

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER  
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INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER SIXTY TWO 271

NOVEMBER 27, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## BATON ROUGE TODAY, LABOR TOMORROW!

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Hartford  
Dance  
Raises \$96

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**PUBLIC MEETING** sponsored by Workers League & Young Socialists

**FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL  
TODAY** WED. NOV. 29  
8pm

HORACE MANN  
AUDITORIUM  
COLUMBIA  
UNIVERSITY  
120 ST. & B'WAY

speakers:  
Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary  
of the Workers League  
also: Speakers from East Europe, Haiti  
and American Young Socialists  
Dany Sylveire, National Committee  
of the Socialist Labour League;  
British Young Socialists

contribution \$1.50 75¢ students and unemployed



125th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto 55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

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# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY

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# German Workers Re-elect SPD In Mass Turnout

BY DAVID NORTH

The defeat of the reactionary Christian Democratic-Christian Socialist (CDU-CSU) parties in last Sunday's elections is a sharp setback for the West German capitalists.

Workers went to the polls in record numbers to give the Social Democratic Party (SPD) its largest vote since World War II and keep Chancellor Willy Brandt in office.

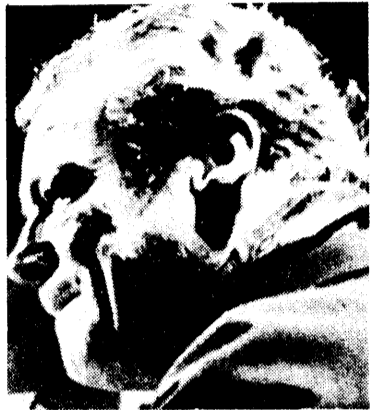
Late tabulations indicated that the ruling coalition of Social Democrats and liberals has increased its majority over the CDU-CSU in the German parliament from one seat to 48.

While the Social Democrats did not achieve a clear majority and can rule only with the support of the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP), primarily because Brandt refused to campaign for a Social Democratic government, the election results represent a victory for the German working class.

The CDU-CSU mounted an intensive campaign against Brandt in order to spearhead an attack on the trade unions in the coming months. Franz Joseph Strauss, demagogic leader of the CSU, had promised industrialists in every part of Germany that his government would "tame the trade unions."

Rainer Barzel, who leads the CDU and who would have become chancellor had his party won, made his political reputation as a bitter anti-communist and witch-hunter.

Big business considered the election of the CDU-CSU so important that the neo-Nazis withdrew their candidates in support



of Barzel and Strauss.

For the second time in less than a year, the German working class has saved the Social Democratic Party from defeat even as the Brandt leadership was prepared to allow the CDU-CSU to return to power.

Last April, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists went on political strike against the attempt of the CDU-CSU to unseat Brandt through a vote of no-confidence.

During the campaign, Brandt sought to disassociate himself completely from socialist policies, called on the working class to support the liberal coalition rather than the SPD, and ran on the nationalist slogan: "Germans, we should be proud of our country."

While the coalition now has a substantial majority, the deepening economic crisis will quickly undermine the foundations of the collaboration between the SPD and FDP. Through the cover of the coalition, Brandt will attempt to launch sharp attacks against the living standards of the powerful German working class.

The fight must begin immediately to oust the liberals from the government and to have an SPD government pledged to socialist policies.

## General Strike In Lebanon

BY JOSE REYES

The Lebanese General Confederation of Labor (CGT) called a General Strike on November 14 in response to the murder of two striking candy factory workers outside the plant.

Martial law was declared on Monday and troops were ordered into the cities. The strike covered the entire country with a total of 200,000 workers out. Many students and youth also walked out of schools, closing down all the universities and joined with workers in rallies and demonstrations called by the CGT.

Strikers burned tires and blocked traffic by sitting on the road. Security men moved in, injuring five workers and killing two. The government joined in the attack, stating that "alien elements" had infiltrated among the workers.

### PEACEFUL

According to the CGT, the workers had called a peaceful stoppage, which was broken up by "security men firing at men and women workers and passers-by, and the arrest of scores of workers." It was this brutality which touched off the General Strike.

This murder of workers comes at a time when the Lebanese government is seeking to make an accommodation with Israel. Since a number of Israeli raids on Southern Lebanon in September, the Lebanese government has ordered the left wing section of the guerilla movement to withdraw its bases from Southern Lebanon.

The Lebanese working class has shown its determination to wage the sharpest struggle against imperialism and its agents at home. It shows the way forward for the Palestinian liberation movement which must base itself on that class.

There are also grave dangers which are expressed by the Lebanese Communist Party and the nationalist Progressive Socialist Party which both control the CGT.

The Lebanese CP refused to take up the fight for power or against the attacks of the Lebanese government on the Palestinians after the Israeli raids in the South.



ILL Nat'l. Secretary Gerry Healy addresses audience of 1400 on Third Anniversary of daily Workers Press.

# British Labor Moves To Defy Wage Laws As TUC Drops Fight

BY MELODY FARROW

In the two weeks since British Prime Minister Edward Heath ordered a clampdown on all wage increases, a movement is building up within the working class for defiance and strike action that poses an immediate political confrontation with the Tories.

The counter-inflation bill which prohibits strikes for wages combined with the Tories Industrial Relations Bill makes it a crime for workers to fight to defend their basic right to a decent living standard.

Last week, hospital workers conducted a work to rule action in support of their demand for a 4 pound (\$10) increase while both the white collar union, ASTMS, and the technicians section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) have declared they will strike over wages.

### FIGHTING MOOD

This fighting mood of the British rank and file trade unionists is behind the important decision of the AUEW leadership to refuse payment of a 5000 pound fine ordered by the Industrial Relations Court for contempt of court. The court seeks to force the union to re-admit a former member who had scabbed on his members and supports the anti-union laws.

This action, the first time any union has defied the Industrial Relations Court could bring the struggle between the unions and the government rapidly to a head.

In the brief period since Heath announced his new measures the vast majority of trade union and Labour Party officials have deliberately done everything possible to prevent any clash over wages.

When Heath rejected the demand of 300,000 farmworkers, the lowest paid in the country, for a pay raise, all Victor Feather, head of the Trades Union Council, had to say was that it was "rather odd."

The leadership of the powerful

Mineworkers Union has put off their wage demands until February, meekly excusing itself by saying they were not "seeking a confrontation."

It was Feather and all the major union leaders, right as well as "left," who wasted valuable time by engaging in talks with Heath on wage controls. Now that the Tories have instituted what were all along their real plans, these same

leaders propose to avoid the showdown by granting Heath a full 90 days to strengthen his preparations for dictatorship over the working class.

The TUC refuses to call a special meeting to discuss a fight back and says it cannot fight with the Labour Party. Feather has openly hinted that more talks may begin with the Tories.

Heath's declaration of war has

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## Savage Bombing Hits N. Vietnam

BY FRED MUELLER

With a big show of confidence Henry Kissinger has left for Paris and another round of secret negotiations towards an Indochinese ceasefire. Kissinger claims a final settlement can be arrived at in a few weeks time, if only the North Vietnamese are as conciliatory as they were last month.

It is already nearly a month since the nine point draft agreement was made public by Hanoi, yet there is no agreement thus far and even the "optimistic" Washington forecasts do not project one before mid-December. President Thieu remains opposed to the settlement, and pointedly missing from all of Kissinger's pronouncements is any mention of the stand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

### DENUNCIATION

Just a few days ago the NLF representatives in Paris issued a new denunciation of Washing-

ton and the Saigon regime and demanded the removal of Thieu.

Nixon continues to try to give the impression that peace is just around the corner. The latest announcement was that Canada, Poland, Indonesia and Hungary had reluctantly agreed to take on the responsibility of supervising any ceasefire once it is agreed upon. These four governments would replace the previous International Control Commission of Canada, India and Poland which was completely unable to secure the implementation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and has been totally inactive for years.

Meanwhile the bombing continues. While U.S. shipments to Thieu continue at record levels in anticipation of a ceasefire, the bombing of the Southern panhandle of North Vietnam is proceeding at a record pace to restrict the flow of supplies to the NLF.

On November 16, American bombers made over 300 strikes, higher than the average number of daily strikes flown over all of North Vietnam.

# Cops Arrest 36, Beat 1199 Ranks In Boston Strike

BY MARTY JONAS

BOSTON, November 18—Today, this reporter and another *Bulletin* salesman spent three hours in a Boston jail after being arrested with 36 Local 1199 strikers and strike supporters in front of Massachusetts Rehabilitation Hospital.

This mass arrest broke up a huge picket line at Mass Rehab in which strikers were sitting in front of scabs' cars trying to leave the parking lot. Those strikers were put in paddy wagons and taken to jail. Then a large number of

## Dow Jones Rise Prelude To Crash

BY

DENNIS O'CASEY

Last week the Dow Jones industrial average closed above the 1000 mark for the first time in history. According to the *Wall Street Journal* this event "set champagne corks popping in brokerage houses across the country." On the floor of the New York Stock Exchange the event was marked by television cameras, cheering and paper thrown into the air.

The euphoria of the capitalist class over last week's stock market record is, however, about as well placed as the euphoria that swept these same circles in the period leading up to the crash of 1929.

Underneath the boom on the stock exchange international capitalism is in the most severe inflationary crisis in its entire history. In statistics published last week it was again revealed that the third quarter U.S. balance of payments figures showed a sharp deterioration, rising to 4.7 billion dollars on the "official reserve transaction index. A key component of this worsening situation is the continuing gap in the American trade balance which again turned up 1.7 billion in the red for the third quarter.

This inflationary crisis which has smashed Bretton Woods and is more and more propelling currency arrangements into anarchy and collapse in every country, has already provoked a massive crisis of confidence by the capitalist class in the future of its own system.

The amassing of profits by the capitalists and the channelling of billions of dollars into the stock market and other speculative channels is in fact a direct reflection of the capitalists' refusal to lay out new investment for industry. The growing cutbacks in production in every sphere is reflected in the closures and the skyrocketing unemployment that is occurring in every industry.

Under these conditions the stage is being set for the speculative bubble that is being blown up on the stock market, to explode with a far greater impact than even that of 1929.

cops arrived and started using clubs and dogs on the crowd. They had blocked off Nashua Street at both ends.

Throughout all this I had been taking photographs for the *Bulletin* of everything that was happening and cops had been doing their best to block my camera.

As I was being led to the wagon I asked what for and the cop answered, "Because you're too nosy for your own good." He twisted my arm behind my back a little tighter. I was charged with disorderly conduct, as were most of the others. After being booked and released on bail my camera was returned to me—minus the film.

BEATINGS

The savage attack on the picket line today culminates three weeks of arrests, beatings, and intimidation to break the 1199 Mass Rehab strike. Conscientious Objectors playing a leading role in the strike have been threatened by the Selective Service Board to be sent into the Army if they refuse to scab on the strike. Striking Cuban kitchen workers went back in a week ago after receiving phone calls from "Immigration authorities" telling them that they would have their refugee status revoked and be deported. Word on the picket line is that Massachusetts General Hospital and Peter Bent Brigham Hospital (both non-union) are actively collaborating with Mass

Rehab to break this strike.

What is involved is more than Mass Rehab's refusal to sign a contract with 1199. It is the desperate fear of a successful Boston-wide unionizing drive by the hospital bosses. Only two hospitals are thus far unionized by 1199 in Boston. And on Boston hinges the success of the 1199 drive in New England.

These attacks on hospital workers occur at a time when Nixon has detailed his plans for breaking the construction unions and outlawing transportation strikes. At a time when the capitalists' plans call for smashing the existing unions, drives for new unionization will be dealt with just as sharply.

It is on this basis that the fight for full union support for this strike must be made. At this point the strike remains completely isolated from the rest of the Boston labor movement. In the face of all this, the 1199 leadership's lack of a policy to

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## Hint Woodcock Plans To Shelve GMAD Fight

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

The treachery of the Woodcock leadership is the main obstacle facing the UAW ranks in the fight against the speedups brought into the GMAD plants.

Last week, just as thousands of auto workers are rallying around the call for a nationwide shutdown of General Motors as demanded by St. Louis Local 25, Leonard Woodcock met secretly with his GMAD council in Detroit to find a way to put the lid on the struggle against speedups.

It was reported to the *Bulletin* by sources in the UAW that the Woodcock team is planning to abandon even the "Apache" strategy of short strikes against selected plants across the country.

RETREAT

This retreat exposes the fact that Woodcock has never had any intention of fighting GM. The record of the UAW bureaucracy during the past months proves this.

First, Woodcock allowed the Norwood ranks to strike for six months against GM without support from the UAW. Nothing was resolved in Norwood.

"APACHE"

Second, he initiated the bankrupt "Apache" plan which avoided a real fight against GM, merely lost UAW workers two days pay without strike benefits, solved nothing in any of the plants.

Now that this strategy has been exposed as useless, Woodcock is ready to quietly shelve the fight

## Talk Of New Strike Builds Up At Norwood

BY RITA FIRENZE

NORWOOD—Beneath the calm surface at General Motors Assembly Division plant here, there is a storm brewing. In spite of the hardships endured during the recent six month strike—the longest in UAW history—Norwood auto workers are expressing sentiment for another strike, declared one UAW Local 674 official.

Line speed is up to 55 cars, which is one of the intolerable conditions which had brought the men out on the picket line before. And since anywhere from 200 to 500 men have not been have not been called back to work, this means even worse speedup conditions than before.

Every time the line slows down, the company shuts down the plant for the entire shift. A Local 674 official claims the plant has been shutting down on this basis almost every day for the past week. The workers are sent home after only two or three hours of work per day and SUB pay is denied them.

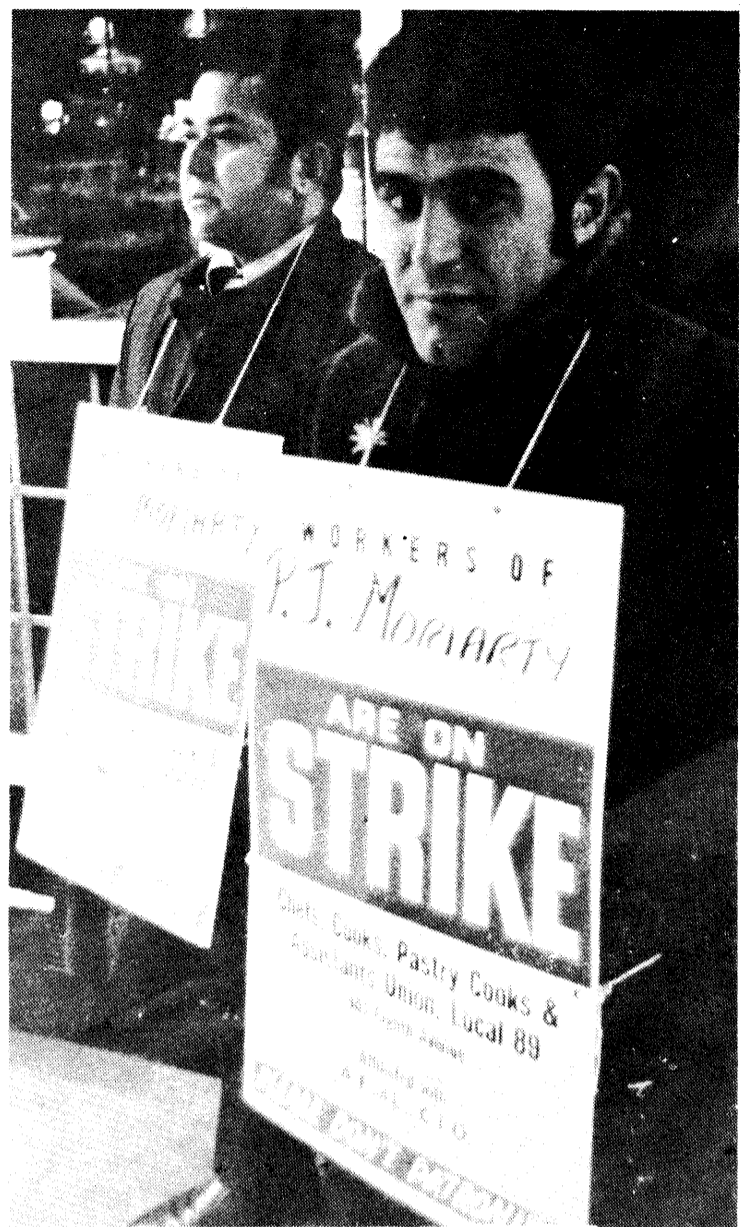
GOADING

Obviously, General Motors, with UAW President Leonard

Woodcock's tacit approval, is deliberately goading the men to the breaking point. Officials of Local 674 have been meeting with Woodcock in Detroit, but have refused to divulge what "strategy," if any, is discussed at these meetings.

Woodcock is desperately trying to avoid a confrontation between General Motors and the union, but it is only a matter of time. The auto workers, like their fellow workers in all of organized labor, will not submit meekly to having their hard-fought-for gains over the past 30 years wiped out.

The only way forward for these workers is to build an opposition to fight against Woodcock and the rest of the labor bureaucracy for a nationwide strike against General Motors, as well as conducting a fight for strike action at each GMAD local.



New York restaurant workers on strike against low pay scale.



Leonard Woodcock

and let the ranks face GM's productivity drive without the support of the International.

He has already called off the strikes in the Flint plant and the Delco Moraine plant in Dayton.

But Woodcock's determination to make his separate peace with General Motors is in direct conflict with the interests of the rank and file. The explosion that is brewing in Norwood shows that the men are prepared for a fight.

The only way forward in the fight against speedups is a national strike against General Motors.

There must be an end to the secret meetings of the Woodcock bureaucracy where nothing but surrenders and sell-outs are discussed.

MEETINGS

There must be meetings of all GMAD locals and the calling of an open emergency conference of the UAW to vote on and prepare the national shutdown.



West Coast bakers on strike for Monday thru Friday work week and other union demands. In New York, Local 3 bakers were locked out by employers in a parallel drive to break union conditions.

## Checkers Oppose Gleason Control

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—For the first time in the history of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), a rank and file opposition slate is challenging the Gleason leadership.

The "Unity Slate" in Checkers' and Clerks' Local 1 is running a ticket of 33 members for delegates' positions as well as a candidate against Gleason himself for presidency of that local.

The tremendous support being rallied for the ticket shows the militancy of the ILA ranks preparing to take on the rotten Gleason leadership, which accepted the present contract. This contract now threatens the Guaranteed Annual Income and all the gains the ILA has won in the past.

The "Unity Slate" is demanding an end to the Prior Day Order system, and the return of travel money now being paid out of the men's pockets to travel to outlying ports.

The multiple-debiting system is the most recent and vicious attempt to throw thousands of men off the GAI. If a man refuses a job because of disability, illness or because it may be in a category he has not worked in years, he is debited a day's pay, then two, then four, etc. The "Unity

Slate" is demanding an end to the multiple debiting system.

The "Unity Slate" is demanding democratic representation of the ranks by the delegates and shop stewards. The Gleason delegates refuse to act on any grievances, particularly those related to debiting. At this time, there are several men who now owe the company money!

The only way the Shipping Association and the government have been able to force these attacks on the ILA membership has been through the complete complicity of the Gleason leadership.

We extend political support to the "Unity Slate" on December 2, but call upon the rank and file to demand that the opposition take up a political fight against the government's attacks. This means strike action against the Pay Board and any attempt to bring in anti-union legislation like the transportation bill.

At the same time the ranks must demand that the "Unity Slate," in order to build a real alternative to Gleason, must

break with his support for the Democrats and Republicans, and call for a congress of labor to build a labor party.

## Striking Bakers Fight Scab Deliveries

BY A LOCAL 3 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Nov. 20—Almost one quarter of the 5000 bakers of Local 3 have been locked out of 19 plants, simultaneously with a parallel attack in California, as part of the union busting attack of the employers on the bakery drivers of Local 802.

At the packed membership meeting, the leadership of Local 3 proposed a compromise with the bosses, saying that the bakers could only collect food stamps while stalling off their own layoffs by "pressuring the Teamsters to settle." Furthermore, the union leadership said it

could not try to prevent the inflow of scab-baked goods because this would interfere with interstate commerce and "it is unfortunate but the laws are not made for us."

Opposition to this line from the ranks was very strong. One of the locked-out men drew shouts of agreement at the beginning of the meeting when he demanded, "Never mind the minutes, get on with the strike!" When President Harry Rubenstein cried that 2000 members were lost in the last two years, the ranks demanded to know why the union let the shops close. To the officials' call to sell out by not fighting the scabbing, members

called for a union offensive to "organize the Italian bakeries."

Finally, the leadership's attempt to divert discussion to benefit matters was halted by a call from a member, who was not locked out, to "defend the union by organizing a metropolitan-area strike and call for the Teamsters to do the same." He also demanded that the government backing of the companies in the courts and anti-union legislation be met by an immediate call for a Congress of Labor.

The bakery workers must fight for weekly meetings during the lockout to insure that the leadership acts on the demands to stop the union busting.

## Pay Board Slashes \$500 Of Increase From ITU & Guild 1970 Contract

BY DAVID NORTH

Nixon's Pay Board marked the first anniversary of its existence by cutting the 11 percent salary increase won by 24,000 workers on New York City newspapers down to eight percent.

This action, which robs members of the Newspapers Guild and International Typographical Union of more than \$500 a year in pay, culminates the first year of direct government control of wages.

During this period, there has been a sharp decline in average wage increases, down from 11.6 percent to 7.2 percent.

However, the Nixon Administration, encouraged by the refusal of the trade union leadership to do anything to stop the Pay Board, has already decided to scale down the guidelines and extend them beyond the April 30, 1973 expiration date.

### OFFENSIVE

Statements by members of the Pay Board and sources close to the White House reveal that a major offensive against the labor movement is now being planned and wage controls will be the main weapon.

Pay Board member Arnold R. Weber told a gathering of executives last week that "controls should be one of the major forces of the economy."

Chairman Herbert Stein of the President's Council of Economic

Advisers assured a closed-door meeting of the 23-nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development that controls will be maintained through 1973.

### "TIGHTENING"

Even more revealing was a report published Monday by the Brookings Institute, which plays a central role in planning the economic policies of the government. It stated:

"Phase 2 hasn't brought an end to inflation, but the results thus far should set the stage for a tightening of the regulations on both prices and wages in future months."

The Nixon Administration has not the slightest intention of doing anything about prices, having given big business a green light to raise its prices.

But the Brookings Institute and Nixon are serious about wages. The report arrogantly asserted that the present 5.5 percent guidelines "will obviously have to be tightened."

Furthermore, the report noted that it would be necessary to go beyond controls because the economists "doubt that these

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## NY Times Drives For SSEU Layoffs

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—Within two weeks of Nixon's re-election, the City of New York has launched a vicious witchhunt against Social Service employees. The New York Times this week carried a front page article attacking the allegedly lazy caseworkers who do nothing all day but knit and play chess.

This move marks a new high in the arrogance and deceitfulness of the Lindsay Administration, which understands full well that it has just gotten at least a 300 percent productivity increase from employees in the Department of Social Services.

The Times further pointed out that the fact that if workers were observed by state auditors not putting in a full day's work, it obviously meant that many workers were superfluous.

This is the crux of the matter. It is clear that neither the Times nor the City is simply interested in increasing the productivity of the caseworker. They are aiming at eliminating these jobs altogether.

### PLANS

This is becoming clearer each day inside the Department of Social Services as the City more and more reveals its plans for staff. Workers are being told that they will be sent into new, experimental "community social service" programs—for which there is no real funding or job specifications. Having previously promised that some social services would be retained in the welfare centers, the City is now asserting that there will be no jobs left for staff in the centers.

In complete desperation at the November 15 Delegates Assembly, the union leadership was reduced to breaking the quorum by pulling its right-wing supporters out of the meeting before a vote could be taken on the opposition motion.

It was obvious that the motion put forward by the Committee For New Leadership calling for no further cooperation with the City's new programs or projects

until a complete blueprint of the City's plans could be voted on by the ranks, would easily pass.

The leadership was only able to get out from under the angry delegates by stooping to the lowest of tricks. They cannot get around the membership by trickery for much longer, however. Everything that the CNL has been warning about since the beginning of reorganization is now being borne out, and the membership wants to take up a fight.

The CNL plans to hold caucus meetings around the City in preparation for the membership meeting scheduled December 13, at which they will again propose the fight for a blueprint of the City's plans before any further movement of staff is permitted.

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# Young Socialist®

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## From Nixon's Election To The 4th International

The re-election of Richard Nixon has opened up a new period in which the working class and its trade unions will come under the most serious attacks. As Nixon tries to break the back of the working class, the youth will face the destruction of its rights and living conditions.

This means that great struggles lie ahead. The American working class will fight back to defend all that it has won during one hundred years of struggle. No one should doubt this.

But these new conditions mean that the development of a conscious leadership within the working class assumes the highest importance. The task of calling a Congress of Labor and building a labor party can only be accomplished through the fight for Marxist leadership.

Such a leadership cannot be built on the basis of a narrow national outlook concerned only with American questions. It is necessary to turn to the fight for the conscious international leadership of the working class.

This is why the November 29 meeting on the Fourth International Today, called by the Young Socialists and the Workers League, is the decisive step forward for the working class after Nixon's re-election.

This meeting, commemorating the 125th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto and the 55th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, comes at a time when the principles upon which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky stood must be defended through the building of the Fourth International.

Youth today must arm themselves with all the historical lessons which the working class has learned since Marx established the basic foundations of the Marxist movement by writing the Communist Manifesto.

It was in this document, written in 1847, that Marx posed the historic tasks of the working class and the necessity of building a leadership armed with a materialist understanding of society.

The October Revolution which established the power of the working class in Russia was possible only because Lenin fought to build an international leadership through a fight against the revision of Marxism.

Today, the working class enters a period of more fundamental crisis but similar to that which preceded the Russian Revolution.

The task at hand is to build the Young Socialists as part of the struggle to develop the conscious leadership internationally—the Fourth International.

No other movement prepared for this period; for no other movement proceeded with an international perspective. Only the Fourth International has warned and armed the working class.

The fight of the Young Socialists to mobilize youth and workers for the Congress of Labor is part of the perspectives of the Fourth International.

Because the revisionists always began pragmatically, concerned first and foremost with what was going on in America, they could not see the international crisis and develop a correct perspective.

The Young Socialist Alliance abandoned internationalism and the fight for conscious leadership. Therefore, they are now demoralized by the developments and ripped apart by the movement of workers.

Last week's anti-war demonstrations exposed the bankruptcy of the revisionist perspectives. The middle class liberals upon which the YSA depended have panicked in the face of Nixon's landslide.

But the Fourth International stands ready to lead the working class. At the meeting, we will present two films—Three Years of the Workers Press and The Right To Work March—which show how the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International, has armed the working class for the revolutionary crisis in that country.

All the revisionists sneered at the SLL when it announced that it would publish a daily paper starting in 1969. They saw no need for this step. But because of this decision, the British working class, unlike the French workers in May-June 1968, will enter into revolutionary battles armed with its revolutionary newspaper that will give conscious leadership.

Similarly, the film on the "Right to Work" marches will show how the British Young Socialists rallied the working class and posed the political task of bringing down the Tories.

The meeting marks the stage when the Fourth International emerges as the only revolutionary leadership before the eyes of millions of workers and when sections of the Fourth International can be constructed in every country.

The Workers League and Young Socialists will hold its meetings on the Fourth International Today in several parts of the United States. The Midwest meeting will be Saturday, November 25, and the West Coast meeting Friday, December 8.

## Behind The Baton Rouge Protest: Southern University -- Low Wages, High Rents, Rats & Unemployment

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

**BATON ROUGE**—Just one week after Nixon warned that the era of "permissiveness" had come to an end, police murdered two Black students and wounded another at Southern University.

The killings occurred as police stormed the campus, firing tear gas cannisters and bullets, to smash a protest by working class students demanding better living conditions, a voice in school policies, and the resignation of college President G. Leon Netterville.

Governor Edwin W. Edwards of Louisiana imposed the equivalent of martial law on the campus by closing the school until after the Thanksgiving holiday and placing 400 troops at Ryan Air Force Base on alert.

According to reports, the state police fired at the students while evicting them from the main administration building.

The police attempted to deny that they had used firearms in spite of the fact that the bodies of the dead youth were riddled with bullets.

Exclusive interviews obtained by the Young Socialist reveal that the students had no warning of the violence plotted by the college officials and the police.

According to a student who preferred not to be identified:

"Students said that they went in to talk to Dr. Netterville. He told them that he had to attend a meeting and asked them to stay in his office until he returned, and he did not return. Instead he sent the sheriff and the police out and they warned the students, but you could not understand the warnings, nor could the students hear them.

"Then they started to shoot tear gas in the building. The students threw the pellets back out. They still have not established where the shots came from that killed the students, but buckshots, or something like that, were found in the bodies and they were all in the head area."

The brutal, cold-blooded murder of these two youth shows the real face of the second Nixon Administration and the period of irreconcilable class conflict which the working class has entered.

The students involved in the demonstration were working class youth and the demonstration itself took on a class character as students challenged the all-Black administration for better living conditions.

In the face of this movement the rightward turn which the ruling class has taken is seen not only in the murders but in the statements in the aftermath.

Unlike the Kent State killings,

when politicians and other state officials paid lip service to the unnecessary use of force and the confusion on the part of the National Guardsmen, nothing of the kind is being said now.

Governor Edwards made it clear that he considered the police blameless. He added that even if the statements of the police stating that no bullets were shot is proven a lie, in his opinion they acted accordingly in gunning down the students.

Students at the campus are infuriated at what has happened to the point of refusing to speak to reporters of the capitalist press.

Speaking to the Young Socialist on the conditions which led to the demonstration at Southern University, Ann, a student there, confessed that at one time she lived in a dormitory that actually had river rats in it.

"They would come out of the wall at night and run around in the middle of the floor. We didn't have proper heat; they were still using those radiator type heaters in the dormitory and they didn't come on right. We didn't have a bath tub at all in the dormitory, we only had showers and they were almost as old as the school (built in 1879).

"A large percentage of the students who attend Southern are

(Continued On Page 18)



New York YS-WL branches at the Nov. 18 anti-war march called for "Victory to the NLF" and the building of a Congress of Labor. A collection was raised for Juan Farinas, YS-WL supporter jailed for his stand in defense of Vietnamese and American workers.

# Young Socialist Minnesota Council Seeks 13% Tuition Rise For University

BY A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The Minnesota Higher Education Co-ordinating Commission (HECC) is attempting to force a 13 percent rise in tuition on University students in 1973. This proposed hike follows this year's \$35 per quarter increase and is part of the State's program to drastically cut its responsibilities to the University, forcing students to carry an increasingly intolerable financial burden.

The State's program of "retrenchment and reallocation" inaugurated last year is a vicious attack on the quality of education at the University. The State's economizing forced the firing of 200 teaching and research assistants, budget cuts in just about every department and the crippling of such popular programs as the Humanities.

## CUT-BACKS

After cutting back on appropriations to the University now the State seeks to force out more working class students.

The proposals include a 38 percent rise in upper division tuition (\$196), graduate tuition would increase by \$480 or 80 percent, graduate professional tuition would increase by \$925 or 128 percent and a \$695 or 173 percent rise of technical colleges (in Crookston and Waseca) tuitions.

What these proposals mean is

the throwing out of thousands of youth from the University—the denial especially of working class and farm youth many of whom seek technical and vocational training, of their right to a higher education.

The right to an education which the labor movement has fought for is now being threatened by a ruling class that has no need of educated youth.

The Young Socialists is now being constructed on campus in a fight against these attacks by the Democrat controlled legislature, which is now in the midst of a hiring freeze of State employees. A meeting is being called to mobilize students to bring into the labor movement the fight to defend the education at the University and the state of Minnesota by opposing the two parties which carry out these attacks in defense of big business.

# Stalinists Are Key Speakers At YSA Baton Rouge Rally

BY A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Minnesota are rapidly moving to provide a more open cover for Stalinism on campus. This was shown on November 18 at a rally called by the YSA and several Black nationalist groups to protest the police murder of two Black students in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Chaired by a leading SWP member on campus, the mike was given to a member of the Communist Party, who spoke as a representative of the Third World Peoples Coalition. This Stalinist went out of his way to make the murders into a racial and nationalist issue, openly appealing to religious sentiments.

Noting the small turnout at the rally (as compared to the 70,000 who stormed the state capitol in St. Paul in May, 1970 after the Cambodia invasion and Kent State murders) he blamed this on an alleged racism for which the white students were at fault.

Echoing the lamentations of the Stalinists on the poor turnout (under 200), long-time campus radical Ray Roybal called on the assembled students to march to the office of University president Malcolm Moos to demand that the campus flags be lowered to half-mast.

## HOSTILITY

The SWP chairman expressed the complete hostility of his organization to Marxism, by closing the rally without letting speakers from the Young Socialists address it as had been previously agreed. He told our reporters that the reason was, in true nationalist form, that YS and League speakers were not "Third World."

The afternoon meeting made

the issues clearer, when all the YSA could do was propose placards and banners denouncing the murders in Baton Rouge be carried on the next day's anti-war protest march.

SDS representatives dragged out the meeting by proposing to demand that none other than the U.S. government should be "pressured" to indict the police who shot the students.

YS members insisted that the reason for the tens of thousands in the streets in 1970 as contrasted with the handful today was not due to racism or apathy,

# YS Launches Philly College Club

BY IRA WADE

PHILADELPHIA—The fight to build the Young Socialists at Community College of Philadelphia began two weeks ago when the YS was officially recognized as a student organization. The response to the YS during the sales of the *Bulletin* in the last two months is what has laid the basis for the building of the club there.

Since the YS has been chartered, the college administration has taken steps towards stopping the formation of a club. It seems there is a rule written into the student handbook pro-



Young Socialists-Workers League contingents at the November 18 national anti-war demonstrations. Top: Minneapolis; Above: St. Louis; Below: New York; Bottom: Chicago. The YS-WL marched at anti-war demonstrations across the country for a program to defend workers and youth today against all Nixon's attacks. The YS-WL fought to build a Congress of Labor and an American Labor Party against the Republicans and Democrats, and called on youth to join the Young Socialists to provide an alternative leadership against NPAC, sponsor of the demonstration, and all those who with them refuse today to defend the working class politically. The strength of the YS-WL program was shown in the many copies of the *Bulletin* sold and the great response to the planned November 29 "Fourth International Today" meeting.

but because the leadership of these previous demonstrations had offered no strategy to challenge the Democrats and Republicans who brought about war, racism and repression.

What the murder of these two Black students represented is an attack on the entire working class. These were working class youth who were gunned down for fighting against the decaying conditions they lived in. Nixon is prepared to deal the same treatment to all youth and trade unionists determined to protect their rights.

The Y.S. members said that students and youth must turn to the trade unions and fight to construct a political alternative by demanding that a Congress of Labor convene immediately and build a labor party to defend the working class.



hibiting any sort of soliciting on campus.

Regardless of why this law was originally designed, it is clear that the administration is now using it to keep the *Bulletin* and Marxist literature away from the students and faculty which only recently returned from a strike.

## COMMUNISTS

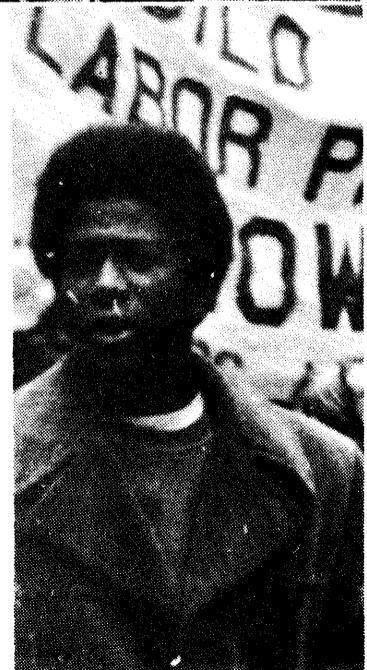
On November 10 after receiving permission to set up a literature table in the school the campus guards demanded that the YS table be taken down. The Student Activities Committee called on the phone and said, "You'll have to take your table down immediately. You didn't tell me you were selling communist

literature." At that point the YS was forced to remove the table from school.

A week later the guards informed the YS that it could not sell the paper outside the building either.

The contempt that the college administration has for the working class has been shown before. During the teachers' strike, vicious anti-union statements were sent out to the students charging that the union was sabotaging the administration's attempt to improve education.

We urge all students and teachers to join the YS and fight to wipe this rule out of the student handbook.





Inside a sweatshop in San Francisco's Chinatown. Photos exclusive to the Bulletin.

# Young Socialist

## "Six Companies" Terrorize Chinatown



BY MITCH PATTERSON  
**SAN FRANCISCO—Outside of the ghetto of Harlem the most wretched conditions facing youth in any city exist in Chinatown, San Francisco.**

Here youth are living in the dirtiest conditions which produce the highest tuberculosis rate in the entire country.

The ruling class is openly in control of every aspect of life of the Chinese working class and isn't trying to cover it up.

The attacks on the youth have been spearheaded by the Chinese Six Companies. The Six Companies has almost complete ownership of Chinatown.

Everyone in Chinatown is supposedly a member in the Chinese Six Companies, an association supposedly protecting homes and jobs. There is a levy placed on those who want to take a trip to China, also a fee levied for registration into the organization which must be renewed every five years.

### PROPERTIED

The Chinese Six Companies claims to own only a large apartment unit, and the San Francisco Hotel; the San Francisco Examiner claims that the Chinese Six Companies owns 24 percent of Chinatown; but the YS has substantial proof that the Chinese Six Companies owns virtually all of Chinatown with interests in international trade ranking with the larger U.S. corporations as well.

Under their domination, the

Chinese-American working class have been subjected to the worst housing where up to 40 people share one bathroom. For employment, women and youth (some eight years old) work in garment sweat-shops for 85 cents an hour.

### HISTORICAL

In order to understand what role the Chinese Six Companies plays in relation to the youth today, an historical assessment is essential.

As early as the California Gold Rush of 1849, with the expansion of the railroad and mining industries of the West, Chinese labor was in demand. Certain enterprising capitalists sent American agents to Hong Kong to procure "coolies."

During this period there were six agencies representing districts of China (Cantonese), supposedly set up for social, cultural and religious purposes. These agencies saw a tremendous possibility for an extensive and profitable business in exporting workmen to the Pacific Coast.

They set up their headquarters in San Francisco and began promoting "coolie" immigration. Chinese "slave ships" began plying into the West Coast by the hundreds. R.H. Drayton of the Californian newspaper wrote in 1893:

"The Six Companies have practically established a system of

slavery under the very nose of the government." Chinatown was built on this history.

The youth in Chinatown were automatically placed in specific groups or clubs based on last name or family origin. Today however, because of the previous lack of a political tendency to lead the fight against the Six Companies, these groups have been converted into reactionary gangs waging wars on each other. Many of these groups are suspected of working for the Six Companies, committing ten murders in the last year.

### POLICE

Traditionally, the S.F. Police Department had a "laissez-faire" approach to Chinatown. The August 28 issue of the San Francisco Chronical stated "To the police, Chinatown is 'no sweat.'" Over the last two months more and more policemen can be found intervening in Chinatown. Recently, 22 youth were arrested because, "police believed them to be on the verge of a gang war." It is no surprise that the S.F.P.D. is available when things get rough for the Six Companies.

### BUSING

It is this operation of the biggest businessmen in Chinatown which has been threatened by the move to integrate the educational system through a busing program.

The previous School Board rejected proposal after proposal for desegregation. Working hand in hand with the capitalist press and every reactionary element in San Francisco, the Board whipped up a racial frenzy around the busing issue, calling forward the most right-wing enterprises such as the "Chinese Parent Committee on Quality Education," which began to set up independent schools in Chinatown.

The president of this organization, Dr. David Wong, is also the corporate head of the Chinatown Six Companies. He told the Young Socialist, "Desegregation does not mean integration. Under this American democracy, we can choose what types of education our children shall have. We are not going to have this 'busing' stuffed down our throats and have our children beaten up by youth from other communities. We are the only organization to have successfully fought busing."

### "FREEDOM SCHOOLS"

The "success" he refers to is the enrollment of well over 2000 students last year in these "Freedom schools." This year however, less than one thousand youth enrolled, due to the realization on the part of the youth of the bankruptcy of this program.

In July the new school board began screaming about the fiscal crisis. A hiring freeze was immediately instituted on teachers along with budget cuts pertaining to classroom facilities and a wage cut for teachers of 2.5 percent.

The "concern over the children" on the part of David Wong

seems to be missing when the youth are attending classes of 45 to 50 in a classroom.

Meanwhile this ruling class organizes the youth into gangs to preserve their profits by exploiting the Chinese working class.

### ALIOTO

Backing the attacks which the Board has made is Mayor Alioto who has a long lasting relationship of cooperation with the Six Companies.

The turn that a small section of the youth have made toward politics has reflected itself mainly in the fight against the Six Companies' open support to Chiang Kai-Shek's Koumintang, but this development has been blocked off by the Maoists. On October 1, 1972, they called a demonstration bringing 200 youth from Chinatown to the National Day of the Peoples' Republic of China Rally.

Here they called upon the youth to "help build a strong and lasting friendship between the people of U.S. and China," thus really propping up the liberal Democratic forces also present at the rally. This action plays into the hands of the class leading the attacks on the youth of Chinatown.

The Young Socialists calls on the unions to oppose the despicable wages being paid and the child labor policies of the Six Companies. Particularly the American Federation of Teachers must oppose the budget cuts and insist on desegregation.

This can only be done through a political fight against Mayor Alioto and the Republicans by constructing a labor party.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Baton Rouge Today — Labor Tomorrow

(Continued From Page 1)

What lies behind the struggles of the students in Baton Rouge is the enormous unemployment in this city—over 25 percent—as the working class lives in abject poverty in a state with some of the richest corporations. This is the situation facing the working class as a whole in the period following Nixon's election as the big corporations who threw their millions into Nixon's campaign now demand blood from the working class to preserve their system.

There is a new element in Baton Rouge following Nixon's election. During the Kent State events the capitalist press and various political representatives "deplored" the shootings. Today not even this cover exists, as the murder is defended. The governor of Louisiana made clear this is how any other struggles of the working class and youth will be dealt with from now on.

The methods used against the students in Baton Rouge are what are now being implemented against the union movement. This is what we warned of last year when two Black militants were murdered in Baton Rouge. Nixon and his capitalist backers face a powerful working class that strengthened itself in the whole period of the boom, that has gone undefeated in the last forty years. It is the tremendous movement of labor now in resistance to the Pay Board, speedup and unemployment that Nixon fears.

This is why he now unleashes the police, the courts, and the National Guard against the unions themselves. On November 5 members of the Newspaper Guild striking for a contract in Wilmington, Delaware were maced by police. At the strike of the Cleveland Plain Dealer cops were called in mounted on horses against the pickets. In Boston a strike for the right to a decent contract by hospital workers of 1199 has been daily met with mass arrests. This follows the murder in Philadelphia of a union organizer. In Dayton strikers who went out in a wildcat are jailed.

The labor movement must draw the lessons of Baton Rouge. Labor must act now! The inaction of the labor leadership in the face of Nixon's open statements to cut all social services, pass anti-strike legislation, lower the Pay Board guidelines, and increase unemployment, now gives him precious time to prepare his attacks and to try to isolate union struggles.

The ranks of the trade unions must take up a fight now in their locals and internationals for an emergency Congress of Labor. This Congress must map out a plan of action by the entire labor movement against the Pay Board, unemployment and the repression against the unions. This Congress must act now to set up the organization of a labor party.

### Trailblazers Bring In 217

There must now be a sharp turn in our subscription campaign if we are to reach the half-way mark of 3,250 by next week. This last week we received 542 subs bringing our total to 2,390. This means we must receive 860 subs in the next week.

Leading the way this week was the Michigan-Ohio Bulletin Trailblazing Team. These six comrades have sold 217 subs despite blizzard conditions for part of the time. They report an enthusiastic reception to the paper among trade unionists on Cleveland's east side. These comrades have shown how the paper's circulation can be expanded in this period following Nixon's re-election. This is the only answer to Nixon's determination to destroy all social services and then drive down the trade union movement with the aid of fascist and racist forces.

St. Louis, Hartford, Berkeley and Minneapolis did some serious work this past week. We did not hear at all from several branches or received only token amounts of subs. This must now be reversed.



## What we think

### Phantom Party Of Nahuel Moreno

In the early 1950s Michel Pablo developed a theoretical outlook which saw revolution taking place without the construction of the revolutionary party. Now this position has been refined by Nahuel Moreno, the Socialist Workers Party's man in Argentina. Moreno operates on the basis that you do not even need people! Any old name on a gravestone will do.

Here is the sequence of events, incredible as they may seem, which has led to this state of affairs at the very moment when revolutionary possibilities emerge in Argentina. The Moreno group, the PRT, has split into two factions. One faction, maintaining the name PRT, has been the main force behind the urban guerrilla ERP kidnapping operations. The other faction, led by Moreno, has gone in the other direction searching for a legal accommodation with the military regime.

The military is planning to hold elections which will be nothing more than a cover for the continued rule of the military under conditions of growing unrest in the working class. Peron has been brought back to help quell this unrest and to give some substance to the election ruse. The military will recognize as legal parties which can participate in the elections only those parties which existed prior to the military takeover. Moreno's tactics stem from this requirement.

So Moreno dug up a largely defunct Socialist Party (Coral faction) of Argentina with under 100 members. He "entered" this party with a group numbering several hundred. Having carried through this maneuver he next faced a new hurdle. The party needed to have a membership which represented a substantial percentage of the electorate—some 30,000 were needed. Therefore Moreno went out and "enrolled" these 30,000 members.

So today Moreno is the Socialist Party of Argentina. He has a social democratic party, openly based on centrist politics, with a mythical membership of 30,000 and the legal support of the military junta. Gone is any Trotskyist party, even in name. It is this phantom party which sponsored Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate Linda Jenness on a national tour pushing women's liberation! The military regime, of course, could find nothing to object to in this, particularly since their central worry was the continuing strike struggles of the workers, which has ripped through Mendoza and Cordoba.

It is understandable why the illegal faction of the PRT, the ERP guerrillaists, which happens to be the official section of the United Secretariat in Argentina, refuses to report on its activities to any international meeting where either Moreno's followers or his SWP supporters are present. After all, one faction must

raid the jails of Argentina to free its members while the other faction campaigns for the "legal return of Juan Peron."

It would be a grave mistake to chalk off Moreno's latest stunt as a simple maneuver, as a tactical sleight of hand. Moreno has taken over a centrist party because he is a centrist theoretically and is therefore convinced that a centrist party is needed in this period, not a revolutionary party. He ends up as a left social democratic leader after a long career, consistent only in its anti-Trotskyism, and characterized by the wildest gyrations in tactics and orientation.

Today he states openly: "The formation of a centrist party of the legal left is our main political organization objective at the moment." He knows what he is doing: "We know consciously that that organization (left legal centrist) is the opposite of a proletarian Bolshevik organization... That is a revealing confession that we are in the company of renegades who have rejected revolutionary Marxism, Bolshevism...." You said it, Moreno!

For seven years from 1957-1964 Moreno's main objective of the moment was to be a Peronist. In 1960 he wrote: "Only a madman can dispute the tremendous role that Peron plays within our movement. When Palabra Obrera (paper of Moreno faction) says it is under the discipline of General Peron and the Peronist Supreme Council it only confirms this historic fact: the undisputed leader of Peronism, the ineffable leader is General Peron. The very name of the movement indicates this. In the history of Argentina it is the sharpest example of 'Personalism': a movement with the name of its leader and a leader with total influence over his movement. The 'spinsters of both sexes in Argentina' can sob as much as they like but that is a historical fact."

Soon after the Peronist orientation blew up in his face Moreno went whole hog into guerrillaism. His main objective of the moment was to be a Castroite and a Maoist to boot. In that period he stated it was necessary "to synthesize the general correct theory and programme (Trotskyism) with the particular correct theory and program (Maoist or Castroite)."

This led him to an open attack on Trotskyism. He writes: "Of course, life has revealed the gaps, the omissions and the mistakes in the program of the Permanent Revolution. The dogma that the only class which can accomplish the democratic tasks is the working class is false." And for good measure he adds to his attacks on Trotskyism: "The Transitional Program expresses to the last detail the revolutionary experience of Europe and is a model of the analysis of Classical Marxism. That



Peron Returns

program has been confirmed in its essence: the transitional nature of the revolutionary struggle...but it is necessary to point out that the Transitional Program has great precision in relation to the demands of the working class, but it does not even mention guerrilla warfare and only mentions in passing demands which are agrarian, democratic and nationalist in character and that says a lot..." It certainly does!

The present adventurist and completely liquidationist policies of the PRT-ERP faction which split from Moreno are only an extension of this guerrillaist phase of Moreno's own career.

Moreno is an ardent practitioner of the contemporary philosophical school of "praxis." This is but a flamboyant variety of pragmatism which rejects history and principle for immediate gain. "Praxis," Moreno stated, "is the essential factor to define a political, social group and not the objective situation." And: "We must consider as a revolutionary tendency, that which through its objectives and action is at a given moment revolutionary although its position might not be working class. It is necessary to consider moreover that revolutionary action through its own dynamic can lead to a theoretical-programmatic understanding of its own action."

Thus theory is completely thrown out the window. Action is all that counts. The action will in fact produce the theory. The action, in fact, is not even the action of the working class.

Here we have the man who the SWP now holds up as the "orthodox" alternative to Mandel, the IMG idealists and the guerrillaists. No theory, no history, no party, no class, no people—only pure "activity!"



# TROTSKY

**TROTSKY. A documentary by Francis Wyndham and David King.**

**Praeger Publishers, 1972. \$12.50. Reviewed by Tom Kemp.**

Never has the task of producing an objective account of Trotsky, his struggle against Stalinism and for the building of the Fourth International been more urgent.

It is necessary to clean off the layers of political filth with which the Stalinists and other enemies of Marxism have tried to obscure the historical importance of Trotsky for the international working class struggle.

This book goes some way towards performing this task in a popular way. All those concerned with the building of the revolutionary party will find that it is a powerful political weapon. It deserves the widest possible audience throughout the working class movement.

Produced by two members of the staff of *The Sunday Times* magazine it combines a vivid account of Trotsky's life with a unique collection of illustrations. It includes many items which have not been published before and which blend excellently with the text.

The authors, Francis Wyndham and David King, should be congratulated on doing such a splendid job. Their book is obviously the result of much careful research, but it is put together and presented in a way which workers, youth and students coming fresh to the subject can readily understand.

King has painstakingly assembled perhaps one of the best collections of Trotsky photographs and prints in existence; using the magazine format of the book he has dramatically displayed them—some in color—to explain the astonishing life of the revolutionary. The text by Wyndham is a considerable achievement. With acute political perception he has collated excerpts from the key political writings and episodes in Trotsky's life to present the reader with a factual and principled account of his struggles.

Trotsky's life lends itself to dramatic treatment. Growing up in a family of hard-working but, by Russian 19th-century standards, relatively prosperous peasants, he was thrown as a youth into the revolutionary cauldron. Espousing first of all the ideas of the Narodniks, who wanted

a kind of agrarian socialism to be achieved by terrorism, he was soon drawn towards the working class and Marxism.

When only 19 he was arrested when a group of intellectuals and workers in Odessa was broken up by the police. Deported to Siberia, he escaped from jail in a peasant's cart and went into his first exile in western Europe.

That was in the summer of 1902. A few weeks later, "The Pen"—as he was known from the name he used to sign his articles—came to meet Lenin in London at his request.

After a period of close collaboration and friendship the two men became deeply divided politically. Trotsky was not able to understand Lenin's struggle to build the revolutionary party which was to become known as the Bolshevik Party.

Speaking of Lenin's position he later wrote: "His behavior seemed unpardonable to me, both horrible and outrageous. And yet, politically, it was right and necessary, from the point of view of the organization." It was characteristic of Trotsky that he defended his position vehemently and with passion—and equally that he was later able to admit his mistake.

Such was to be the case in the other great issues in which he was pitted against Lenin—on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the so-called "trade union question," for instance, which the Stalinists make a specialty of distorting.

When revolution broke out in Russia in 1905, Trotsky returned to play a leading role as chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet. Arrested when the regime counter-attacked he was put on trial in the following year and made a memorable speech in defense of the insurrection.

Once again Trotsky was deported, this time for life. Even before he had reached his place of exile he had escaped across the snows, finding his way out of Russia to join the revolutionary emigrants in western Europe.

There followed a period of exile which did not end until after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Most of this time Trotsky's principal activity was in journalism. He argued for the reunification of the Russian Social-Democratic Party and bitterly attacked the Bolsheviks. Lenin responded in a similarly polemical vein.

His reflections on the events of 1905, while in jail awaiting trial, led him to write *Results and Prospects*, with its first clear formulation of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. This was his major contribution to Marxist thought.

World War I found Trotsky among those

trying to reestablish the International. Forced to move from one country to another he was eventually shipped to the United States by the Spanish police. When the revolution broke out in Russia he tried to get back, but the ship in which he was travelling was intercepted by the British navy.

After a further spell as a prisoner in Canada Trotsky was able to proceed, arriving in Russia in May 1917. Within the next few weeks he rapidly emerged as a brilliant revolutionary leader and orator. Admitted into the Bolshevik Party, he became Lenin's closest collaborator.

After years of political enmity the conditions of war and revolution had brought Lenin and Trotsky together again. The first steps had been taken at the time of the Zimmerwald conference in 1915. But when Lenin and Trotsky returned to Russia in the spring of 1917 they had both changed their positions.

As the book sums it up: "Lenin learnt that Trotsky no longer believed in unity between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and was now in complete sympathy with the aims of the Bolshevik Party; while Trotsky learnt that Lenin no longer believed that the outcome of the Russian Revolution would be a 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' rather than a dictatorship of the proletariat itself."

Despite the hard words that Lenin used about Trotsky, and of which the Stalinists make frequent and dishonest use, there is evidence that mutual respect remained. Lenin's widow wrote to Trotsky in the 1920s: "The attitude of V.I. towards you when you came to us in London from Siberia remained unchanged until his death."

Drawing on the observations of contemporary writers as well as Trotsky's own words, the book shows the vital role which Trotsky played in the revolutionary events and the building of the Soviet state.

Appointed Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Trotsky was entrusted with the peace negotiations with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk. He tried at first to avoid signing a treaty which imposed Draconian terms on Russia in the hope that the German working class would make their own revolution. He came into conflict with Lenin whose view was that "the revolution has to be safeguarded no matter what the price."

When the German army resumed the offensive Trotsky cast his deciding vote for Lenin's position, but he did not return to Brest-Litovsk to sign the treaty. Instead he resigned his post and was appointed Commissar of War.

His work in the next two years as organizer of the Red Army would in itself ensure him a place in history. "Could anyone point out to me," said Lenin, as quoted by Maxim Gorky, "another man who would organize an almost model army in a year and win the respect of military experts? We have such a man."

#### SURVIVAL

Trotsky's adventures in the civil war, moving from front to front in his armored train, rallying demoralized troops here, directing an offensive there would be a worthy subject for a film. He played a crucial role in permitting the Soviet state to survive the attempts of the capitalist states and the Tsarist generals to restore the old order.

The civil war was not waged without political conflicts at home. Trotsky had to fight for his policy against critics and enemies. He trod on many toes and hurt some tender susceptibilities. In particular he came into conflict with Stalin and some of the Red Army generals. They did not forget.

Although the invading forces were driven back and the new state had earned the right to exist, the revolution everywhere else in Europe had been defeated. Trotsky had been convinced, like Lenin, that the survival of the first workers' state was bound up with the spread of revolution to the advanced countries of central and western Europe.

Now a new and unforeseen situation had arisen. The Soviet state, inheriting from Tsardom a backward, predominantly peasant, economy, still further weakened by years of war and civil war, was left isolated in a hostile world.

Immense burdens were imposed on the masses. Economic breakdown was added to existing poverty. A regime of "war communism" had been set up to maintain supplies and particularly to obtain surplus grain from the peasantry. Once the civil war had died down, resistance to these demands grew.

In February 1921 the sailors of the naval base of Kronstadt, near Petrograd, rose in revolt. In 1917 these sailors had played a key role in the insurrection. Most of them had now been dispersed to the war fronts where death and injury had carried off many. Others had been absorbed into the Party ranks or the state institutions.

The sailors of 1921 were largely newer recruits from the peasantry. They reflected the discontent of the rural population with "war communism." The revolt was supported by Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and anarchists, as well as by all the other enemies of the Soviet regime.



Trotsky and Natalya on a visit to a Mexican farm.

The book presents a balanced version of the events which contradicts the interpretation of the anarchists as well as many bourgeois historians and their "left" hangers-on.

It deals succinctly with the charge that by supporting the suppression of the revolt Trotsky had already condoned a measure which contained in it the seeds of Stalinism. It is part of the familiar charge that Stalinism is a continuation of Bolshevism, which Trotsky himself so often met and exposed in his later writings.

As Trotsky put it later: "What the Soviet government did reluctantly at Kronstadt was a tragic necessity." But the very existence of the revolution was at stake; there was no alternative. As he later pointed out he had no special responsibility for the operations which led to the suppression of the revolt, being in Moscow at the time. The main responsibility lay with the Petrograd committee and its leader, Zinoviev.

**OPPOSITION**

The revolt speeded the adoption of the New Economic Policy with its partial retreat. In the period which followed, Stalin, first appointed to the new organizational post of general secretary in 1922, began to consolidate his grip on the Party apparatus.

During his last illness Lenin had become seriously perturbed about the growth of bureaucratic practices in the Party as well as in the state institutions. He called on Trotsky to form a bloc with him against bureaucracy in general and that of the Party's Organizational Bureau, controlled by Stalin, in particular.

Lenin's fears for the Party's future health were embodied in the famous "testament." Denied by the Stalinists for many years, the bureaucracy itself had to publish it after Lenin's death together with other documents which showed that Trotsky's account had been correct.

At this crucial point in 1924 Trotsky's health was poor. When Lenin died he was on the Black Sea for a cure and he did not return to Moscow. During his absence Stalin continued to consolidate his position, win supporters and take control of the Party. Zinoviev and Kamenev joined him, their hostility to Trotsky stirred up by his castigation of their role in 1917 in *Lessons of October*.

The book does not insist sufficiently upon the fact that Stalin also proceeded to revise Marxism in a fundamental way with the enunciation of the theory of "socialism in one country." Without this, Stalinism and the struggle of the Opposition against it cannot be fully understood.

In the 1920s Trotsky carried on a relentless struggle against the policies imposed on the Communist International and its sections as a consequence of the "theory of socialism in one country," especially in China and Britain. Zinoviev and Kamenev separated themselves from Stalin and joined the Unified Opposition, which in 1927 brought out its own platform.

But Stalin, as representative of the new and growing bureaucracy, was able to bring down the whole weight of the apparatus against the Opposition. Its demonstrations were broken up by force. Agents provocateur were planted in its ranks. Its speakers were shouted down at Party meetings.

Under these pressures the Zinovievists broke and hastened to make their peace with Stalin. Other oppositionists recanted, especially when Stalin appeared to have taken over part of their platform by embarking upon a policy of industrialization.

Still irrepressible, Trotsky was exiled to the remote town of Alma-Ata and then expelled from the Soviet Union in February 1929. He was never to return.

The last part of the book deals with Trotsky's third exile and his assassination. It is particularly rich in new or little known photographs. It does not sufficiently underline the historic importance of the task which Trotsky now assumed—to maintain the historical continuity of the Marxist movement against the betrayals of Social Democracy and Stalinism.

Much of his activity was now concerned with rallying the Opposition to fight Stalinism, first as a faction of the Communist International, then in a struggle to build new parties and a new, Fourth International.

Here the victory of Hitler fascism in Germany in 1933 marked a historic turning point which is not sufficiently stressed. Trotsky attacked the fatal policy of the "third period" which, by denouncing the Social Democrats as "social fascists," made a united front of the working class to resist fascism impossible.

Thanks to Stalin the German working class was defeated without a fight. Trotsky drew the necessary conclusion. The communist parties could not be reformed. The bureaucracy would have to be overthrown in a political revolution. Despite a series of defeats the onward march of fascism and a new war could be prevented.

Once outside the Soviet Union Trotsky found himself a man without a visa. Bourgeois governments did not want a noted revolutionary who might be the focal point for political agitation. The Soviet au-

thorities put pressure on those countries which did harbor him.

From Turkey Trotsky went in 1933 to France, but he was expelled in 1935, moving to Norway in June of that year and to Mexico in December 1936.

One of the first tasks he undertook was the publication of the *Bulletin of the Left Opposition* directed to the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union. But his pen was never still and his writings for this period fill many volumes.

Even opponents of Marxism are obliged to pay tribute to the *History of the Russian Revolution*; no historian of Russia or of the international movement can ignore *My Life*; even *The Revolution Betrayed* is treated with respect by bourgeois critics.

But Trotsky attributed equal or perhaps more importance to the letters, articles, pamphlets and resolutions which he wrote as part of his struggle to build the revolutionary movement. It is this body of

writing, and the effort which went into it, which is denigrated by the Isaac Deutschers.

As is to be expected in a biography on this scale, these writings cannot be dealt with in detail. In fact, however, its value will be enhanced if it is read as a background to the volumes of Trotsky's writings for the period 1929-1940, most of which are now available.

In December 1934, the assassination of Kirov, blamed on the supporters of Trotsky and Zinoviev, but now known to have been ordered by Stalin himself, inaugurated a new reign of terror in the Soviet Union.

Stalin struck at members of Trotsky's family living in the Soviet Union as well as at his political supporters. When Trotsky was deprived of Soviet nationality in February 1932, they were considered as political emigres. This prevented them from leaving the country. His daughter Zina, who had joined him in exile, committed suicide. His first wife was exiled to Siberia.

The fate of his son Sergei was unknown until news came through that he had been imprisoned. His other son, Leon Sedov, who had joined him in exile, had also left his wife and a young son in Moscow.

**INDICTED**

With the opening of the Moscow Trials, Trotsky's anxieties increased. He was indicted as the principal accused, together with his son Leon. It was alleged that he had worked in collusion with the Gestapo to overthrow the Soviet regime.

Much of Trotsky's time and energy in the last years of his life had to be devoted to demolishing the tissue of lies and fabrications around which the Moscow Trials were built. The Norwegian government, succumbing to Soviet pressure, forced him to live in a remote area. Only Mexico offered him a refuge.

But it was now clear that his life was in danger. In fact, the OGPU was already plotting his death.

In 1937 a Commission of Inquiry headed by the American pragmatist philosopher John Dewey carried out an independent investigation into the allegations made at the Moscow Trials. It showed that they were completely false.

Meanwhile the OGPU was stepping up its murderous activity against Trotsky's supporters. Many were killed in Spain during the 1936-1938 civil war. One of its agents, known as Etienne, became Leon's assistant in bringing out the *Bulletin*. In 1938 Trotsky's son died in mysterious circumstances in a clinic which Etienne had persuaded him to enter.

The book tells the story of Trotsky's last years in Mexico, including his struggle against the minority in the American Socialist Workers Party which wanted to abandon the defense of the Soviet Union on the grounds that it was no longer a workers state.

While he was in the midst of this struggle to defend the newly-formed Fourth International from its enemies within, the Stalinist ring was closing in. In May 1940 the Mexican artist David Siqueiros led a machine gun attack on his house.

On August 20, 1940, an agent of Stalin, masquerading as a sympathizer, entered Trotsky's study on the pretext that he wished to discuss an article with him. He drew an ice axe from under his coat and delivered the fatal blow.

The last pages of this book deal in a careful and sober way with the facts behind the assassination. Anyone puzzled by the recent Joseph Losey film of this event will find it useful to read this account. It is abundantly illustrated with photographs of the people involved.

The assassin, whose real name was Ramon Mercader, was carefully selected and trained for the job. A grateful Stalin awarded his mother, who played an important role in the preparations, with the Order of Lenin. Her son received the Order of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The text appropriately concludes with an extract from the speech "In Defense of the October Revolution" delivered by Trotsky in Copenhagen in 1932 which expresses his faith in the future of mankind.

This introduction to Trotsky's life and work can be warmly recommended to every reader. It is excellently produced and the price is reasonable. It is a first rate answer to Stalinist lies and liberal half-truths.



## Wyndham and King Discuss Why They Made TROTSKY

In June 1970 David King was in Moscow trying to obtain information for a special issue of *The Sunday Times* color magazine on Lenin's centenary.

The Russians were most helpful. But soon he became a little more inquisitive and started asking around for photographic information about the life of Leon Trotsky.

To this the Russian officials were less helpful. They were blunt. They told him Trotsky was no longer a historical figure and did not warrant a special place in the information libraries of Moscow.

Trotsky's name had been obliterated from all official places and no pictures were to be seen around.

So David King, art editor of *The Sunday Times* color magazine, decided he had to do something about this "obvious suppression of Trotsky's ideas and his work." He travelled to various European countries looking for information. He made three trips to the American continent—including Mexico—and emerged with a colossal collection of photographic material.

Two years later—in collaboration with writer and critic Francis Wyndham—he had produced the manuscript for *Trotsky*, a magnificent pictorial documentary on



Top: SLL National Secretary Gerry Healy (left) with Wyndham (center) and King (right) at SLL reception in honor of publication of their documentary. Below: Trotsky in Russia with the Left Opposition. Seated: L. Serebriakov, K. Radek, Trotsky, M. Boguslavsky, E. Preobrazhensky; Standing: C. Rakovsky, Y. Drobnis, A. Beloborodov, Seznovsky.



the life of Lenin's closest ally in the Russian Revolution, founder of the Red Army and the Fourth International.

The book, published two weeks ago by Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, brings together a unique collection of pictures and information from some of the most important periods of Trotsky's life.

For both David King and Francis Wyndham the production of the book is more than simply an exercise in informative writing. They both recognized the responsibility of producing an accurate and vivid account of Trotsky's life.

"You cannot divorce Trotsky the man from Trotsky the revolutionary," says David King. "We were both so interested and even obsessed in the subject that we worked much more carefully than we have ever done."

Francis Wyndham: "Our book is an introduction to the life of a man whose ideas have been so blatantly suppressed by all political parties. But Trotskyism is a very real alternative.

"It is the only hope to indicate the way along which action should be taken.

"By reading Trotsky we saw for the first time the vast knowledge which the Stalinists had tried to destroy. A real understanding of Trotsky can clarify some of the political confusion that exists at all levels."

David King: "I can see the book being enjoyed by a liberal audience who will probably find it interesting.

"But we have tried to produce a book which is more than just interesting. It can

be an instrument if taken as an introduction to revolutionary politics.

"One copy of the book in a factory is worth 100 times more use than in Charing Cross Road."

Trotsky is a book extremely valuable to a basic study of Leon Trotsky's life. It will be particularly useful for youth who want to find out about the struggle for Marxism in the past 60 years.

After Lenin's death in 1923 Trotsky was in the leadership of the struggle to continue the traditions of the Russian Revolution.

His struggle for revolutionary politics has particular relevance today for thousands of youth now coming forward to build the revolutionary party to lead the working class to power.

Francis Wyndham: "The material that we collected manages to document every major event in the life of Trotsky. We tried to present Trotskyism as a living force.

"That is what makes the book so different from the usual things that emerge from the 'media.' We felt we were part of the work.

"For me it opened the whole thing up politically. It helped me to understand some of the most involved points in the political situation."

David King: "Without a clear understanding such as that provided by Trotsky the whole world can be ugly and unbearable, because all you see around you is either capitalism or the Stalinist bureaucracy.

"That is why Trotskyism is, I think, a very real alternative."

Francis Wyndham's commentary in the book is well documented from Trotsky's main writings. The pictures, some of which have never been published in Britain before, came from private albums, libraries, public record offices and people who worked closely with Trotsky.

Wyndham says he is conscious of the fact that the book does not make any direct link with the tasks posed today. But he feels the text of the work and its character will encourage young people to study Trotskyism further.

"There is a vast amount of material, and this book is only a tiny fraction of it."

Trotsky's life was devoted to the central task of building revolutionary parties throughout the world. As the *Transitional Program* of the Fourth International says: "The Fourth International, already today, is deservedly hated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists.

"There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron strings of the bourgeoisie. Its task—the abolition of capitalism's domination. Its aim—socialism. Its method—the proletarian revolution."

Throughout his life Trotsky argued for the extension of the Russian Revolution to other countries of Europe and the world.

In opposition to this the rising Soviet bureaucracy, under Joseph Stalin, carried

out a basic revision of Marxism in the theory of "socialism in one country."

The full fruits of this revision can be seen today firstly in the bureaucracy that dominates the Soviet Union and secondly in the counter-revolutionary activities of this bureaucracy throughout the world.

After the 1905 revolution—in which Trotsky played a leading role—he was deported and spent the next ten years in exile in various countries.

He returned to Russia in May 1917 and rapidly emerged as a powerful figure in the Bolshevik Party and a close collaborator with Lenin.

The book deals in some detail with the vital role he played in the October Revolution and events that followed.

During the civil war and the wars of intervention Trotsky made one of his most outstanding contributions.

He transformed the Red Guards into the Red Army. Wyndham puts it this way:

"Trotsky's plan for transforming the undisciplined Red Guards at his disposal into an efficient fighting force drawn from the untrained Russian masses had necessitated a complex scheme of rigid centralization which exploited the valuable experience of former Tsarist officers..."

David King spent considerable time finding photographs of Trotsky's work during the war and especially of his train, from which he conducted many military operations.

"The book," he says, "would have been incomplete without the best possible pictures of his train."

In January 1923, during his last illness, Lenin became seriously worried about the growth of bureaucracy within the party. In his famous *Testament* he called on his comrades to remove Joseph Stalin from his position as Party general secretary.

"...Comrade Trotsky...is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present central committee..."

In the years that followed Trotsky conducted a determined struggle against the growth of bureaucracy under Stalin, who represented the counter-revolution.

He was exiled and finally expelled from the Soviet Union. He was never able to return and entered "a planet without a visa."

Once outside he continued the struggle to regroup all the communist forces which Stalin had tried to destroy. His writings during this period include the *History of the Russian Revolution*, *The Revolution Betrayed*, and *In Defense of Marxism*.

His strenuous work found its climax in the formation of the Fourth International in 1938 to continue the revolutionary traditions which Stalin tried to destroy.

On August 20, 1940, Trotsky was struck by Stalin's agent Ramon Mercader (alias Jackson). As he lay dying the next evening he made his last statement: "Please say to our friends...I am sure...of the victory...of the Fourth International."

This message summed up the whole essence of his life.

Trotsky's optimism about the victory of the Fourth International was the product of a profound Marxist analysis of the imperialist epoch and the revolutionary role of the working class.

The book deals in some detail with the assassination as a political act planned by the Stalinists.

This is in contrast with some recent attempts at falsification of history—in particular Joseph Losey's film *The Assassination of Trotsky*.

Francis Wyndham says it is impossible to make an accurate film about the assassination of Trotsky isolated from the rest of his life.

It was the murder of a revolutionary who had spent his life struggling to build the revolutionary movement to destroy capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The text of the book ends with an extract from the speech *In Defense of the October Revolution* delivered by Trotsky in Copenhagen in 1932:

"Once he has done with anarchic forces of his own society man will set to work on himself...Mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished product.

"Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race."

## David North Film

**The liberal attitude of the Socialist Workers Party toward Joseph Losey's slanderous *The Assassination of Trotsky* reflects the capitulation of centrists to the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.**

While the SWP has been forced to devote more time to a discussion of the film than it originally intended, it persists in abstracting an assessment of the film out of the living struggle against Stalinism today and for the Fourth International.

Furthermore, the SWP goes out of its way to let the American Communist Party off the hook by handling Joseph Losey with kid gloves; and by suggesting, as Joseph Hansen did in the November 17 issue of *The Militant*, that the director, a former member of the CP, "presents the truth concerning Stalin's responsibility for the murder of Trotsky."

Determined not to confront Stalinism as a political force functioning in the international labor movement that must be smashed, the SWP will not even face up to the historic significance of the murder of Trotsky.

It was this surrender to Stalinism and open attempt to justify centrism that dominated the SWP's Militant Labor Forum, held November 17, in which George Weissman, former editor of *The Militant*, debated *The Assassination of Trotsky* with two radical film critics. They were Lenny Rubenstein, co-editor of *Cineaste*, and James D'Anna, critic for *WRVR*.

Although he joined the SWP in the 1930s, Weissman has almost nothing to say about the Fourth International, treating the most critical period of Trotsky's life very much as Isaac Deutscher did in *The Prophet Outcast*.

### DEUTSCHER'S POSITION

It was Deutscher's position that Trotsky's fight to construct a new International was a "fiasco." Deutscher, who broke with Trotskyism in the 1930s precisely over this question, was in many respects the ideological precursor of Pablo. He adapted to the Stalinist bureaucracy, declaring that it could develop in a revolutionary direction.

The only conclusion on Trotsky's battle against Stalinism that Weissman was willing to draw was that "It was unsuccessful in the long run." In no way does Weissman see the fight to construct the Fourth International differently from Deutscher, who wrote: "...the Fourth International was stillborn."

Weissman's cynical attempt to justify the centrism of the SWP was expressed most clearly when he dwelt upon Trotsky's participation in the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915.

He simply called it an "anti-war" conference, implying that it is analogous to the current anti-war activities of the SWP. First of all, Weissman did not bring out the strength of that conference, held in the midst of World War I: that it was called by socialists on the basis of a struggle against the European bourgeoisie.

More fundamentally, Weissman would not deal with the struggle against centrism waged by Lenin at the Zimmerwald Conference. It was only under protest that Lenin approved the resolution written by Trotsky at Zimmerwald because it did not call for a decisive split with the Second International through the construction of the Third International.

Lenin wrote in 1917: "From the very outset, the Zimmerwald International adopted a vacillating, 'Kautskyite,' 'Centrist' position, which immediately compelled the Zimmerwald Left to disassociate itself, to separate itself from the

rest, and to issue its own manifesto..."

"The chief shortcoming of the Zimmerwald International, and the cause of its collapse (for politically and ideologically it had already collapsed), was its vacillation and indecision on such a momentous issue of crucial practical significance as that of breaking completely with social chauvinism and the old social-chauvinist International headed by Vandervelde and Huysmans at The Hague (Holland), etc."

Both film critics admitted they did not like the film, but neither could see the political implications of *The Assassination of Trotsky*. However, it must be said to the credit of James D'Anna that he at least attempted to question the motives behind Losey's obvious distortion of Trotsky's personality.

While admitting that he knew comparatively little about Trotsky's political work,



Above: Natalya at Green Cross Hospital in Mexico at Trotsky's death. Below: Trotsky's coffin, draped in flag of IV International, is led in funeral procession of thousands.

D'Anna said he did not believe that Losey wanted to make an honest film about Trotsky. "I would like to know why Joseph Losey, a gifted director, set out to make a bad film about Trotsky," he asked.

The heart of Weissman's position was revealed when he ascribed to Losey's "ignorance" whatever distortions appeared in the film.

This explanation was undercut by Weissman's revelation that Seva Volkov, Trotsky's grandson who still lives at Coyoacan, had been so incensed when he read the original screenplay by Nicholas Mosley, that he called Weissman in the middle of the night to discuss the possibility of initiating a law suit.

As the *Bulletin* has demonstrated in its review of Losey's film ("The Second Assassination of Trotsky" published in the September 18 issue) and in two subsequent articles (October 30 and November 13 issues), *The Assassination of Trotsky* represents a slander against the Fourth International as well as a crude attempt to minimize the responsibility of the Stalinists for the crime.

In these articles, we showed that Losey sought to attribute the murder primarily to the so-called "psychopathic inclinations" of Ramon Mercader rather than the GPU which trained him.

The *Bulletin* exposed Losey's attempts to revive the Stalinist lie that Trotsky planned the assault of May 24, 1940 on Coyoacan by Diego Siqueiros. The latest issue of *The Militant* carries an interview in which Siqueiros admits that the assassination attempt was ordered by Stalin.

Furthermore, we revealed the elaborate connections of the American CP and the GPU in the preparations for the crime—a vital aspect of the murder of Trotsky that Losey chose not to expose.

The great attention which we have devoted to this film flows from our understanding that the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class today requires the defense of the Fourth International against every attack and a thorough exposure of the crimes of Stalinism.

Because we do not see the historical background of our movement—particularly the assassination of Trotsky—as separate from the current tasks before the

Fourth International, the Workers League intervened at the Militant Labor Forum.

Fearing any discussion of the film that went beyond artistic criticism, the SWP had instructed the moderator not to call upon the three members of the Workers League at the meeting during the question and answer period.

However, after some difficulty, a member of the Workers League did have the opportunity to speak. When he raised the historical issues of Trotsky's battle against Stalinism and challenged Weissman's claim that Losey spat on the Fourth International and covered up for the GPU out of "ignorance," pandemonium broke out in the meeting.

Members of the YSA and SWP attempted to drown out these comments with shouts of "Stop him," "Ask your question already," and "No comments here."



Pointing out that the elaborate and careful setting of the movie ruled out any possibility that the distortions such as presenting the POUM as a Trotskyist party were just mistakes, the speaker continued:

"To ascribe the elaborate distortions in the film as the result of ignorance is not only to ignore the fact that Losey had a long political history in the CP but is also to excuse all the crimes of Stalinism as flowing from regrettable errors rather than the consciously counter-revolutionary perspectives of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

"It is precisely this rationalization for the crimes of Stalinism that the film seeks to convey. Losey leaves open the possibility that Stalinism is an alternative today."

### POUM

Weissman, in a very reluctant response, maintained his position that it would be wrong to see Stalinism as an issue in the making of the film. He then proceeded to give yet another justification for centrism as he explained the film's presentation of the POUM as a Trotskyist party.

"After all, the POUM was part of the Left," he said. "Trotsky had fraternal relations with it."

By making this claim, Weissman throws full light on the SWP's solidarity with centrists against Trotskyism and the Fourth International. In 1940, as Weissman must know, Trotsky had no relations with the POUM. His decisive break with the POUM, which bore a heavy responsibility for the defeat of the Spanish proletariat at the hands of Franco, was critical in the fight against centrism through which the Fourth International emerged.

Trotsky had at one point close relations with the leader of the POUM, Nin. He made every conceivable attempt to show Nin the necessity of breaking with Stalinism in order to forge for the Spanish working class an independent revolutionary leadership. He called upon the POUM to join the Fourth International.

But Nin chose instead to merge with the forces of Maurin, a Bukharinite who had split from the Spanish CP from the right. This finished the POUM as a revolutionary party. It joined the Republican

government, and this capitulation to Stalinism betrayed the working class of Spain. It also led to the murder of Nin, whom the Stalinists eliminated in spite of his break from Trotsky.

### BETRAYAL

All this was documented in Felix Morrow's *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*. That Weissman throws all this history out of the window in order to defend the POUM against the assessment made 25 years ago by the Fourth International is a sure measure of the SWP's betrayal of Trotskyism.

*The Assassination of Trotsky*, as the SWP feared from the moment it first appeared, has exposed the paralysis of the Pabloites in the face of even the crudest Stalinist slanders.

The entire Pabloite Unified Secretariat, which bases itself upon the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinism, is being ripped asunder by the film. Tendencies within the Secretariat now emerge to openly defend Losey's film and attack those who criticize its political content.

It is not surprising that Pierre Frank, who with Ernest Mandel was the closest supporter of Michel Pablo in the 1953 split, launches a bitter polemic against critics of *The Assassination of Trotsky* in *Rouge*, newspaper of the Ligue Communiste.

Entitled "Put no 'rust' in Zhdanovism," Frank's article maintains that if the film does not make clear the conflict between Trotskyism and Stalinism, "that is the result of the political misunderstanding of Losey, not the conscious political intention on his part, for he had no intention of making a political film and has not made an anti-Trotsky film."

As far as Frank is concerned, the Stalinists are those who defend the Fourth International against Losey's slanders.

The positions put forward by George Weissman, who represents the most right-wing elements within the SWP, closely parallel those of Frank. He expresses in the sharpest way the movement of the revisionists toward a total abandonment of the fight against Stalinism.

In this period, the International Committee comes forward as the only force that can answer Stalinism by establishing the continuity of Trotsky's fight for the Fourth International.

# Castro Offers To Aid Nixon

BY ED SMITH

The announcement last week that Cuba would place three hijackers on trial leaves no doubt a deal between Castro and Nixon is in the making.

Such an "unfreezing" would represent a formal recognition by both sides that "the Cuban road to revolution" had come to an end. Castro has oriented himself more and more to popular front "peaceful roads to socialism" as in Chile and the reactionary military juntas in Peru and Ecuador.

The current series of maneuverings between Washington and Havana began several weeks ago after a Nixon Administration official and his two sons hijacked a plane to Cuba, killing three persons along the way. The official, Charles Tuller, and his sons were placed under arrest upon arrival in Havana. A note informing Washington of the arrest was signed by the Cuban Foreign Minister, Raul Roa Garcia. The State Department expressed "appreciation" of the Castro regime's handling of the hijack.

## PRIVATE TALKS

Following days of private talks conducted through the Swiss embassy, which represents American interests in Cuba, Havana radio broadcast a statement that Cuba had no interest in becoming a refuge for common criminals and hijackers. "But the Cuban government cannot resolve this question unilaterally and in isolation without a reciprocating and absolute commitment in this respect on the part of the U.S." It would be of mutual interest to take such talks "seriously and without delay." To reinforce its statements, Cuba circulated the Washington-Havana exchanges on the hijacking issue among diplomats at the United Nations.

The response by Washington to the Cuban initiative was swift. Nixon's Secretary of State, William Rogers, told the Swiss to say that the U.S. would be open to negotiations on the hijacking issue. These would be the first direct contacts between the U.S. and Cuba since relations between the two countries were broken off in 1961.

Moreover, U.S. officials tacitly conceded that talks on the hijackings could also be expanded to cover piracy of Cuban ships and attacks on Cuba by anti-Castro exiles which are aided by the U.S.

A State Department spokesman revealed that Secretary of State Rogers personally intervened in the U.S.-Cuban exchanges. "Of course it was a symbolic gesture," the spokesman added. Swiss Ambassador Schnyder had previously indicated that Cuban leader Fidel Castro was taking a "personal interest" in solving the hijack problem. After welcoming the Cuban offer to negotiate anti-hijack measures, Rogers flew to Camp David, Md., to consult personally with President Nixon on the new Cuban initiative.

Sections of the capitalist class, represented by such leading papers as the *New York Times*, have utilized the new exchanges to call for a full "normalization" of relations between the U.S. and Castro. In a lead editorial in the November 19 issue, the *Times* stated:

"Now that President Nixon has opened up a speaking relationship with Communist China, developed a commercial and economic detente with Communist Russia and indicated a policy of peace and reconstruction with Communist North Vietnam, it would logically follow that he miss no opportunity to begin what may well be the most touchy of all such maneu-

vers vis-a-vis the Communist world: an unfreezing of United States relations with Cuba."

What these optimistic projections are based upon is spelled out in the report of a *New York Times* Washington correspondent: "Many officials here will admit privately that the Cuban revolutionary threat to Latin America was never very real because local conditions failed to meet Castroite hopes for major uprisings, and that the threat is negligible today."

For his part, Castro is looking for the end of the U.S. sugar and economic boycott, and presumably is feeling pressure from the Soviet bureaucracy, which keeps the Castro regime alive with subsidies of half a billion dollars a year, to make his peace with Nixon.

In this context the U.S.-Cuban negotiations on hijacking take on the same significance as the previous ballyhoo whipped up over U.S.-Chinese table tennis matches. From such small beginnings came Nixon's triumphal reception in Peking—and the current betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution now being negotiated in Paris.

Such maneuvers by Castro are not a surprise. A U.S.-Cuba rapprochement would only be the culmination of the whole course of development of the Castro regime.

Despite the claims of the revisionists, the Castro regime has never represented any form of working class power in Cuba. Castro came to power not as the leader of a workers' revolution but at the head of an anti-communist petty bourgeois nationalist clique which seized control of the Cuban state after the collapse of the Batista dictatorship. Pushed by the pressure of the imperialists who refused to make any concessions, Castro took an empirical course of nationalizing foreign investment, leaning on tremendous aid

given by the Soviet Union.

The Castro regime was but the most extreme of a whole series of nationalist regimes that sprang up in the colonial world in the early nineteen-sixties like Algeria, Egypt, and Burma, and carried out extensive statist nationalizations in response to the imperialist squeeze on the colonial countries—the first expression of the breakup of the postwar boom.

Castro is now looking, through the current diplomatic initiatives, to eventually come to a full-scale reconciliation with imperialism. When Castro last thought this a realistic policy—in 1964, before the landslide re-election of Lyndon B. Johnson—he gave an eighteen-hour interview to a *New York Times* correspondent in which he stated that "normal" relations with the United States—meaning an end to the blockade and the resumption of sugar purchases—would lead to the release of 15,000 political prisoners held in Cuba and would open the way for indemnification of U.S. firms taken over by the Cubans. He was also reported as saying that such normalizations would mean the end of Cuban support for revolutionary movements in Latin America.

This last section was repudiated by Castro ten days after the interview appeared and after the State Department had rejected his overtures.

But the rest has never been repudiated by Castro to this day.

These are the dangers that loom for the Cuban workers and peasants behind all the current warming up over hijacking control. The development of Castroism shows that the only way forward for the working class of Cuba and every Latin American country is to establish its own political independence and power in struggle against Stalinism and nationalism, through building Trotskyist parties as part of the Fourth International.

# Peron Returns To Save Argentine Militarists

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

After an absence of seventeen years, the ex-dictator of Argentina, Juan Peron, has returned to Buenos Aires at the invitation of the ruling military junta of General Lanusse.

Through the collaboration of Peron, who still commands the allegiance of over half the electorate and above all of Argentina's powerful labor movement, the regime hopes to make a last stab at forcing the Argentine workers into accepting a collapse of their living standards and the destruction of their unions.

Peron arrived last Friday in a nation totally paralyzed by a national holiday with pay ordered by the junta on the day of his arrival to counter a planned one-day general strike to welcome him by the powerful General Confederation of Labor (CGT). The entire country was placed under a state of siege with massive deployments of military units ready to foil any plans for a Peronist insurrection.

Early in the day at least one Navy petty officer died in an attempt at mutiny in a suburban Buenos Aires installation, to mark Peron's arrival. Tanks, tear gas and armored cars turned back thousands who marched for miles in the pouring rain to greet Peron at the airport. Peron himself was greeted by only three hundred specially selected followers while troops of the junta stood guard with their bayonets turned to Peron's plane.

Peron returned to Argentina as part of a deal made with the Lanusse regime. Peron reportedly got the opportunity to return and to select a presidential candidate to run in the elections scheduled for next March (who would certainly win in a free election.)

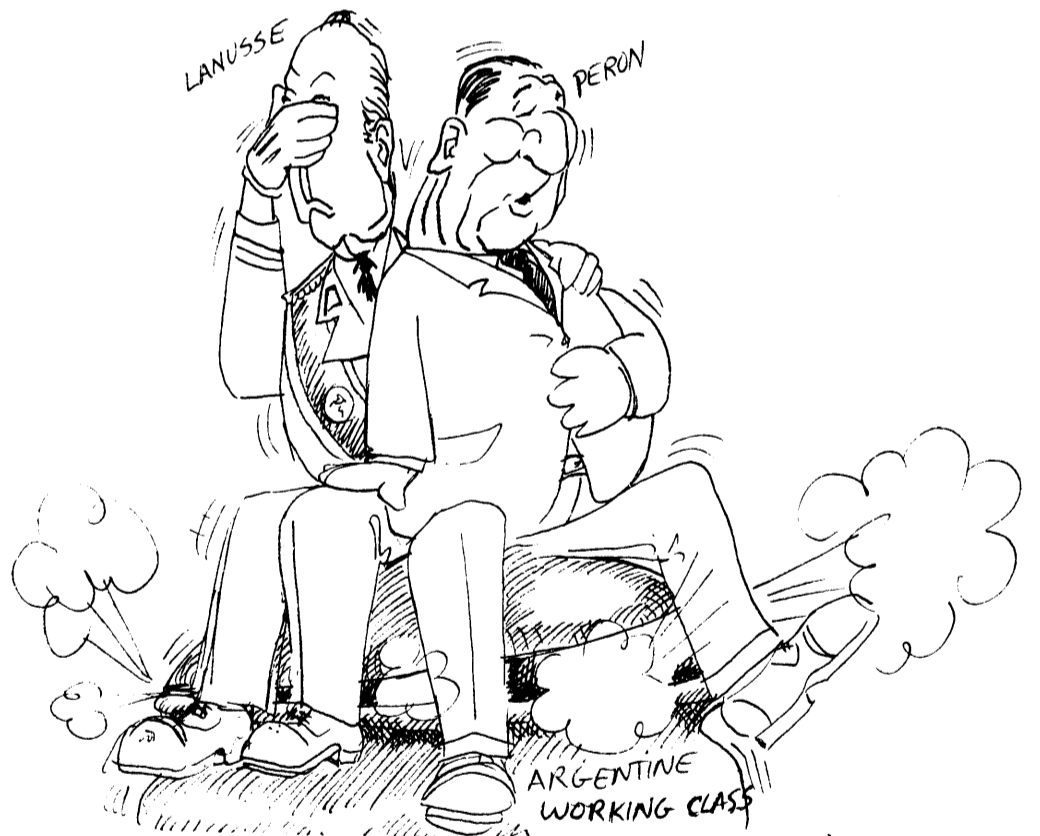
In return he accepted military supervision of any government elected. Accordingly it was planned for Peron to stay in Argentina for only a few days, leaving for a tour of other Latin American countries, Roumania (to which he has been invited by Communist Party leader Ceausescu) and perhaps after that to Cuba and China. Now even these arrangements are in danger of blowing up in the junta's face.

The conclusion the rulers of Argentina have come to is that they must find an accommodation with Peronism if accounts are to be settled with the Argentine working class. Thus Lanusse stated in a recent speech in the industrial city of Mendoza: "Peronists versus anti-Peronists no longer makes the least sense."

Peron's return was the occasion for rejoicing by many hundreds of thousands of Argentine workers who credit him with the organizational and financial gains made during the first few years of his regime. Peron has done his utmost to build up these illusions—assisted of course by the Stalinists and revisionists—by portraying himself demagogically as a fighter against "the oligarchy."

But the circumstances of Peron's return to Argentina were enough to raise disturbing questions in the mind of even the most devoted working class Peronist.

After making his deal with Lanusse, Peron left his luxurious mansion near Madrid, where he has been living for some years as the guest of the fascist General Franco. (Franco for years was one of Peron's three closest international associates, the other two being Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic and General Stroessner of Paraguay, both the most brutal butchers of the working class.)



Arriving in Italy, he was royally entertained by both the Italian and French big corporations who see in his "anti-imperialism" the opportunity to capture a big slice of the Argentine economy at the expense of the United States. He was received by Andreotti, the head of the Italian government, and by the Pope's foreign secretary.

Most ominously, while the Communist press of Italy greeted Peron with what was termed "respectful restraint," the rapidly growing Italian Fascist movement went all-out to greet Peron with banner headlines in its newspapers and leaflets. Hundreds of fascist youth gathered outside Peron's hotel rooms in Rome, shouting, "Peron to power!"

## PERONISM

What does Peronism actually represent? Insofar as it has been derived by Peron himself it has never gone beyond formulas of "true democracy" and resistance to "oligarchy" and "imperialism." In this way Peron has been able to maintain his hold on socialist-

minded workers and youth seeking a revolutionary way out of Argentina's crisis—including many urban guerrillas, on the one hand, and maintain the closest relations to every sort of reactionary on the other, from the biggest employers and industrialists and the Catholic Church to the fascists.

Peron first entered politics as the leader of a group of fascist-minded Argentine military officers during World War Two, after a sojourn in Italy where he became an admirer of the Mussolini regime.

Throughout his political career Peron has maintained a consistent course of corporatism, one of the basic foundations of fascism. Master plans for highly centralized government under Peron, directing the entire economic, social, and political life of the country with the advice of business and labor "advisory councils," abolishing "bankrupt liberal capitalist democracy" for the single-party rule of Peron's own Justicialist Party, run as a guiding thread through all of Peron's political pronouncements from his assumption of power to the present.

By Tom Gordon

NEW YORK—"I haven't got a steady job for six months," a member of the National Maritime Union told the Bulletin at the New York hiring hall. "It takes almost a year to get a steady job. I turned down a few relief jobs but relief jobs run from three weeks to two months if you can get one. Steady jobs come in but you have to have a good shipping card. I've got a January 24 card but I'm number ten on the list.

"If I can't get a job I get unemployment. That's all that's left but even that's not left for the average man any more. I can't see why they took that away from us. The union sends a list over to the unemployment if we turn down relief jobs. Why should they penalize us if we can't get jobs?"

"We should find out why they did away with emergency unemployment compensation. It'd be different if we could get jobs but there's no jobs."

In the past three years the number of licensed and unlicensed seamen's jobs have declined from 65,000 to 30,000, according to NMU statistics. The NMU itself, representing unlicensed seamen, had 17,134 deep sea jobs under contract before the layoffs of virtually the entire American-flag passenger liner fleet three years ago, and now has under 8000 deep sea jobs on non-government vessels. Up to 25,000 men are competing for these jobs.

The effect on the NMU ranks has been disastrous. Many older men with 18 or 19 years sea time accumulated towards their 20-year pension find it impossible to accumulate the 70 days seetime per quarter needed to maintain pension credits. If they cannot maintain their seetime they can lose all the credit they have accumulated towards retirement pay, and must continue working or starve.

#### PENSIONS

Even finally winning a pension brings no relief in the struggle for survival, since the pension paid out after fifteen years' unbroken seetime amounts to only \$150 per month. After twenty-five years' drudgery of unbroken seetime a seaman can retire on the sum of only \$300 per month.

One sixty year old seaman told the Bulletin: "The job loss affects everybody here. I work every day to get a job. I have too much broken time to get a pension. I don't depend on this here. I'm not just a regular seaman—circumstances forced me into it. I sail as engineer, oiler, and demac (deck mechanic). On shore, I'm a welder and a burner.

"The unemployment situation on shore is the same as here. Especially when it comes to skilled jobs there's discrimination. The Black man gets the end of the stick. He's the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

"When you have broken time you just haven't sailed the required amount of days you're supposed to sail in a year to keep your pension. Whenever I get time I take a ship. There's lots of guys that can't get their pension time in."

After forty years' working, this

man is still not eligible for any pension and must continue to work.

Young seamen in Group II are the hardest hit. Group II members can compete for a job at the hiring hall only after all Group I's have turned it down. The union bureaucracy tries to persuade older seamen to freeze the youth out of jobs. Many youth find it impossible to accumulate the 800 days seetime within five years needed to achieve Group I status. They are forced onto welfare or into temporary shoreside jobs in order to survive.

#### CONDITIONS

When asked about unemployment conditions, one young seaman answered: "I'm pretty fortunate. I've got a lot of endorsements—I sail all three departments—deck, engine, and steward. I got my book through MSTs (the government's military-cargo supply service). When I came to the union to ship private companies I was already Group I. If I was a Group II I'd never be able to sail. The men are going hungry.

"On T-2 tankers they've been getting rid of people. I used to sail reefer engineer on the T-2s. They had three reefer oilers and they knocked them off. They gave a \$15-\$20 raise to the chief reefer. It was peanuts. It's just too much work. You're working constantly."

One younger seaman described conditions on board ship this way: "Your blood pressure goes up. Even when you do get a job the abuse you have to suffer is enormous. You're a citizen but legally you're defined as a second-class citizen. There's very little justice in the system. You look for a job and you're turned down for next to no reason at all.

"The working conditions have deteriorated because the union is weak and the companies know it. I think we'll have to guarantee 24 hours in port to preserve sanity. The source of it is so many ships laid up without any replacement."

The companies and government have not been able to force unemployment onto the NMU without a struggle by the ranks against the companies and the betrayals by the NMU leadership. In the fall of 1969, Grace Lines "temporarily laid up the passenger liners Argentina and Brasil. Seamen with no support from their leadership sat down on the ships when they docked in New York for their last voyage. Isolated by the NMU and officers' unions' bureaucracies, they were driven off the ships and their pay docked for the voyage.

In November of the same year, the United States Lines, encouraged by Curran's sellout of the struggle at Grace Lines, laid up the SS United States, wiping out over 1,000 NMU jobs and scores of licensed seamen's jobs.

In November, 1970, Grace Lines laid up the Santa Rosa and Santa Paula, eliminating 720

# Maritime Jobs Slashed



NMU seamen gather at hiring hall for jobs. Union has 8000 jobs and 25,000 members.

more NMU jobs. Militants in the union picketed the ships and fought in New York port meetings to get union action against the lay ups.

Later that year the Marine Engineers' Benevolent Association struck U.S. Lines demanding increased manning scales for engineers.

On January 14, 1971, the rank and file Seamen's Defense Committee picketed Grace Lines piers and the NMU hiring hall in New York demanding that the ships be nationalized to protect jobs. At the port meeting that month NMU goons beat leaders of the Committee and refused to take up any struggle to defend the ranks. Despite everything the NMU leadership could do to hold back the ranks, Prudential-Grace Lines, under pressure of the NMU ranks, a strike by the Marine Engineers, and a threatened NMU official strike, decided not to lay up its four M-class freighters.

The deepening of the international crisis of capitalism and trade war can lead only to greater attacks by the government against the maritime unions. Profits sweated out of seamen are being turned into automated ships to throw still more seamen out of work. Buying out the competition at inflated prices also contributes to the mass of capital that must seek ever greater profit. Sea-Land, for example, is offering \$65,000,000 for the \$38,000,000 in assets owned by the bankrupt United States Lines. Finally, the passage of new tariff and quota barriers such as the Burke-Hartke bill now before Congress, in a desperate effort to get a greater portion of world trade for U.S.

corporations, can only lead to a sharp drying up of trade as Europe and Japan retaliate.

These moves toward consolidation require sharp government intervention by the shippers against the NMU. As one inland waters organizer recently told the Bulletin:

"The organizing of the rivers came too late. A lot of the good unions came in after the government came in with restrictive laws.

"Only 15-20 percent of our riverboats are organized. To unionize the rest is almost impossible due to the restrictive government laws. The area I'm in, Chicago, is a very strong union area. The Teamsters and Longshoremen are very strong. If they'd picket with us we'd be able to win, but, as in trying to organize foreign flag ships in deepsea, as soon as you take a strong stand, you get hit with a secondary boycott injunction.

"There's strength in numbers—then there's more strength for rallying and so on. I think we ought to get out of the country and raise the standards of the world. If our ships could compete equally with foreign flag ships we wouldn't have the problems we're facing. If the unions would spread and bring up people's living standards then this would abolish the problem."

#### NIXON

The Nixon government has promised a transportation anti-strike law as soon as the elections are over. Both the Democrats and Republicans supported the Maritime Act of 1970 which eliminated manning scale subsidies and encouraged the construction of automated ships

each of which replaces up to ten old ships and 450 jobs. These are political attacks.

Today more than ever the attacks by the shippers and their government bring a sharp fight back by the maritime workers. In September of this year six unions including the NMU and the International Longshoremen's Association picketed scab foreign-flag vessels. Touched off by the huge federal grain deal with the Soviet Union, under which no cargoes would be guaranteed to U.S. ships and hence to U.S. union crews, the protest stopped several ships in Chicago and Baltimore. Court-ordered injunctions failed to halt the pickets until the bureaucracies called them off.

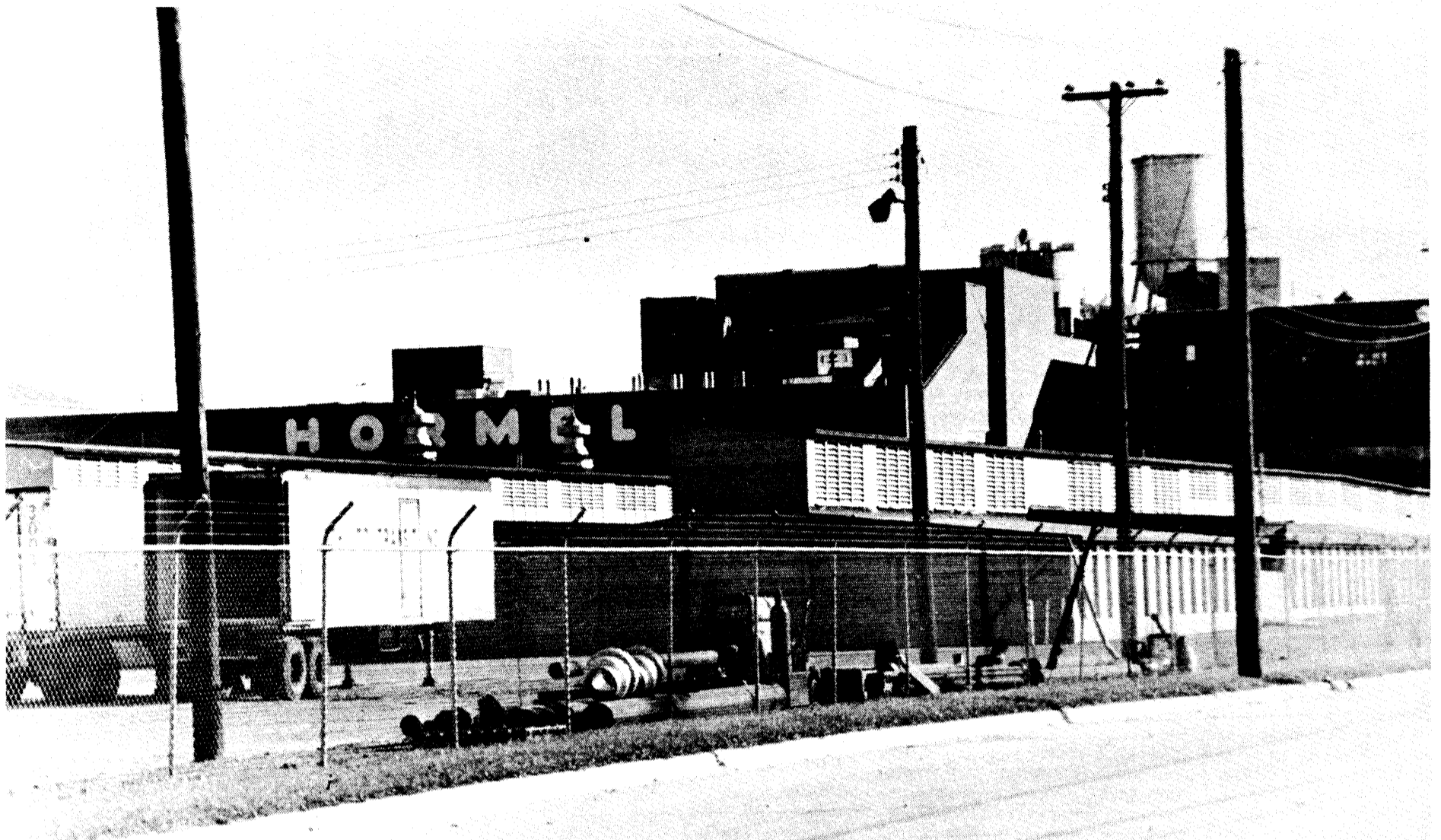
At the same time Sea Land Service was the target of a strike by the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Union which forced the hiring of one additional mate on each of the new SL-7 container ships. This concession was won in spite of Sea Land's attempts to get an injunction against the strike.

These struggles reflect the deep dissatisfaction by maritime workers over unemployment.

There can be no solution to unemployment in the maritime industry outside of the program for reopening the NMU contract for two full crews for every ship, each at full pay for six months on ship and six months ashore. The foreign flag vessels must be organized by the NMU at U.S.-level pay and manning scales. The shipping lines and all basic industry must be nationalized under workers control to protect jobs. This requires a labor party to do the job.



# BATTLE OF MEATCUTTERS LOCAL P-4



BY B. WILLS

**AUSTIN, Minn.—After months of cruel struggle with the Hormel Meatpacking Company, the morale of the 3500 unionists here remains high.**

The rank and file of Local P-9 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America (AMCBWNA) are determined to beat back the efforts of the company to institute speedups reminiscent of pre-union days.

The ranks themselves had to take the initiative in fighting back. They were forced into a direct confrontation with their local and International officers, who early this spring had agreed to the company's demands for "relief" from the terms of the signed contract.

#### WEAPON

The principal weapon used by the employees has been work-to-rule or to-standard. For many months they have stopped all incentive and piece work.

As one of the unionists expressed it to the *Bulletin*: "We're not only solid to a man here in Austin, but the other three Hormel plants have now likewise gone on standard. We're ready to stay that way for the rest of our lives, if we have to. We won't give in to the company."

The other plants are located in Fremont, Nebraska; Fort Dodge, Iowa; and Mitchell, South Dakota.

#### RESISTANCE

The strong resistance shown by the Austin local, the largest of the Hormel facilities, has inspired the employees of the other branches to resist similar com-

pany attacks on their working conditions, and forced the local union leadership, at least in words, to support the action.

This same Austin local was organized into a union in November 1933, after one of the most explosive confrontations with any company on record in the United States. It led to a two-day sit-down strike. After the plant was seized, the owner, Jay Hormel, was unceremoniously and not too gently escorted out of his own premises.

One of the leaders involved in the dispute out of which the union was forged recalled the assistance given the men by the Trotskyists of Minneapolis like Vincent R. Dunne and Karl Skoglund. The company was forced to recognize the union despite the presence of a Minnesota National Guard detachment, armed to the teeth, in the nearby town of Owatonna.

But it is not this tradition that guides the present leadership of Local P-9. In issue after issue of the weekly *Unionist*, the president of the local, Ernest Jones, addresses reasoned and eloquent front page Open Letters to Hormel, pleading with them to kindly bargain with the union to settle outstanding problems.

"Why doesn't the person who has the authority to make a settlement do so in a fair, just and equitable manner? If the good faith bargaining concept which has served so well for so many years can be re-established in the present company management, it will be to the advantage of the company, the union, and the entire community." (*The Unionist*, October 27, 1972.)

The local President himself reveals how severely the ranks suffered when the leadership was

sensitive to the needs of the company.

In 1963, for example, the *Unionist* reports, Hormel asked for and received "adjustments to remain competitive. As a result of the adjustments, work loads were increased, wages decreased, and the company enjoyed a very good profit picture."

In 1966 the leadership again capitulated and persuaded the workers to accept a company proposal that "had the effect of reducing wages and increasing the job loads of all the employees in the Austin plant and has contributed to the profits that have been enjoyed by the company."

#### SPEEDUPS

Once more, in March of this year, the company insisted on the Beef Division's acceptance of still more speedups and reduction of wages, threatening the elimination of the department.

Instead of developing a strategy to fight back, the AMCBWNA Director of District 2, Glen Chinander, addressed the local membership and warned them of dire consequences unless the bosses' proposals were accepted.

The Local P-9 workers, temporarily confused because of the absence of alternative proposals at the March membership meeting, accepted the proposals. The company moved swiftly to expand its victory, issuing an additional ultimatum: speedups and new standards were announced for the Hog Divisions throughout the four plants.

The workers knew they had been had. They rebelled against their own top leaders and in all the plants took matters into their own hands by a decision to work to standard.

The company responded by suspending the entire Hog Cut Department at the smaller Fort Dodge plant, located in the right-to-work state of Iowa. The com-

pany action was in clear violation of the contract since it did not have the right to institute new standards unilaterally.

Hormel went to court and secured a ruling from the U.S. District Court on October 2, ordering the union to work at the speed set by the company. Without any guidance or strategy from their union officials, the employees were forced to return and slave away at the new job standards.

#### FIRED

In addition, the company, puffed up by its court victory, fired three workers from this department in order to intimidate the rest and break the morale of all the unionists in the Hormel empire. But the company has not succeeded.

Union President Jones has told the membership that there can be a return to the past, when presumably "there was communication between the company and the union, and there was good faith bargaining" and when such procedures "pointed the way out of our problems." (*The Unionist*, November 10, 1972.)

President Jones is joined in such treachery by all the officials of the International who have deliberately not warned their members of the threat to jobs throughout the entire packinghouse industry.

Plant closings and vicious speedups are by no means confined to Hormel or even the meat packing industry. They come as a result of the financial crisis and the breakdown of world trade.

#### ELIMINATE

Even though Hormel earned 16 million dollars last year, they are not bluffing when they say they intend to retain only those operations they regard as highly profitable and eliminate the rest. As for the fate of their employees, it is absolutely of no concern to them.

Since the total shutdown of

Swift two years ago with its 3500 employees, the closing down of Beef Killing and the loss of 800 additional jobs, So. St. Paul is no longer the nation's second largest packinghouse area. And it is only a matter of time before Armour announces the complete abandonment of its plant there.

The ranks at Austin were surprised to learn of the recent bankruptcy of Peters Meat Products in St. Paul and Eau Claire, Wisconsin, where several hundred men and women, some with as much as 30 years' rights, were thrown into the street.

And just this week comes a dispatch from the John Morrell Meat Packing Company, that its Ottumwa, Iowa plant and the city's largest employer, has decided to lay off about half of its 2000 employees.

As many as 2600 workers were once on the payroll here. The company made it clear that "items that cannot be sold in carload quantities will be eliminated from each department."

It should be obvious that no trust whatever can be placed in the bankrupt, do-nothing policies of the local and International leaderships of the meatpacking union.

#### PROGRAM

The workers interviewed by the *Bulletin* in Austin showed their interest in the program developed in the paper to confront the situation at the Armour plant in So. St. Paul:

- Strike action to shut down all Armour facilities if there is a single layoff or if the Beef Division is closed.

- Nationalization of the meat packing industry including the large cattle ranches under workers' control.

- Rescind the Pay Board wage slashes! Abolish the Pay Board.

- Solidarity with the family farmers through full support to their demands against the wealthy bank-owned ranches.

- Build a Labor Party!

# 'Liberal' Judge Jails Six In IUE For Strike Action

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—Six workers of IUE Local 699 on strike at Koehring were handcuffed and led to jail after being sentenced on contempt charges by common pleas Judge Rodney Love.

Liberal Democrat and former Congressman Love had set the trap for the workers when he issued a "restraining order" to prevent workers from peacefully meeting in a nearby motel. Two of the workers jailed have been living at the motel. Denying the workers the right to peacefully assemble, Judge Love had stated they were "not allowed to congregate."

The Kangaroo Court of Judge Love imposed jail terms and court costs on Gary Wilson and Tim Phelps (both 5 days), Steve McFarland (2 days), Isaac Holt and Kenneth Worley (one day). They were frisked by the County Sheriff and herded into the County jail immediately.

## HARASSMENT

The 250 Koehring workers walkout a week ago against unbearable harassment by the foremen. The workers, members of IUE Local 699 have returned to work minus 60 workers who have been suspended indefinitely. This includes the entire Local shop committee including the President Roy Jack Bledsoe. The company told Bledsoe that he should have led the workers back through the strike picket line stating, "You should have set an example".

Tension in the plant is growing since the workers have returned. Workers state that the foremen now are harassing them even more now since the company "knows Judge Love is on their side".

The company refused to meet with the suspended Local committee and is meeting only with the International. The role of the Democratic Party wheeler-dealer judges against the workers in Dayton in the past three weeks sharply poses the urgency to turn the AFL-CIO Dayton Miami Valley Council around to reality.

The labor bureaucrats are in a state of elation over the election

"success" of electing local Democrats. The facts are: Democrat Love has ruled against labor over and over again, recently against the AVCO workers (IBEW Local 1266) on strike, and now the Koehring workers (IUE 699).

Another Democrat Walter Rice has ruled against workers at GH&R (UE 675) and treacherously forced the spectators at their trial to sign in, in order to give the company more names of strikers.

Another judge called the police out in full riot gear against the Frigidaire workers (IUE 801). A Democrat, Judge Kessler ruled against the steel workers in the recent walkout (USW 6239).

The companies emboldened by their political power have fired or indefinitely suspended over a hundred workers: the 60 workers at Koehring, 40 workers at Frigidaire, 8 at Ryerson, and 11 at GH&R. Besides the firings, court suits hang over the heads of workers in GH&R, and Koehring. 18 Koehring workers were served with a \$25,000 a day suit signed by Judge Roderer.

Clearly the fight for an Emergency Congress Of Labor to construct a labor party must be fought for within the Dayton Unions and Councils as a life or death issue for the trade union movement's survival.

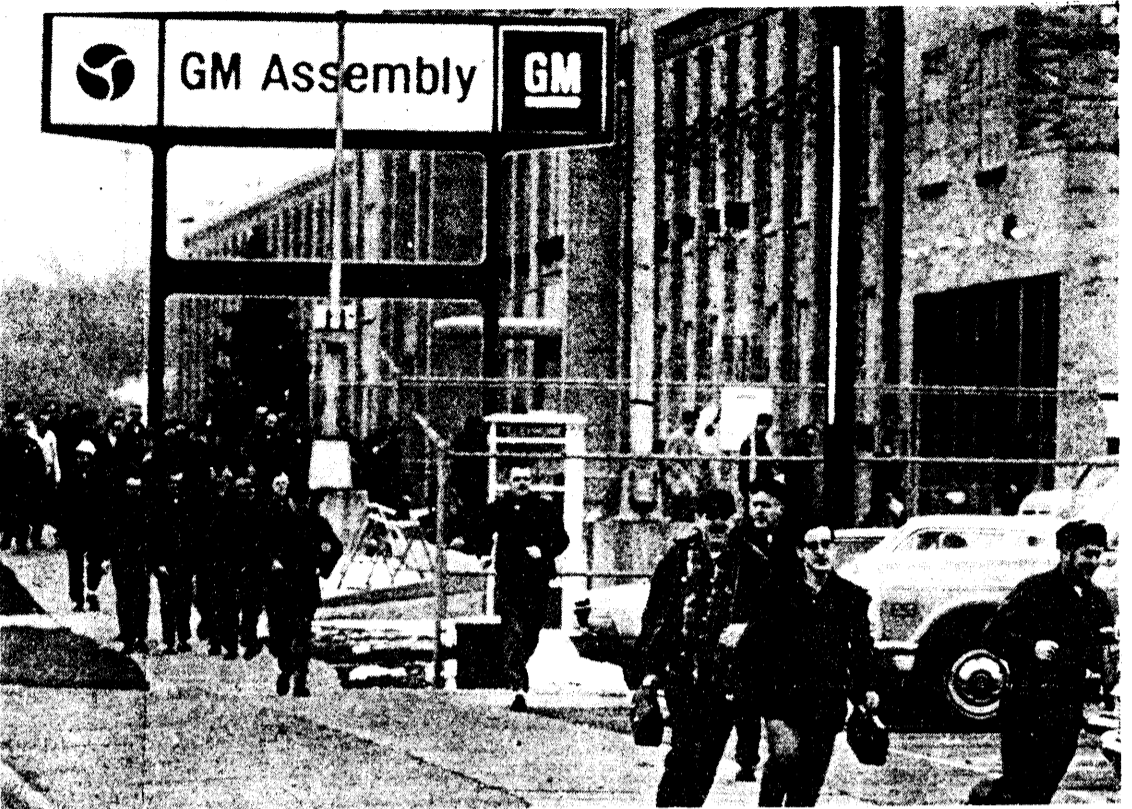
## 5% Vote For Labor Party Program

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—The growing movement in the American working class for the formation of a labor party can be clearly seen in the election for 34th District State Representative. Lou Renfrow, an AFT member, running exclusively around the demand for an Emergency Congress of the trade unions to construct a labor party with a socialist program, got 1413 votes, or over five percent of the vote.

This significant vote for a labor party came in spite of the almost unlimited funds available to the two-party candidates who plastered practically every telephone

## Midwest News



Auto workers at Janesville, Wisc. GMAD plant; men have recently staged several two day strikes here.

## Nixon's Secret Plan To Wipe Out Small Farms

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS—The Nixon administration is now moving rapidly since the election to show its true colors towards all sections of the population. Despite the big vote tallied by Nixon in the rural areas, the small farmers are now being slated to be ruthlessly ground under the heels of the corporation farms and plantations as well as the banks.

The administration is now moving to slash the farm subsidies program by one-quarter. Assistant secretary of agriculture Carroll G. Brunthaver, at a Washington D.C. press conference on November 15, announced

proposals to virtually wipe out subsidies given to farmers for not planting cotton and livestock feed grains.

While the big corporation farms such as Tenneco are in the financial position to simply deduct from their taxes any

future losses from cutbacks in the soil bank program and other subsidies, for small farmers (not all of whom are in these programs) it will prove disastrous.

With rare exception, it does not pay to keep any productive area of a small farm idle. The measures being taken by the Nixon administration will mean that masses of small farmers will be forced to plant as big a crop as possible, driving down the percentage of parity payments received for their crops.

The question of parity is critical to understanding the entire crisis in American agriculture today. Parity is the government's officially stated "fair market value" of a given crop.

The inability of capitalism and its politicians to solve the questions and problems faced by the small farmers is underscored with every election, when capitalist politicians both Democrat and Republican vie with each other to promise the farmer a certain percentage of parity for his crops.

But they never produce a situation in which the small farmers receive full parity. The farmers continue to lose their shirts, and are either forced off the land, or wind up in a situation of driving themselves and their families at an increased pace in order to eke out a living from their farms. In areas near the cities, many of these farmers are forced to seek jobs in suburban factories to be able to earn enough to keep their farms.

## GROSS INCOME

During the election campaign, Nixon and his aides kept harping on the fact that farm income had reached an all time high. But gross income is just barely exceeding what it was in 1947! And this with the dollar worth far less

(Continued On Page 18)

## Wisconsin Bill Attacks Teachers

BY MARTIN  
WOODARD

MADISON, Wis.—The recent merger of the University of Wisconsin and Wisconsin State University systems has brought about a new attempt to undermine higher education and the job security of teachers.

The Merger Implementation Study Committee has introduced a bill in the State Legislature which would provide for periodic review of the performance of tenured professors.

## STATEMENT

In reaction to the proposed legislation, the United Faculty Union issued the following statement: "Tenure provides the basis of such job security as the faculty has. Professors are not protected by civil service regu-

lations or a union contract.

"Much has been said about the 'fiscal crisis' of higher education and about 'deadwood' in university faculties. There is no evidence to prove that any significant number of professors are not performing their teaching, research, and service functions adequately.

## TENURE

"We are convinced that this serious attack on the tenure system is another strong indication that the faculty needs a union to protect its interests and to help maintain the excellence of the institution. The faculty must be strongly represented when decisions concerning its future are made."

As one professor remarked: "To propose periodic review of tenure is to propose no tenure at

pole with posters and signs, besides massive radio spot announcements.

Renfrow concentrated his campaign on the trade unions. He spoke to local union meetings,

all. If this went through we would be the only group of state employees without job security."

Last week, an assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare warned that Nixon's slashed federal spending will mean "some difficult times" for school and college aid programs.

Many universities around the country are experiencing extreme financial crisis due to the cutbacks in the last four years. Whole sections of university departments at some colleges have been closed and teachers assistants and others without tenure have been finding themselves out of work, while tenured professors are being forced to carry increasing work loads. About 57 faculty, administrative and "classified" (secretaries, assistants) positions presently filled at UW-Whitewater will be cut from the 73-74 budget.

# ROUGE. . .

(Continued From Page 5)

from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. They usually don't find jobs during the summer.

"I know five or six people," she added, "who graduated in Education and can't find jobs."

Another student, Phillippe, said, "Unemployment is high on campus and off. Campus rents are high also. Students under the work-study program are paid \$75 a month for working 15 hours a week."

"It's not uncommon to make \$15 to \$20 a week, have 14 kids in three rooms, with outdoor toilets."

Youth throughout the country demonstrating against the murders expressed their anger at the government. The government since the election has made it clear that it will drive back living conditions and eliminate anybody who defends his rights.

The only defense of students fighting against the government is to turn to the unions and demand that immediate political action be taken.

The attacks show what Nixon will do to the entire working class. Students must demand that a Congress of Labor be called and that a labor party be built to fight these murderous policies which every Democrat and Republican supports.



Los Angeles—Over 3000 workers joined a nationwide protest called by ILGWU to protest the "Export of Jobs." The massive turnout shows the determination to fight the growing unemployment in spite of the union leadership's reactionary attempt to blame the unemployment on foreign workers instead of the big corporations who seek to drive down wages and create massive unemployment in every country.

# FARMERS. . .

(Continued From Page 17)

than in 1947, with the prices for farm products in many cases being less now than 25 years ago, and with the price of farm machinery rising astronomically.

Nixon's latest measures are guaranteed to flood the market and drive down the prices further. And this government is just beginning to implement its secret plans, recently uncovered by the National Farmers Organization, to wipe out 80 percent of the farms by cutting out all government programs.

The small farmers are facing extinction. To cling to any hope of reforms from the Democrats or Republicans means disaster. Only the banks, the corporate farms and the farm machinery corporations will benefit from reliance on these parties of capitalism.

The only road forward is through the struggle for power. Small farmers must join with the labor movement in calling for a Congress of Labor and constructing a labor party, a party that can fight for their real needs and win them.

# BRITAIN. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

brought about an unprecedented collaboration between the trade union "lefts" who espouse verbal opposition to the freeze, and the right wing who openly intend to accept it.

This collaboration made it possible for the right wing of the Labour Party, those who support Heath on the Common Market and his anti-union laws, to win a majority in the Shadow Labour Party elections.

Leaders like Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, praised by the Communist Party as champions of the working class, now say that if his union is granted something on pensions he would "stump the country calling for sacrifices by the whole community to meet that commitment."

Heath has made it clear that the 90 day "freeze" is, in his own words, "only the beginning." It will be followed by a permanent

state control of wages backed up by the most dictatorial measures. Workers who defy it will be prosecuted as criminals and unlimited fines can be imposed on the unions.

### SPECIAL POWERS

There is now evidence that the Tories are considering using the Special Powers Act, now in force in Ireland, which would give the government total powers. Heath would use it to crush resistance once Britain is in the Common Market.

Heath has allowed prices to soar in the past two weeks and entry into the Common Market will send them skyrocketing even higher.

The role of the British Communist Party is to cover up for all the phony "left" labor leaders and their militant phrases while refusing in practice to mobilize the working class in mass strike action and prepare for a General Election.

The American CP in its Nov. 10th issue, quotes Harold Wilson and Feather, the most right wing leaders of the British working class at length to give the impression that they are opposing the wage freeze.

Equally, the Socialist Workers Party, in *Intercontinental Press*, claimed that the Labour Party, now in open retreat, was "moving to the left." In this way, these forces lay the basis for the greatest betrayals.

In every major country, elections have been called by the capitalist class to prepare for the new stage of open civil war. What is critical now is for the working class in Britain to prepare to return a Labour government to power, pledged to socialist policies by building up its strength now through mass industrial action. This is the fight of the Socialist Labour League.

Today, in Britain as all over Europe, the complete exposure of the Stalinists and reformists is laying the most favorable conditions for the construction of revolutionary leadership to bring the working class to power.

# PAY BOARD. . .

(Continued From Page 4) measures are as direct as breaking up...large unions."

### DANGERS

It is clear that the labor movement faces the greatest dangers in its history. Before millions of trade unionists lie the critical 1973 contract negotiations in which big wage increases are necessary if their standard of living is to be defended.

But while Nixon openly prepares to use the Pay Board—backed by a law passed by Democrats and Republicans—the trade union bureaucracy is completely immobilized. They have stood by while inflation has eaten into the paychecks of workers.

The latest statistics show that while prices based on the Gross National Product have risen 2.2 percent over the past year, unit labor costs in the private economy have gone up only 1.3 percent.

Action against the Pay Board cannot be delayed any longer. The fight must be taken up in every trade union for a Congress of Labor to organize a nationwide general strike against the Pay Board until it is repealed.

### CONTROL

What is at stake is the existence of the trade union movement itself; for state control of wages means the destruction of the basic right of trade unions to fight for a decent wage.

# BOSTON. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

win this strike is completely bankrupt. They refuse to take a fight for support into the labor movement.

### RIGHTS

The strikers have shown their willingness to fight, but that willingness has been channelled into adventures such as today's. If the strength of the strike is not to be dissipated, the fight has to be taken up now within 1199 to make the leadership go on an all out drive for the support of every union in Boston. This is the strength that can drive back the hospital bosses.

Every basic right of trade unionists has been under attack for the last three weeks at Mass Rehab. The booking officer at the jail may say "disorderly conduct" but every striker agreed today that they were arrested for striking for their rights. These attacks are part of Nixon's four year plan to trample on the living standards and the rights of every worker to strike and have a union.

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55th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution  
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**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY**  
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# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## West Coast News

# ITT Baking Company Seeks Injunction To Declare Strike Illegal

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Continental Baking Co., a division of the giant ITT conglomerate, sought an injunction last Tuesday from Federal District Court in Los Angeles against members of the American Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union striking the company in five Western states.

The company, which makes Wonder Bread and Hostess pastries, claimed the strike was illegal under Phase Two of the wage-price controls and that it violated existing contracts.

Although Federal Judge Warren Ferguson denied the injunction claiming he had no authority, this move by ITT is further proof that a dangerous new extension of the Pay Board's powers over trade union activity is being prepared.

The single issue in the strike is the demand for a change from the split shift Saturday and Tuesday off work-week, traditional in bakeries, to a five day Monday through Friday work week. The company claimed that in order to keep up delivery of fresh bread every day to retail outlets it would have to incur costs well above Pay Board guidelines, since it would have to pay time and a half or double time for weekend work.

The strike began last Saturday

at all California plants of Continental. Two other major bakeries, Campbell-Taggart and Interstate Baking Co., locked out in support of Continental. The strike has since spread to Seattle, Tacoma, Salt Lake City, and Ogden.

### NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Northern California bakeries have already been shut down for ten days by a strike of Teamster bakery truck drivers over a range of contract demands, mainly wages and fringe benefits, where the employers are refusing a union demand of 5.5 percent a year for three years.

Supervisory personnel from these plants have been moved to Seattle and Salt Lake City where they are operating bakeries in defiance of the bakers' picket lines. Teamster members in those cities are still working delivering the bread.

### DETERMINED

Workers at the San Francisco Continental plant were deter-

mined to win the Saturday and Sunday weekend. They scorned statements in the capitalist press that union leaders were willing to settle for any two day weekend, not necessarily on Saturday and Sunday. An older worker who has been eighteen years in the Hostess Cake Kitchen said, "We don't want just any two days straight, we want Saturday and Sunday. My wife works, Monday through Friday; Friday night she's tired. And then Saturday night I go to work at 1:30 in the morning for my shift. Tuesday I'm home, and nobody else is. What good is it if I'm home Wednesday and Thursday? We just want to have normal weekends with our families like anybody else."

### EXCUSES

Another baker said that up to this year he and other workers had been willing to accept the companies' excuses for the split shift. But now, he says, times have changed. "They've had one down day during the week so they could bring in an outside maintenance contractor and only pay straight time, instead of time and a half." Older workers as well as younger workers are fed up with the split shift.

The great danger to the strike remains the threat of court intervention. A scare is being whipped up in the press about the lack of bread deliveries to big institutional buyers like hospitals and schools, who are feeling the pinch before the ordinary housewife. One worker feared that State health officials might declare a nutritional emergency in the schools and try to obtain an injunction in this way.

## Construction Jobs Under Attack

BY STEVE NELSON

SAN FRANCISCO—An explosion here Monday at the 50-foot metal trailer-office of the Williams and Burrow construction company is being used as an excuse by the company to weaken and destroy seniority rules of Teamsters Union Local 216, representing concrete ready-mix truck drivers.

The bombing came after threats by members of the Western Addition Redevelopment Agency that 50 percent of all concrete truck drivers working on the church sponsored housing project be Black.

Without more work this would mean in the Western Addition the firing of other workers to meet the demand and an end to union seniority.

One concrete truck driver on the site said, "I'm only working now one day a week and they want to take away that. I think myself the company is behind it. They think they have a good thing going. They say they have to scrap seniority because of the bombings here and they can use the excuse everywhere."

The massive problem of unemployment is not limited however. James Smith, a young Black concrete truck driver trainee had been looking for work for ten months before he started as a trainee.

"I started here as a trainee but even after I'm through with my training I probably will be unemployed because of the lack of work."

Nixon and his administration are now actively encouraging the attacks on the unions at the same time that he is throwing people out of work through cutbacks on housing, health and education. His proposal for a complete freeze on the federal budget is going to mean an entire halt to Model Cities and other such programs.

"Everybody is saying WAPAC (Western Addition Project Area Committee) is doing things," said Vernon Thornton, the organization's acting executive director. "We didn't do this bombing, simply because we are not crazy."

"I like a good fight, but I also like to play by the rules." Thornton and his agency now join with the construction companies for the destruction of the unions. Blaming unemployment on the unions, WAPAC with the companies is attempting to organize minority youth and unemployed Black workers against the unions.

The only answer to these attacks must be the unity of the youth and trade union movement in a struggle for the right to work for all.



LA newsman William Farr is interviewed after he was sentenced to 13 counts for refusing to disclose information sources on Manson case.

## PRESS JAILING...

(Continued From Page 20)  
that evening pending an appeal of the sentence. Prior to the jailing, Judge Older conducted a hearing in a courtroom filled with nearly 100 newsmen, and 15 deputies, some armed and nine in plainclothes as though Farr were a criminal.

There is wide support for Farr's release among the press in Los Angeles and throughout the country. Bulletin reporters spoke with members of the press in LA where there is a growing aura of fear. One LA journalist said:

"This is an attempt to silence us. I think the Supreme Court waited until after the elections to hand down its decision. . . It's scary when you think about what this means for all of us. It prevents you from digging for a story making it extremely difficult now if we can't keep our sources confidential."

Farr himself said he regarded his conviction as ominous, especially not knowing how long his jail sentence would be. He said: "I'm defending the newsman's

right not to reveal sources. . . The public is best served knowing about corruption and organized crime. I'm in obvious disagreement with the judge and the courts in regards to this ruling, not just because of the harm to me, but because of the principles involved."

A reporter from a Los Angeles radio station told the Bulletin:

"I personally think it is a grave constitutional issue. David Brinkley told me that he thought a lot more reporters are going to be in jail. I think there is pressure all over the world to clamp down on the press."

Only one week after Nixon's reelection, the courts are now preparing to abolish the free press in an attempt to prevent any more disclosures on the scale of the Watergate Affair which is only the shadow of the maneuvers now taking place in the White House itself. Nixon is out to control the capitalist press to prepare the groundwork for repressing socialist newspapers in order to divert the working class from its historic tasks.

## WL-YS Wins Support In LA March

BY MITCH PATTERSON

LOS ANGELES—Marching with a banner stating: "Call a Congress of Labor, Build a Labor Party Now," the Workers League-Young Socialists led a highly spirited intervention of more than 30 young workers and youth in the NPAC moratorium demonstration today. Answering Nixon's attempts to break the unions and divide the working class with racism, the WL-YS contingent drew an enthusiastic response from bystanders and other participants in the march by chanting "Black and White Unite and Fight, Build the Young Socialists" and "Defend Bill Farr, hands off the press, hands off the unions, build a Labor Party now!"

Absolutely clear in this demonstration was the complete bankruptcy and final break-up of the anti-war, student protest movement. On April 22, 1972, NPAC was able to bring 5000 people to a similar rally; today they brought slightly over 250.

As Nixon sharpens his attacks forcing the working class to move forward in defense of its basic rights, the revisionists are left unable to fight for a program that can prepare millions of workers and youth for the civil war being prepared by this ruling class.

☛The preparation now being waged by Nixon could easily be seen by the presence of organized storm troopers from the American Nazi Party at the rally. Complete with swastika armbands, flags and traditional Nazi uniforms, the Fascists marched with Gestapo-like discipline to the periphery of the rally's meeting place and displayed their signs—"White Power," "Communism is Jewish," "Back to Africa," "Hitler was right" and "Stop Black Riots," etc.

The coming forward of these reactionary forces, particularly

in the Southwest, is no surprise; but that NPAC remains prostrate before such developments is criminal and objectively serves to disarm the youth.

### LABOR PARTY

The calling of a Congress of Labor toward the construction of a labor party in the U.S. and the turn toward Marxist theory by trade unionists and youth can only be realized through the building of the Workers League and the Young Socialists as the only alternative to these reactionary forces.

# West Coast News

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



San Francisco WL-YA marched against Nixon's attacks at Nov. 18 demonstration; Nazi Party intervened in demonstration with swastika and military dress.

## Editorial

### The People's World Hails 'Peacemaker' Nixon

An editorial in the November 18 People's World by editor Carl Bloice goes a long way in exposing the criminal responsibility of Stalinism in building up a landslide for Richard Nixon.

Indeed, Bloice is apparently so elated at the re-election of the president that one is left wondering if he really cast his vote for the Hall-Tyner ticket.

What is clear from the beginning is that Bloice for one had absolutely no illusions about the role of the Soviet Union and China in propping up Nixon and indeed in desiring his continuation in office.

He states that: "One of the key ingredients in the Nixon election sweep was the President's trip this summer to the Soviet Union...Not that the trip to Peking was not also an important political asset for the White House."

According to Bloice millions saw in these trips hopes for lessening of tensions and the possibility of an end to bloodshed in Asia.

For the People's World these are not illusions to be exposed but developments to be cheered on.

Thus for Bloice the Nixon victory does not signal a move towards dictatorship, inflation, mass unemployment and the destruction of the unions, but is in part "a demonstration for peace."

Through the election of Richard Nixon the people have "demonstrated desire for world peace" which must now be realized.

For Bloice this desire will be carried out not only by signing a treaty in Vietnam but by going forward from there to a European Security Conference proposed by the USSR to assure "peace" in Europe, the implementation of U.N. decisions in the Middle East and the convening of a conference on disarmament.

Bloice is so pleased at these prospects that he has even discovered some new allies for the people. "...Some powerful financial interests in the country realize that unless steps are taken to defuse the situation internationally there is little that can be done about the monetary crisis or about the explosive crises at home."

Just as Earl Browder once called for "...Every class, every group, every individual, every political party in America" to unite behind the Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin deals at Teheran and declared that "If J.P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it..." Today Carl Bloice follows in his footsteps.

Today Stalinism is preparing to do a job of betrayal beyond even that of Stalin in the post war period. Carl Bloice is prepared to grasp the hand of Nixon and those in big business who desire deals with the Soviet Union in order to free their hands to get on with the job of strangling the labor movement here.

Bloice only expresses the panic of his masters in the Kremlin at the enormous worldwide upsurge of the working class challenging the very existence of capitalism. The Trotskyist movement will construct mass revolutionary parties on the basis of this strength in a fight against the Stalinist apostles of "peaceful coexistence."

This is the purpose of the mass meetings to be held on the Fourth International Today on December 8 and 10 in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

## John Williams Of Teamsters Urges Labor Party Fight

BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—At the NPAC anti-war rally here on November 18 John T. Williams, business agent of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles, called for the construction of a labor party to meet the attacks of the Nixon Administration.

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Williams' remarks stood in complete contrast to the middle class pessimism and despair

which pervaded the rest of the rally. Williams' statement reflecting the strength of the working class was a terrible embarrassment to the SWP-YSA leaders of the rally.

They refused to take up the call for a labor party attempting instead to hold together their crumbling protest coalition by reading letters of support from such allies as San Francisco sheriff, Richard Hongisto.

Williams later told the Bulletin, "There is a revolution taking place at this moment among rank and file workers. It will take a labor party to focus this revolution. There is more unrest within the ranks than ever before because the two major parties have not answered the needs of the workers."

On the urgency of a break with

simple trade unionism and the need for an independent political policy Williams said, "The labor movement has not taken the rank and file beyond a certain line, namely collective bargaining and negotiations. But workers are not getting anywhere on this line. We can't solve our problems within these restrictions."

Williams added, "Once this unrest in the ranks is translated and its causes showed I see a major breakthrough. A congress of labor would be very important."

Williams still refuses to take up this fight all the way, however. In regard to the coming Teamster contract he restricted himself to saying that he regarded "the coming negotiations as very difficult because of the restrictions of the Pay Board, the pressure from the rank and file and economic situation."

Williams is close enough to the real situation to warn of the explosions now building up the in the labor movement.

The SWP-YSA organizers of the November 18 protest only demonstrated their determination to move further to the right in opposition to these developments.

## Jailed Reporter Warns Of Press Clampdown

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—In a stepped-up court campaign against the press, William Farr, 37, presently a reporter for the Los Angeles Times, faces a prison sentence of indeterminate length for refusing to disclose sources for a news story he wrote in 1970 concerning the Manson trial.

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Farr's appeal was rejected by the State Court of Appeal and the State Supreme Court. Last week, the Nixon-stacked Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

The case actually goes back to 1970 when Farr, then a reporter for the Herald-Examiner, published a story on the Manson trial. After Farr cited Code 1070, the matter seemed to have ended.

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