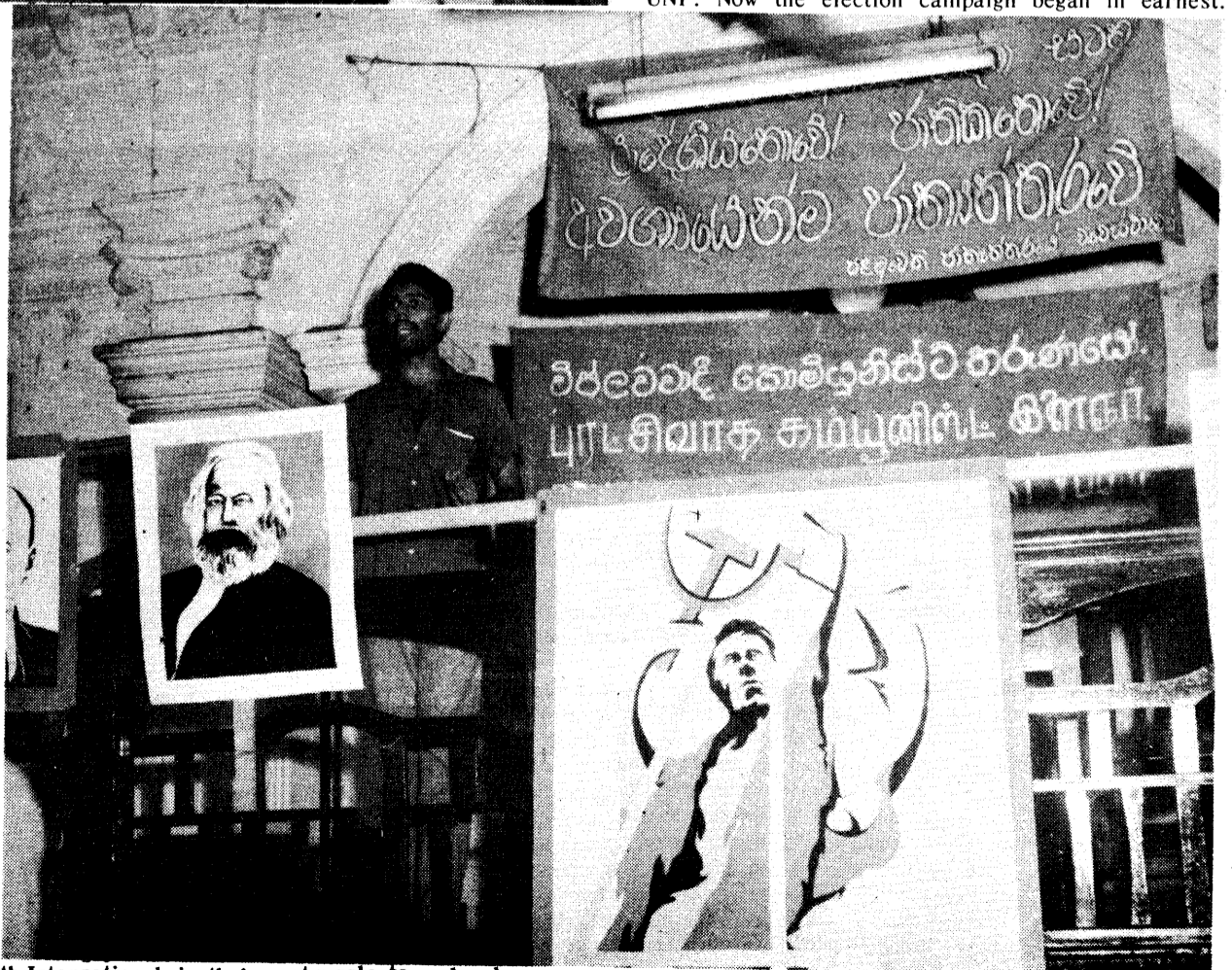
Now the working class began to move into struggle not seen since before the second coalition, with 300,000 coming out for wage increases in November, 1968. This was followed early the next year by a big strike of government clerical service workers, during which the UNP government declared another state of emergency. Later in 1969, workers in the nationalized industries struck and their leaders proposed a general strike to back them, but retreated and called it off two days before it was supposed to begin. Tampoe's CMU followed in the retreat.

While this was going on, another movement was taking shape, primarily among the middle class youth, the JVP (Janatha Vikmuthi Peramuna-Peoples Liberation Front). Its main leader was Rohan Wijweera, a former member of the pro-Moscow CP. It built a big base among university students and unemployed university graduates, of whom there were several tens of thousands. They built this base on a completely reactionary basis. This movement was restricted to the Sinhalese speaking, for the leadership characterized India as the biggest imperialist power in relation to Ceylon. They maintained a completely hostile attitude towards trade unions, and a racialist attitude towards the Indian estate workers.

Yet Tampoe introduced Wijweera to his union's annual conference as a true Marxist-Leninist!

But despite all the efforts of the leaders to behead it, the militancy of the working class and rural poor reached new heights as 1970 approached, and with it, the end of the UNP's constitutional term of office. This government found itself unable to pass its anti-union bill, the wages council bill or to drastically cut social services. And so Senanayake set new elections for May 27, 1970.

He had some reasons to be confident. Two of the top leaders of the LSSP, Jack Kotelawala and P.B. Wijesundera crossed the floor in Parliament to join the UNP. Now the election campaign began in earnest.



Three pictures show the Revolutionary Communist League of the Fourth International in their struggle to develop a new leadership for the working class. Above, a demonstration in support of American Trotskyist Juan Farinas. Below, Conferences of the RCL.

real beginning of the end of the LSSP (R). Whole sections of that party found out that the United Secretariat was not the least bit concerned in building a revolutionary movement on the island, but in basking in the glory of the LSSP (R)'s leadership of the Mercantile Union, much as they had held up the old LSSP to ward off criticisms from the International Committee.

As a result, the defections soon began. Osmund Jayaratne, who was Mandel's full-time troubleshooter in Ceylon, now chose the possibility of a warm parliamentary seat to revolutionary struggle, and rejoined the LSSP.

Both the coalition and the LSSP (R) went down to defeat in the elections. The coalition wound up with 55 seats, and the UNP-led forces with 66. With the aid of the Federal Party, a new government was formed. The LSSP (R) was overwhelmingly defeated in the four seats it contested, being crushed by LSSP and Federal Party candidates.

The LSSP (R) leaders were waking up to the fact that it was no easy matter to break the working class from its traditional leadership, no matter how treacherous such leaders were. All of the major LSSP (R) leaders, each in his own way, ran away from the struggle to build the new leadership in the class.

Now the UNP government of Dudley Senanayake showed its true face. In December, 1965, the police baton-charged demonstrating students. Then they introduced the Special Provisions Act providing for a limited use of Tamil—this was intended to help whip up Sinhalese racism and further divide the working class, and make future government attacks easier.

The LSSP, CP and Mrs. Bandaranaike then went so far as to call an anti-Tamil strike on January 8, 1966 against the Special Provisions Act. The UNP government secured the mass firings of thousands of militant workers misled by the coalitionists who had answered the strike call.

The LSSP leaders were being consistent. They had turned May Day, 1965 into a pogrom against Tamil workers in Colombo. A few months later it was reported that:

"Reliable party sources said that the N.M. Perera-Anil Moonesinghe faction of the LSSP is lobbying heavily for a break with the Fourth International..."

"The N.M. Perera-Anil Moonesinghe faction, according to reliable Left sources, scored a major victory against the Leslie Goonewardene-Colvin R. DeSilva faction when they sabotaged plans for holding Trotsky memorial meetings on August 20." (80)

Yet the Special Provisions Act around which the coalitionists had whipped up the racism brought out more clearly than ever another fact—the completely capitalist nature of the Federal Party. The act established Tamil as an official language only in the Northern and Eastern provinces, where Tamil was the overwhelming native tongue. It retained a subordinate status to Sinhalese in the island as a whole. Yet this was the logical outcome of the politics of the Federal Party and the workers and peasants it misled—to seek concessions within the framework of capitalism. This was what led the Federal Party from its inception to make deals with either the UNP and SLFP. But through the LSSP (R) leaders could correctly point all of this out, they followed it up with little practical work to develop a revolutionary party among either the working class or the minorities.

As for building a revolutionary party in Ceylon and throughout the Indian subcontinent, the LSSP (R) leaders

got no help whatsoever from the United Secretariat. The Secretariat's affiliates held a world congress in Rome in 1965 in which the Ceylon disaster was discussed in—ninety minutes!

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE

This period in Ceylon following the defeat of the coalition should have enabled the LSSP (R) to build up a substantial movement and win over a section of those workers misled into the coalition by the Stalinist and revisionist leaders. But because the LSSP (R) was also among the misled, misled by the Politics of the United Secretariat, it instead went from one disaster to another.

After Jayaratne, the next group of defectors were those around V. Karalasingham. His faction, in complete opposition to Bolshevik discipline, had been allowed to publish a public journal, "Sakti," which was completely outside party discipline. This faction early in 1966 decided to return to the LSSP.

Karalasingham produced a pamphlet, *Senile Leftism*, to justify his retreat to the LSSP. Karalasingham blames Samarakkody and the LSSP (R) for the downfall of the coalition. But throughout his sophisticated justification for the coalition runs a thread of the politics of the United Secretariat. For had they not for years argued that revolutionaries should enter mass Stalinist and reformist parties to help "mass pressure" turn these organizations into revolutionary parties? Karalasingham was being consistent. We shall see more of his later evolution shortly.

The final step taken by the LSSP (R) was the creation of a revolutionary party and a united front of organizations to resist the government (the UNP had used the January 8th state of emergency) was the creation of the United Committee of Ceylon Trade Unions. This included the Mercantile Union, it included employees, and on the plantations, the Deming Congress and the Ceylon Estates Staffs.

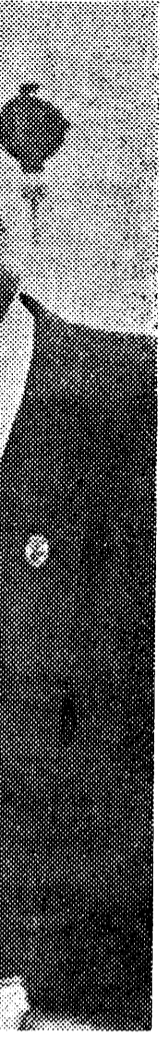
It was under the leadership of this United Committee that the bank workers and the bulk of the plantation workers came out on strike, forcing the pro-coalition government to go along to achieve one of its major objectives—increases on the plantations since 1949.

But the LSSP (R) leaders frittered away the opportunities presented by the building of the United Committee. Moreover, it was an indication of opposition to the government was to remain at the trade union, syndicalist level.

The real turning point was reached when the economy took a turn into deeper crisis and the devaluation of the British pound. This led to the devaluation of Ceylon's rupee.

This meant a vicious slash in the living standards of the working class on the island, and the government in Moscow and pro-Chinese CP-led union leaders called for a strike against the devaluation. Yet the LSSP (R) called his union out in support of the government, on the excuse that the leadership of the other unions was inadequate and would lead to defeat.

The LSSP (R) was getting ready to turn its back on the working class. A section of the party led by S...



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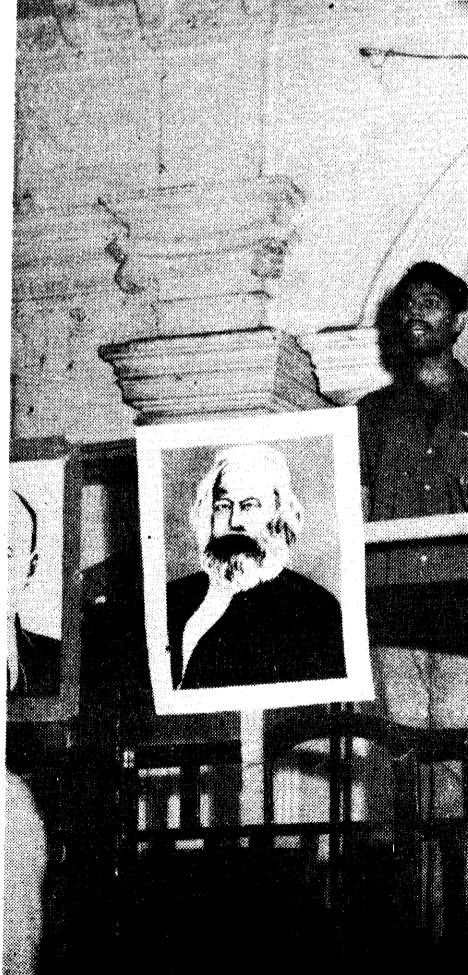
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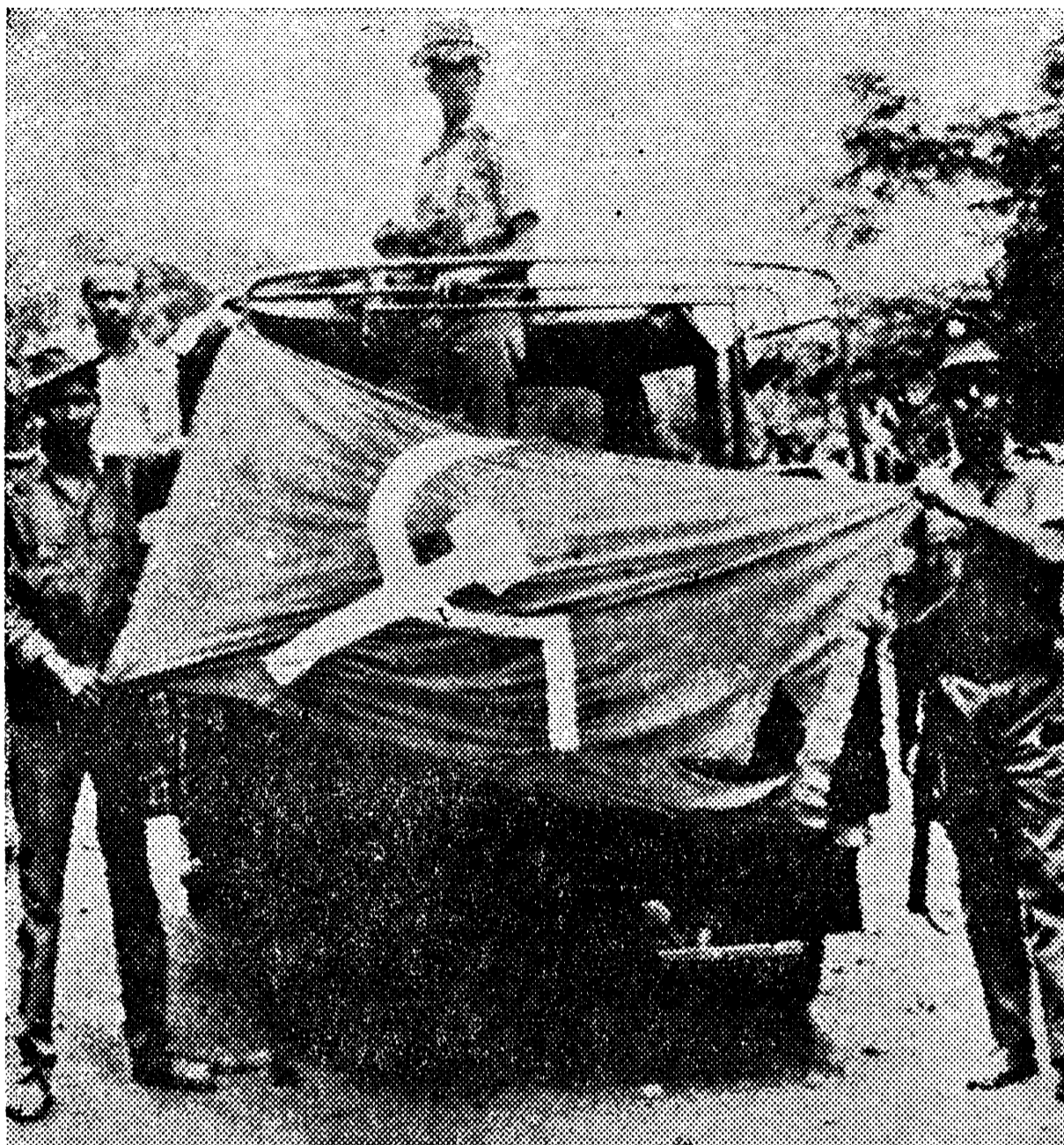
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These three pictures show the Revolutionary Communist League of the Fourth International in their struggle to gain leadership for the working class. Above, a demonstration in support of American Trotskyist Juan Farinas. Below, Conf...



Above, Ceylonese government soldiers display red flag of rebel JVP captured in fighting in the southern part of the country. Below, Keuneman, pro-Moscow Stalinist and Bandaranaike in 1966. Left, troops guard streets of Colombo during JVP rebellion; Mrs. Bandaranaike chats with Nixon.



Lined up with the UNP were Philip Gunawardena's MEP, the Federal Party, the Tamil Congress and several other right wing parties. All of them, though allied with the Tamil Congress and Federal Party, engaged in an orgy of Sinhalese racism.

The coalitionists led by the SLFP, LSSP and pro-Moscow CP, even outdid the UNP and its partners in the racism. Their program was even more reactionary than it had been in 1956 or 1964, promising only the nationalization of foreign banks. They were backed up by both the pro-Peking CP and the JVP.

Then the results began to come in, with the UNP receiving its worst defeat since 1956, and the SLFP-CP-LSSP coalition taking over two-thirds of the seats in Parliament. Over two-thirds of the sitting UNP Ministers lost their seats. The SLFP got 90 seats, the LSSP 19 and the pro-Moscow CP got 6.

All of the revisionists were now coming home to roost in the SLFP nest. Karalasingham showed where Pablo's theories of mass pressure on the opportunist working class leaders and middle class nationalists led—he accepted a directorship in the state mortgage bank under the coalition.

Wanasinghe, the editor and publisher of the *Young Socialist* journal quickly followed suit. Discussing the possibility of an army coup late in 1970, he stated that: "In 1970, however, with the massive peoples' victory of May 27th, organized widespread subversion in army-police circles does not appear to be an immediate possibility." (81)

This time the CP got a place in the government, with Keuneman becoming Minister of Housing. Perera got back his old job as Finance Minister, and who was to join him in accepting ministries but Mandel's "genuine Trotskyists" Leslie Goonewardene and Colvin R. DeSilva.

Now the capitalist class through the coalition government stepped up its drive to clamp down on the working class, with police shootings of striking estate workers and baton-charging again the striking estate workers. One Ceylonese supporter of the International Committee, writing late in 1970, characterized the situation as

follows:

"Behind the facade of the coalition rhetoric, the most reactionary sections of the ruling class are preparing for a brutal offensive against the working class and its traditional leadership." (82)

Tampoe got ready at this time, not for this offensive, but for an unprincipled alliance of the JVP. His reasoning reveals the total isolation of the LSSP (R) from the youth:

"The LSSP (R) had no clear idea of what the JVP was, but when they held their meeting on August 10, it was quite clear that it was entirely a genuine mass movement of Sinhala youth. There were about 10,000 people at that first meeting...."

Seeing numbers and not principle as the crucial thing, Tampoe noted that:

"Our party has established very friendly political relations with the leadership of the movement, even though to begin with they undoubtedly had what we would describe as a Stalinist orientation, and to some extent, since their movement is comprised entirely of Sinhala youth, they also had to some degree a racist orientation." (83)

Shortly after Tampoe had made these statements, the coalition had launched a bloodbath against the JVP, with Tampoe, his party and his union making only verbal protests. During this recently concluded bloodbath, Mrs. Bandaranaike gave her coalition partners the go-ahead to use the army and police to get rid of their left wing

opponents.

For a brief period of time, leaders of the Revolutionary Communist League were detained, and their press remains banned. Leaders of the pro-Chinese CP are still detained, and their supporters who led the Revolutionary Plantation Workers Union have "disappeared."

Hundreds of members of the pro-Moscow CP and LSSP have been arrested as it was thought that they were a source of potential opposition. V. Nanayakkara, an LSSP youth leader and member of Parliament remains in custody.

One final point. We must consider the whole blood-soaked history of the coalition periods in Ceylon's history to represent the greatest betrayal of the revisionists led by Mandel and the United Secretariat.

There have, of course, been other such betrayals: Algeria, Belgium and a number of other countries. But only in Ceylon has a mass party calling itself Trotskyist and developed under the leadership of Mandel, Frank and Pablo, been directly responsible for such betrayals.

It has been the greatest betrayal of the working class that the revisionists of the United Secretariat have gotten away with—so far. If they are not stopped the same sort of situation can develop in Europe, America and South America, with even more disastrous results.

The most urgent requirement today to prevent this is the building of mass sections of the Fourth International in all countries. This can be done only through a conscious struggle to expose and isolate the centrist charlatans such as Mandel who masquerade as Trotskyists.

There are over 20,000 dead in Ceylon today as a result of the revisionism which developed in the Trotskyist movement after the second world war. The Fourth International can go forward only through the struggle against this revisionism of Pablo and Mandel. This is the real lesson of Ceylon.

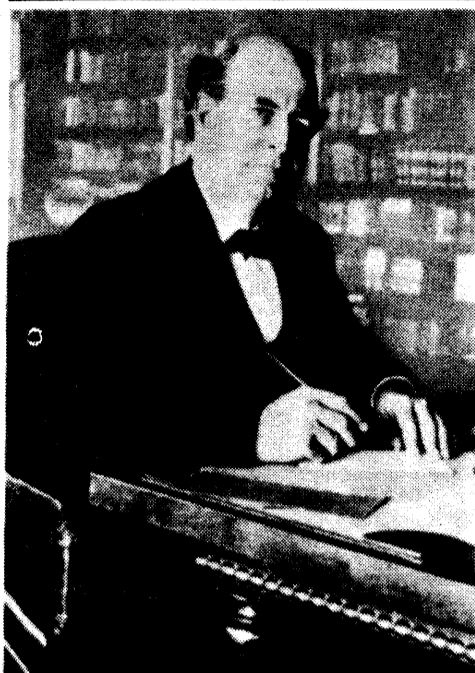
FOOTNOTES

78. Mandel, op. cit., *Ultra-Leftism* pp. 4-5
79. *World Outlook*, Vol. 3, #3, January 15, 1965, New York, p. 30
80. *Ceylon Daily News*, August 25, 1965
81. *Young Socialist*; Vol. 5, #2, (whole number 22), November, 1970, Colombo
82. "From the Second to the Third Coalition." *Workers Press*, London, November 9, 1970
83. *Intercontinental Press*, Vol. 9, # 15, April 19, 1971, pp. 359-360

BOOKS

BOB MICHAELSON

Bryan



BRYAN. A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan. By Louis W. Koenig. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1971. 736 pages.

The political career of William Jennings Bryan was the product of the reaction of the middle classes and workers of America to the hot-house development of monopoly capitalism in the period after the Civil War which was based on the tremendous exploitation of these same workers and farmers.

By 1899 industrial production in America reached \$13 billion—nearly as much as the combined production of England, France and Germany, whereas in 1860, U.S. production was valued at less than any one of these countries. This tremendous development of capitalism was prepared for by the destruction of slavery in the South and the rapid industrialization created in the South by an influx of finance capital from the Northern bankers and corporations.

IMMIGRATION

This same period witnessed the opening up of the West to the immigration of farmers along the railroad lines which were threading their way across the continent under the wing of the federal government. Railway companies such as the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific of California received cash loans of from 16 to 48 thousand dollars for each mile of track they constructed as well as alternate sections of land granted to them for a distance of twenty miles from the rail line.

The railroad magnates meanwhile spent millions of dollars to attract eastern farmers and immigrants to the western territories and along their respective rail lines. Between 1870 and 1890, the population of the western states tripled.

In the East and Midwest, the steel, coal and oil industries grew into the mighty trusts and monopolies of the Carnegies and Rockefellers.

Corresponding to the tremendous growth of industry, the industrial working class of the U.S. itself grew by leaps and bounds, taking its first steps in trade union organizing with the craft unions of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

In this boiling cauldron of youthful American capitalism, political developments were fast moving and precarious. The dominant party after the Civil War was the Republican Party which, after its revolutionary role in destroying slavery, settled down to consolidating the gains for the capitalist class.

Throughout the South and West, and reaching into the Northeast, radical political parties and movements rose up and collapsed one after another—the Greenbacks, the Single-Taxers, the Granger, the Union-Labor Party and the Populists.

None of these movements, however, were able to stabilize themselves into

a permanent political force in the U.S. They all garnered their strength mainly from the farmers and small artisans during times of economic crisis, only to fall into the abyss during periods of prosperity.

It was inevitable that this mass movement against the growth of monopolies and imperialism would be reflected in a form more palatable to the bourgeoisie—one which they could use to head off the conflict with the growing working class through the process of buying off the most organized and powerful sections of the working class and farmers.

BRYAN

This is where Bryan came onto the political stage. "The Great Commoner" as he was called was the driving force behind mobilizing this anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist movement back into the capitalist political system. He did this on the basis of the most pragmatic politics based on trying to round off the sharp corners of capitalist development and squeezing out from them whatever the capitalists were willing to give in the way of economic reforms.

Arthur Koenig sees none of this. He sees Bryan as simply the precursor to all the other reform movements of the coming decades. He sees Bryan's idealism as something worthy of being developed for the betterment of mankind. But Bryan's career was based on the very real and material development of American capitalism.

Bryan built his early career on the issue of free silver. His political base throughout his life was in Nebraska, which was in the heart of Populist country, where the demand for free silver—which meant, basically, cheap money—was the perennial slogan of all the radical reformists. In the period of his early career, the West was faced with depression and chronic crisis. Farms were continually being foreclosed and farmers, in order to keep their heads above water, had to go deeper into debt to the eastern bankers.

These farmers hoped that if the value of money were lowered then they would get more for their crops and they would find it easier to pay off their mortgages and buy new equipment. The commonly held belief was that if more money were printed, then it would be cheaper and would solve the farmers' problems.

SILVER

The "free silver" movement was based on the assumption that as long as the economy was based on the gold standard, money would be "rare" and with a higher value. If silver were added to put the economy onto a "bimetallic" standard of gold and silver, then the government would be able to produce more money.

Bryan supported this program of free silver and used it to rally the Populists and reformists around the banner of the Democratic Party, which had been nearly destroyed during the Civil War.

Following the Panic of 1893 which acted like adrenalin in the bloodstream of reformism, Bryan carried out a nationwide battle within the Democratic Party against the "gold men" led by Grover Cleveland, then Democratic President of the U.S. and an unabashed agent of the trusts. This culminated in the national Democratic Convention of 1896.

The author of the book, Koenig, describes the mood of the country and Bryan's role at the time of the 1896 convention quite aptly:

"Bryan was struggling not merely for primacy in a political party; he was contending for leadership of a social movement. The silver cause was a political and social response to a crisis situation. The elusive, long-running economic depression had not waned. Nothing the Cleveland administration had done in holding fast to conservative financial policies had significantly relieved the severity of the crisis. Silver as a social movement was the offspring of unrelieved economic disaster." (p. 176)

In 1896, free silver promised a miracle remedy to which millions of farmers and many workers looked for escape from the depression. At the convention, Bryan defeated Cleveland, winning the party's nomination for the Presidency.

The People's Party, which drew nearly all its strength from the farmers of the West and South, grew out of the earlier Farmers Alliances. In 1896, it was only four years old as a national party and the Populists had gained control of a number of state administrations and legislatures throughout the West and South.

Bryan's fusion politics with the Populists which were so successful in Nebraska were now taken onto the national stage. It also meant the beginning of the end of the People's Party. Its nomination of Bryan for the 1896 presidential elections was a blow from which it never recovered.

Besides the Populists, Bryan had succeeded in grouping behind his campaign a coalition of other small radical parties from the Prohibitionists to the Christian Socialists and had obtained the support of the Knights of Labor and Eugene Debs, then president of the American Railway Union. Although Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor refused support, many of the member unions aided Bryan.

1896

The elections of 1896 set the course for the rest of Bryan's political career, even though he lost. He was the great leader of the fight of Good against Evil, the "common people" against the "trusts." He smote the enemy with fire and brimstone in his speeches and fought for laws to slow down the excesses of bankers and trusts whose enthusiasm for profits was threatening to rip away the thin veneer of "democracy" and the "free society" that the U.S. claimed to be.

Bryan was always a nationalist and a defender of American interests against those of European capital. In 1898, he not only supported the Spanish-American War, he joined the Army and became a colonel with the cry "Humanity demands that we shall act."

Later, although Bryan protested against the "excesses" and "imperialist policies" of McKinley and the capitalists, he was in favor of the peace treaty with Spain in which the U.S. seized Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. His perspective was to change the nature of the treaty later on. The nature of the treaty never changed, and the U.S. launched a bloody war against the Filipino independence movement of Aguinaldo.

PRAGMATIC

Bryan's campaign for the Presidency in 1900 led him deeper into the most pragmatic politics. He wooed labor with his demands for laws against the trusts and imperialism, and he wooed sections of the capitalist class. In his attempt to get New York's powerful and corrupt Tammany Hall to support his bid for the Democratic nomination, Bryan said in a speech: "Great is Tammany, and Croker (its leader) is its prophet!"

Bryan eclectically mixed the crassest religious idealism with perhaps the most pragmatic politics ever seen in the U.S. In assessing the 1896 elections, he stated: "We failed in our campaign to reach the businessmen and I believe in the next four years that we ought to give especial attention to bring our arguments before them."

Bryan during the 1900 election campaign reiterated that he had no quarrel with an "honest" accumulation of wealth by the capitalists. He simply disliked trusts and monopolies because they were "a menace to government and civilization."

He capped his idealism when he stated that "It is alone by infusing great principles into the common mind that revolutions in human society are brought about."

But this kind of political basis poses the

most serious dangers for the working class. With it, Bryan led sections of workers and the middle class to support the imperialist policies of the American bankers against the Spanish imperialists and later, in support of the worldwide butchery of World War I.

It was this same philosophical idealism that created the "Progressivism" of the early 20th century. Even when such a jingoist and right-winger as President Teddy Roosevelt swung over to progressivism against the excesses of the trusts, Bryan supported him.

Bryan's "progressivism" led him to become the Secretary of State in 1913 under Democratic President Wilson. This chance to finally influence governmental decisions from the inside led him to initiate the "pacifism" of the U.S. by which the most powerful capitalist nation began to act as a mediator among the other imperialist powers in order to cover its own struggle for aggrandizement.

Secretary Bryan tried to initiate a new policy (which would come to fruition later) in which the U.S. would allow the Latin American countries "to work out their own destinies along the lines consistent with popular government," while the U.S. would "protect the people of these republics in their right to attend to their own business free from external coercion, no matter what form that external coercion may take..."

COLOMBIA

This policy led Bryan to polish off Roosevelt's rape of Colombia by paying that country a measly \$25 million for Panama in order to build the canal.

Bryan also intervened in Mexico, where he brought the U.S. into the affairs of the country when England took sides in the country's civil war. The English supported one leader, Huerta, in order to defend the huge oil interests owned by English capital. The U.S. won out after much bloody fighting.

Bryan's diplomatic efforts also included fighting against Japanese interests in China and to help U.S. capital penetrate through the "open door" policy.

He also tried in vain to keep the U.S. out of World War I by exacting concessions from Germany on the basis that the Germans are not that bad and they could be shown the true path toward world peace if Bryan was only allowed a little time for negotiations.

During this whole time, he defended his positions with the same "principles" that he did everything else. But his principles were at all times based not on a scientific understanding of capitalism and the needs of the working class. Rather, he accepted capitalism as a part of God's world, and only saw that a good person would struggle to improve the world.

That is why Bryan was able to support imperialist butchery and the "interests" of American capitalism abroad, while uniting politically with the most reactionary politicians on the American scene on one issue or another.

DEBT

The Socialist Party of Eugene Debs, while able to poll hundreds of thousands of votes from workers and farmers, was never able to pose a serious alternative to Bryan and progressivism because the SP itself was tied to the same populist conceptions that created Bryan in the first place.

Today the Stalinists and revisionists are trying to rebuild the same kind of coalitions which Bryan inaugurated and which, in one form or another, the Democratic Party has tried since then to base itself on. But just as Bryan defended capitalism and did no more than urge the capitalists on to a few reform measures, so any "third party" built by these forces would do the same thing. The political history of William Jennings Bryan must be a lesson to the working class. Populism and any form of middle class radicalism must be fought against in order to mobilize the working class independent of both capitalist parties, in order to build its own labor party.

Editor's Notebook

Is Retirement A Tactical Retreat?

Lt. Colonel Anthony Herbert has decided to retire from washroom duty.

As you may recall, he is the Army officer who tried to report war atrocities by soldiers while stationed in Vietnam. His commanders told him to shut up and when he then filed formal charges on their conduct, the top Army brass told him to shut up.

Back in the States, the Army harassed him and put him on laundry duty in Georgia. Last Friday, the Army finally issued a 2500 word "fact sheet" to all members of Congress and the news media rejecting all of Herbert's accusations.

This follows a period in which Herbert, the most decorated soldier of the Korean War (as well as a Silver Star and other baubles from Vietnam) has been subject to the most humiliating experiences a lifer could be put through. He was refused leave. He's been accused of being AWOL.

Last Wednesday, his commander, Colonel Reid, even went to the extent of spending a considerable amount of time teach-

ing Herbert how to salute properly and how to stand at attention, things which a 20-year veteran usually is capable of accomplishing satisfactorily.

"FACT SHEET"

The Army's "fact sheet" cover up was apparently the final blow. Herbert issued a statement saying:

"On the field of battle, both as an enlisted man and as an officer, I have served at the best of my ability. In that service I have been shot five times and bayoneted three times, none of which was as painful to me as the decision I must now announce."

He then announced his retirement as of February, calling it quits as far as his military career is concerned. His physician insisted that the pressure was too much for the welfare of his family.

Will the Army be able then to cover up for the murders that Herbert witnessed in Vietnam? Two soldiers recently corroborated two of Herbert's stories of the



Lt. Colonel Herbert

atrocities which the Army had denied, and when Herbert was given a lie detector test by an Army expert, the result was that he was telling the truth about his reporting the crimes to the other two officers.

Surprise, surprise. The next time Herbert shows his face on the Dick Cavett Show, it will be as a civilian without the present orders to keep quiet. What this bird has to tell us should be very interesting.

Recruitment Campaign, SWP Style

Last week we pointed out that the Socialist Workers Party had gone from its cosy relationship with the Communist Party in the antiwar movement to openly embracing Stalinism internationally.

The SWP which fraudently calls itself Trotskyist welcomed the admission of China into the United Nations. China won its seat with its betrayals in Ceylon and in Bangla Desh.

FURTHER

Now this week the SWP has carried its reactionary alliance with Stalinism a step further. In the November 12th issue of the *Militant* the editors print a letter which they entitle "Prospective Communist." The letter reads in part:

"Could you do a fellow revolutionary a favor? I know that you are socialists, and would probably

like to get most leftists in the Socialist Workers Party, but could you help me get in contact with the Communist Party, U.S.A.? If you could find out the address of wither the central CPUSA office or a cell somewhere near Durham I'd really appreciate it.

"I hope it's not too much of a bother, and if you can't find out the address, or if you don't care to help a prospective Socialist become a Communist, you don't have to. Anyway, we're all fighting for the same cause, so whether I become a member of the CP or the SWP isn't as important as helping its final victory over the vicious forces of capitalism."

How does the SWP reply? By stating that the CP is a counter-revolutionary organization which has been responsible for the defeats of the working class? No. "In reply" the SWP offers its

reader the address of the national office of the Communist Party.

So cynical is the leadership of this party that it now advertises in the pages of its paper for the CP which to aid its masters in the Soviet bureaucracy played a major role in the assassination of Trotsky. As Trotsky said a "river of blood" divides Trotskyism and Stalinism. Ceylon and Bangla Desh make this absolutely clear today.

LOGIC

The SWP obviously agrees with its reader when he says that it really doesn't matter whether you are a member of the CP or the SWP. This is the real logic of Pabloism and its liquidationist policies.

The SWP has now opened a recruiting campaign, recruiting people to the Communist Party. How much further can it go?

ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

But the one thing that Gleason would not do, is present a motion or actually take the step of refusing to negotiate except on the basis of a coastwide master contract which would then provide the basis for getting all men in all ports out in the same common struggle with New York.

Gleason claimed that there could be no sellout because the decision on the contract is entirely up to the men.

1967

It is necessary to recall certain facts about Gleason and the ILA bureaucracy. In 1967 after Gleason swore that New York could never go back except under terms of a uniform contract for the full 40 hour guarantee in all the outports, he refused to stand up to the court injunction which ordered that New York vote on the contract even though there was no agreement in the other ports.

He and Scotto then urged a yes vote on the contract rather than raise a fight against it as the basis of unity of all the ports. So much for the slogan the ILA leadership had put forward—"One port down, all ports down."

Then when the votes were taken, many longshoremen claimed that all kinds of people were voting three and four times and that the ballot boxes were in fact stuffed.

The fact is that we have no more basis to rely on Gleason's "word"

now than in 1967 or in the previous 40 or so years when he got on the ILA gravy train, especially in the years when he was one of Joe Ryan's right hand men.

Yes, the men have to make the final decision and we say that they can rely neither on Gleason's word, nor Gleason's ballot boxes, but rather on their own readiness to stand up to any government injunctions or rulings and to take wildcat action in defiance of any sellout.

As was stated in the CDC leaflet: Remember—These are the original demands put forward by the union—No backing down!

1. \$7.50 per hour—6 hour day
2. \$500 pension after 20 years—no cut in gang size.
3. Extend the 40 hour guarantee to all men in all ports.

The CDC is fighting for the formation of a national rank and file caucus of longshoremen to take forward the fight in every local for this contract, with the understanding that this means as well a battle against Nixon and the wage freeze, a campaign for a labor party in '72 and for the nationalization of the docks and shipping under rank and file control.

The ILA rank and file must now take up a life and death struggle demanding that Gleason and Bridges stick to their joint statement of a few weeks ago pledging that the ILA and ILWU will strike in defiance of any ruling of the Pay Board that in any way restricts their contract



Juan Farinas' speaking at the Workers League rally held on Nov. 6. Juan called on all workers and youth to defend him as part of their defense of the trade unions and youth from Nixon's attacks.

AFSCME . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

break from the Democrats and Republicans, from reformism, and will move on its own toward the taking of power. This strikes terror into the hearts of all middle class radicals, and all Stalinists who rush to the aid of the bureaucrats, defenders of the capitalist system, by making "revolu-

tionary" noise.

PL

Progressive Labor has always been against the call for a labor party. Today, their hostility becomes a vicious attack on the working class when they actively try to prevent its actual con-

struction.

Yet, the block made at the 1164 meeting between Progressive Labor and the bureaucracy, at the expense of those workers still clinging to illusions about pressuring liberal Democrats, will be broken.

SMASH

The 1164 Rank and File Committee that proposed and fought for these demands is continuing the fight to smash the freeze, to kick out the Meany and Robisons, to break from the Democrats and Republicans, and build a labor party.

This fight must now be taken into every AFSCME local of Council 6, Minnesota state employees to hold a conference and reject the new tax bill imposed on state workers and to reject the miserable wage increase granted.

This fight must also be carried into every single union local across the country to force Meany and the rest off the wage board to build a general strike to smash the freeze and build a labor party for the '72 elections.

England . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

the call of the workers for expulsion. At the same time the rest of the Labor "lefts" send letters to the traitors asking if they will please reconsider their vote.

The working class will not forget nor forgive nor reconsider the vicious stand of the right wing of the Labor Party. Nor will they be fooled by Wilson's attempt to excuse himself from responsibility.

STALINISTS

The Communist Party for their part is no better than the labor "lefts." They suggest that the traitors be warned never to do it again. The right wing should be told, suggest the Stalinists, "...that from now on they must vote against the Tories on every piece of legislation connected with Market entry."

How different is the Stalinist

capitulation to the right wing from the growing mood of workers, many of whom feel like George Wilkerson, Secretary of a branch of the Mineworkers union, who states, "We could have beaten the Tories and had them out. The Labor Party MPs who voted with the Tories should be expelled—they should be thrown out." Nor do the Stalinists speak like Reg Cross, Chairman of the national shop of electrical workers, who said, "I agree with the *Workers Press* that Jenkins and the others should be expelled."

It is only the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League that today fights against these betrayals by demanding the immediate expulsion of the right wing and leading the fight to carry the workers' demands for an end to Tory rule and a return to power of the Labor Party pledged to a socialist program.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Ulster

Tory Barbarism And The Irish Revolution

In our November 1 issue, we reported in detail on the barbarous methods being used by British imperialism in Northern Ireland. Despite wide publicity on tortures by police and British troops, the barbarism is continuing.

We reprint below an article by Michael Banda from the Workers Press, daily newspaper of the Socialist Labour League. In this article Banda discusses the fundamental questions of principles involved in the struggle in Northern Ireland.

The International Marxist Group is the cointinker of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, which shares its hostility to Marxism and its cowardly adaptation to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

The enormous crisis of capitalism means that Northern Ireland is the future of the American and European working class, unless the lessons of these struggles are learned and carried forward in the construction of Trotskyist parties.

PREMIER EDWARD HEATH told Wednesday's Commons no political solutions to Ulster's problems could be found "so long as there are decent people being cowed and intimidated by gunmen who have no interest at all in a peaceful solution."

For once we agree with him!

Since August 1969, increasing numbers of gunmen trained in the use of the most sophisticated and lethal weapons and backed by the most expensive logistical support have been pouring into Ulster by boat and plane to "cow and intimidate" decent people throughout Ulster.

There are now over 20,000 of these men, not counting the thousands more already resident in Ulster and have been intimidating people there for a far longer time.

These gunmen have set up special institutions to torture people with a fiendish sadism not exceeded even by the special forces in Vietnam.

As the Prime Minister said, these people "have no interest at all in a peaceful solution." Not only that, many of them would like to do to the Catholic minority in Ulster what the legendary St. Patrick did to the snakes in Ireland—exterminate them.

These gunmen are the cause of all the present unrest, frustration and terror.

Until they are defeated or forced to withdraw, the terror and intimidation will continue and the destruction of innocent lives and working-class property will increase.

Who are these gunmen?

They are the hired gunmen of the British armed forces of the Crown, the Ulster Defence Regiment and the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Of course we don't expect a political hypocrite like Mr. Heath to recognize this obvious fact, but the majority of Irish and British people do.

If the Tories did dare to hold a General Election tomorrow, they would be soundly defeated as much for their Ulster policy as for their Common Market one.

This lesson is even beginning to sink into the reactionary brain of Shadow Home Secretary Mr. James Callaghan, who is now reported to be considering raising the demand for the withdrawal of the very troops which he sent into Ulster in 1969.

The Tories, however, will never withdraw the troops or cease their repressive policies in Ulster. They must be defeated and forced to resign.

The struggle of the Irish people against Tory barbarism can and will play an enormously important part in the outcome of this struggle.

Undeniably it is their right to throw British imperialism out of Ireland for good and all.

Workers Press supports that right unconditionally—whether that right is being exercised by the Provisionals or the official IRA wing.

We defend these militant nationalists and will do so in future against every repressive action of the British army, the UVF vigilantes or the Faulkner regime.

Their struggle against the Protestant bourgeoisie and imperialism is just and progressive in the same sense as the war of the Abyssinian peoples against Italian fascism and the Indian peoples against British imperialism was just and progressive.

That is why, from the start, we posed the demand of withdrawal of British troops as a principled issue and not as one of expediency.

However nobody should misconstrue the political content of our support for the struggle of the Irish masses to mean that we support the policies of bourgeois nationalism.

In the same way as British Marxists stood for the defeat of Italian fascism in Abyssinia without in any way identifying Marxism with the methods and policies of the Negus so today we insist on our right and duty to assist Irish workers not only with material aid but also with the political advice on what we think is the most effective way to defeat imperialism.

In this task we are guided by the attitude outlined by Trotsky in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

"In a society based upon exploitation, the highest moral is that of the social revolution. All methods are good which raise the class consciousness of the workers, their trust in their own forces, their readiness for self-sacrifice in the struggle."

This method sharply differentiates

Trotskyism from the revisionists, who argue that since there is no Marxist tradition or party in Ireland we must politically support the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists—in the hope that the pressure of the masses will force nationalism to transcend itself and evolve into Marxism.

This is how a non-class analysis of the Cuban events is now transformed into some sort of universal panacea.

This is dangerous nonsense. The terror of the IRA Provisionals as a political method substituted for the mobilization of the masses on a socialist programme can no more destroy the Protestant bourgeoisie and its state than the IRA terror in the 1920s was able to destroy the Free State bourgeoisie.

It is no accident that some of the more prominent IRA leaders, like de Valera, later became servants of imperialism.

The present crisis in the official IRA over the question of parliamentarianism and the recognition of Stormont is further evidence of the bankruptcy of bourgeois republicanism.

The misguided terror of the provisionals—and the passive resistance and radical protest of the reformist Civil Rights Association and Peoples' Democracy only complement each other in deepening the sectarian divisions in the working class.

Workers Press does not condone these methods not because on any moral considerations but because they are self-defeating.

Revisionists such as Red Mole-International Marxist Group, who do are only making a virtue out of a blind alley.

We say that the present and the future of the Irish working class is inextricably bound up with that of the Ulster Protestant workers and the British workers.

We are confident that the problem of partition can only be solved en route to the socialist revolution. But this cannot be achieved without the building in Britain and Ireland of parties of Marxist cadres on a Trotskyist programme.



Germany

'Miracle' Of The Boom Years Collapses

BY DAVE GREEN

SHARP CLASS BATTLES are on the agenda for West Germany. In the face of a deepening economic crisis, the wealthiest and most powerful bourgeoisie in Europe is attempting to preserve its profits through the creation of large-scale unemployment.

Layoffs in the major sections of German industry, particularly steel and construction, have provoked a militant response from the working class. Fifteen hundred steel workers marched two weeks ago through Hagen, a city in the heavily industrialized Ruhr, waving red flags, carrying placards, and shouting angry slogans to make it clear that they are not going to accept unemployment and wage cuts.

This new period in class relations was inaugurated by President Nixon just three months ago when he passed the death sentence on the Bretton Woods agreement—the basis of the post-war boom. German capitalism, which was the favorite child of the economic policies sponsored by the United States after the end of World War II, is now being thrown into a state of shock by the turn of the American bourgeoisie under Nixon to economic nationalism.

Every economic indicator is giving German capitalists cause for deep alarm. The upward floating of the Deutsche Mark has produced a tremendous reversal in the

German balance of trade; the economic growth rate, which has been stagnating throughout 1971, took a serious tumble in the third quarter of the year; and the rate of inflation has climbed to 5.6%.

DOWNTURN

The German Institute for Economic Development released a report forecasting still more trouble for industry. "For the coming months," it announced, "one must expect a sharpening of the trade cycle downturn." A leading German industrialist declared that "the recession of 1967 was nothing compared to this."

The crisis of German capitalism has only just begun, for the full force of Nixon's measures are yet to be felt. But the downturn in the industrial heartland of Europe expresses with the greatest clarity the crisis of capitalism on the entire continent. The specter of bankruptcy haunts not only the smaller enterprises; the panic is being voiced by industrial firms of international stature—August Thyssen-Hütte and Krupp.

German capitalists are determined to make the working class accept the burden of the crisis. Construction firms are speaking of reducing jobs by 35%. The main bourgeois party in Germany, the Christian-Democratic Union, is subjecting the ruling Social-Democratic Party of Willy Brandt to severe criticism for not pressing the attack against the working class with sufficient vigor. The CDU is the minority party by only the slimmest of margins in the German Bundestag, and its new leader Rainer Barzel—who

replaces ex-Nazi Kurt Kiesinger—is busy courting the favor of the most right-wing elements.

Shortly after his election to the leadership of the CDU, Barzel attended a conference of the reactionary Bavarian Christian Socialist Union to enlist the support of its notorious demagogic leader, Franz-Josef Strauss. The CDU, which has promised to make Bavaria a "citadel" against socialism, was thrilled by Barzel's determination to throw back the German working class.

BRANDT

The deterioration of the economic situation, the war cries of the bourgeoisie, and the profound militancy of the workers is throwing the reformist Social-Democratic Party into deep crisis. Brandt's exertions in behalf of capitalism must force the Party into the sharpest conflict with its principal supporters: the German working class.

However, the treachery of the German Social-Democracy, historically rooted in the betrayal of the Second International in 1914, encourages demoralization within the working class that could permit the CDU to return to power. Such a development would expose workers to even more vicious attacks on their living standards.

Only the struggle to expose Social-Democracy through the construction of a German section of the Fourth International can prevent the repetition of the terrible defeats suffered by the German working class in the 1930s.

World Economy

Trade War Threatens Return To 1929

BY FRED MUELLER
IN EVERY CAPITALIST country gloom is spreading rapidly in big business and government circles over the prospects for the international economy.

Britain's Geoffrey Rippon, chief negotiator for entry into the Common Market, sums this up when he speaks of "fears that we are entering an era of protectionism between blocs which will lead to world economic recession."

Over and over again, in public statements and in newspaper and magazine articles, the leading spokesmen for the bourgeoisie are forced to openly discuss the specter of a return to the 1930s, of world trade war and depression.

It is clear that Nixon's measures of August 13 aggravated a situation which was already deteriorating. The slowdown in world trade and recessionary trends in Europe and Japan have now been accelerated.

Since the imposition of the 10% import surcharge and the move to enact the 7% investment tax credit, stock market values have tumbled in all of these countries. Japan's market has fallen by 13%, Germany's and the Netherlands' by 9%, and those of Paris, Rome and Brussels by 4 to 8%. And this is just the beginning.

UNEMPLOYMENT

A decline of \$400 million in Italian exports is forecast for 1972. This should add another 200,000 to the unemployment figures which now stand at 1,000,000.

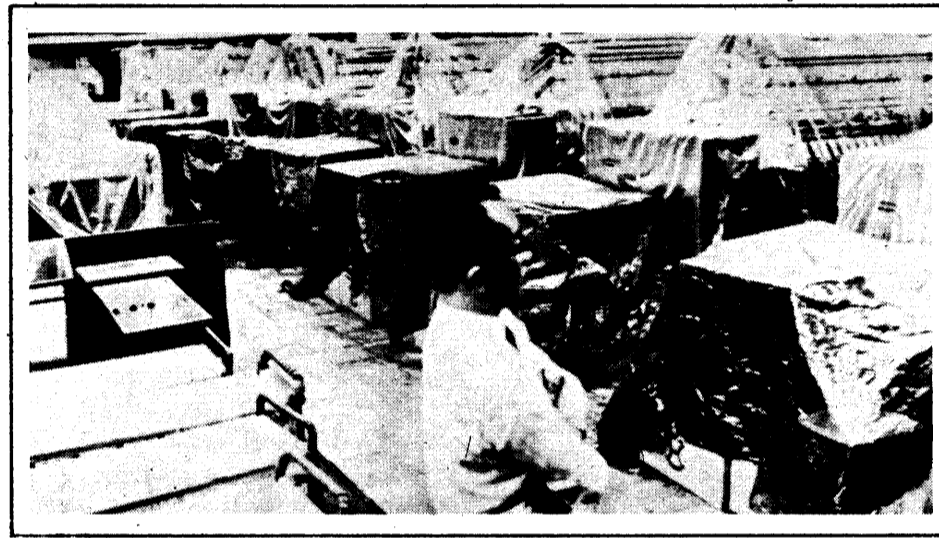
Symptomatic of the spiralling downturn are the recent moves of the auto and tire giants, Fiat and Pirelli. Fiat has placed 8,000 of 180,000 workers on short time,

and Pirelli has done likewise for 6,000 out of 45,000 employees.

Unemployment stands at a 30 year high in Britain. In Sweden it has reached 1.4%, the highest since statistics were started over 15 years ago, and considered extremely high for the so-called mixed economy which was acclaimed for years by liberals and reformists of all varieties as the key to stability and a "humane" society.

The French capitalists are clearly expecting the worst and taking the toughest line against U.S. policies. In West Germany unemployment now stands at 150,000, a low figure but still extremely high in comparison with the years of the boom. The 150,000 figure represents a 52% increase over one year ago, and an additional 400,000 unemployed are predicted within the next four months.

A consequence of the growing crisis is



Japanese textile mill shut down because of Nixon's forced quotas on cloth industry.

the throwing out of work of many thousands of emigrant workers. Workers from Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain, and Portugal and the countries of Northern Africa, who have found employment in West Germany, France and other Common Market countries, are among the first hit by the recession. This means both growing unemployment and balance of payments deficits in the less developed nations.

The dilemma facing the European and Japanese as well as American capitalists is an insurmountable one. The Europeans and Japanese know that retaliation against the U.S. moves means a deepening trade war. They try to hold off as long as possible, they try to present their policies with as much sugar-coating as possible, because it is Washington that holds the whip.

There is no getting around it. While both sides threaten and cajole each other

over currency values and trading policies, they must and do prepare for trade war and slump. It is in fact no longer a question of preparation but the sliding over into protectionism and recession right now.

The Europeans denounce U.S. tactics. They express shock at the arrogance of Treasury Secretary Connally and other U.S. spokesmen who demand surrender without any hint of when the import surcharge will be removed. All of this only reflects the objective relationship between European and American capital as the crisis deepens.

Official Washington's mild optimism is only part of its war maneuvers. From authoritative but more unofficial sources come more candid statements on the consequences of Nixon's and Connally's brutally candid policies.

Thus *Newsweek*, referring to the Texan Democrat Connally's demands for total surrender and waiting for the economic situation to worsen so as to increase the pressure, says, "In Texas, they used to call that the 'chicken' game, and more often than not, nobody won."

The deepening recession in Europe and Japan will of course blow up in Nixon's and Connally's faces. No U.S. export boom is possible in a period such as this. No recovery from the 1970-71 recession is possible without the export of this recession to Europe on a catastrophic scale, which then rebounds on Washington and brings the whole world economy crashing down.

Crisis and collapse are unavoidable, but the overthrow of this decaying system is not a certainty without the struggle to prepare the working class for the decisive struggles immediately ahead. This is the urgency of the building of the revolutionary party

French-Soviet Accord

Brezhnev, Pompidou Seek 'Security Conference'

BY MELODY FARROW
PREMIER LEONID BREZHNEV of the Soviet Union was given a 101 gun salute as he arrived in France for a six day series of talks with French President George Pompidou.

With due consideration for Brezhnev's love of capitalist luxury, Pompidou installed him in a lavish bedroom at the Trianon Palace, once used by Louis XIV. In between talks, they gorged themselves on French and Russian delicacies such as foie gras and caviar.

These talks are part of the Stalinists' stepped up drive to head off the growing offensive of the working class against capitalism.

While Brezhnev did not achieve his goal of a joint treaty, substantial agreement on political and economic issues was reached.

The main area of agreement was the calling of a European Security Conference. Finland has called for a preparatory meeting at the ambassadorial level to set up the agenda.

The real aim of this Conference is to provide "security" against revolution in both the capitalist countries and Eastern Europe. As the class struggle deepens throughout Europe Pompidou and Brezhnev know that they must work together to police the working class and preserve capitalism.

NON-INTERFERENCE

This is expressed in Pompidou's statement of his goal to "live in peace behind sure and recognizable frontiers" and Brezhnev's pledge of the "principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states."

In other words, Brezhnev will look the other way as Pompidou proceeds to build up

a police state to break the unions in France in exchange for economic deals with the Soviet Union.

Pompidou has agreed to have the Renault auto company construct the Kama River truck plant in Russia while the Soviet Union will supply France with natural gas and gas equipment.

To top off these deals, Brezhnev had no qualms about accepting Pompidou's personal gift of a Maserati-Citroen luxury car plus a Renault while the masses of Russian workers can barely afford even one car.

It is the French working class who will pay the price for these agreements. Pompidou is sharply aware that the cooperation of the Stalinists is essential to hold back the working class in France.

The *Daily World*, organ of the American Communist Party called the Brezhnev-Pompidou talks "the latest reflection of mass sentiment for peace" and hailed it as an example of a "socialist" and "working class policy" in foreign relations.

The *Daily World* continues: "President Nixon has not learned that there are some things that command can't change. He does not seem to realize that the tide of peace is rising, irreversibly."

PEACE

What is this "peace" that the *Daily World* is talking about? It means that the Stalinist bureaucracy will remain silent while Pompidou creates more unemployment and attacks the living standards of French workers. Pompidou seeks a free hand to crush the French proletariat in order to then turn to the destruction of the gains of the October Revolution in Russia.

It not only means the Soviet Union's "non-interference" in the internal affairs of France but the active betrayals of the French Communist Party.

The French CP knows that it must prepare for big class explosions in France on the order of the 1968 General Strike in which the working class came to the brink of seizing power.

It was then that the Communist Party saved French capitalism by refusing to take forward the demand of the Renault workers for a "popular Government" thru formation of a workers government and by forcing the workers to end their strike factory by factory.

They are now drawing up a program for joint coalition with the bourgeois parties. Once again the French Stalinists are attempting to delude the working class with a revival of the Popular Front with the bourgeoisie.

This program, which will be circulated by the millions, in no way challenges the capitalist system of private property and is tailored to win support from the liberal bourgeoisie and the middle classes.

UNIFIERS

As George Marchais, Secretary of the Communist Party said: "We communists are unifiers. We claim no monopoly, no hegemony. The task of applying the program will be that of a government of popular union in which our party will have the place it deserves."

The program promises social reforms to workers, respect for property rights and individual liberty. While lip service is given to nationalization of industry, the monopolies and banks, the program proposes a "mixed economy" of nationalized and private enterprise and hints that parliamentary democracy will be respected.

On the monetary crisis the program makes criticisms of the Common Market and the International Monetary Fund but refuses to break with either institution.

It pledges "cooperation with all countries without discrimination" such as

fascist Greece and Spain and states that public order should be left to the French police, the very same police whose brutal repression of French students in 1968 touched off the General Strike.

This acceptance of capitalism is spelled out in the September 20th issue of *France Nouvelle*, the weekly organ of the French Communist Party Central Committee.

PHASES

What the French CP is working for, explains the writer is an "advanced democracy." The crisis of capitalism "does not mean that there is no solution unless we suppress capitalism in France and in the world right away...there are phases, moments in a solution.

"That explains our position against the floating of the franc in August. And we will continue to fight so that decisions, even if they are essentially inspired by the interests of the capitalists who rule France, are the least harmful as possible for workers within the present framework, while waiting for more fundamental transformations."

The French Stalinists demonstrate their slavish support of capitalism by furiously waving the French flag and joining with members of the bourgeoisie like the new leader of the Socialist Party Mitterand and millionaire Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber whose only program is to strengthen French capitalism against the United States.

The Stalinists are deadly afraid of a workers government headed by the Communist Party which would open the way for the socialist revolution in France and all of Europe.

This is the demand that must be raised in France to expose the real position of the Stalinists to the masses of French workers and build an alternative revolutionary leadership based on the Fourth International.

West Coast News



Camp Probes History Of Fourth International

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.—Around 80 workers and youth participated in the Workers League's Second West Coast Weekend School and Camp, held in the redwoods country near here November 6-7. This school follows similar ones in Madison, Wisconsin and in the Catskills and like the other schools was devoted to the history of the Fourth International.

Among those in attendance were longshoremens, auto workers, steel workers, construction workers, university and high school youth.

A very sharp theoretical struggle took place over issues of interpreting the history of the Fourth International, and bearing directly on the work of constructing the movement today. The same kind of questions as were brought up at the Madison conference also came up at this school.

One comrade stated that James P. Cannon in developing his Theses in 1946 was really the first Pabloite even before Pablo. He was then and after a complete pragmatist. The split in 1953 with Pablo was of a pragmatic character. In any event, if Cannon had not broken in 1953 someone else would have, so the matter was not of decisive importance. This comrade held that the "struggle for theory" was decisive.

In answering this another comrade stated that the decisive factor was the difficult times and great class pressures. Cannon was pragmatic but he could not have been otherwise because of these pressures.

Both comrades were sharply taken up for an idealist method which separated out the conscious theoretical struggle from the actual construction of the party. The strength of Cannon lay precisely in that he fought to construct the Trotskyist party in the United States as part of the Fourth International. In 1946 he retreated from this task by failing to take up leadership of the Fourth International, seeking to construct an American party separated from this.

In 1953 he was forced by the factional liquidationist attack of Cochran, which was supported by Pablo, to take up this international fight. He brought forward against Pablo all the strengths of the SWP which had been found

on the basis of the fight for principles in 1928 around international issues.

If Cannon had persisted in this course he would have had to go through a theoretical struggle to defeat revisionism and develop the perspective around which to build the Fourth International. This he refused to do. He turned against the Fourth International. He deserted the fight for the party. He contributed to the liquidation of the movement he had helped build. This was his pragmatism. This was his capitulation to the method of thought of the bourgeoisie.

IDEALIST

The difficulty with the way the comrade posed the question was that he saw the "struggle for theory" as something separate from the struggle to construct the party. Thus he saw Cannon doing the latter but not the former. This reflected a tendency of idealists to turn away from the fight today to construct the revolutionary party—to develop a strong but conscious apparatus deeply rooted in the working class.

The comrade who saw Cannon as the victim of insurmountable pressures and circumstances was going over to the view of mechanical materialism in which theory is seen as simply reflecting the working class rather than coming out of the class struggle—from the active intervention of the conscious party in the material process. It is to say that today what one does is out of one's control, that one has no responsibility for pragmatic thinking and idealist acting.

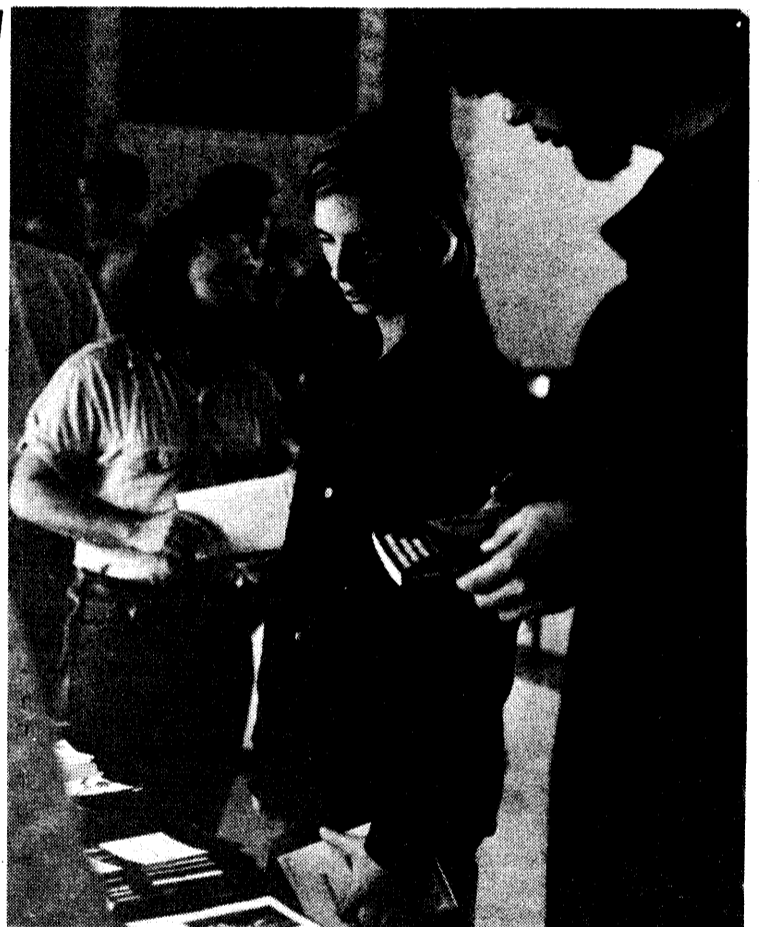
In the course of the discussion over these and other questions a number of new forces, both among workers and youth present, came forward expressing their desire after August 15th to take up the fight in the sharpening class struggle. One auto worker, new to revolutionary

politics but with 15 years of experience on a trade union political level, stated he felt the most important point was that a movement could only be built on the basis of great principles—and not through maneuvers and petty politicking. A youth stated that it was precisely through the struggle against those at the conference who separated out consciousness from the construction of the party that he became convinced to join the Workers League and to fight for others to do likewise.

There was a tremendous response to the showing of the new Workers Press film on Ulster and following its showing some \$440 was raised to help put out a film in the United States. The film had also been shown prior to the camp at San Francisco State College and Stanford University to audiences of almost 100 and received a similar response.

One dozen people joined the Workers League at the camp, reflecting particularly a growth of youth forces in the San Diego, San Jose and San Mateo areas. Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, who gave the lectures, together with Lucy St. John, Editor of the Bulletin, stated that in his opinion it was the most important of the three regional camps the Workers League has held this fall.

"This has been without a doubt the most difficult and most successful camp we have held because the issues have been posed so sharply, the opposites so clearly revealed. This reflects the character of the West Coast itself. The relative peace between classes of the past decades has been made possible only on the basis of the boom financed through the Bretton Woods agreement which has now been torn up by the United States. The West Coast is more the product of this boom than any other part of America. Thus its breakup must and is having the sharpest impact upon consciousness out here in boom cities like San Diego, San Jose and Los Angeles. This finds its expression in the discussions in this camp. It will now find its expression in the rapid growth of the League on the Coast among youth and trade unionists."



San Diego. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

and political parties, in order to break the defenses against capitalist attack.

This is why Nixon gives the green light to people like Wallace, whose program is no different from the National Socialists, while he openly attacks the trade unions and freezes wages.

These Hitlerites try to hide their essential connection with the capitalist class beneath a cloak of "subversive" rhetoric. Declaring their willingness to overthrow the present government if necessary, Tommasi stated that he "is not patriotic to this country." Rather, he is "patriotic to my race." That is a taste of fascist logic in which words cease to have any meaning at all.

What he means is that he is prepared to replace bourgeois democracy with a dictatorship more able to conduct the fight of the capitalists against the working class.

Unfortunately, these fascists let the cat out of the bag, and showed that their racist filth and "subversion" hides a political program of service to the big

capitalists. Mr. Smith said, "If the Communists try open revolution we'll use whatever means we have to squash it."

That is the crux of fascism! Revolution is the act by which one social class overthrows another in power. In capitalist society, that means that the working class overthrows the capitalist class and removes them from power. The counterrevolution Smith advocates is thus a movement to keep the capitalists in power by "squashing" the working class.

Most of the respectable liberal audience attending this meeting were there as an assignment for a class in "political science." Unable to learn a single lesson from history, they laughed at these counterrevolutionary scum.

"They laughed at Hitler too," Smith replied, "and he started with seven people."

Quite right, Mr. Smith. The millions of the international working class have learned that historical lesson. And we will drive you, your movement, and the capitalist class you front for right off the face of the earth.

West Coast News

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

Fascists Praise Hitler Terror In San Diego

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—All the social diseases and decay, the festering rot generated by the dying capitalist system, is summed up in the current resurgence of fascist movements throughout the world.

Forced to confront a worldwide working class that is stronger than ever before in history, the capitalists are nurturing these fascist parties as battering rams as they prepare a second, enlarged edition of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

One such movement in the United States, the National Socialists' White Peoples Party, recently made its debut in San Diego with a public meeting attended by about 60 people.

Clad in the traditional brown shirts of fascism, and decorated with red swastika armbands, these scum poured out racist and anti-communist filth, and sang the praises of Adolph Hitler, the executioner of the German workers' movements and murderer of millions of European Jews in the 30s and 40s.

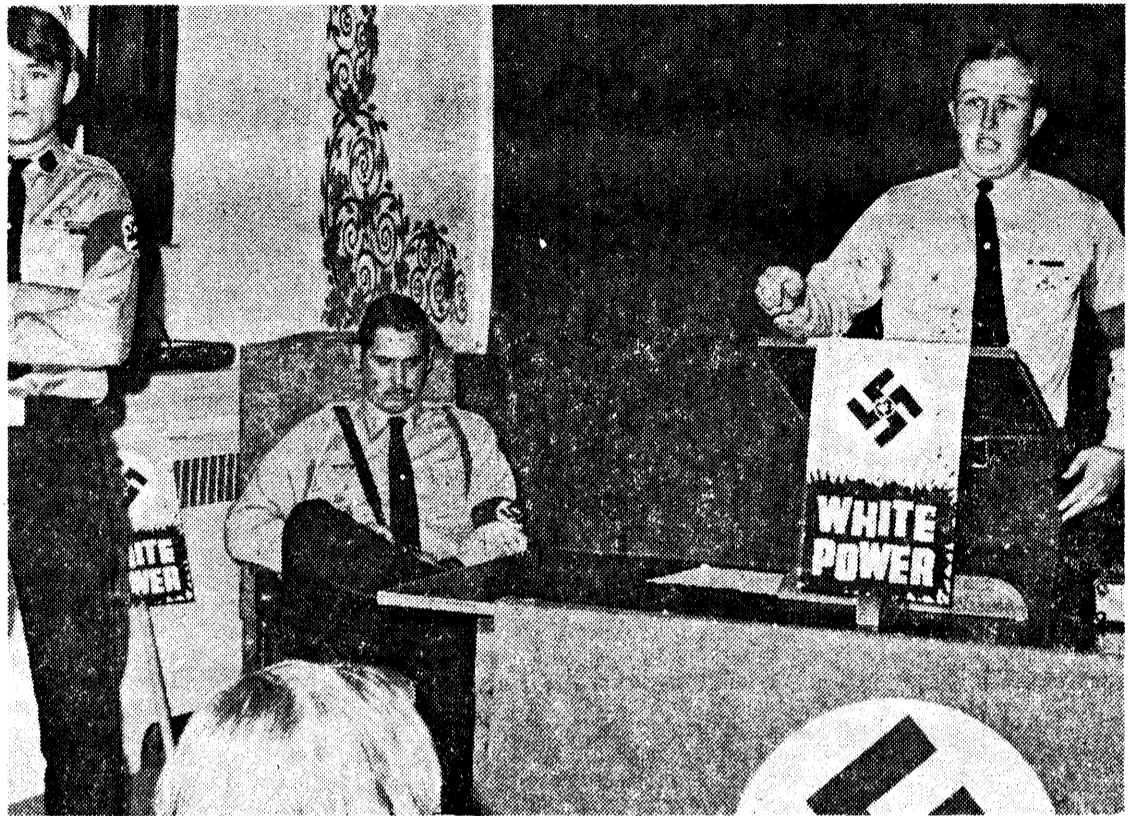
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Growing up in a period of sharpening social crisis, these movements recruit from the frenzied middle class caught between the two great social classes: workers and capitalists. Yearning for the bygone days of peace and stability, this racism is the expression of their demand for a solution to the social strife generated by a sharpening class struggle.

But this movement has one and only one purpose. It serves as a weapon that the capitalist class can hurl against the workers' organizations, their trade unions

(Continued On Page 15)



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Stanford Student Power Protest Against Military Ends In Fiasco

BY BARRY ZVERKOV

STANFORD—Last week a collection of pacifist-anarchists, liberals, Stanford organizers for NPAC, and Venceremos members attempted to rally the campus here for yet another futile student power protest against military and military-related recruiting.

After a week of rallies in which every middle class demagogue came forward to push his particular brand of reformism, including a member of the Student Senate Council of Presidents, who took the opportunity to campaign for Democratic Party liberals, the leaders of the protest succeeded in mobilizing 150 students to prevent recruiters from Honeywell, Inc. from holding interviews in the placement center.

On the day following the demonstration the hard core "militants" attempted to rally students for still another adventure against military-related recruiting. A spokesman for the Stanford Workers League Club intervened before the crowd of about 200 gathered at the noon-time rally. He said the demonstration was nothing but a student power protest and that student power politics were completely bankrupt.

The disenchantment of the students with protest politics was reflected in the utter failure of the any support from the crowd. Yet the previous evening seventy Stanford students and youth from

East Palo Alto and San Jose attended a showing by the Stanford Workers League Club of the Socialist Labor League's film on the civil war in Ulster.

Many of those who came, almost all of whom were outside of the middle class radical movement, stayed to participate in lively discussion led by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

What is extremely significant is the large vote received by the candidates for supervisor of the Socialist Workers Party. The labor bureaucracy was extremely divided on these campaigns finding it very difficult to distinguish one strike-breaker from the other.

For all their political weaknesses and opportunism the SWP candidates represented the only class alternative posing a fight against the wage freeze. A number of their candidates received over six thousand votes reflecting the sentiment now building

up in the working class for a real break from the capitalist politicians.

SWP Candidates Get Big Vote

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

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Scotto Betrays ILA-ILWU Pact

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—Only a few days after the announcement of a "mutual aid pledge" between the ILA and the ILWU the potential to develop a fighting unity between the two unions is threatened by attempts of the ILA leadership to betray the strike.

The proposals of Anthony Scotto for New York dockers to return to work is not only a blow against workers in that port but represents a grave threat to the entire West Coast as well.

While ILWU workers have returned to work it is obvious that negotiations have virtually broken down with no prospects for a settlement. The PMA has absolutely no intention of giving in to ILWU demands. Its strategy is to break the ILA and smash the movement to retain the 40 hour guarantee.

We warn dockers, if New York is unable to retain the guarantee the prospects for achieving it on the West Coast will be considerably weakened. The PMA is counting on the ILA bureaucracy to assist them in this while relying on Bridges to keep things quiet on the West Coast while they go about their dirty business.

If Scotto can sabotage the strike on the East Coast after all the pledges of unity what is the meaning of the mutual aid pledge? Dockers must force this leadership to really carry out this

pledge.

A fighting unity means financial assistance to the East when needed. It means an absolute refusal to touch a single piece of cargo diverted from the East Coast. It means preparation for a joint strike to shut down the entire country.

Dockers must look very closely at the actions of the Stalinist dominated Natl. Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy. A key spokesman at a recent conference of this group was Herb Mills, chairman of the stewards council of the ILWU.

This gathering passed a resolution calling on labor leaders to call a massive labor march on Washington and a one day national work stoppage against the wage freeze. All very militant sounding. Will the Stalinists now actually take forward the fight for this resolution?

We say that Herb Mills who spoke there to make it clear that dockers would not give in without a wage increase and Stalinists such as Archie Brown must now be forced to prove that they mean what they say by fighting in the ILWU against Bridges for the actual implementation of this resolution.

PEOPLE'S WORLD

The People's World is completely dishonest in proclaiming this resolution while refusing to criticize Bridges in the slightest for his role in holding back the mobilization for such a fight.

The Stalinists cannot have it both ways with one policy for conferences and another for the unions. If Archie Brown and his supporters are now prepared to carry forward a campaign for this resolution to mobilize the ILWU to take the lead in the fight for a one day general strike now is the time for them to speak out.

The Workers League concludes from the big vote for the SWP that now is the time to intensify the fight for a complete break from the capitalist parties and the construction of a labor party based on the unions.

Fascists Praise Hitler Terror In San Diego

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—All the social diseases and decay, the festering rot generated by the dying capitalist system, is summed up in the current resurgence of fascist movements throughout the world.

Forced to confront a worldwide working class that is stronger than ever before in history, the capitalists are nurturing these fascist parties as battering rams as they prepare a second, enlarged edition of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

One such movement in the United States, the National Socialists' White Peoples Party, recently made its debut in San Diego with a public meeting attended by about 60 people.

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program in a press conference. Hongisto is determined to see to it that S.F.'s finest kill less people. He calls for clear rules for police murder. Perhaps he will announce a hunting season.

This is the real logic of Stalinist popular front politics. A Berkeley Coalition that cuts the budget, a Black mayor in Newark that breaks strikes and now a sheriff that promises to kill less people. Perhaps the Stalinists will be able to come up with a presidential candidate who promises smaller massacres in Vietnam and a lower rate of strike-breaking and wage freezing.

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