

Bulletin

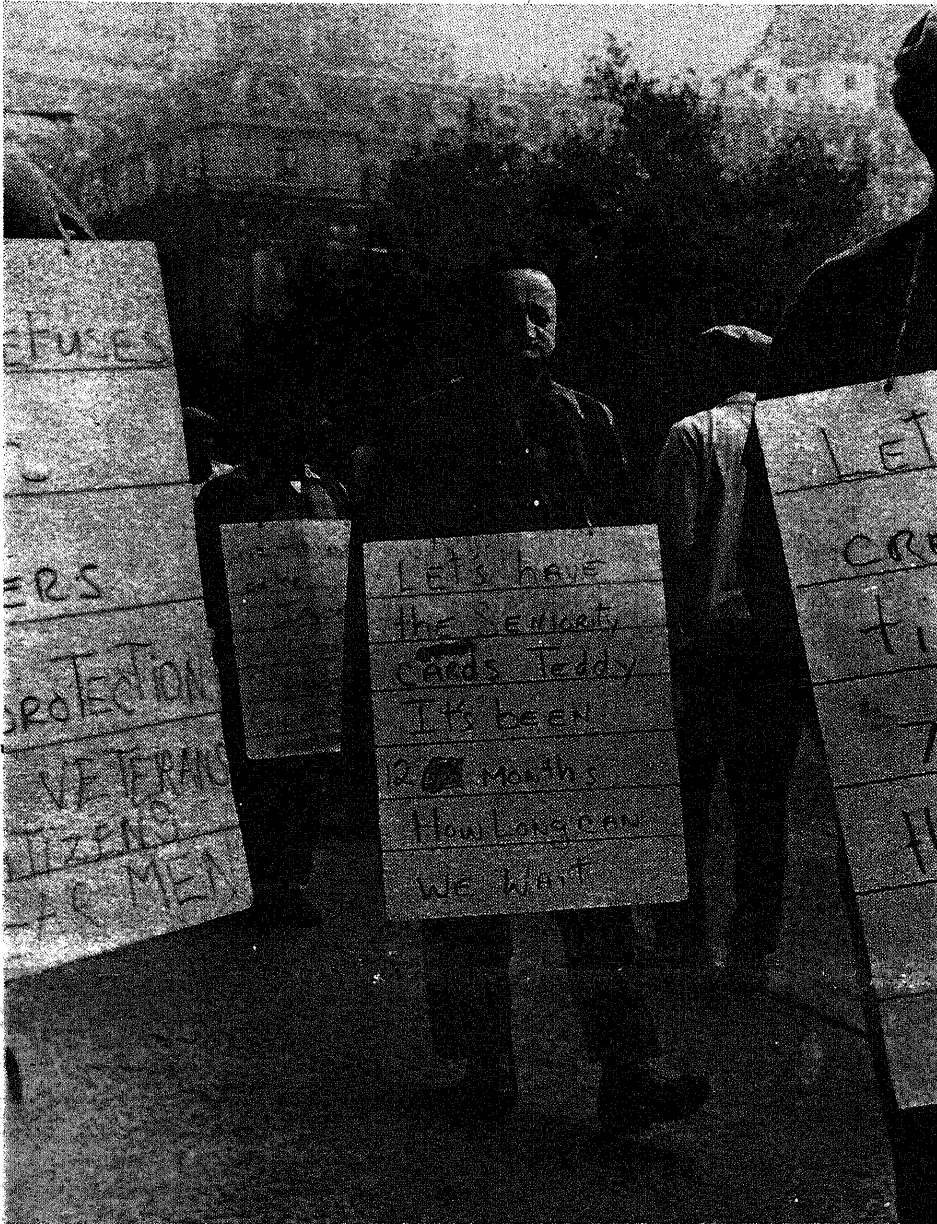
weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FIFTY FOUR 263

OCTOBER 2, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



New York ILA Local 1804 members picket ILA headquarters to demand support against shippers who have taken away their benefits and rights. See article page 4.

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism In The Unions Today

The two fundamentally opposed forces fighting it out in the labor movement today are Trotskyism, represented by the Workers League on the one side, and Stalinism, represented by the Communist Party on the other.

Today, the Communist Party, standing on a record of more than 40 years of betrayal, attempts to push back the working class through support to McGovern. The Workers League fights to take forward the working class through the campaign for an independent labor party.

For this reason, the Workers League has called a Conference of Trade Unionists for a Labor Party Now, to be held in Chicago on October 21-22 in order to bring together the forces to take forward the fight in the unions for the labor party and to hammer out a program for the labor party.

Above all, the question posed is, how are the rank and file members of the trade unions going to defend themselves against the attacks of Nixon and the corporations, attacks carried out only with the bi-partisan cooperation of the Democratic Party and its presidential candidate.

The passage of the Economic Stabilization Act by the Democratic controlled Congress and the institution of the wage freeze and Pay Board were only the beginning of the attack.

For the working class, the plans of Nixon and the corporations mean the following:

(Continued On Page 8)

AUTO RANKS BATTLE FOR NATIONWIDE GMAD STRIKE

BY DAN FRIED

A nationwide strike by the UAW against the General Motors Assembly Division's (GMAD) 80 plants threatens to bring the entire General Motors empire to a grinding halt.

The International Leadership of the UAW was forced by the upsurge of rank and file anger and revolt against the back-breaking GMAD speed-up to threaten a two day shutdown of GMAD for Friday, September 29 and Monday, October 2. This announcement was made following a visit to Detroit by St. Louis Local 25 which placed this demand before the International leadership.

A strike against GMAD is above all a political strike against Nixon and his Pay Board which is directing the drive for productivity and speed-up from Washington in order to raise the profits of the giant U.S. corporations. The Democratic Party and George McGovern, the candidate of Leonard Woodcock, stand on the same platform of wage controls and productivity deals which is directed against the working class.

A strike against General Motors is thus a strike which must be supported by the entire labor movement. It brings the necessity for the formation of an independent labor party sharply forward. A strike against GMAD can rapidly snowball into a general strike and will give a tremendous impulse to the formation of a labor party.

FEAR

It is these prospects which have thrown fear into the hearts of General Motors and the International leadership of the UAW. No sooner had Leonard Woodcock and the UAW leadership threatened strike action than they attempted to pull back and sabotage this strike.

This leadership fears that they would be unable to get the men back to work after a two day strike, that the men would fight to stay out until GM's vicious speed-up and layoff policy is defeated.

The anger of the ranks in the face of deliberate provocation by GM has brought several GMAD plants, including St. Louis, Baltimore and Van Nuys, California, to the very brink of strike action.

At this very point, when the necessary reinforcements in support of the 172 day old GMAD strike at the Norwood, Ohio plant can be mobilized, the leadership of the UAW is moving to push through a sell-out settlement at Norwood, negotiated in Detroit.

This is an attempt to allow GM to maintain its

(Continued On Page 18)

**Bulletin
Expansion
Drive**

**Camp Raises
\$1,000**

This week we have received a total of \$1,692.62 on the Bulletin Fall Fund Drive bringing the total to \$4,491.62 towards the \$50,000 goal. The bulk of this money came from the magnificent collection at the East Coast Camp. In addition Minneapolis sent in \$300 and Fort Greene contributed \$65 earned by operating a canteen at the camp.

The great difficulty remains getting in regular contributions from all supporters each week out of pay checks. This must be turned around by next week if we are to reach our \$4,000 weekly figure.

This drive is one of two drives aimed at raising \$100,000 so that our printers can install a web offset press. This will permit us to publish the Bulletin as a 24 page paper, to launch the Young Socialist as an independent paper, and lay the basis for a daily paper.

Nixon Declares Trade War Against Europe And Japan

BY DAVID NORTH

In a lengthy and bluntly worded speech that stunned the delegates at the first session of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, Richard Nixon threatened European and Japanese commercial rivals with full-scale trade war.

Having been informed that the United States had suffered in August yet another devastating trade deficit, Nixon told the IMF that measures will have to be taken to reverse this situation.

Even before Nixon's speech, the fears of trade war and international financial chaos had provoked extreme uneasiness among speculators. The London stock exchange posted record declines, and Wall Street reacted to Nixon's speech with heavy selling. Shares on Monday declined seven dollars.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 26—Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz unveiled Nixon's plans for trade war at today's session of the IMF and World Bank.

His proposals included the elimination of gold as a reserve asset, the upward revaluation of the currencies of the United States' Common Market and Japanese trade competitors, penalties against nations with trade surpluses, and the increase from 4.5 to 9 percent in the "floating" margin of any currency.

Shultz' proposals set the stage for the destruction of the industrial power of Europe and Japan. Koshiro Ueki, Japan's finance minister, immediately voiced disagreement with the American program.

A detailed analysis of the IMF and World Bank meetings will follow in next week's Bulletin.

Several times during his speech, Nixon insisted that he will act against "unfair" trade competition. "Now we expect our trading partners to bring about equal competition," he said.

SCHWEITZER

The extent to which the crisis has already torn apart the postwar alliance between Europe and America was revealed in Nixon's repeated references to the difficulty of resolving conflicts peacefully. For their part, the European representatives

demonstrated their anger by extending a prolonged ovation to IMF President Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, who is hated personally and politically by Nixon.

CONFLICT

With the Conference atmosphere already poisoned by American arm-twisting to prevent the re-election of IMF President Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, Nixon admitted that he expected the most bitter conflict between Europe and America.

"We anticipate that the potential for conflict will exist as long as men and nations have different interests, different approaches to life, different ideals," he stated. He added that: "There may be times when impassable develop that may seem impossible to resolve."

Nixon's condemnation of "unfair currency alignments" suggested that Shultz' report would also contain the demand for an upward revaluation of European currencies. Brushing aside the assertions of European finance ministers that revaluation would invite national disaster, Nixon cited "a proverb that has its counterpart in almost every language—where there is a will, there is a way."

The totally reactionary position taken by the trade union bureaucracy on foreign imports allowed Nixon to use the crudest demagoguery to present trade war—which would provoke massive unemployment in this country as well as in Europe—as a measure in the interest of the American working class.

"I will not condone the export of jobs out of the United States caused by an unfairness built into the world's trading system," he said.

PROFITS

Nixon, who has allowed the unemployment rate to rise to six

percent in the United States, is interested in profits not the jobs of American workers. If there was anything that Nixon could agree upon with Europe, it was on the need to brutally attack the living conditions of the working class.

"We can all agree that the health of the world economy and the stability of the international economic system rest largely on the successful management of domestic economies," he said.

Nixon then pointed out that the United States had already succeeded in driving up the productivity of American workers.

The government's attack on the trade unions will be deepened following the elections through the establishment of legal controls over the trade unions and the abolition of the right to strike. Labor Secretary James Hodgson has outlined his proposals for a national board of "Industrial Peace."

SMASH

Such a board would become the framework through which the government would attempt to smash the independence of the labor movement.

Nixon's IMF speech revealed that American capitalism plans to put Europe not only on rations but to starve it to death. At the same time, he is preparing for a massive confrontation with American workers and telling the European bankers to prepare for civil war in their own countries.

All the trade union bureaucrats who join in Nixon's nationalistic war cries are serving to disarm the working class. Nixon's IMF speech poses to American workers the need to mobilize politically in a labor party to answer the preparations for trade war with the struggle for socialism and international planned economy.



North Vietnamese General Giap

NLF Prepares To Crush Saigon Regime Despite US Bombing

BY DAVID NORTH

General Thieu's police state in South Vietnam is in the grips of a devastating military and political crisis following six months of continuous offensives by the National Liberation Front.

There is not a single portion of South Vietnam that the Saigon regime can consider secure—including the capital city—as it prepares its demoralized troops for still another strategic assault which it expects the NLF to launch within a few weeks.

The NLF has renewed its attack on those sections of Route One—the critical highway extending from Quangtri to Saigon—that it does not already control. The heavy artillery shelling that is now taking place is preparing what may develop into a full-scale assault on the old imperial capital of Hue.

If the NLF does attack Hue, it will face the demoralized remnants of the First Division of Saigon that was virtually annihilated last May following the capture of Quangtri. American military officials with the most experience in Vietnam admit privately that total disaster awaits the Saigon army.

"It doesn't look good for our

side," an American officer told the New York Times. "The other guys just keep whittling away, piece by piece, a little bit here, a little bit there. It could get real bad."

The much publicized "recapture" of Quangtri City has already been exposed as a death trap for the Saigon troops used in the operation. They are now sitting on top of the rubble of a shattered town that has no military significance. But these soldiers are totally defenseless against incoming artillery shells fired from across the river.

Even more disastrous is the futile expedition to retake Quangtri province. Operating without any support from the local population, 20,000 infantrymen have been wandering through the province unable to make contact with the NLF.

The Saigon troops are virtually at the point where they cannot be considered a fighting force. They have been torn to shreds by what must be recognized as one of the most brilliant offensives in military history.

Even though the American military made extensive preparations for the offensive, during the last half year the NLF has won vast new areas of territory and has destroyed no less than a quarter of the Saigon army.

Neither the B-52 bombings nor the mining of the Haiphong harbor have been able to defeat the NLF because the offensive and the political collapse in the south are the expressions of the deepening social revolution in Indochina.

Hanoi has made it very clear that it will continue the struggle until the Americans are thrown out of Vietnam. Hoang Tung, editor of the Communist Party newspaper, Nhan Dan, declared last week: "We can hardly believe the war will end. After 17 private meetings, Kissinger has shown no signs that Nixon is

(Continued On Page 18)

Philippine Head Imposes Martial Law

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

A massive military crackdown on the Philippine working class began late last week following the establishment of martial law by President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

An undisclosed number of labor leaders and trade unionists have been arrested along with members of the liberal opposition party. Marcos ordered the seizure of the airlines, the closing of all newspapers and radio stations engaged in news-casting, the establishment of a curfew and a ban on foreign travel.

Citing an alleged assassination attempt against Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, Marcos said that he had called upon the military to establish order to "save the Philippines from a Communist rebellion." He stated that a communist conspiracy has

"the active and material support of a foreign power."

The president, whose rise to power 10 years ago was hailed by John F. Kennedy, announced that mass arrests would be accompanied by a "new society" with economic reforms.

BLOODBATH

But the real plans of Marcos were revealed by a Philippine senator close to the president who told the press: "We need a bloodbath. No country has become great without a civil war."

In spite of a war of extermina-

tion against the Huks that was conducted with the active support of American advisors, the Marcos regime has been unable to break the resistance of the working class. His administration, rife with corruption, has been shaken by terrorist activities.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

The collapse of all semblance of democratic rule in the Philippines is the expression of enormous economic crisis that is throwing the capitalist governments of all the former colonial countries into political chaos.

Marcos' assertion that "the limit has been reached" was confirmed at the opening session of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) conference, where

World Bank President Robert McNamara stated bluntly that the economies of all the backward countries were in shambles.

He said that all the development programs sponsored by the World Bank have done nothing to construct viable economic systems in Asia and Africa.

The bankruptcy of capitalism in the backward countries is expressed with particular sharpness in the Philippines, which was actually governed by the United States until after World War Two and then, after achieving independence, held up as a model of democratic capitalist development. Marcos has often been described by the American State Department as the "John Kennedy of Southeast Asia."

Revolt Against Productivity Shakes Steel Convention

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

LAS VEGAS—The question of an endorsement of a presidential candidate dominated the first two days of the sixteenth Constitutional Convention of the USWA.

The break-up of the Democratic Party and all the alliances set up under Roosevelt was reflected in a debate of the most fundamental kind questioning not only McGovern but the nature of the Democratic Party itself.

The refusal of either Meany or Abel to confront the real lessons of this history and pose the task of constructing an independent party of labor left the convention and the entire labor movement paralyzed without a political policy to carry forward.

DANGER

The extreme danger of this situation found sharp expression in the second half of the convention, in which the crisis developing throughout the steel industry exploded on the floor in the contributions of dozens of delegates who were unable to confront the vicious attacks they now face as anything other than trade union questions.

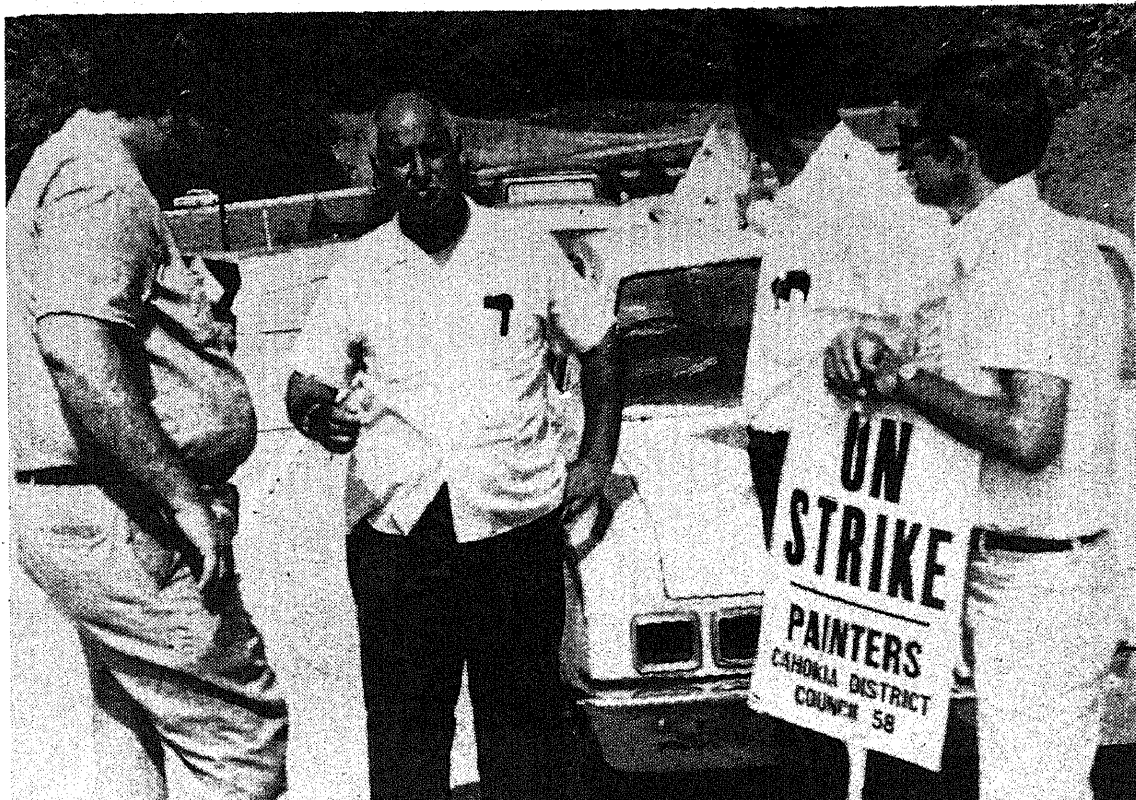
What emerged in this section of the conference was that there is a civil war situation developing in steel plants across the country. The Abel bureaucracy is making a desperate attempt to hold back the inevitable confrontation.

The actual situation developing since the steel contract was brought to the floor by a number of delegates from small locals. Many stood up to claim that their funds were dangerously depleted through loss of membership and the rise in the cost of arbitration

of grievances and that they had no money.

VIOLATIONS

They said that there were massive violations of the contract by the companies. Since they could not even afford to take these violations to arbitration, (Continued On Page 18)



Southern Illinois University tried to avoid paying union wages to painters by hiring students at \$1.65 to \$2.00 an hour washing walls to be painted. Painters of Cahokia District Council 58, AFL-CIO set up a picket line which other workers honored. SIU backed down. One worker explained: "We have nothing against the students, we just want to protect our jobs."

General Dynamics Ranks Vote Strike Action

BY ALAN BERENSON

NEW LONDON—Last Thursday the workers organized in the Metal Trades Council in the General Dynamics Electric Boat division which produces nuclear submarines here voted in overwhelming solidarity against the company's contract offer and for a strike.

The workers in the Metal Trades Council have been working under an extended contract since July. Since the expiration of the old contract, the union leadership under Anthony L. DeGregory has granted the company extension after extension in order to prevent a strike of the 5642 members of the Metal Trades Council.

In Thursday's voting, the workers demonstrated how they felt about the summer-long extension and the union leadership's vacillation. Almost every single worker voted against what the company has called its "last and final offer," about which one worker said: "If we accept it, we

are crazy."

General Dynamics, which has laid off thousands of workers in the last year, has offered a pathetic wage increase of 7.5 percent the first year, and 5.5 percent in the second and third years of the contract. Along with this, the company is insisting on the implementation of what it calls: "Union-employer cooperation in productivity improvement."

What this cooperation would actually mean is vicious speed-up and layoffs so that, in the company's own words, it could: "Successfully compete in the technologically advancing ship-building industries." The company is demanding the right to move workers all around the plant at will; to increase produc-

tivity under the job-interchangeability clause.

As one worker interviewed by the Bulletin said: "This clause means if it's slow in the welding department, for example, the company can send men to another department, probably at a cut in pay."

REFUSED

After laying off thousands, the company has now received a number of large military contracts which it plans to implement with the greatest possible speed by the gigantically reduced

work force.

The only answer to the company's last and final offer is a shutdown of the General Dynamics plant. The workers in the Metal Trades Council are overwhelmingly in favor of such action.

After the voting, which workers considered a vote for strike, the union leadership simply tagged it: "A vote for strike authorization," in order to stall further. DeGregory, president of the Trades Council, said: "The company conceded defeat by (Continued On Page 18)

Florida City Workers Defy Anti-Union Ban

BY BRUCE MCKAY

FORT PIERCE, Fla., Sept. 23—Public Works employees who staged a two day walkout last week to demand a 5.5 percent wage increase today formed a union to press their demands against an arrogant city commission.

Of the department's 149 non-supervisory personnel, 105 joined together this morning to inaugurate City Workers Local 1224, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, AFL-CIO.

The workers have not received a pay increase in over two and a half years and will demand the city grant the 5.5 percent increase as well as a retroactive wage adjustment. The total increase would come to over 10.5 percent.

The city commission and the city administration are readying all the forces at their disposal to crush the union and the militancy of the workers.

Mayor Dennis Summerlin said he does not even intend to allow a union representative to speak when the commission considers the city budget for the final time Monday night. He said city workers do not have the right to join a union.

Summerlin and other labor-baiting commissioners and city administrators will be confronted with their vicious class hatred Monday night, when hundreds of workers pack the commission meeting demanding their right to be heard.

IAM WORKERS SUPPORT LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

BY AN IAM MEMBER

CHICAGO—Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) submitted an emergency resolution last Wednesday to Lodge 113 for endorsement of the National Conference for a Labor Party Now called by the Workers League on Oct. 21-22.

At the meeting which centered on reports from the just-concluded national IAM convention, the leadership ruled the resolution out of order. At the same time, it allowed the supporters of the Communist Party to set up a table for McGovern and to show a campaign film.

Fully aware that the resolution on the conference had wide support within the lodge, the leadership adjourned the meeting right after it was put on the floor. The ranks will continue the fight for endorsement of the conference at the next meeting.

The resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS:

Lodge 113, IAM, is on record in favor of calling a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party, this being the only defense of our members and of the entire union movement against the government and corporate policy of wage freezing, speed-up and plant closing;

AND WHEREAS:

The recent National Convention of the IAM showed strong support for a policy of independent political action by the trade unions, despite President Floyd B. Smith's campaign for endorsement of the Democratic Party's anti-labor candidate, George McGovern;

THEREFORE:

Be it resolved that Lodge 113 endorses the National Conference for a Labor Party Now, called by the Workers League for October 21 and 22 in Chicago, and urges Lodge members to take an active part in the conference.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That Lodge 113 officials shall prepare a mailing to the membership informing them of this motion and including publicity on the National Conference for a Labor Party Now."

New York Longshoremens Demonstrate For Seniority Job Rights

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—A group of more than 30 longshoremens whose seniority rights have been taken away, and who have been denied the right to work in the Port of New York, continued their picket line in front of the International Longshoremens' Association (ILA) headquarters this morning.

The men, all members of Local 1804 of the ILA, who are commonly known as "Chenangoe" men because they are former employees of the William Spencer Company who worked on the lighters (bargers) in the port, have been out of work for 12 months. When Spencer decided to cut out its lighter service, these men were pushed out and refused any benefits or seniority rights by the ILA leadership under President Thomas (Teddy) Gleason.

Pickets told *Bulletin* reporters that it was only through their organization and determination to fight that the leadership finally allowed the men the early retirement provisions of the contract. But many of the men are not eligible and the others are unable to support a family on such a pension.

Many of these men have worked on the docks for 25 to 30 years and now are without jobs, the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) or other union benefits.

They have also exhausted their unemployment compensation.

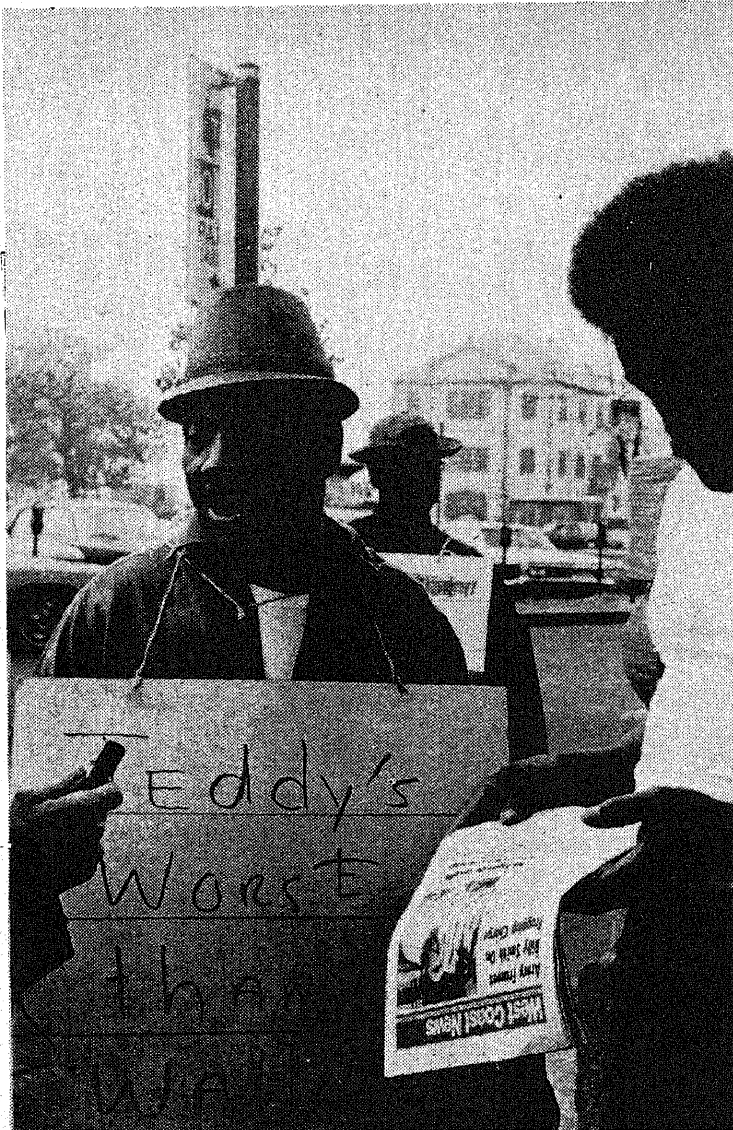
One man said: "We don't want to go on welfare. We only want the right to work according to the seniority we've earned, but we're getting desperate."

REFUSING

The men were still hoping for a favorable decision on their case by the joint union-management seniority board which is meeting this week. But they pointed out that Gleason was refusing to fight for them, while the shippers are opposed to bringing them back.

The men were all in agreement that the government agencies, from the National Labor Relations Board to the Human Rights Commission of New York, refused to lift a finger on their behalf. "Instead of protecting our jobs, these agencies are protecting management," one of the picket leaders charged.

All of the men greeted the announcement that Gleason was supporting Nixon with contempt. As one of the spokesmen for the men pointed out: "These people make contributions to all poli-



Bulletin talked to ILA members who picketed union headquarters.

tical campaigns—Democrats, Republicans, there's no difference."

The "Chenangoe" men were the first victims of the drive by the shipowners to take away the benefits won by the union as a whole. While picking out and trying to isolate a weaker section of the longshoremens who are predominately Black, the future for the "Chenangoes" is now tied up with the rights and benefits of the rest of the union membership who now face the same danger.

This is the meaning of the new work rules which are being applied viciously against the men throughout the port of New York

in order to drive men off the docks. It is Gleason and all his henchmen—including Anthony Scotto of Local 1814—who allowed these provisions to be brought in and today act as cops for the shippers in carrying them out.

A coordinated defense of the "Chenangoe" men and of all locals of the ILA in the port must be fought for with the aim of throwing out the new work rules, giving full seniority rights and all other union benefits including the GAI to the Chenangoe men. The contract must be renegotiated, including the full pay increase that was slashed by Nixon's Pay Board.

ATU To Shut Connecticut Bus Lines

BY DAVE WHITE

NEW HAVEN, Sept. 24—Bus drivers and mechanics of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) voted to authorize strike action for September 30 against the Connecticut company serving New Haven and Hartford and the Connecticut Railway and Lighting Company serving Bridgeport, Waterbury and New Britain.

Both bus companies have refused to negotiate on wage increases and working conditions. E. Clayton Gengrass, millionaire insurance man and owner of the Connecticut company, has demanded a 48 cent hourly wage cut.

For the last four months, Gengrass has attempted to weaken the union by cutting back on service, laying off and suspending some of the more militant members of the New Haven local, while the union leadership has refused to take any action.

SMASH

The Democrats and Republicans, now in special legislative session, are using a three million dollar excess in the state highway funds as a cover for Gengrass and the bus companies



Connecticut bus company fired militant drivers earlier (above the protest rally). Now company wants to give workers 48 cent wage cut.

to smash the ATU. Neither the Democratic Legislature, nor the Republican Governor want any part of subsidized, mass public transportation under present conditions.

But they would be willing to take it over if the ATU takes the wage cut and submits to the cutbacks and speed-up the companies are trying to force on the workers.

The union leadership is leading the ATU into this trap by supporting the Democrats' proposal over the Republicans. The ranks of the ATU must prepare for a real fight with an all-out strike. They must fight for the construction of a labor party and the

Rubber Workers Stage Wildcat

BY DIANNE ISAACS

WHITEMARCH TWP., Pa.—Refusing to bow down to the employers' productivity drive, all three shifts at the Lee Tire and Rubber Company in this Philadelphia suburb continue their second wildcat strike in two months after reading a company directive that their daily production quota is to be increased.

The company sent telegrams to the men saying that they would be suspended for one week for their actions.

The employers are literally attempting to extract their pound of sweat off each worker before they close in the face of competing with the completely automated facilities the giant rubber corporations like Goodyear and Firestone are planning to open in the South.

Caught in an impossible economic situation, Lee Tire and Rubber takes their cue from the plans outlined by Godfrey of General Motors Assembly Division for increasing production with a smaller workforce, with the full blessing of Richard Nixon and George McGovern.

The 700 men here work in temperatures as high as 180 degrees in the summer and when they walked off the job in July it was because the men were suffering severe back injuries from lifting heavy materials. The company finally installed hoists two months later and announced that this was to be accompanied by increased production.

Officials of United Rubber Workers Local 785 which represents the men refused to comment on the situation.

nationalization of the transportation industry, under workers control and without compensation to the bosses.

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Workers League invites you to

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW! CHICAGO-OCT.21-22

The purpose of this conference will be to establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to call a congress of labor to establish a labor party. The conference will also consider the program around which such a labor party is to be constructed as well as the situation facing specific sections of the labor movement.

Workshops on Steel, Auto, Longshore, Teachers, Civil Service, others.

Young Socialists will hold:

NATIONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT
Chicago OCTOBER 22

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)
Advance Registration Necessary: trade unionists: \$5.00 youth & unemployed: \$2.50

Contact:

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Chicago: P.O. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago 60607

West Coast: Rm. 313, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 415-621-1310

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Young Socialist

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6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

NYU President Slashes Budget, Threatens Closure

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The crisis in American education exploded last week with the decision by New York University to drastically cut its budget, reduce its faculty, and eliminate scores of courses.

Upon making this announcement, the President of NYU stated that the very survival of the university is now in question. The possible collapse of NYU must be seen by every youth and student as a grim warning of the dangers that lie ahead.

If New York University, one of the largest, wealthiest and most prestigious institutions in the country can simply collapse beneath the weight of the economic crisis, it means that the same danger faces every other college and university.

No student or youth can take it for granted that he will receive a higher education or—if he is already in school—complete four years. Higher education will no longer be a right but rather a luxurious privilege.

The faculty at NYU has been reduced by 217 members.

Seventeen members of the Graduate School of Social Work will not be hired and plans have already begun to close down this school.

In addition to this, the retirement age was dropped from 68 to 65 years of age so as to retire many more teachers.

In the field of Arts and Science the cutback requires the reduction of 50 faculty members along with the cuts in many courses such as mathematics, chemistry, political science and the complete elimination of others like the teachings of certain languages.

The only way to ensure the future of higher education is

through the construction of a revolutionary movement to lead the working class to power and a socialist society.

We urge all students and youth to take up this fight with the Workers League at the National Conference for A Labor Party Now and the National Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists on October 22 in Chicago.

Minneapolis Students Demand Ouster Of Cops

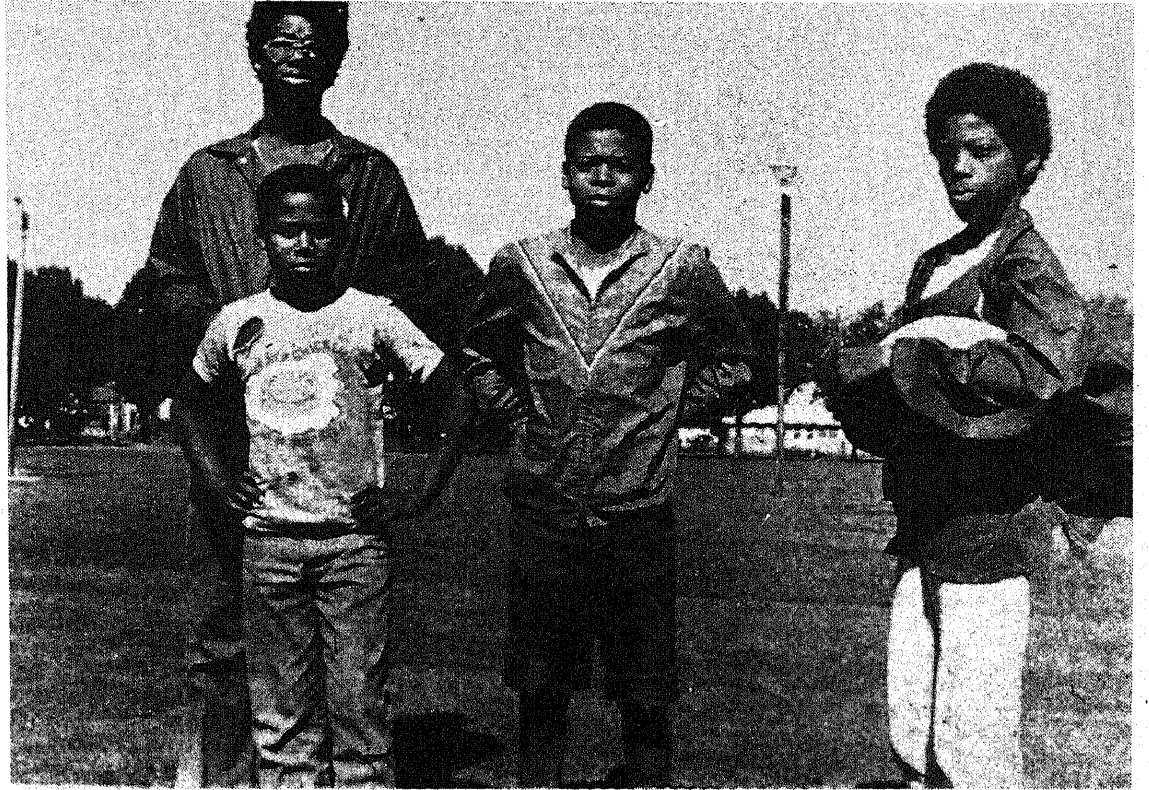
BY
A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Last week Black students at North Senior High held a meeting to decide on actions against the conditions at the school. Demands were drawn up centering around removing police from the schools, cheaper school lunches and better classes.

The Minneapolis Tribune has attempted to pass off the meeting as a racial disturbance. In fact, the meeting of these students comes as a result of the rotten educational conditions and the harassment and beatings of youth by the police.

North Senior High and Lincoln Junior High are infested with police, the laboratories are locked to prevent fights, and outside doors are chained shut.

A 45 minute lunch break is given in which all 1500 students



Above are some of the Minneapolis youth who are demanding that cops be removed from the schools.

have to eat at one time. Some never get to eat because of the long wait on line.

The Tribune listed the demands of the students but conveniently left out their grievances about the cops in the schools, classes and cheaper lunches. Students who talked to the Young Socialist emphasized their anger at the lies and distortions in the capitalist press.

"They just want to turn everything into a big racial thing, blaming the Black students. All we want is a chance for a good education," said one student. He also criticized the content of the education and said that: "History is taught from the point of view of the presidents."

It is this determination of the youth to defend their rights which must be channeled into the building of a revolutionary movement which the Young Socialists in Minneapolis is leading.

Hartford Students Walk Out

HARTFORD—Eight hundred and fifty students at two New Britain elementary schools boycotted classes for two days last week to protest the transfer of four teachers to other city schools.

The city's Board of Education, in the face of a \$400,000 budget cut were forced to adopt a 27 to one student-teacher ratio in all New Britain schools. The transfer of the four teachers was caused by a lower than expected enrollment in the Benjamin Franklin and Deloretto schools.

On September 19, 200 students walked out of classes at East Hartford High to protest elimination of their hot lunch program and to demand designated smoking areas and an open campus program. The town council has voted to remove the \$208,000 subsidy that provided the lunches and has refused to discuss the matter with students until October 2.

The actions of the students express the determination of the

working class to fight for their hard won rights. What is holding them back is their present reformist leadership.

Two federally funded anti-poverty agencies are in the leadership of the New Britain boycott. They have set up neighborhood schools teaching math, geography and Black history. These schools obviously cannot meet the needs of the children.

Sherman Adams, director of the Mt. Pleasant anti-poverty agency has said: "There's an implied racism in the administration's policies," because both schools have a high percentage of Blacks.

Instead of fighting for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans these reformists are misleading the youth. The neigh-

borhood schools are even more inadequate for education.

The reformists want to pose it as just a matter of racism and in this way deny the deepening economic crisis of capitalism. The attacks on education have hit every section of the working class, both Black and white. They stem from a crisis-ridden, profit hungry class determined at all costs to drive back the living standards of youth.

The youth can only be defended by building a revolutionary leadership which does not accept capitalism. The Young Socialists are the only ones carrying out this fight by bringing these political questions to the unions to demand that a labor party be formed to provide decent education.

Where Does The YSA Stand On The Labor Party?

Last week we wrote demanding that the Young Socialist Alliance turn the Jenness and Pulley campaign towards the questions facing the working class and youth. This meant above all that the YSA take up the fight for a labor party to counter the Democrats and Republicans.

We warned that the Stalinist Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League were thrusting all their energy into maintaining the old relationship of the Democratic Party and the labor movement.

Since we wrote that editorial, the CP and YWLL have begun their greatest offensive within the trade unions for the endorsement of McGovern. Gus Hall, their fraudulent presidential candidate, has openly called for a McGovern victory in an article appearing in the September 23 issue of the Daily World.

"Electing McGovern," he declared, is not a goal in itself, but should come as a "by-product of struggle—a by-product of raising the consciousness, understanding and level of organization of the people."

These words are proof of the Stalinists' intentions to keep workers tied to the Democratic Party and bring them to defeat. They serve as a warning to every youth about the counterrevolutionary role of the CP and YWLL.

Showing complete contempt for the working class, the Militant this week runs front page coverage launching the nationwide tours of Jenness and Pulley with no mention of the need to build a labor party.

While entering into debates with the candidates of the Communist Party, not once did they even feel the slightest responsibility as Trotskyists, as revolutionaries, to expose these traitors.

Rather, they turned their attention to McGovernites, challenging them on why McGovern retreated on the question of abortion, as if that is the main question facing the working class. They proceeded to make one of their liberal reforms as the ground on which the question of power will be answered.

We challenge the Young Socialist Alliance to state its position on these questions. They know very well that Jenness and Pulley cannot counter Nixon. If this is so, then the Jenness and Pulley campaign, in refusing to fight for the labor party, is a dangerous diversion, one which finds itself incapable of opposing the CP-YWLL and in fact actually aids them.

The Young Socialists are not standing back while the fate of the working class is in question. We take Nixon, the unemployment situation, and all of these attacks seriously. While the Stalinists throw everything behind the liberals and the Democratic Party, we stand with the working class and for a labor party.

The fight for the labor party towers above all as the main task confronting the working class. The October 23 conference for trade unionists and youth for the labor party has to be seen in this light.

The National Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists will be built only through the fight for the labor party and by exposing the Stalinists in this way. The strength of the Young Socialists lies in arming the youth against these enemies within the working class.

Brooklyn College YS Hits At Revisionists

BY A YS REPORTER

The dangerous role of the revisionists in this period was the main topic in the first meeting of the Young Socialists on Wednesday. The political report given by Adele Flateau, National Steering Committee member centered around the elections and the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Flateau stated that: "The Young Socialist Alliance do not use their candidates to pose socialist demands and to break the workers and youth from the two capitalist parties. Instead, they center their campaign around middle class radicalism, and thus, completely divert the real struggle of workers and youth today."

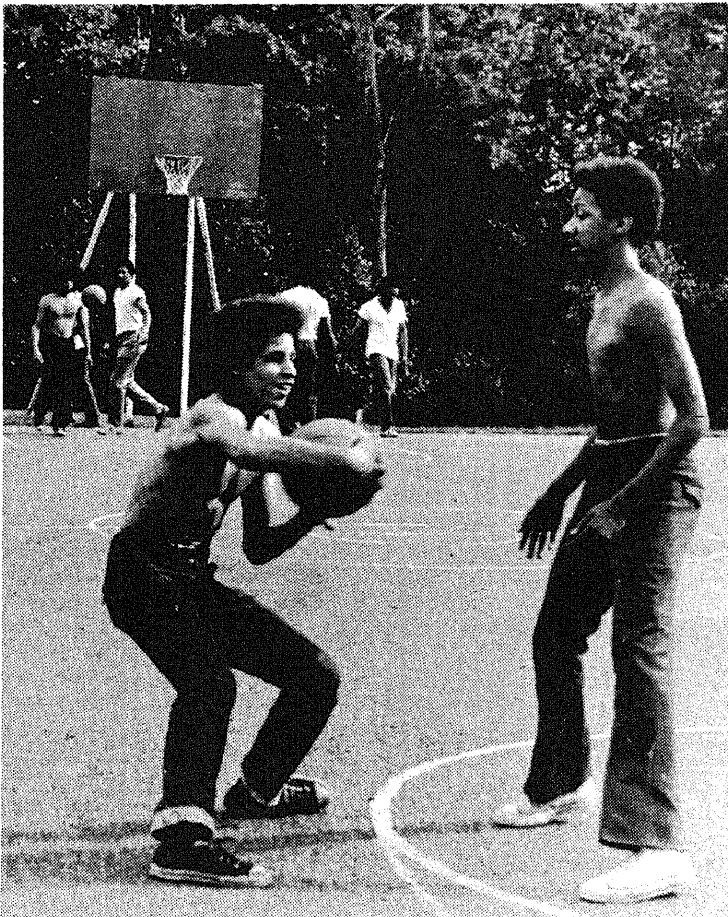
"Only the struggle of the revolutionary party to build a labor party will bring forward the fight of workers to defend their basic rights."

The bankruptcy of the nationalists' politics was expressed in the report given by Emmanuel Edouard. "Na-

tionalism divides the working class and leads them to a dead end," he said, adding that nationalism accepts capitalism by trying to reform it through demands for community control.

There was a lengthy discussion centering on the adventurism which always dominates Young Socialist Alliance rallies such as last May's YSA rally at BC, which ended in the attempt to take over the principal's office and then blockade the Nostrand-Flatbush intersection.

The YSA cannot offer any program to fight back against the attacks. All they can do is lead the youth into fights with the police.



Young Socialists use recreation time to play basketball at Catskill camp last weekend. See article on the Educational Camp on page 15.

Stony Brook YS Plans Fight For Labor Party

BY A YS REPORTER

Last Thursday the Stony Brook University Young Socialists held their first meeting here. Several students discussed the role of the youth in the construction of a labor party.

Gil Gonzalez, National Secretary of the YS, gave a political report which concentrated on Nixon's trade war and its meaning for all workers and youth. Gonzalez stated that, "the labor party is the only weapon which can begin to fight against the attacks waged by the government."

Mounting unemployment, plant closures and the phasing out of educational programs express the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which now threatens the very existence of workers and youth. He added:

"Long Island alone has a 10 percent unemployment rate. The closing of the Grumman Industry dealt a hard blow to every worker there," stated Gonzalez.

A sharp discussion followed which brought forward the central question today: how does the revolutionary party change the political consciousness of workers.

It was emphasized that the revolutionary party must at all points intervene in the struggle of workers for their rights with a program which can bring them to power.

The beginning of this fight must be around the labor party.

Everyone expressed great interest in learning more about the Young Socialists and in attending the Labor Party Now Conference and the Young Socialists Preliminary National Conference in Chicago on October 22.

Young Socialist

YS Camp: 'The Only Answer Is Socialism'

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The weekend educational camp held by the Young Socialists and Workers League marked a tremendous step forward in the building of the revolutionary youth movement. The camp was held in preparation for the preliminary conference of the Young Socialists in Chicago. It centered on the historical lessons of the first American Revolution, the Civil War, and the first chapter of Marx's Capital.

It was held during the most vicious attacks on all youth and workers across the country. Great enthusiasm was shown during the camp to take forward the program of fighting against the attacks and for the building of a labor party. Youth and workers came from Philadelphia, New York, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Boston and Connecticut.

Larry Neil, a 19 year old Lehigh University student in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania studying architecture, who attended the conference said: "There's no way to turn. The only answer is socialism. Schools never taught us what capitalism is like or what socialism is really about. They

show history as a jumble of facts isolated from the real picture. I never saw the history of the working class as a whole in the same framework as shown by the camp."

John M. Henry, a young worker in an aluminum company in Philadelphia, said, "The Young Socialists has the correct analysis on the crisis and how it came about. The camp deepened my understanding and increased my enthusiasm to contribute more to the struggle."

"The seed for my looking to socialism was when I was in the Army. The more I understood it, the deeper I got to see the history of the American labor movement."

"The crisis can't be erased with reforms but only through

the destruction of the whole machinery of capitalism. I understand why capitalism uses racism to divide the working class. The Black nationalists tie the workers and youth to capitalism by controlling the conditions instead of transforming the conditions. They offer no theory or philosophy with which the youth can fight back. The task before me is to bring this consciousness to the people."

An unemployed youth from the Bronx said: "I didn't know that the history of the American labor movement was that bloody. I didn't know that people were hired to fight against the

workers' movement."

The objective conditions today pose the life and death situation that workers and youth are in. It is only through the construction of a labor party which can organize workers to begin to fight against the attacks and at all points bring forward the urgency of socialism that the working class and youth can go forward.

At all points the necessity for theory was emphasized. It is only through the understanding of theory and history that we can arm ourselves for the tasks ahead.

FIRED AFTER 3 DAYS IN A HELL HOLE

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BROOKLYN—Hector Mendez is 18 years old, unemployed and a member of the East New York Young Socialists. All summer he looked for a job without success until last week. Last summer all he could find was a part-time job at the minimum wage.

His father is a member of Local 483 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) which has been on strike against Fedders Corporation for over seven months.

The Young Socialist interviewed Hector on his experiences at his first job in a factory. He said:

"I worked in the basement most of the time. The first thing I had to do was clean the machines. There were about 30 of them. I put the candy in and then had to light them up."

"It gets to over 100 degrees, you start sweating as soon as the machines are turned on because it's like an open flame. Then there are kettles which contain syrup. Everyone gets burned dipping the pots into the kettles."

"The only ventilation is the basement door. There are no fans. On top of this, the noise of 30 machines turning leaves you almost deaf."

"Next you have to put some cinnamon liquid on the candies. When that's put in the vapors that come out of the machine irritates your whole body. Tears come out of your eyes and they begin to itch and everyone has to run to one side of the room. Most

workers come out red—the color of the vapor."

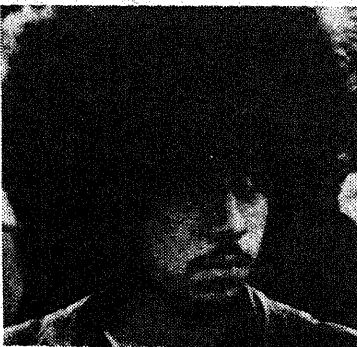
"There is one big machine with a spout on which everyone gets burned. I got burned holding a 150 pound sack. The workers that have to go to the freezer go from over 100 degrees to 30 degrees. My cousin worked above me where they have blowers to dry off the chocolate and he had to wear a jacket."

"I had worked there three days when I got laid off. I came back from lunch and the foreman told me. One of the bosses explained that they had to cut back on two people."

"They have old machinery so I guess they don't care about the people's health. The boss and the foreman during the three days I was there came down only once because the machine was broken."

"I think the conditions are getting worse. That is why my father is striking because they are trying to take away his gains. Workers and youth should fight for better working conditions."

"We need a labor party to defend us because of the way workers are treated. This was my first time working in a factory. I didn't know it would be this bad."



Hector Mendez

NATIONAL PRE-CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT Chicago October 22

The purpose of this conference will be to elect a provisional national steering committee of the Young Socialists and to consider a programmatic statement around which a national conference will be organized to found the Young Socialists. Plans for the launching of the Young Socialist as an independent paper will also be considered.

The conference will be held in conjunction with the Workers League Conference For a Labor Party Now!

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)

Advance Registration Necessary: trade unionists: \$5.00; youth & unemployed: \$2.50. Contact: New York: 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street, NYC 10011 924-0852 Chicago: P.O. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago 60607 West Coast: Rm. 313, 3004 16th Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94103. 415-621-1310 Inexpensive accommodations available.

THE POLITICAL DEGENERATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Young Socialist

3. Huey Newton & intercommunalism

BY JOHN HILLS

We have pointed out in the previous articles that the idealist method of Huey P. Newton has led the Black Panther Party into accepting what is, that is, capitalism. Newton, proceeding with the "integration" (or more correctly "unity") of theory and practice, rather than the conflict between the two, has brought the Black Panther Party into the arms of reformism.

Men develop knowledge precisely through the conflict of their thinking with the external world; this conflict between man and nature is absolute; it goes on all the time.

Newton, ignoring this fundamental principle of Marxism, has refused to bring his understanding in conflict with the objective crisis of capitalism. Consequently the ideology and practice of the BPP is a degeneration of philosophy.

Their philosophy is the philosophy of capitalism. Today not only is bourgeois philosophy totally reactionary, but deadly to the fate of the working class.

The purpose of this article is to show concretely how the idealism of Huey P. Newton is expressed in the practice of the BPP. They have gone from armed self-defense against capitalism to the endorsement of Shirley Chisholm for president.

The BPP accepts circumstances but is incapable of changing them. Marx in his Theses on Feuerbach said: "The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it." The BPP has yet to interpret the meaning of the capitalist crisis in this way and through its practice provide the Panthers with a strategy to change it.

With this understanding, we can now begin an examination of the reformism in the practice of the BPP. It has always been a nationalist organization. Its politics were based on race rather than class. In Newton's turn to dialectical materialism, he tried to achieve a compromise between two hostile camps, nationalism and Marxism.

The Panthers' conception of intercommunalism is a last ditch attempt to revive the bankruptcy of Black nationalism. Newton tries to justify the unscientific conception of intercommunalism with the following:

"We found that because everything is in a constant state of transformation, because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialist, and because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, nations could not exist, for they did not have the criteria for nationhood.

"Their self-determination, economic determination, and cultural determination has been transformed by the imperialists and the ruling circle. They were no longer nations. We found in order to be internationalists, we

had to be nationalists, or at least acknowledge nationhood. Internationalism, if I understand the word, means the interrelationship among a group of nations. But since no nation exists, and since the United States is in fact an empire, it is impossible for us to be internationalists.

Herein we have from Newton a complete rejection of Marxism. Newton throws terms around without any class content. If we were to base ourselves on Newton's understanding, one would think that internationalism was the solidarity of the Asian working class with Ugandan General Amin.

Newton denies the international crisis of capitalism which forced Nixon's August 15 measures, which confront the in-

ternational working class with conditions of civil war. Since the August decisions, far from nationalism being overcome, Japanese and European nations are thrown into vicious trade war competition with America.

Each capitalist nation is desperately trying to remain above water in the world monetary crisis which has exploded with the removal of gold from the dollar. Lenin confirmed without a doubt that after the turn of the century America entered the stage of imperialism. He said: "Imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution. This has been confirmed since 1917 on a world-wide scale."

KAUTSKY

The conception of intercommu-

nalism is reminiscent of Kautsky's theory of super-imperialism, which Lenin in his *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* proved false. Kautsky says: "From the purely economic point of view it is not impossible that capitalism will yet go through a new phase, that of the extension of the policy of the cartels to foreign policy, the phase of ultra-imperialism, i.e., of a super-imperialism, a union of world imperialisms and not struggles among imperialisms; a phase when wars shall cease under capitalism, a phase of the joint exploitation of the world by internationally combined financed capital."

Lenin responds with: "1) The fact that the world is already divided up obliges those contemplating a new division to reach out for any kind of territory, and 2) because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between a number of great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony."

CONTRADICTIONS

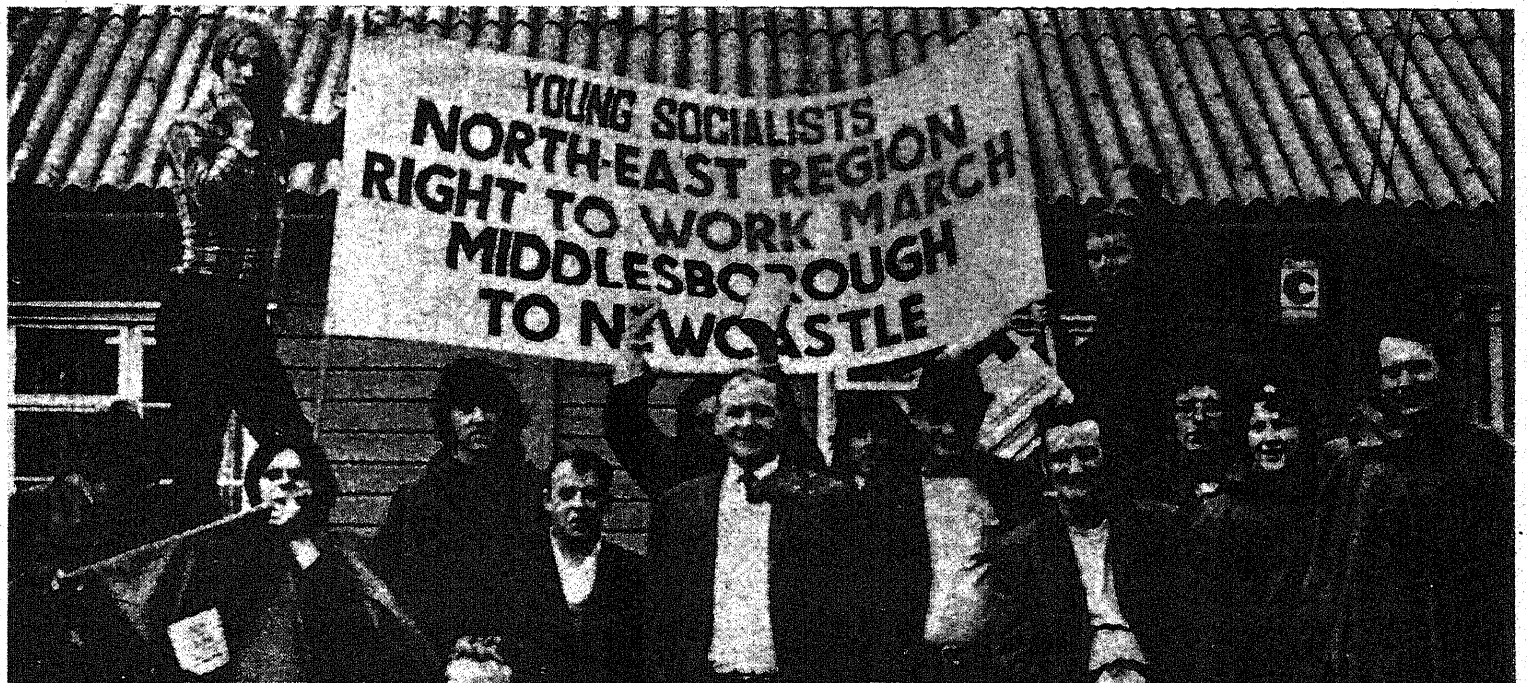
"Kautsky's utterly meaningless talk about ultra-imperialism encourages, among other things, that profoundly mistaken idea which only brings grist to mill of the apologists of imperialism, viz., that the rule of finance capital lessens the unevenness and contradictions inherent in world economy, whereas in reality it increases them."

Newton has paid a heavy price trying to justify community control and Black capitalism with his theory of intercommunalism. Blacks in the U.S. are not a colonized nation; Black nationhood has been destroyed with the completion of the American Civil War, scattering Black workers across the Eastern, Midwestern and Western areas in basic industries of the U.S. Black workers make up an important part of the American working class as a whole. In major unions like the UAW, Blacks constitute more than one-third of the membership.

There is absolutely no criteria for Black nationalism in the U.S. nationally, culturally or economically. It exists only in the head of Huey P. Newton but not in America. Not only is nationalism useless in fighting the exploitation of capitalism, but serves to weaken and divide the working class, delivering it into the hands of the enemy class.

Newton's theory of intercommunalism marked a return to nationalism within the Panther Party. It is a theory which rejects any understanding of how the capitalist crisis is developing and says that capitalism has overcome its contradictions and national rivalries. Newton's so-called "communities" is a rejection of the international struggle of the working class against capitalism, for socialist revolution. This theory can only lead the Panthers back to support for the nationalist states and for the bourgeoisie itself.

TO BE CONTINUED



YS MARCHERS: 'WE WANT THE TORIES OUT'

BY A YS REPORTER

In spite of the bitter opposition of the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party and trade unions the autumn regional Right-to-Work marches of the British Young Socialists have received the enthusiastic support of thousands of rank and file workers.

These marches are taking the Young Socialists through areas hit hardest by the Tory government's deliberate policies of inflation and unemployment.

These marches are not merely a continuation of the Right-to-Work marches held earlier in the year, for the crisis of British capitalism has deepened dramatically over the past two months.

More than ever before, these marches show the decisive role that must be played by the Young Socialists in building a revolutionary leadership in the

working class that will defeat the government and bring the working class to power.

UNEMPLOYMENT

During the past month, there has been a tremendous increase in unemployment. As of September 11, more than 921,000 workers were without jobs.

Within three months, the Tory government will take England into the Common Market, an action that will require the destruction of the living conditions and basic rights of British workers and youth.

In the face of the government's attacks, the trade union and Labour Party bureaucrats have completely abandoned the struggle to defend the working class. At the recent conference of the Trades Union Congress (the British AFL-CIO), whole sections of the bureaucracy openly sided with the government against the trade unions and declared their support for the Industrial Relations Act, a vicious law that is being used to destroy the trade unions and throw workers in jail.

Dave Jones, a leader of the Middlesborough to Newcastle

march, declared that the YS was not marching to "protest" unemployment. "What we are doing is preparing a new leadership for the working class which will drive out the Tories as well as the Labour traitors," he said.

By fighting for the right to work, the British YS is defending not only the youth but the entire working class, and struggling to mobilize the trade unions to force the Tories to resign, replacing them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Support for the marchers was shown in the warm receptions organized by workers in the towns through which the marchers passed, in contributions to the march fund, and in large sales of the *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the Socialist Labour League.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Stalinism vs. Trotskyism

(Continued From Page 1)

- Massive unemployment and layoffs as more and more plants are shut down and the capitalists intensify their international trade war in order to maintain profits.
- Pushing down of the Pay Board guidelines to below three percent as prices of food and other necessities continue to skyrocket.
- A drive by the employers for speed-up and sweatshop conditions.
- The introduction of new laws for compulsory arbitration, right to work, and the encouragement of strike breaking by the government and courts, all aimed at destroying the unions.

The Workers League is the only force in the labor movement with a program to defend the workers against these attacks through the demand for a Congress of Labor composed of all unions of the nearly 20 million strong labor movement for the purpose of establishing a labor party.

On the other side, the Stalinist Communist Party is fighting tooth and nail to keep the trade unions and the working class tied to the Democratic Party and at the mercy of the attacks of the capitalists. They are therefore the biggest supporters of the labor bureaucrats who are the agents of the bosses and who refuse to break with the two parties of the capitalists, in particular with the Democrats.

The Communist Party stands 100 percent behind the election of McGovern. Not since the days of Roosevelt and the super-patriotic frenzy of the Stalinists, have they come out so openly and brazenly for a capitalist Democratic Party presidential candidate. The CP's own presidential campaign is a fraud designed to boost McGovern.

Thus, CP presidential candidate Gus Hall boasts in the September 23 Daily World: "We won people away from Nixon. We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did...electing McGovern...is not a goal in itself, but should come as a by-product of struggle—a by-product of raising the consciousness, understanding and level of organization of the people."

The CP is quite willing to whitewash the role of all those conservative labor bureaucrats such as Beirne of the Communications Workers of America, Jennings of the International Union of Electrical Workers, as long as these men stand behind McGovern. Above all, they have nothing but kind words for "progressive" UAW President Leonard Woodcock, one of the foremost supporters of McGovern. He is applauded by the CP for his trip to Moscow. But where does the CP stand on the role of Woodcock and UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey in their sellout of the GMAD workers at Lordstown, Norwood, St. Louis, Baltimore and the other plants? They have not a word to say.

At the recent Steelworkers convention, the Stalinists made clear that the fight for McGovern took precedence over all other issues. They were in full support and in collaboration with the leaders of many large locals who argued for McGovern on the ground that McGovern was a Democrat. These people argued that, in the words of one delegate, "the Democrats made this union."

No amount of demagogic denunciation of Meany and Abel can hide the fact that the Stalinists are the number one "left" supporters of the labor bureaucracy. They seek to bring militant workers into rank and file caucuses in unions such as the auto and steel and refuse to lead a fight by these caucuses against the International leadership. As the steelworkers today face massive layoffs and speed-up, it must be pointed out that the Stalinists did not lift a finger to fight Abel over the August 1971 steel contract which allowed the introduction of Productivity Committees.

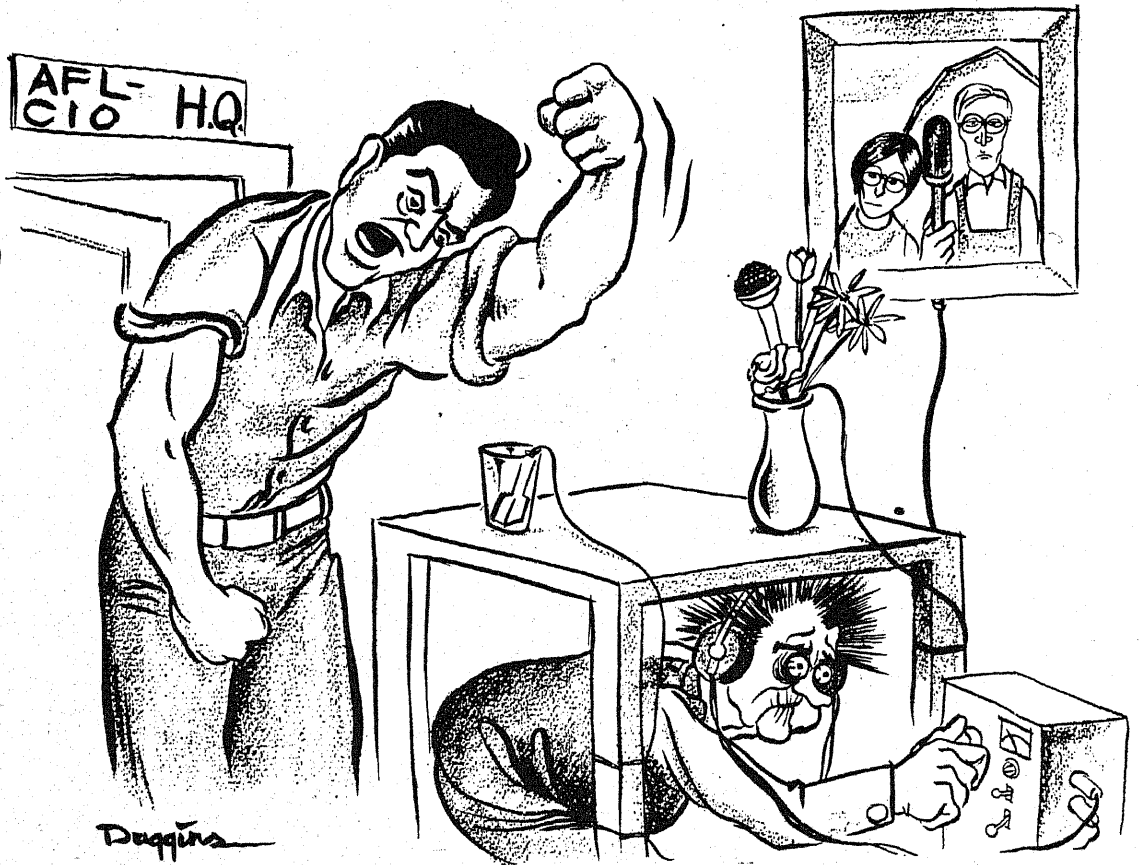
These are the counterrevolutionary policies of world Stalinism which begins and ends with the needs of the privileged Soviet bureaucracy headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin, not with the interests of the working class.

Since 1924 under the banner of "Socialism in One Country," the bureaucracy, which Stalin represented, transformed the Communist Parties of the world from instruments of world revolution into pressure groups for "peaceful coexistence."

The "Peoples Front," the alliance of the working class with liberal capitalism, was the expression of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism in the 1930s. Today, it is the "anti-monopoly coalition" and the campaign for McGovern.

It is only the Workers League which today carries forward the fight for the labor party in order to construct a Marxist leadership in the unions against the Stalinists who attempt to hold the working class within capitalism. For the Trotskyists, the fight for the labor party is the fight to establish the power of the working class and construct a socialist society.

These are the life and death questions which must be discussed and brought into the Chicago Conference of Trade Unionists for a Labor Party Now.



"We want a labor party now!"

What we think

New Light On Stalinist Crimes

The American Communist Party's attempt today to line up support for George McGovern and the Democratic Party has one purpose and one purpose only and that is to prevent the development of a labor party and a conscious, Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

This takes place at a time when the very existence of the working class—their jobs, wages and the unions—requires the building of a labor party and an alternative leadership in the trade unions.

The CP's enthusiastic support for this capitalist politician, unequalled since the CP's campaign for Roosevelt in the 1930's, is combined with vicious attacks on Trotskyism.

The movement of the working class internationally now threatens the Stalinists' "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism and with it the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is the Trotskyist movement, the International Committee of the Fourth International and the Workers League, which provides the revolutionary alternative to the betrayals of Stalinism.

That is why it is so important for the Stalinists to begin their attacks now. Today the Stalinist theoreticians in every country are churning out attacks on Trotskyism in their desperate attempt to maintain capitalism and prevent the independent political struggle of the working class.

To do this the Stalinists are reviving from the 1930s all the discredited slanders against the Trotskyist movement. In Peru, the Communist Party paper prints a picture of the newspaper of the Peruvian Trotskyists with the caption that it is backed by the CIA. The Soviet bureaucracy seeks to paint the growing opposition within the Soviet Union as agents of the CIA. Such attacks are regularly printed in the pages of the American CP's Daily World. A few weeks ago the Daily World ran a cartoon in which the "Ultra-left" (Trotskyism) is associated with Joseph McCarthy.

The American Communist Party has had a long history of abject subservience to Stalin and his successors in the Soviet Union. Here in the belly of world capitalism Stalinism plays a key role in the dirty work of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

During World War Two the adulation of Roosevelt and the patriotic fervor was coupled with a frenzied campaign of lies and slanders against Trotskyism. George Morris, the major labor writer for the Daily World and the most vociferous against the

Workers League's fight for a labor party, was the author of the pamphlet entitled "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement."

In this pamphlet, which is by far the most vicious piece from Stalin's school of falsification, Morris wrote that "Trotskyites" conspired with the Nazi and Japanese imperialists on a "program of wrecking activity and assassination of Soviet leaders" and that "Trotsky personally negotiated with Hitler's Number 2 deputy, Rudolph Hess... and arranged to have the wrecking activities fully integrated with German plans."

It was in fact the Stalinists who were in alliance with the capitalists. The Communist Parties in every country tried to tie the working class to the capitalist class through the Peoples' Front to prevent the struggle for power.

Hand in hand with this went the actual liquidation of the left-wing opponents of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union through the infamous Moscow Trials in which Lenin's entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party was framed up, tortured to confess and murdered. Thousands of communists were executed or died in labor camps.

The Stalinist secret police devoted its energies to terror directed not against the capitalists but against its opposition within the working class. Nothing was beyond the Stalinists.

Morris in his pamphlet wrote approvingly that "In June, 1944, the Buffalo CIO council passed a resolution calling for an FBI probe of Trotskyite activities in that important arms center following several wildcat strikes."

In the plants, the CP pushed the no-strike pledge and sponsored a piecework system in the UAW which the union had fought to destroy. In 1943, the Michigan State Convention of the CP voted to send a letter to none other than J. Edgar Hoover demanding that the FBI discover and expose the sponsors of leaflets distributed in war plants in Detroit attacking the Stalinists' piecework system.

As an appendix to his pamphlet, Morris reprints an article by the assistant to the reactionary head of the Teamsters, Daniel J. Tobin, who far outdid George Meany in anti-communism. It stated: "Trotskyites cannot be good union men because they do not believe in the principles of unionism nor do they believe in the American form of government or the American flag. Fortunately, Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not."

It has recently come to light that the leadership of the American Communist Party not only supported the conviction of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 in 1941 under the Smith Act but that the American CP played a critical role for the government in this conviction. Philip Jaffe, a writer and close friend of Earl Browder, then the head of the CP, reports in an article in the spring, 1972 edition of Survey that the CP "prepared for the Department of Justice an important collection of documents to help prove the guilt of the Socialist Workers Party."

These documents included pamphlets of the Fourth International on the war, internal bulletins of the Trotskyist movement and a document entitled "The Fifth Column of the Trotskyites in the United States" written by the CP. This concluded with the demand that J. Edgar Hoover destroy the Trotskyists, who were described as a "strong fascist weapon in America."

It should be clear that the Communist Party will stop at nothing to serve the needs of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and preserve its alliances with American capitalism. This requires the subordination of the independent political struggle of the working class against capitalism, an acceptance of mass unemployment, wage slashes, and anti-union laws and dictatorship.

Above all, the Stalinists seek to prevent the development of a conscious leadership in the trade unions. This is why their revival of the slanders against Trotskyism is linked to open attacks on dialectical materialism and the defense of pragmatism. In order for the American working class to develop consciousness it is necessary to break with the thinking of the Henry Fords.

This understanding will only be developed through the most bitter struggle against Stalinism within the labor movement. It is not just a question of what the Communist Party did in the 1930s. The lessons of this struggle must be burned into the consciousness of every worker today.

We say there will be no return to the conditions of the 1930s—to the bloody defeats suffered at the hands of the Stalinists. A new leadership, a Trotskyist leadership, must be built in the unions against the trade union bureaucracy and its supporters the American Communist Party.

This will be the central question taken up at the Workers League Conference for a Labor Party Now on October 21-22.

THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

PART 1

The Fourth International, the International Committee and Centrism

The break with the VR¹ and the founding of the POMR² did not represent a break with centrism but were basically a manifestation of the same centrism: they were an empirical response to the political bankruptcy of a centrist party at the moment when there was a radical turn in the spontaneous development of events.

The documents produced in the internal struggle in VR and the documents worked out by the POMR reflect faithfully the extent of the empirical and consequently opportunist nature of the split and the extent to which our 'turn to Trotskyism' was but an act of desperation in the search for a 'theory of justification' for our own spontaneity. The faithfulness and adherence to Marxism, expressed in successive documents of the POMR in this way, only had a formal character.

By 'understanding' theory as a model ordering empirical facts through which these can be explained, dialectical materialism was totally denied and there was complete adherence to primitive forms of empiricism.

In this way, we repeated old contemplative materialism which Marx criticized so much and which, logically, led to the ignoring of 'revolutionary activity, of critical-practical activity'.

Theory, in this way emptied of its transforming activity, of its revolutionary content, was thus relegated to the field of metaphysical speculation, to mere intellectual dilettantism. Theory, elevated to the celestial spheres, was set free from its material connections and acquired its own independent dynamic in which 'facts' were atomized in 'abstract determination'. The divorce between theory and practice was consummated.

The dualist conception of the world which underlies all empiricist conceptions has always led to complete capitulation to 'objective reality', which means that conscious activity is useless. The pessimists forecast inevitable social disasters and the optimists assert the existence of 'objective processes' which lead to the 'universal panacea' or to the 'International Republic of Workers' Councils': both conclude always by denying revolutionary activity and, consequently, by refusing to construct revolutionary leadership.

Only by breaking with dialectical materialism could Stalin 'adapt' to the isolation of the October Revolution and work out his 'theory' of socialism in a single country and, similarly, the Pabloties could capitulate to the apparent post-war boom.

All conceptions of spontaneity have implicit in them

the rejection of Marxist method and adherence to empiricism or pragmatism. However, such a concession to empiricism has always been denied by its own authors, who have always declared themselves to be the most serious defenders of Marxist theory.

All this is possible precisely because they are empiricists, because for them theory is totally separated from practice and because their adherence to Marxism is a formal adherence from which they are unable to extract the necessary conclusions.

Having reached this point, it is necessary to understand clearly that the POMR may very well have declared its faithfulness to Marxism, but this is an attitude with only a formal content and consequently everyday it capitulates to the basest forms of empiricism.

The fetishist worship of programme was only the inevitable complement of the rejection of Marxism and the dissolution of the party into centrism. By describing the crisis of VR as a 'programmatic crisis' and by giving it consequently a 'programmatic solution', the fact that programme presupposes a theory and a method is completely left on one side. It was possible to say then that VR, because of its 'class-nature', could not work out a revolutionary programme—this is a conception which presupposes a base capitulation to spontaneity since it implies that revolutionary programme is born spontaneously in the proletariat.

In this way, one of the central aspects of Marxist theory was denied: that class-consciousness does not arise spontaneously from the proletariat but is introduced into it from outside.

It was not because of the VR's 'class-nature' that it could not formulate a revolutionary programme; in fact, Marxism did not arise from the proletariat since the spontaneous development of the working class only leads to what Lenin called 'trade-unionist consciousness', or the politics and ideology of the bourgeoisie in the working class. One has only to read the classics to see that. For example, Lenin affirmed in 'What is to be Done?':

'The doctrine of socialism has arisen from philosophical, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals. Marx and Engels belonged because of their social position to the bourgeois intelligentsia.'

Trotsky, in response to Stalin, declared: 'Marx and Engels come from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois democrats and were, as is natural, educated in their culture and not in the culture of the proletariat. . . their theory was formed on the scientific



and political basis of bourgeois culture, although they declared on the latter a war with no quarter given. Under the sharp blows of the contradictions of capitalism, the idea of generalizing bourgeois democracy is raised—in its most honest and worthwhile representatives—to the point of genial self-regeneration, and for that end it was the whole critical arsenal prepared by the development of bourgeois science. Such is the origin of Marxism.'

VR could not formulate a revolutionary programme and develop revolutionary policy because its position was completely outside Marxism, because it had broken with dialectical materialism. The POMR was not formed on the basis of the Marxist understanding of the methodological bases of its centrism, so there was no guarantee that the 'turn to Trotskyism' was not precisely an opportunist manifestation of that same centrism which it declared it was breaking with.

Today there exists more than sufficient evidence to affirm that, in effect, the POMR continues to be a centrist organization. Consequently the only positive solution to the present crisis of the party has its roots in the deepening and extension of the discussion until the methodological roots of its centrism are understood,

Only an implacable struggle for the understanding of Marxist method, for the defence and development of dialectical materialism, will be able to guarantee the future of the POMR as the embryo of the revolutionary party in Peru.

The POMR was founded as an empirical reaction to the crisis of the VR. During the whole of its existence its policy has reproduced the typical traits of centrism—the rejection of theory, expressed in the formal acceptance of theory.

The break with the VR did not take place on the granite base of the understanding of dialectical materialism, so the future of the POMR was inevitably in question. Thus, the rejection of Marxism would imply sooner or later the impossibility of fighting for revolutionary leadership and capitulation to the traditional leaderships in the workers' movement, to Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Today, it is necessary to understand that such a capitulation was implicit in the origins of the POMR and that, consequently, it is necessary to go to the roots in the understanding of the methodological bases which engendered it.

The internal struggle has laid the basis for our total break with centrism and has given rise to a Marxist

tendency which struggles implacably to give a positive solution to the crisis in the POMR. We must repeat with all seriousness: it is necessary to break completely with centrism, it is necessary to undertake a ruthless fight for dialectical materialism. This is the only guarantee for the construction of independent revolutionary parties, and it is the fundamental weapon in the struggle for revolutionary leadership.

In moments in which the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy sharpens, and bigger and bigger sectors enter the struggle on a world scale, it is necessary to undertake the biggest offensive against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology in a struggle which defends and develops all the gains of Marxist theory. Without carrying forward this struggle, the future will be marked by defeats of the proletariat which will be even more terrible than those of the 1930s.

Hostile to all international perspectives, the POMR is condemned to being converted into the left wing of petty-bourgeois nationalism. The POMR will be built as a revolutionary party only as a section of the Fourth International. However, the POMR leadership has broken completely with this basic principle. It considers the question



of the International as a problem of 'relations of internationalist brotherhood', in this way denying all questions of principle.

Without ever discussing in a principled way the problem of the International, the leadership has established relations with parties like the POR and Política Obrera and supports the magazine 'America India' ('Indian America') which, in its name alone, reflects the most reactionary positions of the nationalist petty-bourgeoisie (the narrowest national chauvinism and racialism).

Behind the phrase 'relations of internationalist brotherhood' is hidden the crudest pragmatism and negation of the International as the world party of the proletarian revolution.

The position of the party leadership on the International is just one of the most spectacular manifestations of its total hostility to Marxism. It is necessary to struggle against all such conceptions which can lead to nothing other than the liquidation of the party and

the dissolution of the International into a centrist amalgam.

The International Committee

When Trotsky and his collaborators founded the Fourth International in 1938, the international workers' movement was experiencing a great period of reaction ('the FI arises from the most terrible defeats...').

The betrayal of the Second International, and then the betrayal of the Third International had conditioned the defeat of the international workers' movement, and fascism was advancing victoriously through Europe. In such conditions, the objective course of events determined that the FI was reduced in its sections to nuclei of militants basically extracted from the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and workers linked to intellectuals, but without ever constituting powerful mass movements.

There did not exist any conception of adapting to this, but the composition of the FI was determined by the objec-

tive situation and by its historic task in that period. The struggle for the construction of independent revolutionary parties in each country took place then in totally adverse conditions, 'against the tide of history', as Trotsky described it himself.

When the revolutionary movement in general is in decline, when one defeat follows another, when fascism is spreading throughout the world, when official "Marxism" is the most powerful organization for deceiving workers etc., it is inevitable in that situation that the revolutionary elements will have to struggle against the general tide of history even if our ideas and explanations are as exact and intelligent as could be expected.' (Trotsky—'Against the Tide')

Today the international workers' movement has entered a new period of development as a result of the deepening of the imperialist crisis and the crisis of the bureaucracy. The joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy has only one positive solution within the

present framework. The only solution which will open a new epoch of progress for humanity lies with the International Socialist Revolution. The development of the class struggle internationally from 1968, with the French General Strike and the revolution in Czechoslovakia, make the urgent and predominant task the problem of the revolutionary leadership necessary for the taking of power.

Only the FI can resolve the problem of revolutionary leadership and in fact the International Committee (IC) of the FI is the only tendency which subordinates all questions of tactics to the problem of alternative leadership in the workers' movement.

Contrary to what happened in the period in which Trotsky and his collaborators founded the FI, there now exist favourable conditions for its building. The period which has opened up is that in which Trotskyist parties, sections of the FI, are called upon to take the leadership of the workers' movement on an international scale. That

is the conclusion of the Marxist analysis of the present period; to consider that we are in a period of 'imminent revolution' or in an 'objective process' which, through different stages, methods and ways, leads to the world revolution, has no other meaning than to deny the struggle for the revolutionary party and to capitulate to pragmatism, to the 'facts' to 'objective reality'.

Our epoch, as defined in the Programme of the FI, has two alternatives: socialist revolution or barbarism, there exists no 'objective process' towards socialism, the central problem is the problem of revolutionary leadership which only the FI can resolve.

The struggle waged by the IC of the FI has been basically the struggle for the defence and the development of Marxism, the only basis on which it is possible to talk seriously of the struggle for revolutionary leadership. The struggle against all attempts to revise Marxism has been the permanent basis for the building of revolutionary parties.

The revisionist tendencies reflect within revolutionary movements the positions of enemy classes, pressures which are permanent and which imply necessarily the building of the revolutionary tendencies in struggle against them. Only by struggling against all opportunist tendencies can the Bolshevik party be built as a revolutionary party.

The Pabloite leadership of the FI capitulated to the pressures of imperialism, and by doing so broke of necessity with Marxism. The struggle against Pablo began as a rejection of his positions in relation to the Soviet bureaucracy and *entrism sui generis* which led to the refusal to build independent parties of a Bolshevik type.

Pablo's revisionism was aimed at the very essence of the FI:

'The conscious struggle for alternative leadership based on revolutionary theory.'

However, the capitulation of Pablo to the Stalinist bureaucracy supposed a break with the Marxist method, and with dialectical materialism.

The IC could only struggle not only against this or that position of Pablo, but from an understanding of the methodological bases of Pabloite revisionism. It is for this reason that the struggle of the IC has been basically the struggle for the development of Marxism and the defence of all the gains of Marxist theory.

What defines a party as revolutionary is only its development of Marxism. A party cannot be defined as 'revolutionary' because of its 'social composition', because of its links with the working class or because of the actual leadership of the working class it might have.

A quotation from Trotsky shows this:

'He who is swimming against the tide is not connected with the masses. Also, the social composition of every revolutionary movement at the beginning is not working class. They are intellectuals, semi-intellectuals or workers connected with intellectuals who are not satisfied with the existing organization. You will find in each country a great

number of foreigners who do not enter the workers' movement in each country very easily. A worker in America or in Mexico will become a member of the FI with much less difficulty. A new radical tendency directed against the general current of history in this period is crystallized around elements more or less separated from the national life of any country and for them it is difficult to penetrate into the masses.'

To accept a quantitative criterion to describe a party means a fundamental break with Marxism and a capitulation to empiricism; the Pabloite crisis was but the struggle between the proletarian Marxist tendency and the petty-bourgeois, empiricist tendency within the Trotskyist movement. Because of the extent which the IC of the FI took up the defence of Marxism, we cannot affirm that the FI was liquidated. The IC of the FI represents the historical continuity of Marxism, of Bolshevism.

'But the sceptics will not keep quiet. But has the

moment come to proclaim it? The FI, we reply, does not need to be proclaimed. IT EXISTS AND IS STRUGGLING. Is it weak? Yes. Its ranks are still rather thin, because it is still young. Up to now, it is made up above all of leading cadres.

'But these cadres are the only hope of the revolutionary future; they are the only ones really worthy of this name. If our International is still numerically weak, it is strong in its doctrine, in its tradition and the unrivalled temper of its leading cadres. If that is not seen today, that is not of the greatest importance, it will be more in evidence tomorrow.'

The struggle of the IC began against the impositions of Pablo and his group of the 'new character of the Stalinist bureaucracy' and *entrism sui generis* etc., all positions which were attacks on the very essence of the FI. It was the majority of the French section which began the struggle against revisionism, for which they were expelled bureaucratically by the Pabloite majority of the International.

However, the opposition to the positions of Pablo in 1953 was not a sufficient condition to guarantee the struggle for the building of independent revolutionary parties. The IC could only be constituted in struggle against Pabloite capitulation and the extension of this to the methodological understanding of Pabloism and of the significance of its break with Marxist method.

The SWP which had adhered to the IC, returned to Pabloism as the crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy got worse. Cannon and the SWP leaders reacted empirically to the capitulation of Pabloism and its bureaucratic manipulations, but were incapable of understanding the theoretical roots of revisionism.

By leaving on one side the warnings of Trotsky on the need to fight pragmatism, the SWP prepared its cadres for the future capitulation.

By abandoning Marxism and capitulating to American pragmatism, the SWP could adapt itself easily to Pabloism, by assuming a narrow nationalist

Left, France in May-June 1968. Center, Soviet tanks roll into Czechoslovakia in 1968 against workers. Right, Leon Trotsky. Bottom right, Hungarian workers stand over statue of Stalin that they pulled down during 1956 Revolution.



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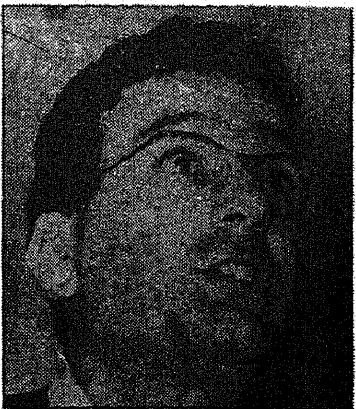
By abandoning Marxism and capitulating to American pragmatism, the SWP could adapt itself easily to Pabloism, by assuming a narrow nationalist

position and denying its international responsibilities. Faced with the crisis of the bureaucracy in 1956 the SWP abandoned the programme of the political revolution and the struggle for the building of revolutionary parties in Eastern Europe, and, faced with the petty-bourgeois leaderships, it capitulated totally by supporting the leaders of Algeria, Fidel Castro in Cuba and the black movement in the USA.

The assassination of President Kennedy provoked a reaction which revealed its total capitulation: they sent their 'condolences' to the widow and published a statement condemning 'terrorist methods'.

The capitulation of the SWP concluded with its participation and its unprincipled 'reunification' with Pabloism in the 1963 Reunification Congress. The SWP leaders carried through their unprincipled unification with Pabloism by using the argument that the IC ignored the 'new facts' of the world situation, 'facts' which went as far as the natural evolution of non-Marxist forces and non-proletarian forces like Castro in Cuba and Ben Bella in Algeria towards Trotskyism. Thus, the independent revolutionary party was not the central task any more since there existed an 'objective process' towards Marxism and socialism—and Marxism was distorted to become, in the words of Hansen himself, 'consistent empiricism'.

The struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist movement, and particularly the struggle in the SWP, revealed a fundamental difference in method. The leaders of the SWP had rejected Marxism and had replaced it with empiricism, had rejected the method which starts from the point of view of the transformation of the world and in its place they devoted their time to 'interpreting it' or 'contemplating it'.



Ernest Mandel

What characterized Pabloism has been its inability to develop dialectical materialism against idealist methods of thought, in particular empiricism and pragmatism. It was by breaking with dialectical materialism that the Pabloites prostrated themselves before imperialism and the bureaucracy. The 19 years of struggle of the IC show that in the struggle against Pabloism there cannot be a simple empirical rejection of its positions or 'theories'. An equally empirical rejection can in no way constitute the basis for the theoretical development of Marxists, since such a rejection cannot be permanent and will be subordinated to the ever-changing 'objective reality'. That is the lesson of the return of the SWP to Pablo and Mandel despite having 'broken' with them in 1953.

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice, and revolutionary practice cannot be separated from the construction of revolutionary leadership. The revolutionary capacity of theory is realized in the conscious intervention in the class struggle to build in-



SWP sent condolences to the widow of JFK (above) after he was assassinated. Bottom, from left: Castro, Dubcek (Czechoslovak leader during "Prague Spring" in 1968) and deposed Algerian nationalist Ben Bella. ('Hence the active side was developed in an abstract way, in opposition to materialism, by idealism, which naturally does not know real sensuous activity as such.')

Pabloism reproduces the method of thought of the bourgeoisie which consists in an abundant collecting of empirical data which are then integrated into a 'model' or a rationalist scheme to explain them. For example, Mandel in the Introduction to his 'Treatise on Economy . . .' says that: 'Marxist method cannot be connived except as the integration of dialectical

metaphysical speculation. Dialectical materialism has always had to fight against all these conceptions.

The method advocated by the empiricists, including the Pabloites, which consists in the 'collection of facts' erects an unsurmountable obstacle to the correct understanding of the objective world, since through this method one can only reach what Marx called the 'imaginary concrete' which only leads to the atomization of complete representation in abstract thought. The scientifically exact method is precisely that in which 'the concrete appears in thought as the process of synthesis, as a result, not as a starting point although it may be the real starting point and consequently, the starting point of perception and representation as well'.

Because of their rejection of the dialectical method, the Pabloites and Mandel were prostrate when faced with the apparent stabilization of capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy during the post-war boom. The theories of Pablo on the 'imminent third world war' and the 'new role of the bureaucracy' or the theories of Mandel on neo-capitalism and the third industrial revolution, the scientific technological revolution and the new working class, as with the theories now developed by the OCI¹ on the 'imminent revolution' or the 'objective process which leads to the universal republic of workers' councils' have a common denominator—the capitulation to the 'facts', to 'objectivity', as theories are attempts to justify or adapt to the spontaneous course of events. All these presuppose a rejection of Marxist method and a capitulation to empiricism.

Only by breaking with Marxism could the Pabloites realize their series of betrayals of the international workers' movement and Mandel in particular became one of the greatest present-day apologists for capitalism.

He capitulated to Stalinism in the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and to the petty-bourgeois nationalists in Algeria and Cuba: he played an equally important role in the defeat of the Belgian strike in 1961; he supported Dubcek in the Czech uprising in 1968, gave a cover to the French Pabloites who capitulated criminally to 'student power' in 1968—not to mention the liquidation of the Latin American sections of the Unified Secretariat into OLAS and the Castroite movement.

Only through an understanding of the opportunist tendencies' profound rejection of the Marxist method is it possible to guarantee the struggle for revolutionary leadership in the continuity of the FI. The experience of the SWP has no other meaning and constitutes a basic stage in the struggle of the IC of the FI.

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

¹ Revolutionary Vanguard. A group formed from a split in the Peruvian Stalinist movement in 1964. They based themselves on the theories of the Peruvian Socialist, José Carlos Mariategui.

² POMR. Revolutionary Marxist Workers' Party. A party formed after a split in VR. The leadership around Ricardo Naipuri supports the position of the OCI (see Footnote 4).

³ SWP. The United Workers' Party of the United States. American section connected with the FI until its reunification with the Pabloites in 1963. It was in the SWP in the early stages of the FI that Trotsky waged the most important struggle for dialectical materialism against the pragmatism of Burnham and Shachtman in 1939.

⁴ OCI Organisation Communiste Internationaliste de France.

The Inheritance

"Today is born out of yesterday; and there is no birth without pain." So begins *The Inheritance*, a documentary film, edited by Lawrence Silk and made in 1964 by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the union's founding.

The film graphically records the birth, not just of the ACWA, as important as that development was in the break from the old craft unionism of the AFL and the development of the powerful industrial unions which formed the CIO, but of the organized American working class itself and its continuous struggle throughout that tumultuous half century.

The film begins in Ellis Island, the debarkation point for the millions of immigrants, seeking the opportunity for a better life in a new country, who were brought to America to produce through their toil the wealth of mushrooming capitalism. Through the scanning of still photographs of the arrival of immigrants at the turn of the century coupled with voices portraying their thoughts and conversations, a technique used throughout the film, the film captures the excitement and expectations of the landing in America.

A man gazing for the first time at his newly chosen home from the deck of a ship, which resembled the slave ships of past centuries because it is so crowded with human beings, thinks to himself: "In the old country I worked like an animal, I was marked as an animal before I was ever a man. I swear that my children will not have to live like that."

The contradiction between the hopes and dreams of these immigrants and the demands of the system which sought their labor is brought rapidly and sharply into focus. Those workers and peasants from every corner of Europe who came looking for "streets paved with gold and houses made of marble," are processed through an assembly line of immigration bureaucrats, one who tells another: "We've got 5000 today so you've got two minutes each to ask 32 questions and watch for T.B.—we're getting a lot of it lately."

CHILD LABOR

The film includes footage of young child laborers, such as of the two million who did exhausting and dangerous work in the mills and mines from daybreak to sunset while six million of their parents' generation were unemployed.

Why? The voice of an entrepreneur which accompanies the segment explained forthrightly: "Why hire a man for a buck when you can get a kid for a dime." This segment is followed by a still of another capitalist and his young son out for a horseback ride in Central Park with the father stating: "I was telling my youth that it was the height of vulgarity to discuss money."

In the still of the immigrant tenements, the camera zooms in on the face of a young girl sharing four rooms with 16 others wondering to herself, "If I ever get a boyfriend where are we going to hold hands?" This still is followed by another of a mother and daughter dressed in white lace and silk entering their carriage with the aid of a doorman.

It was out of these contradictions that the beginnings of the struggle for the industrial unions, with which the major part of the film deals, developed. It was a situation in which the immigrant worker toiled 12 hours a day, six days a week in the mines, in the mills and factories, earning on the average \$400 a year, while the government itself estimated that a family could live adequately on no less than \$900. It was also a time when profits had never been higher.

"Stubborn as a tree that pushes up through the rock," is the way the narrator



Top, child labor in a textile plant. Above, cops launch Memorial Day massacre during Little Steel Strike in 1937.

describes the American working class as it entered into tremendous class battles to win the right to a union and through it, a decent life. This description, as the film demonstrates through strike after strike, is very apt in terms of the deep strength and fighting capacity through walkouts, lockouts, and sit-down strikes.

However there was nothing gradual about their fight. The explosive character of the walkouts in the cotton mills and garment sweat shops is portrayed by still photos of thousands of workers marching to mass rallies and carrying picket signs written in a dozen languages. In the background are the excited voices of three of the workers: "Did you hear, three more shops have walked out... There are 25,000 of us out now... 40,000, 40,000 workers have joined the strike, they've got to give in now."

The film starkly reveals the resistance which workers in this country faced at every turn. A spokesman for the mine-owners in 1912 sonorously intones, "The interests of the laborer will not be protected by the labor agitators but rather by those enlightened men to whom God, in his infinite wisdom; has entrusted the control of property." The film cuts to scenes of these enlightened men defending their control of this property: police mounted on horseback clubbing men and women to the ground on picket lines and workers' demonstrations in a half a dozen different cities.

BEAUTIFUL AMERICA

One of the most well done sections of the film utilizes a 1930's travel brochure entitled "See Beautiful America," with a cartoon of an ideal middle class family of tourists superimposed over picturesque photos of various sections of the country. With the Woody Guthrie song, "This Land is Your Land," as an ironical musical background, the camera shoots through this idyllic caricature to films of the reality of virtual civil war which raged in industry after industry throughout the country in the 1930's.

This part of the film includes footage of the police murder of dockers in the San Francisco General Strike of 1934 as well as the Memorial Day Massacre of the Republic Steel strike three years later in

which sixty workers were hospitalized from gunshot wounds and brutal beatings and ten were killed, shot in the back.

The film portrayal of the great struggle to build the industrial unions in the 1930's concludes with the Flint sit-down, showing the National Guard rolling up cannon and machine gun to aim as a threat to the auto workers who had occupied the plant. But here, as in the rest of the film, it is not only the violence of the employers and their agents which is depicted but more centrally the courage and determination of the American worker in continuously renewing his struggle and fighting through every temporary defeat to build his unions.

ONLY THE BEGINNING

When a garment worker expresses disgust to his shopmate after a strike in which the then craft union "settled" for a 53 hour week his mate responds: "You think this is the end, take it from me, this is only the beginning; whatever you get you have to fight for it."

With all its strengths in bringing forward sharply the class contradictions of American capitalism as well as the life and tenacity of the struggle of the American working class, the film fails to confront squarely the political questions raised in every one of these battles. The only political statements in the film, aside from a momentary shot of Norman Thomas speaking to a group of steel workers, are those of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The film cuts from the angry face of a defeated bonus marcher with a voice which says, "Let me tell you mister, we ain't going to take it no more, we're going to make some big changes here," to a film of the deciding votes being cast for FDR in the Democratic Convention of 1932.

LABOR BUREAUCRACY

The film, just as the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists of those days, seeks to portray Roosevelt as a friend of labor performing modern day miracles for the needy and unemployed. To do this the film must ignore the blatant contradiction contained within itself, that is, how is it that under the administration of this friend of labor, hundreds of workers died under the

Bill Van Film



guns and clubs of the National Guard and police from Toledo to Chicago to Minneapolis to San Francisco.

JOHN L. LEWIS

In a very short cut of a speech to unionists, CIO president John L. Lewis declares: "What you have gained on the picket lines can be taken away in congress. Politicians will try to vote through longer hours and cuts in pay. We must continue to organize." The organization continued producing a CIO of five million members in three years, but today the threat which Lewis posed over thirty years ago takes on flesh and blood in the vote of Congress for the Economic Stabilization Act out of which Nixon fashioned his wage freeze.

The film was made eight years ago when Nixon was a defeated politician and the wage freeze was not yet on the drawing boards. But still the film's refusal to deal forthrightly with politics is what leaves it unprepared for the present attack on the unions and the breakup of the Democrat-labor coalition cemented under Roosevelt.

LEGACY

It is today within the content of "the inheritance" of the present generation of American workers, the legacy of all the rights won through the half century of struggle which the film portrays comes under a direct attack by the employers government, that the political questions are the most crucial. Lewis' solution of "organize" was not sufficient 30 years ago and is much less so today.

The most powerful unions in the world have been built and the American capitalist has been forced to begin a battle to destroy them along with all the gains the working class has won. It is under these conditions that the central necessity facing the American working class is the building of its own political party, a labor party, which is the only weapon capable of defeating this attack.

Despite its weaknesses, the central content of the film, the living history of the struggle of the American working class and an understanding of its strength which it developed can play a valuable role in the present tasks.

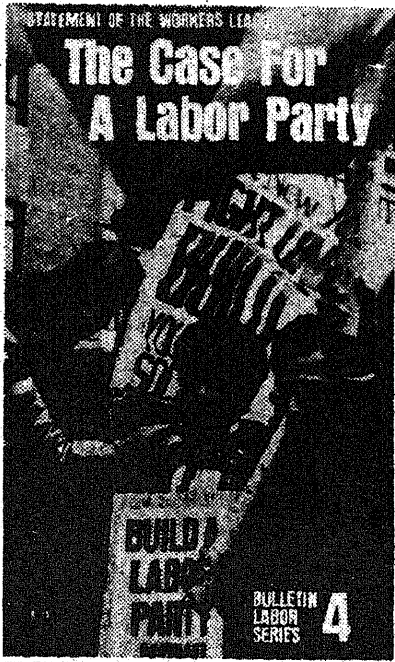
PELLEGRINO JACABACCI, from Bridgeport, Connecticut is unemployed. He is the father of six children and was a shop steward of UAW Local 1010.

Workers could avoid politics before but now we can't. The unions aren't getting anywhere today. Moneywise, they give you a few bucks now and then, but then the government takes that away from you and you're right back where you started from.

I used to be a Democrat, then I changed over to a Republican, hoping that maybe if

we couldn't get anywhere with the Democrats, we'd get somewhere with the Republicans. But I don't see that we're getting anywhere at all with them. Neither of those parties have anything in them for the working man. These guys will promise you the world and once they're in, they do just the opposite of what they said they were going to do.

TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party



The following articles are part of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.

I could see a labor party and I'd definitely support it. There's no question about it—there would have to be good leaders in this labor party, honest leaders. The union leaders are in league with the company. We need honest leaders today for the working people—people that are willing to go all the way, as far as you can go. Even as far as revolution if it's necessary. Like the Case for a Labor Party says, the unions were built by revolutionaries.

Now, as for the Pay Board, I don't think we should even have had that. The unions should fight it all the way. If we're going to have a Pay Board, let's have a Pay Board not only for the working man, but for the rich man. Let's freeze their profits, let's freeze food prices, everything. What they do to the working man, they should do to the employer.

But I don't think the government will do this. The reason I say this is because it is run by the multi-millionaires. I don't think it's run by the average working man, or the average poor man. The Rockefellers, the Gettys, the Kennedys, they run this government. I don't think the working class people have anything to say anymore.

On the issue of unemployment, I think the 30 hour week would create employment. There's no reason for all this unemployment. It's very high, they're laying off all over. That means that people in the shop are doing the job of maybe two or three men, so they're getting pushed. They have people working overtime

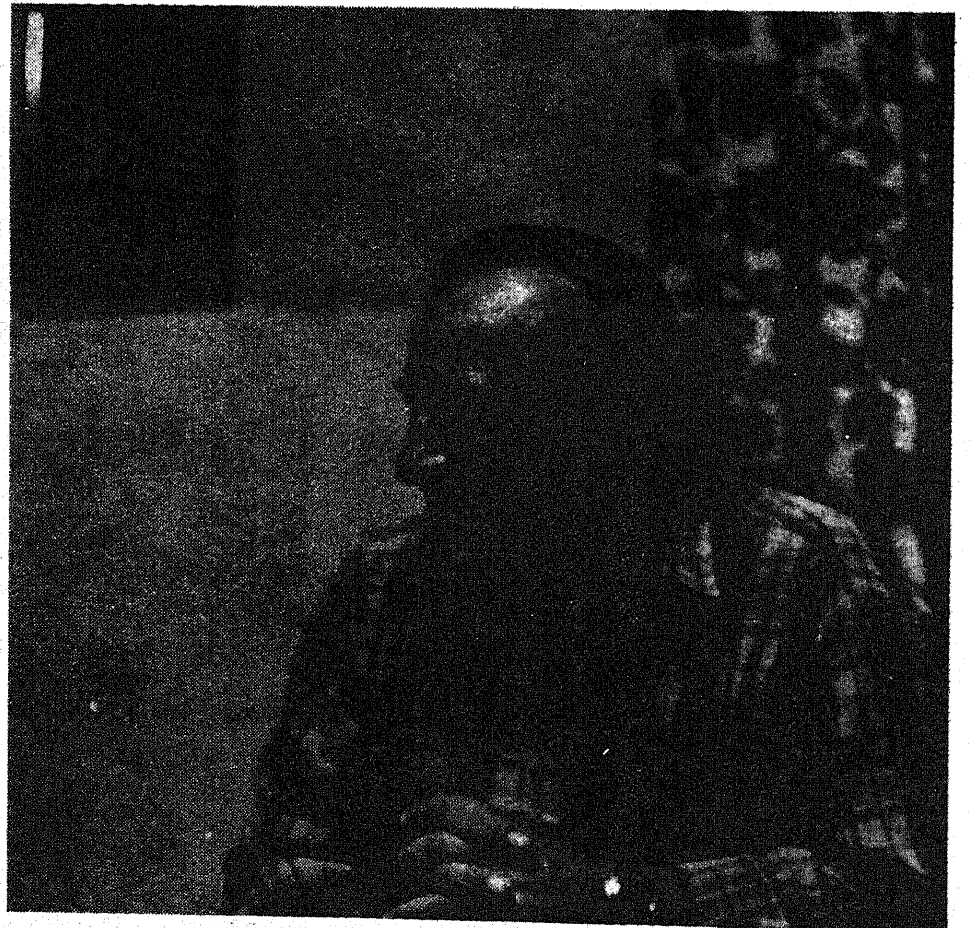
maybe 50 or 60 hours a week. These men don't want to work 60 hours a week, but they're forced to. I think we have enough work in this country to keep all our people working. We need housing, education, an end to air pollution, we need just about everything you could possibly think of.

People want to fight, but they just don't know how. The leaders aren't there. I think that an honest leadership for the labor party will come through education which the unions won't do. I think this pamphlet is a start. The present leaders of the unions do not want to educate the rank and file; they don't want us to be familiar with the contract or politics.

I think with the labor party, we have to get people together and fight the laws that we have, the existing laws. The Taft-Hartley Law isn't any good for us, nor is the Landrum Griffin Act. The only weapon the working man has now is the strike, and they're even trying to take that away from us.

It seems to me, we have to investigate every corporation in the state of Connecticut, no, actually in the United States, and find out why they're not settling grievances, and find out why they're not doing the things they're supposed to do, like the conditions in the shops, everything. If they're not doing what they're supposed to be doing, we should throw the book at them. Throw everything we've got. We're going to have to hit them hard.

This is what the corporations are doing now. They're hitting the working man in every possible way they can do it. They got a system. That's the trouble, we don't have that system. The working man will have to get that system.



Above Pellegrino Jacabacci. Below, Willie Thomas.



WILLIE THOMAS is an assemblyman at the St. Louis General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant and a member of UAW Local 25.

Things are really fouled up right now. We have inflation with prices still rising but also a wage freeze and unemployment. When you still have bills to pay off, your take home pay is really falling back.

I think that to make a decent living a family needs an average pay of around \$200 per week. But without your wife working there is no chance of getting that.

The Nixon Administration is trying to send us back to the depression. He is making it so that the corporations can get workers for nothing. That is why they need this large pool of unemployed people.

The bosses are making full use of these conditions. I'm on a spot welding job now and doing the work of two men to start off with. The safety conditions are pretty well forgotten. We have no helmets at the moment. We get burns from the flying sparks and the conditions are very cramped. On top of this, the 1973 models are much more complicated but they start the line at the same speed and we don't get any time to get used to the job or even guidelines to follow.

The introduction of GMAD has meant cutting back the number of workers at the plant and this is still going on. They laid off guys every day last week. I don't know what is going to happen to them. These guys are just going out on to the street; they won't get called back within the year.

It all gets back to Nixon's policies and

the wage freeze. I think he will get back in again this year but I think it would be better for us if the Democrats were elected instead. The Democrats could always provide more jobs in the past. I don't like this war but we have to face up to it, war production meant more jobs.

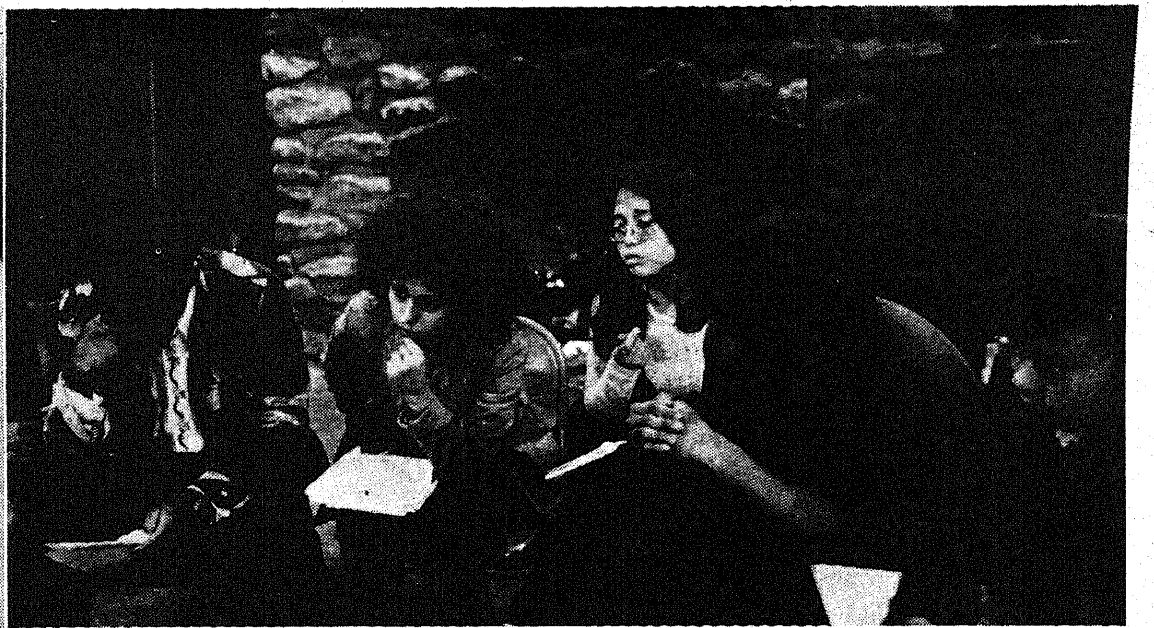
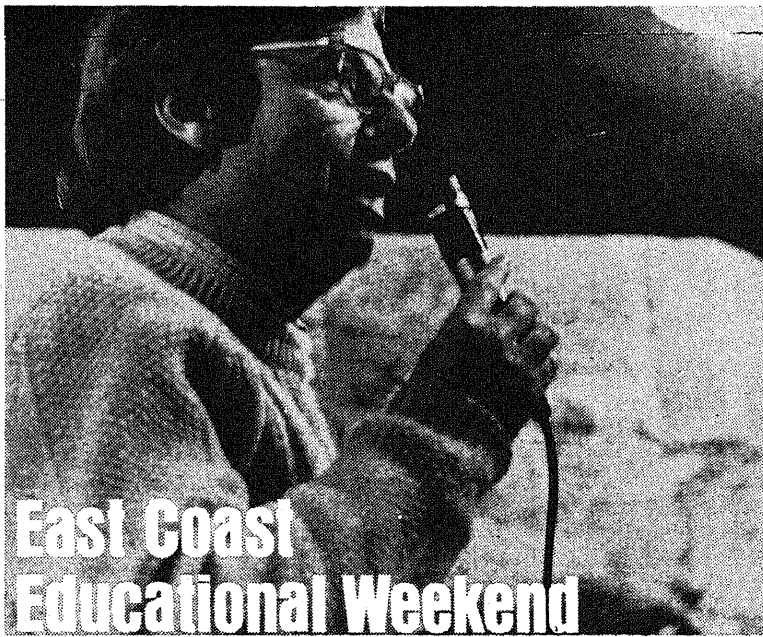
If the working people are to make any gains, the Pay Board and the wage freeze have to be thrown out. Also we have to have a government which won't just sit back and let them close the older plants in the cities so they can move them to the south. With cheap labor and more automation, the corporations can increase their profits and leave thousands of workers without any jobs. I think if they want to do this then the government should step in and take over the plant, nationalize it. We have to save the jobs for the people still living in these cities.

Through the unity of workers in the union we have been able to win important gains in the past. We have to use this in the future struggles. But with the present leadership you only see them at election time. Rank and file workers need to build a new leadership which will fill the people in on what's going on all the time.

An important part of the program of the union should be support for a labor party. All workers should unite together for better living conditions. A labor party would unite workers politically.

The Democrats and Republicans make a lot of noise about their differences but these are only on the surface. When it all boils down, they are really the same. Both of them can only go so far when it comes down to making changes.

But change is what we need, like an end to GMAD and full employment through nationalization if necessary.



Historical Necessity and The Struggle For Consciousness



BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM
PORT JERVIS, N.Y.—Over 180 workers and youth participated in lively discussions of American history and economics at the Catskills Weekend of Education and Recreation held here September 23-24. This is the second of three regional camps sponsored by the Workers League and Young Socialists. The next camp will be held on the West Coast in the Redwoods on November 4-5.

The central issue in discussions on both the "Methodological Approach to Marx's Capital" and the lectures on the American Revolution and Civil War was the character of the irrepressible conflict now developing in the United States and the tasks this presents to the revolutionary movement.

In the course of the discussion on economics, it was explained that the worker, through his labor, creates all value. Not only is the product

of his labor taken from him, sold and a profit realized by the bosses, but it comes back to directly oppress him. Thus, the worker, in creating the wealth from which capital is formed, creates his own oppressor.

This capital is both the worker's being and non-being. This means that it is his dead labor, the result of his past activity which is his non-being. At the same time, in the form of that section of capital spent by the employer for wages, it is the worker's future being, his means of existing. His future is therefore dependent on capital which originally came from his own efforts.

Today this capital, which ex-

ists only for its own growth, for profit, now turns upon the worker and denies to the worker his being, his right to employment, to live and provide for his family. It is in this brutal fashion that the contradictions in capitalism work themselves out to the point where the very source of all society's wealth, the labor of the workers as applied to nature, comes under direct attack to defend the profits of the bosses.

In the course of this discussion and the one on the Civil War, a tendency emerged to retreat into a discussion of the relationship of one abstract economic category to another and to a simple account of the factual development of history. This tendency was idealist in character in that it sought to relate idea to idea but not to bring ideas into conflict with the material world in a battle to change the understanding of workers and youth and prepare the conscious leadership for the coming American revolution. This tendency expressed the same hesitancy with which the American capitalists approached the Civil War and its revolutionary tasks.

The discussion near the end of the weekend centered around the question of historical necessity. Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, described how historical necessity in 1861 flowed through Lincoln and

the Northern capitalist class. Despite every effort to compromise, Lincoln was forced in the end to conduct the Civil War in a revolutionary way.

STRENGTH

His one strength, which was decisive in that period, was to stick to certain decisions, always only after long deliberation and efforts to avoid any decision. But, once the decision was made he would stick with this minimum decision to the end. He refused to compromise on slavery in the territories and so the war became unavoidable. Once it began, he would not compromise on the Union. This led him to emancipation and mass recruiting of former slaves into the Army.

In 1861, the relatively early development of capitalism allowed for the Northern capitalist to conduct this kind of struggle. They did so with power already in their hands. Today, the working class must fight it out with the very force which won the Civil War, but without owning the factories and possessing the state apparatus. We can fight only through a break with the pragmatic method of the Lincolns and the taking up of the conscious struggle for Marxist theory.

Historical necessity flows through us only to the extent that

we fight it out to develop Marxist theory, educating a Marxist cadre among trade unionists and youth. It, however, brings to each development of theory tremendous power, for such development now fulfills the needs of all mankind in carrying forward the productive forces and ridding the world of capitalism which seeks to drive us all back to barbarism.

We must pick up theory with the same determination as the revolutionaries of the past few years like George Jackson have shown in their call to "pick up the gun." Theory is not something to be played with any more than a gun. It is to be picked up with the determination to change the thinking of workers to meet the tasks of a conflict which no one can avoid.

The camp was the most successful ever held by the Workers League. Twenty five workers and youth joined the League at the camp. Some \$981 was raised towards the Bulletin Fund Drive and \$219.80 was sold in literature.

Despite the chilly fall evenings, everyone had an excellent time with the lovely swimming and boating facilities, sports activities, a film on the history of labor struggles, a dance in the evening, and more than enough to eat provided by a volunteer staff of Workers League and Young Socialist members.

Enayetullah Khan, editor of the left-wing Bengali paper *Holiday*, has just arrived in Britain from Bangla Desh. In this exclusive interview, reprinted from the *Workers Press*, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, he describes the fight against corruption and oppression in Bangla Desh. This interview, of course, represents the views of Mr. Khan's organization.

"Conditions in Bangla Desh are bad. The economic crisis has reached critical proportions. Starvation, corruption and jobbery are widespread.

Many people in government and administration are taking advantage of their position and powers. They are indulging in smuggling, in expropriating property for their own personal use by claiming that it has been 'abandoned,' and many other forms of corruption.

They are also seeking to use their political powers to hold back or divert opposition to, and resentment at, this corruption. Corruption on such a large scale could not take place without political patronage.

They hide behind a smokescreen by accusing their opponents of being Chinese or American Central Intelligence Agency men, or even of being collaborators with Pakistan.

There are undoubtedly some collaborators in Bangla Desh and some are being protected by people in power.

Our newspaper from the beginning took up the danger of the government's left-baiting and witch-hunting which was carried out in the name of the sovereignty of the country. They accused us of being collaborators with Pakistan, but it was impossible for that to stick.

Our was one of three papers banned by the Pakistan regime and our funds were frozen. The government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has threatened us but we can withstand this because of our record, our principled position and because we are well known. But we are not complacent. We know they would attack us if they felt strong enough.

The government uses the charge of 'collaborator' to behead any revolutionary opposition.

We answered this in an article called '65 Million Collaborators!' We demanded that the government give a clear statement on collaboration and not use it to throttle opposition and to settle political and personal scores.

Our people have suffered occupation and struggled for liberation. This gives them strength. The government cannot crush all opposition.

Recently an editor of *Haq-Katha*, (a paper of 92-year old peasant leader Maulana Bhashani's tendency) was arrested under the Collaboration Order and is still in jail without trial. How can the government suddenly discover that a man who has been out of jail and running a paper for eight months is a collaborator? He has been jailed because he is critical of the government.

The government has tried to ban four papers: *Holiday*, *Haq-Katha*, *Ganasakthi* (a paper of a left-wing group) and *Charanbatra* (an unattached opposition paper).

The Organizing Secretary of the Awami League demanded last June that these papers should be closed down because, he claimed, "they told lies about the government," and "maligned our friends" (that is, India and the Soviet Union).

He said: "If the government doesn't take action, the people will." This was a threat to use private armies against us.

The government banned *Ganasakthi*, pressurized *Charanbatra* into taking a softer line, and they arrested the editor of *Haq-Katha*. We have survived so far.

The government has created private armies in the form of Lal-Bahini (Red Brigades) which is a wing of the JSL (the trade union organization). They have also got the Awami League Volunteer Force whose members go around brandishing weapons and threatening government critics with extinction for being "saboteurs of independence."

But the left forces have substantial support among the working class and peasants and this has repelled the onslaught of the Lal-Bahini, which had total government backing in their attack on left-wing trade unionists last April and May. They found things weren't as easy as they had hoped.

Right-wing trends in the government

continue, but they cannot get away with it today because they are basically weak.

The police and army in their present shape are not completely at the beck and call of the government for repressive measures. The police are still weak and unorganized. The army has just fought a patriotic war and so cannot just be used by the government to suppress the people.

There is a balance of terror in Bangla Desh. The experience of armed struggle has given the masses a new confidence and in many cases they have kept their arms.

We were cautious from the very beginning because we saw that dissenters even in the Awami League itself were attacked.

In May the Bangla Desh Chhatra League (the student wing of the Awami League) split. Soon after independence a radical wing rejected the manifestations of jobbery and authoritarianism, the slavish attitude towards India and Russia and also the underhand dealings with America (which has some excellent allies in the Awami League).

The right-wing developed an ideology of "Mujibism." The left, led by Rab and

Seraj, rejected this and called for the establishment of scientific socialism through social revolution.

In June the factions held separate conferences in Dacca. Mujib attended the "official" conference, but the "rebel" conference was much larger.

The left carried slogans against the government and against Mujib's alleged complicity with corrupt elements. They warned that if Mujib continued to give patronage and protection to such elements, he would no longer remain father of the nation. Rab declared: "We called you the father of the nation and we are withdrawing that title today."

This shows that even within the Awami League itself people are being radicalized and won to the socialist revolution.

The official Chhatra League and the Lal-Bahini planned to break the lefts' conference, but it was too large. The Organizing Secretary of the Awami League—who is also chief of the Volunteer Corps—led a march of the "Mujibists" and a clash ensued in which he was manhandled. He was rescued by the left leaders.

But later the same day, while the lefts were marching to pay their respects to the monument of the Bengali Language Movement Martyrs, they were attacked by armed members of the Volunteer Corps. Rab received a knife injury.

Resentment is growing even within the camp of the Awami League and they do not spare even their own members.

In the early days after independence,

right-wing forces in the Awami League—in addition to witch-hunting through the Collaboration Order—launched a program of physical elimination of the lefts. Thousands were killed in border districts like Babna and Jessore.

This could not be carried too far because of the resistance to it.

But they did use a section of the army and the police, in addition to some Indian personnel, to mop up left elements at Atrai, in the Rajshahi border district.

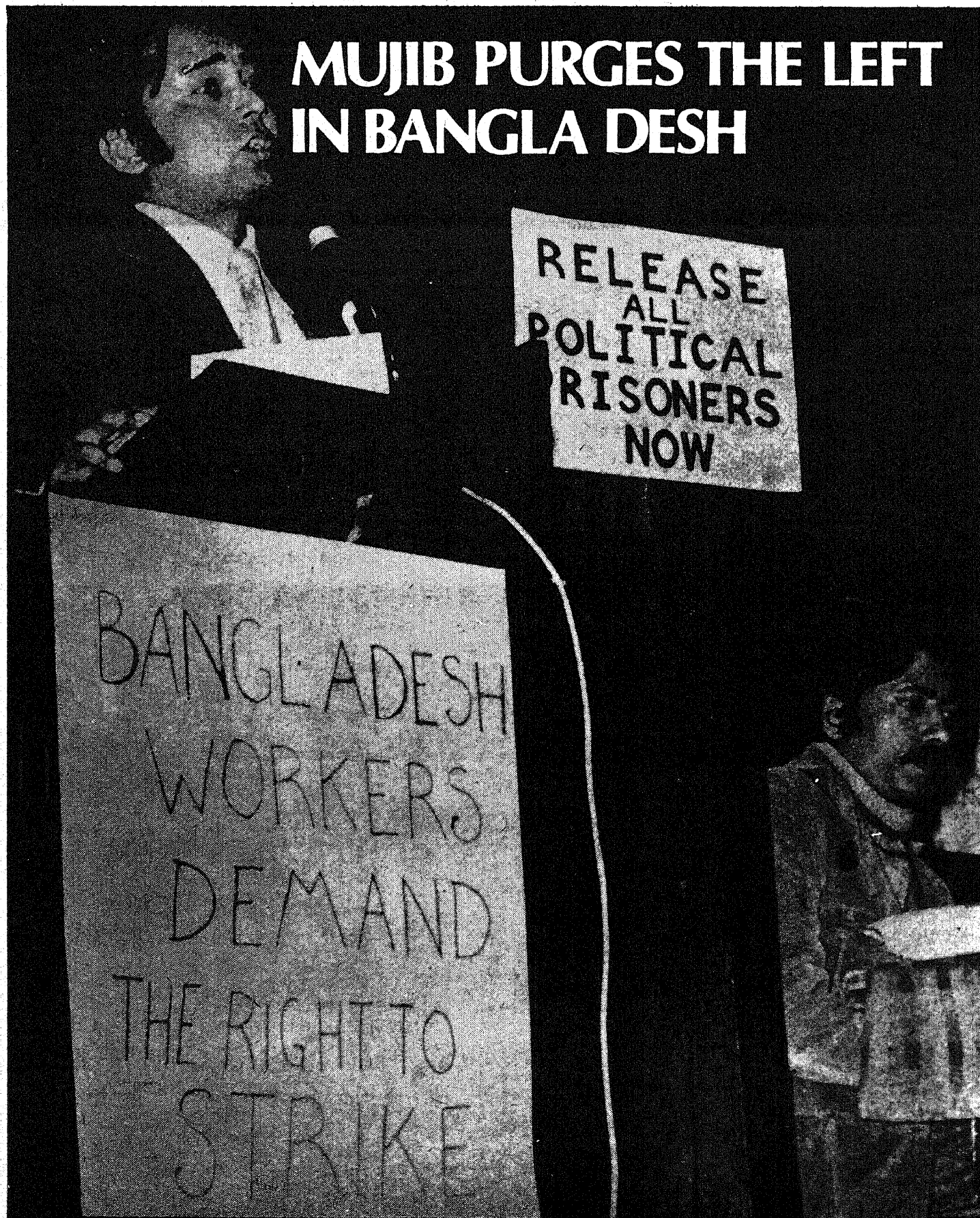
The leader of one of the "Marxist-Leninist" groups, Abdul Matin, was arrested and another, Tipu Biswas, was killed. There were many arrests.

The Bangla Desh people are now desperately looking for an alternative leadership, but this has still to take proper shape. However, as the issues become clear, a united left opposition may be around the corner. Already three organizations—Maulana Bhashani's National Awami Party (left), the Bangla Communist Party, and the Bangla Desher Communist Party (Leninist)—have called for democratic left unity.

They have extended this offer to other left groups such as the Krishak Sramik Shmajbadi Dal (the Peasant-Workers Socialist Party) and to the "rebel" Chhatra League.

As the food crisis gets worse, these groups are already working together on basic opposition issues.

This provides the opportunity for the opposition to unite and to give the people a proper lead.



Left-wing Bengali journalist Enayetullah Khan speaks in Britain on the suppression of dissidents in Bangla Desh.



Hospital workers in St. Croix, Wisc. picket to demand union recognition in nineteenth week of strike.

Washington Teachers Defy Court Injunction

BY C. WOODS

WASHINGTON—D.C., Sept. 26—Washington teachers here are continuing their strike, which began last week, despite the most vicious attacks by the government.

Last Friday Judge Campbell of the Superior Court issued an injunction against the strike and fined the union \$50,000.

Campbell said that unless the teachers are back to work by Wednesday the leaders will be held in contempt and the union will be fined an additional 10,000 dollars for each officer.

He also threatened to get the names of all those participating in the strike. The Washington Teachers Union has said it will not go back and the members are saying they are willing to go to jail.

Although the School Board is claiming that the schools are open, 70 percent of the students have refused to go to classes. The strike is receiving a tremendous backing from the parents. At a meeting last night the parents came out in total support of the strike.

The demands of the Washington teachers union center around improving the deplorable state of the District's school system, reducing the top-heavy administrative bureaucracy and winning a 17 percent pay increase for a teaching force that has not received a pay increase since 1969.

The District school system has been faced with a school budget slashed by almost 10 million dollars resulting in staff cuts of 1500 teachers in the past three years. Under the ad-

ministration's Reduction-in-Force policy, teachers are given 30 day termination notices in mid-August which permits them to teach the first few weeks of the school year and to be counted in the initial figures of current personnel.

The reduction of teaching staff has led to present class sizes of 35 to 40 pupils and future ones of 40 to 50. Overcrowded classes, lack of textbooks, lack of supplies, inadequate facilities, and increased duties assigned to teachers are all results of the budget cuts.

School Board President, Marion Barry, in his negotiations with the W.T.U. maintains that a seven percent pay increase is a "realistic" figure because that is what Congress will probably grant.

ARROGANCE

Barry's arrogance was further demonstrated when he and School Board member Pryde entered a W.T.U. meeting at McKinley High School before the strike.

Teachers are facing the same conditions of speed-up, intolerable working conditions, and attacks on their real wages as are the industrial workers in plants across the country. The urgency of building a labor party to answer the attacks by school boards, state legislatures, and the federal government is being consciously opposed by the A.F.T. leadership and local union bureaucrats.

St. Croix Hospital Workers In 4 Month Strike For Union

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

St. CROIX FALLS, Wisc., Sept. 22—Fifty members of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Local 113, on strike since May 26, enter their nineteenth week of 24 hour a day picketing against St. Croix Valley Memorial Hospital.

Seeking union recognition and a contract, these workers (all but two of whom are women) face an intransigent hospital administration who are determined at all costs to keep the union off its property.

Scabs cross the picket line freely, led by a local police official who is at the same time a member of the hospital board and by two \$150 a week security guards hired by the hospital during the strike.

In spite of official recognition by both the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, construction work on a new wing, which will double the present 48 bed facility, continues because construction workers refuse to honor the picket line.

Even though the Eau Claire Building Trades have pledged their support to the strike in words, they have failed to order the men off the job.

BARRAGE

Bulletin reporters talked to three women pickets who between them have worked 36 years in the hospital. They described the constant barrage of attacks they have been under from smear articles in local newspapers to physical and verbal abuse and acts of vandalism.

The background to this strike consists of years of callous disregard for the working conditions and wages of hospital employees.

One of the women told the Bulletin that after seventeen years of service, she was making only \$1.90 an hour.

The decisive blow came a year ago when the hospital took away the one day per month sick leave, replacing it with a system whereby, if sick, an employee receives nothing for the first three days and only 40 percent of her salary thereafter and then only if there has been a visit with a doctor to verify the illness.

One striking hospital employee told the Bulletin: "We distributed a petition against this new plan and every single person in the hospital signed it, and when we presented it to the hospital they just laughed and threw it in the waste basket."

"Anyway, on our salary we just can't afford a visit to the

doctor for every illness. With tests and everything, it cost one woman \$31 for her visit and then she didn't even get paid the full day like before."

STRUCK

The employees sought out and joined Minneapolis-based Local 113 and struck only after the hospital refused to bargain.

The determination of these workers who have manned their posts day and night, rain or shine for 18 weeks puts to shame the Twin Cities trade union leadership who up to now has only given them token support. What is needed is Twin Cities supported mass picketing to keep out scabs and for the Eau Claire Construction Trades to honor the strike and keep workers away until it is settled.

Stalinism And The Upper Clyde Work-in

BY MELODY FARROW

The work-in of Scottish shipyard workers on the Upper Clyde collapsed last week as the boiler-makers in the Govan yard rebelled against the deal that the Communist Party-led shop stewards coordinating committee tried to shove down their throats.

Stalinist inspired work-in which began in July 1971.

It expresses the disgust and anger of thousands of shipyard men who had been led to believe for over a year that the work-in would save their jobs, only to be betrayed by the leading shop stewards who are members of the Communist Party.

The rebellion was sparked by the revelation of the deal made by the unions and the Govan management, Marathon, which provides for no wage increase, no job guarantees, a no-strike pledge, increased productivity and job mobility. Two weeks ago, the boiler-makers broke this deal by demanding and winning a 12 cent an hour wage increase.

The work-in began last year after the Tory government announced that two of the yards, Scotsstoun and Clydebank, would

be closed and the other two yards, Govan and Linthouse, would be run at a reduced work force with superhuman speed-up and work schedules. This would mean the layoff of 6000 workers.

The occupation of the yards expressed the determination of the entire British working class to fight it out with the Tory government to defend their jobs. It posed the challenge to the capitalist class of who should run the industries and rule the country, the Tories or the working class. On June 23, 100,000 workers from all over Western Scotland struck in defense of the Upper Clyde workers.

From the beginning, the Stalinist shop stewards, James Reid and James Arlie tried to turn the work-in into a pressure tactic on the government to prevent a political fight to throw out the Tories. At the June 23 demonstration, Reid said:

"We are not in business at this stage to bring down the government or engage in political demagoguery from the right or left."

The Stalinists and Vic Feather of the Trades Union Congress

spent months and months in futile negotiations with the Tories, building up the illusion that the Tories would step in with a solution to save the yards. Reid and Arlie pledged they would never agree to the carve-up of the yards, and would stand on retention of the entire work force.

But it wasn't long before they were pleading with a shipyard millionaire to take over the yards, and even offered a no-strike pledge in return.

The final capitulation came in October when the shop stewards committee sat down with the new Govan management to discuss the reorganization of the yards without any guarantee for job security and on the original conditions proposed by the Tories at the beginning.

The complete treachery of the Stalinist policy can be seen today in the fact that 300 men are to be let go in the Clydebank yard.

The policies of the Socialist Labour League of Britain have been completely vindicated in this struggle. The SLL stressed that the work-in had to be the

(Continued On Page 18)

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WORK-IN . . .

(Continued From Page 17)

starting point for a campaign to mobilize the working class in a general strike to force the Tories out and to return a Labour government pledged to a socialist program.

The Communist Party and the trade union leadership sought to obscure the fundamental fact that shipbuilding could not be saved without a fight against the system of private ownership, without a fight to run the industry under workers' control. The workers of the Upper Clyde have got a bitter taste of the Communist Party's policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism.

This is the same policy the left labor leaders in Britain have pursued with the support of the Communist Party in the fight against the Industrial Relations Act. A resolution which they supported at the annual TUC Conference September 6, not to use the "facilities" of the Act made no mention of a fight to bring down

the government.

The American Communist Party is in complete agreement with this perspective. This was made clear in the September 7 issue of the Daily World on the TUC Conference. The article, after approving the "left" resolution, writes that Hugh Scanlon, head of the Engineering union "said efforts by the TUC Council to ease the Act's provisions had failed. He concluded that what is needed is continued sustained resistance."

The Communist Party is advocating a policy of "resistance" to the government, even after this has admittedly failed, in order to tie workers to the capitalist system just as they seek in the U.S. to prevent the formation of a labor party.

As the Scottish workers have learned, all workers must learn the lessons of the betrayals of the Communist Party in order to construct a new leadership within the unions.

GM STRIKE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

"hit and run" policy of pushing one or two locals to the point of strike action at a time, while attempting to keep the whole thing from boiling over.

EXPLOSIVE

In pushing for ratification of the Norwood agreement by the rank and file, the International is cooperating with GM in an effort to get the explosive Norwood situation out of the way and then claim that General Motors is "backing down."

Nothing could be further from the truth. The fact that GMAD is willing to make the "concession" of reinstatement of the local agreement, which they had tried to break, is a tactical retreat in the face of the determination of the Norwood workers and the mighty power that would be unleashed by a nationwide strike.

The agreement to maintain the Norwood local agreement is a

hollow victory because the leadership is willing to end the strike without a settlement of so much as one of the tremendous number of "Paragraph 78" speed-up grievances which had piled up. The leadership is willing to end the strike without any agreement at all on the critical question of line speed.

Norwood Shop Committee Chairman Jim Young admitted that: "GM threw a curve on '78' grievances and none were settled. GM merely stated that the grievances were defunct since the line speed would never be the same."

FAVORABLE

Never have conditions been as favorable as now during the entire course of the Norwood strike for victory. Despite the efforts of the International, the rank and file are ready and aching to go out, as expressed by one worker at the Van Nuys plant who told the Bulletin: "One way or another we are going to be out by next Saturday."

A rejection of this Norwood agreement by the ranks will throw a monkey wrench into GM's strategy and open the way for victory for all locals.

In order to push through a ratification vote, GM is claiming that they do not really need the settlement because they have withdrawn the Chevrolet Nova from production at Norwood and are threatening to stop production of the Firebird and Camaro. These threats are GM's attempt to terrorize the other locals into submitting to speed-up and the destruction of conditions.

It is only the refusal of the International leadership to mobilize the power of the rank and file that gives GM any chance at all to get away with this blackmail.

ARROGANT

The arrogant attitude of the GM bosses toward the union was shown after the International leadership flew to St. Louis to negotiate in an obvious attempt to retreat from their strike threat. St. Louis GMAD workers told the Bulletin that there had not been the slightest change in the situation facing the men following the talks.

On the day following these negotiations, the day shift once again worked a full eight hours while the night shift was sent home after two and a half hours work, as has been the pattern almost every day since model changeover in August. The company is still claiming sabotage, which means that they are not re-

quired to pay the workers for time lost. The men declare there is no evidence of sabotage.

This means that, for the past two months, night shift workers have been taking home as little as one-quarter of their wages every week.

Nixon and General Motors would like to avoid a nationwide GMAD strike at this time and are counting on the cooperation of Mr. Woodcock to hold back the ranks.

The Workers League stands 100 percent for the complete shutdown of General Motors in defense of the GMAD men just as we did from the time of the first GMAD strike at Lordstown last January.

We can expect that the Communist Party, which is boosting Woodcock as the leader of the McGovern for President campaign in the unions, will keep its mouth shut about the role of Woodcock in this betrayal.

The delegates to the GM Council of the UAW will be meeting in Detroit on September 29 to come to a decision on strike action against GMAD. The rank and file of the UAW in the GMAD plants must demand that their local leaders bring a fight for a nationwide shutdown of GMAD into this meeting.

Regardless of the decision on the 29th, the ranks of every local must take strike action on their own and then fight to bring out the rest of the union against GMAD. This is the only way to beat back the speed-up drive of Joseph Godfrey and General Motors.

The fight to shut down GMAD must be combined with a demand for a Congress of Labor for the purpose of organizing a labor party.

DYNAMICS . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

asking me to reopen negotiations on Monday morning."

DeGregory is frightened of calling a strike because of what that strike poses. The Pay Board and the Nixon government are directly involved in General Dynamics.

The ranks must demand that the Metal Trades Council now act upon the overwhelming vote given to it by the workers at last Thursday's voting by calling a strike for a contract that defends wages and jobs and raising the demand for the nationalization of the industry under workers' control, if the company is unable to provide one.

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

changing."

The parliamentary structures have been abandoned and even the most right-wing figures in Saigon politics are in prison on the suspicion of disloyalty to Thieu. Almost all newspapers have been shut down.

Under conditions when the NLF has the ability to overthrow the Saigon regime, the greatest dangers to the Vietnamese revolution are not the puppet troops but the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The Kremlin has virtually given its seal of approval to Nixon's blockade of North Vietnamese harbors and the bombing of its cities and dikes by conducting intensive negotiations with Kissinger while the barbaric American policies are being carried out.

STEEL CONVENTION . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

they demanded the right to strike on grievance and health and safety violations as the only answer to the situation. A delegate from the large Sparrows Point local in Baltimore reported that the loss of thousands of jobs and the rise of grievances led to fantastic expenses which even the large locals could not afford to deal with.

RACISM

The real meaning of racism in the steel plants was brought out by delegates from the coke plants. They said that the coke ovens were Black ghettos. One delegate from Republic Steel in Ohio said that the foremen in the ovens ran them like slave labor camps, that on hot days workers would be unable to eat or sleep for two or three days, and that the death rate was so high that he knew of only two retirees in his entire plant.

A coke oven representative from Kaiser Steel in Fontana denounced the Abel leadership for its legislative approach. He demanded that the problems of the coke ovens be solved in the next contract negotiations with no return to work without relief for the coke oven men.

The most revealing struggle broke out on the question of productivity. A delegate from the Aliquippa Jones & Laughlin Local 2211 with 10,000 employees rose to say that productivity meant more work from the same number or less employees. He said that his local has refused to meet with the company and discuss cuts in jobs.

He insisted that Abel's program was to "work harder,

produce more, and put our bodies out on the street."

A delegate from Local 2609 at Sparrows Point stated that, when the ranks refused to go along with productivity cuts, International staff men have been sent in to agree to the elimination of 17 jobs. "Which side are you on, Brother Abel?" he asked.

At this point Abel was forced to reveal his real program. He stated that the people in basic steel do not understand what is happening. Since 1959 the steelworkers had gone from 550,000 to 400,000 jobs in basic steel.

He went on to say that over 100,000 have been lost while in competition with Germany and Japan and that more steel is now produced in Japan than in the United States. He insisted that the steelworkers must do what they can to help put what he called "our industry" up to date.

"You got in your last contract more than you expected. Economics shows that we must do whatever is necessary to keep our industry competitive and to improve it.

"I don't have to tell you about unnecessary absenteeism and about men being not lively enough at their time. They must improve the rate of productivity and reduce costs. We hope in this way to safeguard our industry. We need committees at each plant to analyze this problem."

"There is tremendous change in the thinking of the leaders in basic steel. No other industry is willing to sit down and share responsibility. No other industry will join with workers in fighting foreign made goods. For the first time in your lives, you can sit

down with industry's representatives and tell them what you think about the operation of the industry.

"We stand ready to assist any of you if management takes away your rights. I ask for your help. I don't want to go and hear industry say that we must accept a wage reduction. At times, this has been necessary."

No sooner did Abel conclude than the real meaning of his speech was made clear by a delegate from Local 2644 in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. He rose to describe the conditions in his plant. He said that a blast furnace was being constructed and that efficiency experts were all over the plant figuring on how to save jobs. Harassment and unsafe working conditions were constantly being created.

He maintained that in the middle of the convention on Wednesday night, he had received a call from his local that because of this harassment and speed-up, a worker, John Murray, who had 20 years in the plant, had plunged 58 feet to his death. On Wednesday night ranks from the steel plant stormed the union meeting demanding the removal of the efficiency expert.

It is precisely the connection between the debate on the Democratic Party and its break-up and the speed-up, safety deterioration and layoffs developing in the plants that must be made. The revolt in the steel plants can go forward only through a political fight for the construction of a labor party.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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VAN NUYS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)
until you either do the work or they fire you."

One worker stated that: "They try to get you for everything that you got. Even in the last few days, they have been blowing the whistle either one minute early or one minute late to cheat us out of time.

"They have also started to transfer women in the plant to line work in the body shop, in a deliberate attempt to get rid of them."

The merciless application of GMAD boss Godfrey's dictum of "work on our terms or get out" has resulted in the ranks' demand for a strike.

Local 645 Secretary-Treasurer Pete Beltran stated his readiness to lead the ranks into action but also said that, "given the situation where you face the possibility of a nationwide strike against GM, which in turn could explode into a general strike against the government, Woodcock wants to avoid this possibility because it could jeopardize McGovern's chances.

"The International is calling all GM council delegates for a meeting in Detroit on September 29 and will continue to press for a strategy of rotation of strike action from plant to plant, two days there, one week here."

If strike sanction were denied, Beltran stated that: "We would limit ourselves here to strictly non-strike means of dealing with GM."

In contrast to Beltran's position, the determination of the ranks to fight GM to the end was sharply expressed by a worker whose response to the possibility of a wildcat was:

"One way or another we are going to be out by next Saturday. I don't care who stands in our way."

Backed up by the government, GM is out to smash the only obstacle to unlimited speed-up and the violation of working conditions, the UAW. St. Louis' call for a nationwide strike of GMAD plants shows the way forward for Van Nuys.

Speed-up War On The Docks

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Local 6 is increasingly finding itself involved in a war with the employers over jobs and working conditions.

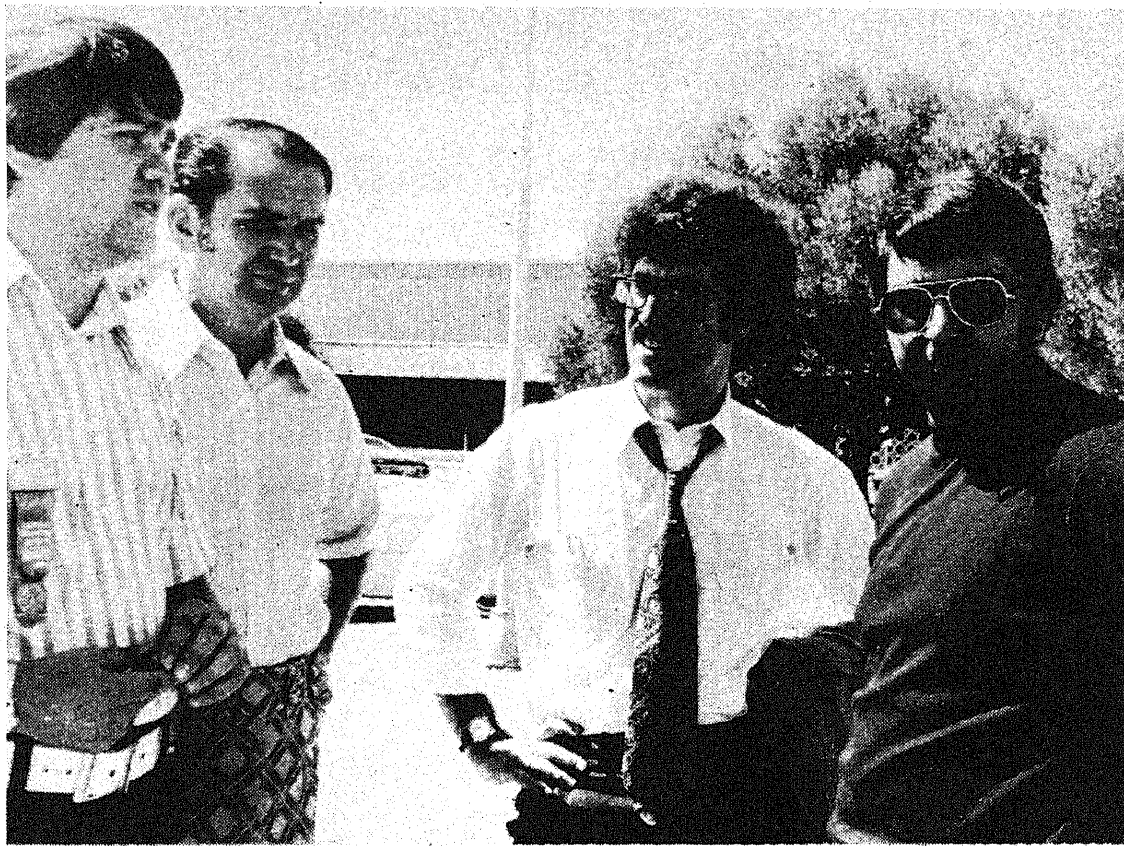
This war is particularly sharp in the substandard houses. These are warehouses not on the Local 6 master contract, but with whom Local 6 has signed separate, inferior contracts.

The substandard houses have long been a thorn in the side of Local 6 and now, with the government encouraged productivity drive, it is these houses which have taken the lead in cracking down. Most of them are small, peripheral businesses, but a few are run by giant corporations and have managed to stay off the master contract through bitter struggle against the union.

Everyday the Local 6 hiring hall is full of union members who are out of work, many who have not worked for weeks. This is despite the fact that, according to a trade journal, *Distribution Age*, the warehouses are handling about six percent more goods than last year.

On most days the only jobs dispatched are to the same few sub-

West Coast News



Bulletin reporters discuss Steelworkers Union's national convention in Las Vegas with USWA delegates.

Trial Witnesses Expose Innocence Of Billy Smith

BY A GI

FORT ORD—The frame-up court martial of Billy D. Smith is now taking place under conditions that are being prepared for all political trials.

The courthouse itself is surrounded by undercover agents, roadblocks and MP's who search GI's around the area. The courtroom is a tiny building which can hold only about 50 spectators, but the Army only allows 35 to attend.

One GI said, "The Army planned on hanging him in the first place, and on purpose picked a small building."

In order to attend, your name is taken down and if you are in the military, your unit is recorded. This procedure is the reason there has been such a small turnout among GI's. "We don't want to be investigated and watched for every little move we make," one GI told us.

The Army is trying to show that Billy Smith is an exceptional case. But the First Sergeant admitted under defense

questioning that the company had trouble with others and just prior to Smith's unit moving into the rear, some six to eight "undesirables" were sent in early to keep them from impeding the stand-down.

PIN

The only evidence against Billy Smith is a grenade ring and pin found in his pocket. Asked if possession of grenade pins was common, Miller stated: "It's not uncommon. People would wear them on their shirts or hats as decorations."

Some GI's were interviewed about the case of Calley in relation to this trial. One trainee stated: "Calley was convicted of killing 23 Vietnamese civilians and is now living like a free man. But Billy hasn't even been convicted and he's been locked up without bail for a long time.

"They convicted him in Vietnam, even before he was brought to trial. I think they are looking for a hanging to set an example and to keep others from joining in against the Army."

Another told the *Bulletin*: "Calley stands for the rich people who make profit off the war, and who don't care what happens over there." When asked about the jury and trial conditions, he said:

"They planned to get him in the first place. This is supposed to be an open trial but they only let 35 people in. Any officer that looks at Billy thinks he's a killer. These guys on the jury know what the government wants done with Smith, and they support the government."

These comments represent the massive GI opposition to the war and government repression.

The frame-up measures taken in this trial are a clear indication of the judicial preparations being made against the whole working class.

Los Angeles Free Press Denounces Arabs

BY FRED CRAWFORD
SAN FRANCISCO—A new milestone in the decay of middle class radicalism has been reached this month by the Los Angeles Free Press. This paper, along with the Berkeley Barb, are the two remaining major "underground" papers on the West Coast.

In the latest issue of the L.A. Free Press, the desperation of radicalism reaches a new level. The response of this self-proclaimed "revolutionary" paper to the slaughter of Arab guerrillas and Israeli hostages by West German police at the Olympics is to issue a blanket condemnation of the Arab guerrillas.

The Free Press shares this opinion with Nixon, Moshe Dayan, and every other arch-criminal of the ruling class. Their editorial says that: "All civilized peoples must condemn the terrorist attack on Israeli athletes by Arabs belonging to the Black September Group. The hearts of Jewish people will undoubtedly be hardened by this terrible event against the most legitimate claims of the Palestinian Arab movement."

Thus the paper which preaches about "peace" in Palestine offers its full support and sympathy to the hideous Zionist invasion against unarmed Arab villages, supposedly in retaliation for the Munich events.

RUBBISH

Featured along with this rubbish is an article by none other than Herbert Marcuse, ideological father of the "New Left." Professor Marcuse makes a plea for the acceptance of the capitalist state of Israel as a "progressive" society.

He calls for an intervention by United Nations troops establishing lines of demarcation, a demilitarized zone, and no return of displaced Arabs peasants.

But the L.A. Free Press completes its case by allowing the vilest representative of the capitalist right-wing to crawl into its pages, that is, John Schmitz, Presidential candidate of the American Independent Party.

Schmitz approached the Free Press for an interview. His message to its readers was that he has much in common with them and if they would only clear the "communists" out of their ranks, he could unite with them on the basis of being anti-establishment.

Although the Free Press was skeptical about the possibilities of such an alliance, the fact that they provide Schmitz with a public forum in the same issue in which they take the most reactionary ruling class positions on the Middle East demonstrates most sharply the real class position of these "radical" muddle-heads.

West Coast News

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Farmworkers Charge Growers With Fraud In Anti-Union Petition

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—One of the biggest cases of fraud and deception in a state election has come to light around the vicious anti-farmworker Proposition 22 in California.

Sponsors of the voter initiative, the newly formed political arm of the growers called the Fair Labor Practices Committee, and the firm they hired to get their proposition on the ballot, used every means to deceive those who signed the initiative.

Voters were told that the initiative, which would in effect outlaw strikes, boycotts, and in some cases even the union itself, was not anti-farmworker but in fact would help the UFW and Cesar Chavez.

FRAUD

Others who circulated the petitions covered the official state summary of the proposed legislation with cards which contained completely different material. Well over 63,000 signatures have been charged with being obtained under false pretenses, or being forgeries.

A study conducted in San Francisco on the signatures that were obtained showed that half were invalid. Assistant San Francisco registrar of voters Frank Quinn said that "this is a matter of unprecedented fraud."

Suits now have been launched by the Farmworkers Union and others to remove the proposition from the November ballot, citing the necessary amount of valid signatures were not obtained if the invalid signatures are removed.

Both Governor Reagan and Attorney General Evelle Younger immediately came out in defense of the proposition. Reagan stated that "it would be a reversal of the democratic process" to

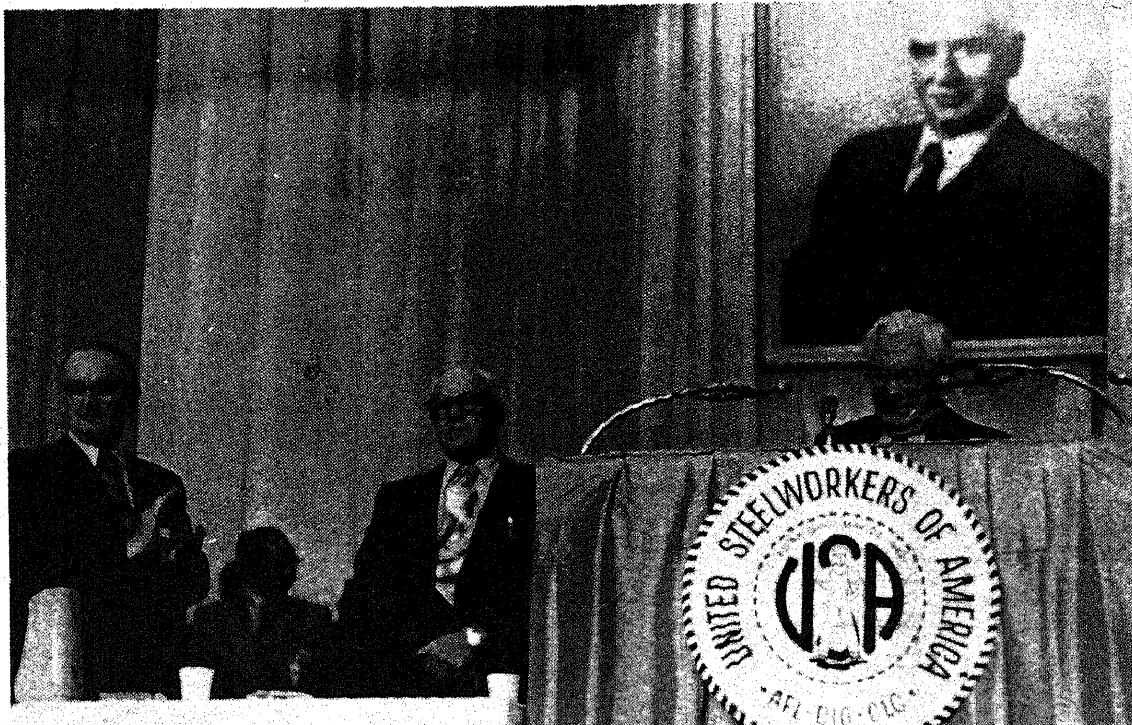
remove the initiative even though it clearly lacks the "legal" requirements.

Every shred of legality and capitalist integrity are now being torn from the books as business moves to take on the trade union movement. All the open deception, lies and tricks are to be used in the first round of anti-labor legislation aimed at taking the legal rights of unions away.

The Farmworkers Union has launched a massive campaign against Proposition 22. They understand well that if the legislation is passed the end of the union would be on the agenda.

The campaign against the attack on the farmworkers will be taken up by the Workers League and the Young Socialists in the Sept. 24 march called by UFW.

We will march with banners calling for the formation of a labor party to combat all the political attacks on the union movement by both capitalist parties, and to rally the trade unions and youth to defend the farmworkers.



Steelworkers President I.W. Abel speaks at union's convention. Above him is picture of Philip Murray. To the left of rostrum is AFL-CIO President George Meany who also spoke. See article page 3.

Van Nuys GM Men Join Revolt Over Line Speed

BY ROBERT GREEN

LOS ANGELES—The only thing that stands between the ranks of United Auto Workers Local 645 and strike action at the Van Nuys General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant is international sanction now that the mandatory five day negotiation period has passed.

One UAW member working on the body assembly line said: "We want to live like human beings not animals.

GM is trying to suck every last drop out of us. We must strike before they kill us and we have to support the strike

no matter what happens."

Following the national pattern of speed-up and unemployment which began initially at Lords-town and Norwood and has now spread with the model changeover to an increasing list of GMAD plants, GM's refusal to budge in the face of overwhelming strike votes is a virtual declaration of war.

Tenants Blast S.F. Public Housing

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco Housing Authority is engaged in a vicious effort to pit its tenants against the building workers who do maintenance work.

A public meeting attended by many angry tenants last Thursday centered on the lack of maintenance, garbage collection, utilities and other necessary services. Housing Authority officials were blasted for

neglect of the elementary needs of the tenants for health and safety and for the long delays required before repairs were made.

Housing Authority chairman Reverend Hamilton Boswell then denounced the "despicable situation" and said he would call a special meeting of all SFHA personnel to threaten mass firings if work was not done better. "If they're not going to do their work, we'll fire them. We can do

a far better job with what we've got than what we're doing."

DETERIORATION

The deterioration of the 6000 units of public housing in San Francisco is a deliberate attack on the working class families who live in these projects, carried out consciously by the two capitalist parties and by the government bureaucracy.

The SFHA seeks to cover its planned assault on both its tenants and its employees with promises about new construction and modernization. A member of Waitresses Union Local 48 who lives in the giant Sunnydale project told the Bulletin about the modernization proposal.

"They set up this 'model apartment' which was real nice and lots of people went to see it. They promised to fix up all the apartments to look like the model one, but it's been 18 months and I don't know of anybody who has gotten anything done."

RENT

Every year SFHA receives enough requests for housing to fill all its projects from scratch. In 1970, over 4200 working class families who were driven by high rents had to be turned away.

The need for adequate housing can only be met by the nationalization of construction so that building can be planned for the benefit of working people not left to the laws of the profit system.

DESPERATE

In a desperate bid for higher profits, GM Van Nuys has cranked the line rate since the beginning of August from 46 to an average of 53.5 cars per hour. In addition to the 17 percent increase, they have refused to rehire anyone with less than 1971 seniority. This has now been modified but over 100 workers have yet to return to their jobs.

One committeeman interviewed by the Bulletin said: "There is just too much work and we can't keep up with it. Before the changeover from Fisher Body to GMAD in 1968, production standards used to be set by the men working the line. With GMAD, they just keep increasing the line speed.

"It's gone from 40.5 in some cases to 55 cars per hour since 1968. What's more, we had 3700 in the plant at that time, and now it's down to about 3100.

"A lot of the machinery is either obsolete or dreamed up by the engineering department and stuck together with baling wire and gum. When it breaks down they expect us to make up for the extra load.

"A lot of the men can't or won't take it, and the amount of disciplinary layoffs and grievances in the last few months has been tremendous. They keep extending the period of layoffs

(Continued On Page 19)

The Case for a Labor Party

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