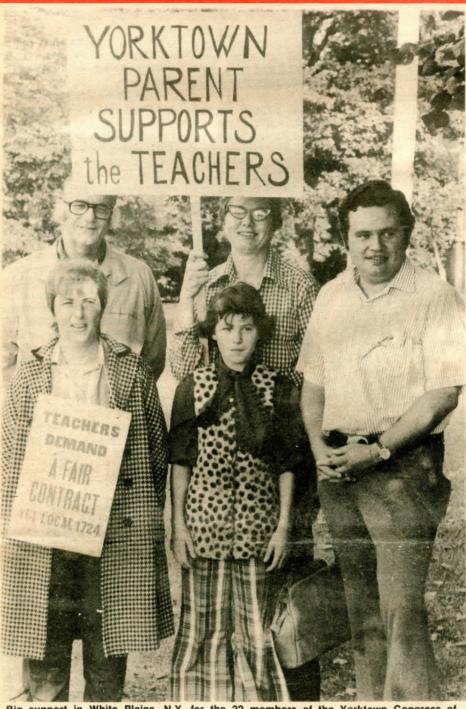
**VOLUME NINE NUMBER THIRTY NINE 314** 

**OCTOBER 9, 1973** 



FIFTEEN CENTS



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BY DAVID NORTH

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The preparation for war flows from the crisis of imperialism.

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(Continued On Page 3)

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Those who participated in the rally and pledged to build the twice-weekly were the young workers and youth who are entering into politics for the first time because of the crisis, and who are determined to prevent Chile from happening here.

"If they think they are going to walk in here like they did in Chile, they are going to be met with some fight," declared Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League.

"I can say with full confidence that I speak on the basis of the 200 year history of the working class. We have been preparing for this time, Nixon. We have been preparing."

Wohlforth stated that the twice-weekly **Bulletin** will be the most powerful weapon in building the labor party and a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The great support for the **Bulletin** was shown in a magnificient collection of \$4808.50. The active participation of those who attended the rally, including the collecting of funds, expressed the determina-

tion to actually construct a leadership to meet this revolutionary situation.

The decisive role of the Bulletin in leading the working class forward in the struggles now developing was emphasized by Fremont auto worker Tom Cagle, who has just resigned from the Socialist Workers Party after 13 years as a member to join the Workers League.

"To go forward with the twice-weekly Bulletin and transform the Workers League into a mass revolutionary party is the most important responsibility," Cagle declared. "This requires a thorough understanding of our movement, of all those who took up the fight for Trotskyism against Stalinism."

He said that the **Bulletin** will reach into the plants and train workers as Marxists.

"As a former member of the SWP," Cagle said, "I can say that the liquidation of the trade union cadres of the SWP was the result of the refusal of its leadership to fight for Marxism. It was this refusal to fight for Marxism that led to the pragmatic adaptation to militant trade unionism.

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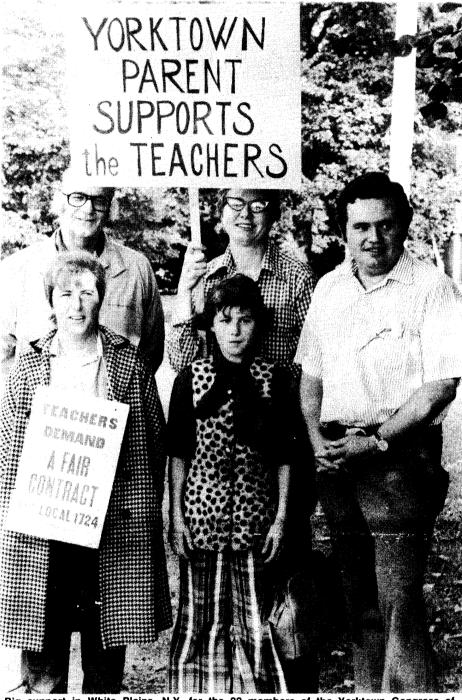
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•Also, a feature on the treacherous role of the ERP in Argentina—the co-thinkers of the Pabloite United Secretariat.

We warn that the fining and jailing of striking teachers in Detroit and New York marks a new stage in the Nixon government's attack on the trade

Over one million dollars in fines have been levied against the Detroit teachers who are striking for a 9.7 percent wage increase. Twenty teachers in Westchester County have been thrown in jail. In Harrison, New York striking teachers face fines now totaling over one-half million dollars.

Massive demonstrations must be called by the AFL-CIO in Detroit and New York to defend the teachers. In Detroit the United Auto Workers must take the lead in rallying to their support. What is involved is not just the teachers but the rights of every union and every trade unionist.

While Nixon, Congress and the capitalist press are doing everything possible to suppress Watergate, the measures of Watergate and the attack on democratic rights are now being implemented against the unions.

Nixon and Agnew have openly and flagrantly violated the laws that the capitalist government itself made. They have said they are above the law, Congress and the Constitution.

But Nixon is using the law as a weapon to enforce the vicious wage cutting plans of the big corporations. Faced with an economic crisis in which there can be no compromise with the working class, the government is seeking to smash the powerful organizations of the working class.

In Chile this has meant the establishment of a military and fascist dictatorship that has outlawed the trade unions and has shot down in cold blood thousands of workers and their families. This is a warning to workers in every country of the nature of the crisis today and what Nixon is preparing here.

The leadership of the trade unions—from Meany to Woodcock—has collaborated directly with Nixon. It was Woodcock's betrayal of the auto workers that set the stage for the moves against the Detroit teachers who are striking against the three percent wage settlement dictated by Nixon. These leaders have allowed the government to trample on every right the unions have won: the right to a decent standard of living, the eight hour day, and the right

Nixon remains in office today only because of their support. They have refused to do the only thing that can now defend the unions: construct labor's own party.

The old methods of struggle can no longer defend the unions. It is now illegal to strike for a decent standard of living. Strikers are jailed and fined.

Every law and every arm of the government is being used to protect the profits of the big corporations and destroy the standard of living and organizations of the working class. Every single question facing the working class is political.

The new stage of attack must be answered by the labor movement with the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action to force Nixon and Agnew out and to unite the working class in a labor party that will fight for socialist policies.

This is why we have launched the twice-weekly Bulletin. This paper must now be taken into every plant, shop and community to build this party.

> EDITOR: Lucy St. John; Labor Editor: David North Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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## editorial Civil War Rages Basic Rights At Stake In South Vietnam

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Two principal North Vietnamese newspapers, Nham Dan and Quan Doi Nhan, have accused the South Vietnamese government of Thieu of frantically reinforcing its military strength and preparing for war.

Despite the Paris peace' treaty signed eight months ago between the National Liberation Front and the puppet Thieu dictatorship, an open state of war now exists.

At the end of the last month, hundreds of NLF troops fought and defeated Thieu's army in the High Plateau area. Intense fighting has erupted in Kontum and Binh Dinh provinces. In Tay Ninh province, the NLF repelled a Saigon attack on one of their military enclaves. There is no peace in Vietnam. The United States has used this agreement as a cover to launch a campaign of extermination against the NLF and to reassert its brutal rule over the Saigon

Both Hanoi papers warned that recent statements by Clements, deputy secretary of state, that North Vietnam was violating the treaty, and Saigon accusations that 12 airports are being built in the South are slanders by Thieu who "is clamouring to the army for

Nguyen Van Tien, chief representative of the Peoples Revolutionary Government in Hanoi replied:

"The Thieu administration. counts on this trick to mask its plots and its violations of the agreement. Saigon and Washington are preparing public opinion for new military adventures."

Tien said that Thieu's army does not just confine itself to forages, but now "it is a matter of the systematic destruction of certain regions. Towards this end, Saigon does not hesitate to use seven ton bombs containing toxic gases, tanks, chemicals, and bulldozzers to raze villages and massacre the population.

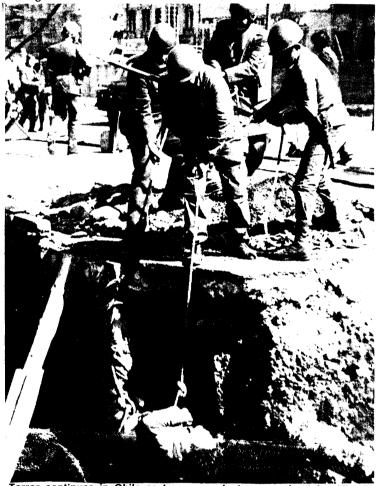
In an attempt to starve out the NLF, Thieu has ordered all peasants in the Mekong Delta to sell their rice directly to official government merchants instead of interprovince trading.

Thieu's weakness, corruption, and total isolation from the people in the South has increased since the cease-fire. He has been forced to admit that the rising inflation could lead to his collapse.

In Cambodia, the disintegrating Lon Nol regime is driven to desperation by its inability to break the encirclement of the capital by forces led by Norodom Sihanouk.

In Cambodia, Sihanouk recently accused North Vietnam, under pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy, of halting all supplies to his army to force them to the negotiating table.

The American press which has completely covered up the civil war that is raging in South Vietnam is hiding the fact that Nixon is preparing to launch a new war throughout Indochina.



Terror continues in Chile as troops conduct a mass hunt for Allende supporters and execute thousands of workers. Above: corpse being retrieved by soldiers.

#### Devaluation Threat To French Franc

BY A REPORTER

threatened The devaluation of the French franc in recent weeks is the sharpest sign of new class explosions ahead in France.

The franc fell steadily on foreign exchange markets despite the intervention of the Bundesbank, setting off speculation that a devaluation was imminent.

Similarly, the rise in interest rates from 9.5 to 11 percent, which the government hoped would attract capital to defend the franc, could not arrest the slide.

Behind the attack on the franc is the rapidly declining position of French exports and a rising inflation that is almost a full percentage point each month.

In his press conference, President George Pompidou stressed the seriousness of the inflation in order to hint that some form of "incomes policy," in reality wage controls, were being considered.

In the midst of this economic crisis, the regime suffered another blow at the polls. In the September 30 county elections, the two major working class

parties, the Socialist and Communist Parties, gained a total of 196 seats while the government UDR party only won 69. The percentage of abstentions was 46 percent, the highest since 1870.

The gains made by the Socialist Party reflect the com-

plete lack of revolutionary leadership in the working class. Many workers-disgusted with the tactics of the CP in the recent strikes—are confusedly turning to the SP as an alternative although the latter is politically no different



The response to the first two issues of the twice-weekly Bulletin has been excellent, with a total press run of 40,000. In New York over 400 papers were sold the first evening of the twiceweekly. The Chelsea branch alone sold 121 papers on Tuesday at subway stops, in the projects, at unions and colleges.

It is extremely important that each branch campaign daily with the twice-weekly, going into new areas with morning and evening street sales, factory sales, as well as sales on regular mobilizations. Street sales must be a necessity before each evening mobilization no matter what.

Because of past work, we now have 960 subs toward our goal of 3000 by November 1. However, only 188 subs came in during the week, meaning that the real drive on subs for the twice-weekly has not yet started. We must get in at least 500 per week for the rest of the month.

This column will appear once a week, in the Midweek edition, alternating with the Bulletin Twice-Weekly Fund report. Next week, we will report the final figures for the just completed Young Socialist sub drive.

#### 22 Teachers Facing Jail In Yorktown

BY DAVID NORTH

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.—Twenty-two members of the Yorktown Congress of Teachers, on strike since September 17, are to be thrown back in jail this Wednesday for terms ranging from 15 to 30 days if their appeal is turned down by the courts.

This savage attack on Yorktown teachers, who spent most of Thursday in a jail house as victims of the reactionary Taylor Law which outlaws strikes by public employees, is part of a nationwide assault on teachers' unions and is a dangerous threat to every trade unionist in this country.

•Detroit teachers now face fines of over one million dollars, the heaviest ever levied against a trade union in Michigan history, for striking to win a wage increase of 9.7 percent. They have not had a wage hike since 1971.

•New York teachers in Greenburgh were fined \$1,200 for each day of their 13 day strike.

•Lay teachers in Queens and Brooklyn have been told by the parochial school management that unions are to be elimina'ed in at least one diocesan school.

'You think of all the years you have been a teacher and find it hard to believe that they are taking you to jail for defending your rights," sixth grade teacher Ron Lundberg, one of the jailed teachers, told the Bulletin.

Lundberg and the other teachers had been arrested shortly after 10 Thursday morning. He described the treatment the teachers received:

"In the courthouse, we were taken downstairs where we were frisked and they removed all our personal possessions. Then we were put in a paddy wagon and sent to jail.

"One by one, we were frisked, stripped, and forced to bend over spread eagled to check if we were hiding grenades or something. The same thing was done to the women.

"This was done on orders from the Board of Education. Even the sheriff said he had never seen anything like this before."

Neither the American Federation of Teachers under David Selden nor the United Federation of Teachers under Albert Shanker have acted to defend any section of teachers in New York and around the country who are under attack.



youth and trade unionists gathered to greet the twice-weekly Bulletin.

#### Cops Open Attack **Against Boston Youth**

EXCLUSIVE TO THE BULLETIN

BOSTON—The government and the capitalist press are using the deaths of Evelyn Wagler and Ludivico Barba here to launch a massive racist witch-hunt against workers and youth.

Police are invading the Roxbury and Dorchester communities. They have been granted unlimited powers and are patrolling the streets in groups of five arbitrarily raiding homes, and arresting youth on the streets.

In an unprecedented move, the Nixon government has called in the FBI and has placed all its undercover agents and informers at the disposal of city

In an exclusive interview with the Bulletin in Chicago, a close

told Gerstein he later reserved

the hotel rooms in the name of

Edward J. Hamilton, the alias

used by convicted Watergate

Gerstein says Watergate bur-

glar James McCord disclosed

the Miami Beach bugging plot

during an interview this sum-

mer, and that he is convinced the

plan was carried out with a team

of Nixon agents planting bugs

and phone taps and using the

rented rooms as a listening post.

conspirator E. Howard Hunt.

friend of Evelyn Wagler denounced the racist witch-hunt being whipped up in Boston and in the press throughout the country

She charged that the police suppressed a tape recording of Evelyn's last statement before she died, requesting that the youth not be prosecuted.

Her friend said that any arrests would be made at random and stated:

"I just want to say that nobody has yet printed that it is our government's policy to burn people from the air. This kind of thing does not happen in civilized countries, in the socialist countries.

When she told this to a Newsweek reporter, he told her he agreed with her but that his editor would not print such a statement.

#### **FANTASY**

She denounced the claims of Boston police that Roxbury residents were apathetic about the deaths, saying these claims are a "racist fantasy in the minds of Boston politicians."

Evelyn's former husband issued a statement earlier to the papers in which he said she was "killed by the system that creates racial hatred. The last thing she would have w

for her death to be used to incite people, to create a circus.'

Every incident of violence is being blown up by the press and radio stations to create a hysteria in the middle class.

The youth in the Columbia Point area told the Bulletin that they will be picked up at any moment. Two teenagers have just been formally charged with the murder of Barba.

The papers have now been forced to admit that Barba was not "stoned to death by a group of 40 to 50 black youth" as first reported, but was actually knifed in an unrelated incident.

The Boston incident reveals the plans of the government to create racial divisions all over the country and to pave the way for a law and order crackdown that threatens the democratic rights of all youth and working people.

All the elements of preparation for dictatorship can be seen in Boston. The capitalist class fears the movement of the working class. Today Boston is Nixon's training ground for what he will do in the future to the unions and all workers.

The labor movement must

condemn this witch-hunt and defend the working class communities under not

#### Uncover New Nixon Spy Plot against the press, slapping sub-White House and reserved for BY BRUCE McKAY poenas on reporters from the TV the week of the convention. Miami authorities believe a networks, Time and Newsweek, The banker, Gui Govaert, has

second team of Nixon "plumbers" may have bugged Democratic Party officials during the 1972 Democratic Convention, less than a month after the exposure of the Watergate bugging plot.

This new disclosure by Dade County State Attorney Richard Gerstein comes just as the Senate Watergate committee is rushing to wind up its hearings, and as all the major newspapers bury the growing evidence against Nixon in their back pages.

The Justice Department is now moving rapidly to present its case against Vice-President Agnew to the federal grand jury, and an indictment is expected within the next two weeks.

Nixon hopes an indictment and the impeachment proceedings which would surely follow will divert attention from his own criminal activities altogether.

The split between Nixon and Agnew has grown into open conflict as it becomes apparent that Nixon intends to do everything possible to dump Agnew and replace him with John Connally.

Agnew is hitting back by accusing the Justice Department of deliberately leaking evidence against him to the press, and by subpoenaing government attorneys to a special hearing on

the news leaks.
At the same time, Agnew has launched the biggest attack yet and most of the major newspapers, demanding that they reveal the sources used for stories on the case

In the meantime, the Gerstein investigation threatens to blow the new Watergate cover up, and the Justice Department is putting on the pressure to end it.

According to the Miami prosecutor, a suite of rooms at the Fontainebleau Hotel, used by the Democrats as convention headquarters, was rented by a Miami banker at the request of the

#### Middle East...

(Continued From Page 1)

As we go to press, it has been learned that the United States Sixth Fleet-the backbone of the Spanish fascists and the Greek iunta—is moving 50 ships toward the area of fighting. All shore leaves have been canceled and 20,000 troops have been placed on

Nixon has cut short his vacation and returned to Washington, where he is reported to be "very, very concerned" by the Arab victories in the first hours of the fighting and by Iraq's seizure of holdings of the mammoth oil concerns, Mobil and Exxon.

The Egyptian and Syrian armed forces have scored spectacular victories in the first two days of the war. Egypt quickly captured the east bank of the 100-mile Suez Canal and the

fighting is now occurring deep within the Sinai peninsula.

Unlike the 1967 war, attempts by Israel to establish air superiority have been unsuccessful. The Egyptian air force has been able to shoot down large numbers of Israeli planes and to protect its advancing tanks.

Syrian troops have also inflicted major defeats on the Israelis, capturing vast portions of the Golan Heights seized by the Zionists in 1967.

The armies of Egypt and Syria have repulsed the Zionists from portions of occupied territory after months of increasingly bloody provocations and open terror by the Zionists against the Arab masses.

Israeli agents have been murdering Palestinian freedom fighters in every part of the

The genocidal attacks of the Israeli government against the Arab and Palestinian masses are done in the service of US imperialism, which created the Zionist state in 1948 as a mercenary force to subjugate the entire Middle East.

The latest Israeli aggression, which is now being routed by the Arab advance, comes only weeks after Nixon threatened the Arab countries with reprisals if oil exports to the United States are withheld.

The Arab victories take place against the backdrop of open treachery by the Soviet Stalinists. Opposing the destruction of the Zionist state and the liberation of Palestine, Brezhnev has limited the offensive weaponry available to Egypt.

Even more significant is the refusal of the Soviet govern-

ment to call for the defeat of Israel in the wake of the fighting. As it betrayed the Vietnamese Revolution when victory was within its grasp, the Kremlin now seeks to prevent the Arab masses from destroying the Zionist state and delivering a powerful blow against imperialism.

Instead, it now seeks to force the Arabs to submit to the decisions of the "thieves kitchen" of the United Nations, the bulwark of imperialism.

The powerful movement of the Arab masses now creates the most favorable conditions for the construction of sections of the Fourth International to expose the Stalinist traitors and lead the workers and peasants of the Middle East against Zionism, world imperialism, and their own native capitalist class.



Brooklyn Young Socialists basketball champs, from Marcy Houses in Bushwick, showed off their plaques at the October 4 "Greet the Twice-Weekly Bulletin" meeting.

#### **Guild To Strike Against** Daily News Wage Cuts

BY BRUCE McKAY

NEW YORK—Newspaper Guild members at the Daily News are preparing for strike action against a wage-cutting offensive by the New's management.

Guild members told the Bulletin that the News Company is trying to impose widespread wage cuts on workers below the editorial staff level through a downward reclassification.

The Guild contract expired on March 30 along with the craft union contracts. The News publishers have since refused to negotiate, according to Guild officials.

"They want to lower jobs standards," a copy boy told the Bulletin.

"They are going to knock people down a couple of groups. Sure, that means a wage cut."

"Anything below group nine or ten is getting the shaft," another copy boy said. "They're really trying to carve people up."

#### **STRIKE**

The membership of the News unit voted overwhelmingly Thursday to authorize strike action, but no date has yet been

The craft unions have not taken strike votes at any of the city's three dailies. The largest, New York Typographical Local 6, is apparently awaiting the outcome of a court case brought against it by the New York zation from the International.

The main issue at the News

mation, as well as wages.

"We do not object to automated equipment, but we want to handle it. We want to keep our jobs, that's all," a Local 6 member at the News said.

"Most of the men feel a little uneasy about the whole thing because of their automated data plant in New Jersey," he said.

"Then there is wages," he said. "The Pay Board cut three percent out of our last increase, so if we took the five percent the company is offering, we would only be getting a two percent increase. We are not going to

#### **Food Prices Will Increase** At Least 10%

#### BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Herbert Stein, the chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, said on Friday that food prices will rise at least 10 percent in the next six months.

He also said that there will be a sharp increase in prices for items other than food.

Stein is notorious for his underestimation of price rises. In August alone, food rose 8.1

Now the government is saying that workers will continue to be robbed by inflation. As Nixon is now dictating wage cutting with 3 percent wage settlements, prices are allowed to soar.

Workers and their families are being told that they must pay for the deepening economic crisis of the system.

A sudden wave of speculation has hit the New York Stock Exchange, sending prices to their highest level of the year.

But far from easing the crisis facing Wall Street brokers, the speculative fever is accelerating the crisis and leading rapidly to a crash.

In August alone, New York securities firms lost a staggering \$53 million. Saloman Brothers, historically the most profitable firm on Wall Street, has announced a loss of \$6.6 million, its first loss in 17 years. 'This is a worse beating than

we took in 1929," one broker said.

Even the biggest and most prestigious firms have not remained untouched by bankruptcies, forced mergers, and charges of fraud and securities laws violations.

Thousands of Wall Street workers have been laid off. The New York Stock Exchange itself recently announced a cutback in staff of 55.

One of the biggest Wall Street firms, Lehman Brothers, has laid off over 200 workers to "eliminate points of our business that weren't profitable," in the words of managing director Arthur Fried.

The unexpected surge in stock prices, as well as trading volume, was sparked by the decision of the Federal Reserve last month to loosen its grip on the banks and continue to fuel the speculative boom with easy credit.

Underlying the speculation are the conditions for its collapse. Production is now declining substantially in auto, and Chrysler estimates a third quarter loss of \$26 million.

Auto output in September was 4.8 percent below the year before. At the same time, consumers are buying less as they are forced to borrow more and more to pay off back debts.

At the same time, the new speculative boom is pumping more worthless paper into the economy to accelerate the rise in prices.

#### 1199 Cancels Joint Strike Meeting

#### BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The Executive Council of Hospital Workers Local 1199 has suddenly canceled the joint delegates meeting originally scheduled for October

9. Regular meetings of the Guild and Hospital Division delegates will be held on October 9 and 11.

The joint meeting had been called to map out action after the Executive Council sent a letter to the Cost of Living Council and the League of Voluntary Hospitals setting an October 15 deadline for the enforcement of the provisions of the 1199 contract, due as of last

Now the 1199 delegates newsletter announces that "due to late developments," the joint meeting has been rescheduled "later in October.

The Cost of Living Council, busily approving big price hikes poned consideration of the 1199 contract.

Hospital workers all over the city are angrily demanding to know why the joint meeting has been postponed. They are disgusted with the fact that the original deadline is now apparently being ignored.

An active Guild Division delegate at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center said: "I think they canceled that meeting because Leon Davis did not want to look like an idiot. I wonder what he has got up his sleeve."

#### **LEADERSHIP**

Orderly Roy Howell, another active member at Kingsbrook thinks the meeting has been put off because the officials want "to prevent the formation of constructive leadership.

'None of the union leaders are prepared to fight Nixon. If they were, they would have done so already.

"The membership should demand that the joint meeting be held. The only way we can get our wages is through strike action.

"It weakens us to postpone action because the Cost of Living Council has not seen fit to approve this.'

The government is preparing to cut hospital workers' 7.5 percent increase, as well as the shorter work week and provisions of the contract.

The ranks must insist on immediate strike action and an all-out fight against Nixon, including the fight for a

Congress of Labor to defeat the wage controls and build a labor party.

In September, 1199 President Leon Davis wrote to the government and the bosses that we "are neither ready nor willing to wait any longer for the increases due as of July 1, 1973.'

All the union leaders who wait for Nixon's approval, who collaborate completely with the controls and the government writing of contracts, have become the main prop helping Nixon to survive the Watergate scandal and hang on to power by deepening the attacks on the working class.

The ranks of 1199 have the opportunity to reverse this retreat now.

#### 200,000 Strike In Mexico

Two hundred thousand workers all over Mexico are on strike after the employers rejected their demand for a 20 percent wage increase for all those who earn less than \$360 a month.

The strike which began October 1 covers all sections of workers from mining to auto and poses the threat of a general strike to the crisisridden regime of President Luis Echeverria.

#### Taxi Drivers Fed Up

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Thousands of bitter city taxi drivers will be at Wednesday's Local 3036 meeting to demand that a fight for a decent standard of living begin.

Drivers have not received a pay increase over the last four years. Local 3036 President Harry Van Arsdale pushed through a contract that drivers had opposed for two years at the last union meeting, held six months ago. Since that time, the cost of living has skyrocketed and garage owners-helped by the Taxi Commission-have stepped up their vicious campaigns of speedup and harass-

The Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract are demanding that the union fight for a new contract with 60 percent of the meter, \$1.50 for inside men, return of the dime, and the abolition of the Taxi Commission.

This struggle means a political collision with Nixon and the New York City Democrats who are out to drive living standards down. This is why the Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract are demanding that Van Arsdale, as president of the City Labor Council, call immediately for the building of a labor

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The United Left Front of 1963, fully supported by the United Secretariat, paved the way for the coalition government of Madame Bandaranaike, below with Nixon. From left: Philip

Gunawardena, Dr. S.A. Wickremasinghe and Dr. N. M. Perera. These policies of the revisionists are responsible for the Popular Unity Regime of Salvador Allende, left.



## History Of Betrayal CEYLON 1964 CHILE 1973



#### BY MELODY FARROW

The military chiefs of Chile were able to seize power on September 11 and have now unleashed a wave of terror and repression because of the existence of Allende's Popular Unity regime, which together with the Stalinists held the working class back from taking power.

No revolutionary party exists in Chile today because the revisionists, the United Secretariat and their American supporters, the Socialist Workers Party, abandoned the construction of such parties in Latin America, and refused to take up a struggle against Stalinism, which dominated the labor movement.

This was carried out in Latin America by urging all revolutionary parties to follow Castro's example, to liquidate into the nationalist and guerrillaist struggles and by encouraging the illusion that spontaneous struggle alone would lead to revolution.

These policies were the direct fruits of the reunification in 1963 between the Socialist Workers Party and the International Secretariat of Michel Pablo with which the SWP had broken in 1953 over precisely the question of building revolutionary parties.

The highest expression of this reunification was the capitulation of the Ceylonese section, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in 1964 which voted to join in a coalition with the bourgeois party of Madame Bandaranaike, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

This was the predecessor of Chile today where a military dictatorship now holds power. While in 1964 it was a section of the Trotskyist movement which joined a bourgeois government, today the Chilean working class is paying the price for the consequences of this betrayal.

This is why we urge all serious revolutionaries to return to the lessons of Ceylon where the Pabloites paved the way for a Popular Front and nearly destroyed the revolutionary movement.

#### **EXPEL**

The United Secretariat was forced to expel the three LSSP members, N.M. Perera, Anil Moonesinghe and Cholmondley Goonewardene, who accepted government portfolios in the coalition, and suspended the 504 members who had voted for the coalition. Leslie Goonewardene and Colin DeSilva, two central LSSP leaders who had gone along with the vote were not expelled.

It was precisely the center group around Goonewardene and DeSilva who had always been supported by the United Secretariat.

They never had any principled opposition to the SLFP coalition and were in basic agreement as early as 1954 with Pablo's characterization of Stalinism.

Shortly after the 1953 split, James Cannon, the leader of the SWP, sought to bring a theoretical assessment of the meaning of Pabloism to a halt and in 1957, wrote a letter to Leslie Goonewardene. This represented the first tentative moves towards a reconciliation.

In 1960, the LSSP was rapidly drifting towards open collaboration with the capitalist parties in Ceylon.

Perera openly advocated a coalition to the United Secretariat and at the Sixth World Congress this position was given tacit approval by Mandel.

In the period between 1960 and 1963, Joseph Hansen and the leadership of the SWP opposed the call of the British Socialist Labour League to organize a discussion with the United Secretariat in order to train the new generation in the method of revisionism and to sharpen the issues of the original split.

This proposal was sabotaged and opposed by Hansen and company who were already actively preparing for reunification.

Michel Pablo, who in 1953 was recognized by the SWP as the leader of the Fourth International, advanced the theory that Stalinist and Social Democratic parties were not counterrevolutionary as Trotsky had declared in 1938, but could be pushed in a revolutionary direction under the pressure of the masses.

He accepted the domination of Stalinism by saying that a third world war was imminent between the capitalist countries and the workers states which would produce "centuries of deformed workers states."

The meaning of this complete revision of Trotskyism was revealed by his proposal that all Trotskyist parties enter the Stalinist and reformist parties and give up any independent existence.

The political basis of reunification was made clear in the conference resolution which stated: "The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened up the possibility of coming to power even with a blunted instrument."

It was on these questions that the opposition within the SWP later to form the Workers League fought to open a discussion in 1964.

In June of that year nine members of the party signed an appeal to the Political Committee which was circulated to the membership of the SWP which called for a discussion of the events in Ceylon and the role of the leadership in this. The letter stated:

"At the actual conference of the LSSP, the DeSilva-Goonewardene group, supported up to the last minute by the US, offered only the meekest opposition to Perera and then capitulated totally to him.

"This capitulation was inevitable as this center formation had long ago abandoned a working class revolutionary program and outlook. At the last minute, the US swung its support to the Edmund Samarakoddy group as it was left with no other choice.

"This last minute action in no way absolves the US of its full responsibility for this betrayal. Its own slogan of the United Left Front government paved the way for the direct capitulation of the LSSP to the bourgeoisie.
"During the whole period

"During the whole period between 1961 and 1963, we reiterated time and time again, in political solidarity with the International Committee that a reunification of the Fourth International without the fullest political discussion would only lead to disaster and the further disintegration of the movement here. Our position has been fully vindicated."

The opposition appealed for a discussion because, as they stated, "the very survival of the party" depended on it.

For this, they were summarily expelled for distributing the letter even though they were barred from presenting their views on leading committees of the party.

Another letter was written directly to the rank and file against the expulsions, again raising the fundamental issues at stake and urging the SWP members to "dig back to the very roots of Pabloite revisionism in the collapse of the Marxist method and the growth of Pabloite revisionism in the postwar period.

"Within this framework, the comrades must seek to discover why the SWP after partially resisting revisionism in 1953 has totally capitulated to it over the past period."

What was shown in Ceylon in 1964 and in Chile today is that the struggle against Stalinism and those who adapt to it, far from being a sectarian abstract debate, is a life and death question for the working class. In 1963, the opposition in the SWP was fighting for the very survival of the Trotskyist movement.

The SWP has learned nothing. Its slogan of a United Front with the Stalinists which it puts forward for Chile is the abandonment of the revolutionary party, and paves the way for a Popular Front in every country.

In the October issue of International Socialist Review, the SWP reprints an article by Ernesto Gonzalez of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (a sympathizing section of the United Secretariat) which says that the Allende regime was not a traditional Popular Front.

Just as the LSSP called the SLFP centrist, Gonzalez says that to call the Allende government bourgeois is sectarian. He flatly denies that the Popular Front in France (1936) is the same as the Chilean Unidad Popular because the bourgeois parties were in a minority in Chile and the national bourgeoisie is weaker in the colonial countries.

The Workers League is able to prepare for the present period of revolutionary struggle when the the question of taking power is posed with a twice-weekly newspaper because we fought these issues out in 1964 and ever since.

Our success in producing a twice-weekly **Bulletin** flows directly from the understanding that the construction of a revolutionary party, of a new leadership in the working class, will mean victory or defeat in the years ahead.

We are determined to see that such defeats will not happen in the United States. We urge all members of the SWP and the YSA to take up a fight to understand these lessons.



Socialist Workers Party 25th Anniversary Dinner, 1953. In the midst of the party's struggle against Pablo, Cochran faction boycotted the dinner and was expelled from the party.

"During the course of the past year, I had serious doubts of the ability of the SWP to survive," stated James P. Cannon in the midst of a crisis in 1953 in the Socialist Workers Party which nearly destroyed the continuity of Marxism in the United States.

The 1953 struggle centered on the most fundamental issues: the construction of the revolutionary party and the fight against Stalinism.

These questions are central today in order to lead the working class to power. We must therefore turn back to the history of this struggle—to understand how it developed, to learn its lessons.

The discussion which took place between 1952 and 1954 was marked by considerable confusion. This confusion had its roots in the development within the Fourth International since the death of Trotsky.

The Socialist Workers Party had limited itself during that period to some support and aid to the European leadership of the International Secretariat around Pablo. It had refused to politically lead the Fourth International.

#### Pablo's Liquidationism

Cannon's experience, gathered over decades of collaboration with the early Comintern and then Trotsky, remained just that—experience: the development of a perspective around which to construct the Fourth International was left to others.

By 1951, this had led to a situation where at the Third World Congress Pablo refined a perspective which abandoned the construction of Trotskyist parties in favor of deep entry into the Stalinist movement. The Stalinists were seen, under the conditions of the "new reality," as capable of projecting a revolutionary course, if only in a distorted way.

This perspective was brought back to the United States by George Clarke. Clarke quickly combined with a group of trade unionists around Bert Cochran who were interested in liquidating the party, but totally uninterested in a turn into the Stalinists. It was in this way that the faction fight began within the SWP.

It was conducted from beginning to end on the basis of acceptance by Cannon, as well as Clarke and Cochran, of the decisions of Third World Congress. Cannon made every effort to compromise with Pablo. When this was clearly impossible Cannon attacked Pablo but within his own caucus only (see "Internationalism and the SWP").

The fight was only brought out into the open after the expulsion of the Cochran group. Cannon issued the Open Letter, breaking completely with Pablo's International Secretariat and forming the International Committee.

Despite this confusion, the character of Pabloism emerges unmistakably from these writings. Here was a tendency out to liquidate the party itself. Here was a tendency which turned away from Trotsky's uncompromising struggle against Stalinism seeking to conciliate in one or another fashion with Stalinism. Here was a tendency giving in to the pessimistic and capitulatory methods sweeping the middle class radicals under conditions of capitalist boom

In the aftermath of the struggle, Cannon compares the 1952-53 faction fight to the 1940 split with Shachtman:

"It would be useful for us to make a comparison of this split, which we consider to be progressive and a contribution to the development of the revolutionary party in America; with the split in 1940. There are points of similarity and of difference. But the revisionism of 1940 was by no means as deep and definitive as the revisionism that we have split with today...The present split is different from 1940 in that it is more definitive.

"There is not a single member of this plenum who contemplates any later relations in the same party with the strike-breakers of the Pablo-Cochran gang...We are finished and done with Pablo and Pabloism forever, not only here but on the international field.

,"And nobody is going to take up any of our time with any negotiations about compromise or any nonsense of that sort. We are at war with this new revisionism which came to full flower in the reaction to events after the death of Stalin in the Soviet Union, in East Germany, and in the French general strike." (Pages 175-176.)

James P. Cannon played a critical role in this struggle against Pabloism. The continuity of Trotskyism internationally and within the United States hung in the balance. Without the fight he waged within the United States, the SWP might well have perished at that point, breaking the continuity of Marxism in this country which goes back to the days of the First International, and making the task of the generation which comes to Trotskyism today immeasurably more difficult.

Without the open letter the Trotskyist forces internationally would have had a far more difficult time surviving in that period. Never had the Trotskyist movement been so threatened.

Cannon had to conduct the fight within the SWP almost single-handedly. Not only did he face a sizable opposition group of around 20 percent of the party membership, but the central leadership itself was paralyzed in the situation.

Farrell Dobbs openly broke with Cannon taking a "neutral" position seeking to conciliate the factional struggle. This only created the conditions for a more vicious factional struggle to take place covertly.

The National Committee of the SWP was dominated by a bloc of the Cochran forces with the conciliationist faction around Dobbs. Cannon was in a minority. Only when Cannon was able to break Dobbs from this center position was it possible for the party to proceed.

Here is how Cannon himself assessed the situation:

"During the course of the past year, I had serious doubts of the ability of the SWP to survive. At one time—I will frankly admit to you here for the first time—I thought that our 25-year effort, compounded on all the previous experience and work of ourselves and others, had ended in catastrophic failure; and that, once again, a small handful, would have to pick up the pieces, and start all over again to build a new cadre of another party on the old foundations.

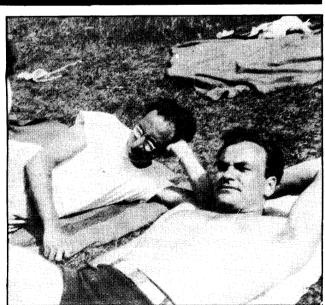
"The reasons for my doubts, at one time, of the party's ability to survive were the

## Speeches To The Party by James P. Cannon

# The Trade Unions and the Fight to Build a Revolutionary Party

#### A Review by Tim Wohlforth





Murry Weiss, above left. In 1953 he supported Cannon against Pablo and Cochran, but in 1963 he concluded Cochran was right and left the movement. George Clarke (left) and Mike Bartell (right), seen above at an SWP summer camp in the Midwest, were members of Cochran's faction, which sought to disrupt and liquidate the party.

following. I saw a factional power struggle developing in the party. I saw that in the central leadership, upon whom the whole weight of responsibility rested, there were so many neutrals that decisions was paralyzed. I saw a lack of a firm majority in the leadership of the party, and consequently the lack of real authority in the party.

"The result was a headless, unrestrained, and uncontrolled factional battle, with no clear goal in sight—a power struggle as I saw it, without the evidence of a single group capable of winning the power in the party and leading the party firmly with the necessary authority." (Page 168.)

We disagree with Al Hansen's explanations in his introduction to the book as to how this situation developed, as well as to the assessment made by Cannon himself in the course of the struggle. There were great pressures on the movement. The combination of the boom and the McCarthyite witchhunt did much to isolate the party from the working class and in turn brought middle class pressures to bear on party members.

This is, however, an insufficient explanation of the depth of the crisis in the party, the hostile position taken by such a large section of the trade unionists in the party, and the paralysis of key leaders. After all, a revolutionary party does not simply reflect class forces in a mechanical way. If it did, then its continuity would be severed in every difficult period.

Actually, it is in such periods that cadres are tested and questions fought out so necessary to the later development of the party. So it was with the Bolsehvik Party in the period between 1907 and 1917.

Trotsky assessed the 1940 fight with Shachtman differently. Certainly he began with the changed objective situation brought about by the pending imperialist war, its reflection through the petty bourgeoisie, and the pressure of this social stratum expressed within the party itself.

But he did not stop at that point. He went further to investigate why such a large section of the party and its leadership succumbed to these pressures. He saw the cause in the pragmatic method of this stratum, in its turn away from Marxism.

Because he assessed the situation this way in the period following the 1940 fight, Trotsky urged Cannon to take up a fight for dialectics, particularly in the training of the trade union cadres of the party. In fact, the last discussions held with Trotsky before his death were devoted to this question of the training of the trade union cadres.

This advice was not followed. Again Cannon describes the situation in the key Detroit local:

'These comrades in Michigan have many admirable qualities, as has been shown in the past, but they're by no means the most internationalist-minded section of the party; not by far. They're not that section of the party most interested in theoretical

"The Detroit branch, sad to say, has been most remiss in the teaching and study of Marxist theory, and is now paying a terrible price for it. This branch hasn't got a single class going; no class in Marxism, no class in party history, no class on the Third World Congress or anything else." (Page

It is not enough to blame the Detroit comrades. Surely the situation in Detroit was the responsibility of the leadership of the party, particularly Cannon. The lack of education of the trade unionists is the result of the policies of the central party leadership. That these trade unionists succumbed to liquidationist pressure in the 1950s in such numbers must be attributed to

What is required is an assessment of the trade union policy of the SWP from its very beginning. In the early Minneapolis period, there was a certain struggle to develop trade unionists as Marxists and thus as party people. Carl Skoglund was particularly important in this and he struggled to develop Farrell Dobbs and other trade unionists as Marxists. The Minneapolis trade union work was seen as revolutionary work in the unions.

By the late 1930s changes took place in the trade union work. This was expressed in Minneapolis with greater and greater involvement, particularly by Farrell Dobbs, with layers of the labor bureaucracy in the course of organizing over-the-road drivers.

This work was of course important, but it tended to become trade union work separate from the construction of the party and the training of Marxists in the unions. Trotsky's proposal to pull Dobbs out of this work and put him in the national office was a calculated attempt to break up this situation. Trotsky also attacked the Northwest Organizer for adapting to trade union militancy and turning away from politics.

What was true in Minneapolis in the later period was even more sharply expressed in Detroit and other new areas of trade union work. This work rarely proceeded beyond the level of caucus work and these caucuses generally blocked with and were subordinate to various centrist and bureaucratic forces in the unions.

Bert Cochran was the leader and master at this trade union politicking. But trade union politics are bourgeois politics. They are not Marxist politics.

Cochran was the creation of Cannon's refusal to fight for the theoretical development of the trade unionists. Now, as we enter a new period when many thousands of trade unionists will be brought into the revolutionary party, it is critical that we learn the lessons of this earlier period.

#### **Perspectives During the Boom**

There is another related question: the question of program, perspectives and the development of perspectives. The most striking feature of the 1952 to 1954 period is that there literally was no discussion of perspectives based on a materialist understanding of the period.

Cannon's position was that the Third World Congress documents covered questions of program and perspectives; he did not consider the question independently. At the same time he insisted there were the particular circumstances in America—a small isolated Stalinist movement not worth entering, while prosperity and witch-hunt limited the opportunities of the party.

However, he urged, one must have hope. This hope was based on a general understanding that in this period of imperialist decay, a new upsurge would occur in the future at some point or another. At that point the American working class would display again its militancy and revolutionary capacity.

This is why he insisted on centering the 1952-1953 discussion on his "Theses on the American Revolution" which was written in 1946. These theses had actually done much to disorient the American movement and constantly being sharpened by practice. Program cannot be separated from perspectives and perspectives, from the tactical day to day experience of the party in its work in the working class.

Actually, this revolutionary practice is the highest point of theoretical development. It is at this point of practice that we posit new developments against our abstract programmatic understanding and assessment of perspectives. Out of this conflict arises new knowledge, a develop-

Cannon to the extent that he separated himself from the task of leading the Fourth International in practice following World War Two, separated himself from the source of development and at the same time denied to the fledgling movement after the war much of the knowledge which he

Reunification with the Pabloites ment of perspectives and program. unclarified in 1953.



Carl Skoglund, shown here in his later years. In the early days of the party in the Minneapolis struggles, he fought to develop trade unionists as Marxists. Cannon's later abandonment of this perspective led to the degeneration of the party and the prostration before Pabloism.

the Cochranites did their best to take himself had accumulated from the past. advantage of that disorientation to break with the party altogether.

Cannon had predicted an American revolution despite the stabilization of Europe which removed revolutionary prospects there for the next period. But this stabilization of Europe was part of, laid the basis for, the very American boom which would in the next period create such great difficulties for the SWP.

No one in this period made any attempt to explore the basis of the boom itself so that a scientific understanding of the period could be developed, to know how the next stage of the capitalist crisis would emerge. The writings of this period on all sides were dominated by a deep pessimism. Because of this, the full meaning of the East German uprising which took place in the middle of this period was not comprehended. uprising was a preparation for renewed struggle on the part of the working class of the advanced as well as colonial countries.

There is in this book a great deal to learn from Cannon. His discussion of factionalism, cliquism and the like is particularly valuable. As in much of his writings, and even more so in his daily activity in the movement in the earlier period, Cannon reached back into a wealth of experience he had gained through revolutionary practice in the movement with Lenin and with Trotsky. However, Cannon saw this experience as something quite separate from perspectives, program and the Marxist method. He writes:

'We have had so much experience with faction fights and splits, that we know what to do with them. It becomes a trade—justlike laying bricks with Pete—our thirty-year man with a trowel." (Page 78.)

However, the revolutionary trade is different from that of bricklaying in that it requires a completely conscious approach

This knowledge became for Cannon an almost intuitive feeling or experience, something which he himself did not grapple with consciously, but which he rested upon in a conservative way.

Out of this approach was born that anti-Marxist abomination called "Orthodox Trotskyism.'' What is unorthodox Trotskyism and how many varieties of Trotskyism are there? There exists no

finished program inherited from the past. There is no body of experience to uncritically rest upon. There are no predeveloped cadres as the materializers of this program and experience. All this is fixed, formal, dead nonsense. There is only the continuous, unending conflict and transformation of opposites.

It is precisely through the struggle which akes place at the point of program lives through the continuous exposure of its inadequacies, of its need for development. Experience from the past must be continuously negated in the course of contemporary experience, while wrestling with the problems of building the international movement.

Cadres, far from being fixtures, must reflect contradictory class forces. Only through the struggle of opposites within the movement, particularly in the party's leadership, can the party change to meet the requirements of the new period.

Significantly, Spartacist, which has always solidarized itself with the worst side of the SWP as in its participation with Hansen in slandering the IC with the Tate Affair in 1966-1967, now declares itself to be "the standard-bearer of orthodox Trotskyism." They are more than welcome to the designation, as Orthodox Trotskyism is only a conservative method of preparation for liquidationism itself. It means a turn away from contradiction, from Marxism tionary party and Stalinism-sharply and in the end fought these questions through to a break with the Pabloites. But everything else was left in a complete muddle.

It is so clear from reading his material why it was that Gerry Healy proposed in 1954 a renewed discussion with the Pabloites. The SWP flatly rejected such a discussion and refused to continue on its own any kind of battle to clarify what was left

There is no way of escaping the judg-

ment that the discussion in 1952-1954 was ex-

tremely confused and only of a beginning

nature. Its great strength is that it brought

up fundamentals-the need for the revolu-

Then in 1957 it began a series of probes aimed not at a renewed discussion with the Pabloites, but at a reunification without discussion. For several years, it was unable to carry this out because of the resistance of the British and French sections.

In 1961, it renewed this drive in earnest and it was consummated in unity in 1963. Everything was done at that time to prevent discussion even though once again the Socialist Labour League made its willingness to participate in the widest possible discussion of the whole history of the movement in preparation for the next stage of building the revolutionary movement.

In 1961, what Cannon had feared in 1952 took place. The party, in its central leadership and cadres succumbed to revisionism. Cannon himself led this very development. Many of these cadres drifted out of the movement altogether with only a few remaining in the SWP today.

This too, is reflected in this book in the footnotes. Morris Stein, we are told, "retired from active party life in the 1960s." Murry Weiss "was a leader of the Socialist Workers Party until the 1960s, when he withdrew from activity." Myra Tanner Weiss "was a leader of the Socialist Workers Party until the 1960s, when she withdrew from activity in the party." Arne Swabeck "was a leader of the SWP until the 1960s when he became a Maoist."

For this layer of the SWP leadership, it was the period of the 1960s, a period of renewed working class struggle and growth for the movement, during which they left the movement. With people like Morris Stein, and there were scores, they just could not fit into the SWP of the 1960s.

With others, the disorientation of the movement led to their own quite conscious dissertion of Trotskyism altogether. Murray and Myra Weiss, top leaders in the struggle against Cochran and for a period the main support for Cannon, left the movement quite consciously concluding that Cochran had been right after all. Swabeck, a Trotskyist veteran from the earliest period ended up a Maoist Stalinist.

The old cadres were not preserved. Orthodox Trotskyism gave way to Pabloite revisionism. A new middle class group, far to the right even of the old Shachtmanites, rose to a dominant position within the party.

There were those who took up the fight for Trotskyism. A handful, coming from the youth, launched the struggle which had led to the Workers League today, with its twiceweekly paper. But this was only possible because the Socialist Labour League, as part of the International Committee, persisted in what Cannon started and turned away from. In so doing, the SLL negated the limits of Cannonism as well, of Trotskyism as a dead orthodoxy.

Today, 10 years after the unprincipled reunification of the SWP with the Pabloites, all the predictions of the International Committee have been completely borne out. The United Secretariat is in the midst of the deepest crisis. The question of 1953 is once again forced on the agenda for discussion within the United Secretariat. The unprincipled reunification, rather than strengthening the forces which participated in it, has led to the splintering and disintegration of these forces.

The development of the International Committee has been different. It has developed a perspective based on the scientific assessment of the development of the capitalist crisis. We can look fully and squarely at our own history back to 1953 and before, making an accounting to the working class of every moment of it. We are now in a position to go forward to construct mass parties turned deeply into the working class under conditions of revolutionary struggle.

#### **Politics On The Docks**

The ranks of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have been so decimated by the loss of jobs to containers and automated equipment that San Francisco's Local 10 can no longer afford to pay taxes on its hiring hall.

This situation has come about because the shipping industry is at the very center of a crisis within the capitalist system itself, and at the heart of this crisis is the breakup of all the international monetary and financial relations developed after World War Two.

Industries built up after the war on the basis of credit now face collapse, and a bitter struggle in the form of a trade war has emerged within the capitalist class internationally. The question now is whose capital will go under.

This trade war means a sharp decline in world trade, and sections of the shipping industry which have rapidly overextended their shipping capacity and container facilities on the basis of credit will face bankruptcy.

The only chance for survival the big container lines like Seatrain will have is the destruction of their smaller rivals. This means the introduction of the **most efficient** techniques of cargo handling.

In order to do this, the restrictions placed on automation by the longshore contracts must be eliminated. The contracts must be destroyed, since they also force the shippers to pay huge sums in guarantee money, container royalties and fines.

Tremendous explosions will rip the waterfront as it becomes clear to the tens of thousands of workers still on the docks what the shippers and Nixon are trying to do. Longshoremen will draw upon the traditions of over a hundred years of the bitterest and bloodiest battles in the history of the American labor movement to fight the shippers and the government for their jobs.

But the fight must be taken beyond this history of militant trade unionism into a political struggle against the government for power, and a new leadership must be developed to carry this fight forward.

It is the government that is taking away dockers' container rights. With its laws, courts, police and army, the government is the real strength behind the shipping bosses that will be brought in to break up the unions.

But to turn the fight on the docks to politics requires an uncompromising struggle for an understanding of Marxist principles within the longshore unions themselves.

Political struggle is something longshoremen have felt they could get by without in the past. The pragmatism of the American working class has found its sharpest expression on the waterfront because of the enormous industrial strength of longshoremen—their ability to put a halt to world trade.

This strength in the past has allowed militancy, in the form of wildcats, to serve dockers well in their struggles against the bosses, the betrayals of the corrupt leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and even the government.

The fight can no longer be carried forward on the basis of wildcats and militancy. The strength which allowed dockers to fight back successfully in the past, winning such concessions as the guarantee from the bosses, is being sapped away. The bosses are using containerization to destroy this strength by eliminating the long-shoremen from the cargo handling process.

Every struggle against the bureaucracy, every strike, must now be transformed into a fight for political power. The fight for a labor party must become central. Only by taking the power out of the hands of the bosses and nationalizing the docks under workers' control can dockers preserve their right to earn a decent living.

The main force on the docks holding back this fight for a political understanding and a new leadership is the Stalinist Communist Party. The CP puts forward opportunists in the ILA to exploit the political backwardness of militant longshoremen to divert any real opposition to the bureaucracy and to prevent the construction of a political leadership.

This reactionary role of Stalinism was sharply exposed in the elections in Brooklyn ILA Local 1814, where a CP-backed "Unity" slate headed by Stalinist Pete Bell was put forward to stifle the real opposition which had developed against President Anthony Scotto.

Bell fought tooth and nail to keep political questions out of the campaign, claiming that concessions could be won from both Scotto and the bosses simply by getting elected and maneuvering to put pressure on the bureaucracy from within.

This is the policy of the Communist Party—to work with Scotto and with the bosses to keep workers from fighting back. The end result of this policy today can be found in Chile.

bruce mckay\_



Part of the massive demonstration of Minneapolis AFSCME workers at the Hennepin County Courthouse against the county board's attempts to begin massive layoffs.

#### AFSCME Rally Backs Social Services Union

#### BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 3—Two hundred members of County Employees Local 34 (AFSCME) demonstrated today at the Hennepin County courthouse against attempts by the county board to wipe out the union in the social services department, and to move towards massive layoffs as Nixon's flat-grant proposals are used as a weapon against welfare workers as well as clients.

### Hundreds Of Dockers Jobless In Chicago

BY WILL ROEHMER

CHICAGO—At the busiest time of the season on the docks here, hundreds of longshoremen have been thrown onto the unemployment lines.

One member of Local 19 of the ILA told the Bulletin:

"The companies are not contracting the way they used to. A lot of this work is containerized.

"Every time they ship a boat with a lot of containers on it, we do not get the work. And this also cuts the gangs down.

"On containers, you have six or seven men to a gang. We normally have 14 to 16 men to a gang, so containers cut it in half.
"I think that the jobs have

been cut 30 to 40 percent since last year."

Another docker said: "It is slow, as slow as I have seen it since I have been a longshore-

man, since 1958.
"I do not know what it is, whether it has to do with poli-

"The union is trying to get us work in the city, warehouse work, but people do not want to give out any money.

"We have got to get Nixon out of office, that is one thing we have to do."

For Local 19, the work season lasts just two more months, and all benefits, plus supplement pay over the winter months, depend on the hours worked during the season.

#### NLRB

Just as on the coasts, where recent NLRB rulings threaten to eliminate container-stuffing guarantees from the contracts, the Great Lakes longshoremen have had the guarantees they fought for ripped away from them by the virtual shutdown of general shipping out of Chicago.

A statement by the 750member local denounced the proposals the county board wants to foist on the union. These include: give up the right to strike, passed at the last session of the legislature; only one union steward for the entire bargaining unit; compulsory overtime at the option of the supervisor; the county would have the right to contract out existing jobs. This would put Local 34 members on the unemployment line.

The leadership of the union turned the part of the rally over to representatives in the city and county governments, county board member David Lindgren and Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig, claiming they would help the union.

The leadership's dependence on capitalist politicians is extremely dangerous in this period when all levels of government launch massive attacks on the unions. The leadership's present policies tie the tremendous strength of the ranks to the coattails of men like Lindgren and Stenyig

#### **Hospital Forces Overtime**

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON—The leadership of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Council 24 here is trying to force a contract on workers at Central Colony hospital that destroys working conditions.

The contract provides for mandatory overtime, cuts in pay for overtime, holiday pay and fringe benefits.

Members of Local 634 of AFSCME have been forced to work up to 16 hours a day.

The over 1000 patients at Central Colony have multiple handicaps, blindness, deafness, and uncontrollable spasms. This will make care for these patients virtually impossible.

If employees refuse overtime, they will receive a three-day suspension. After the second refusal, they are fired.

Aides can be called in from home to work overtime and they cannot refuse. They will be warned, suspended, and then fired. New workers will not be hired due to state budget cuts.

One maintenance worker at Central Colony said: "They just force the work 16, 17 hours a day. On the weekends, they make us work like crazy. We have to feed the kids, many of them cannot eat, and change them. That's rough. Now they're even taking

our seniority away if you are out because of sickness or injury."

Workers who object to working until 11 p.m. one night and having to return at 6 am the next day are being suspended for insubordination.

The local leadership of AFSCME 634 as well as Council 24 are directly to blame for this. As one worker said:

"The leadership in the union does not do a thing. This is worse than the last contract."

Council 24 members must demand that this contract be thrown out and a fight opened for no mandatory overtime, full seniority rights, and a 20 percent wage increase with a 100 percent cost of living escalator.

#### midwest news-

#### **Detroit Teachers Challenge Fine**

#### BY A REPORTER

**DETROIT—Leaders of the Teachers Federation** here have charged that the million dollar fine levied last Thursday by Judge Thomas Foley is illegal and have appealed his ruling.

However, there were indications that DFT President Mary Ellen Riordan has decided to make major retreats in the area of wages and job security in order to end the strike early this

The DFT has issued reports saying that it is optimistic that the present round of intensive negotiations would quickly resolve the differences.

#### **BOARD OF EDUCATION**

But the Board of Education, which has refused serious negotiations all summer and which has turned to the courts to destroy the union with unprecedented fines, will not grant the teachers' demands without the mobilization of all of Detroit labor against the attacks on the

"We are never kept informed of what is really happening," a DFT member who asked not to be identified for fear of retribution told the Bulletin.

"She just goes into negotiations and we wait to hear from Riordan."

#### **HARDSHIPS**

She said that the DFT would have to win all its demands in order to make up for the hardships teachers have suffered during this strike.

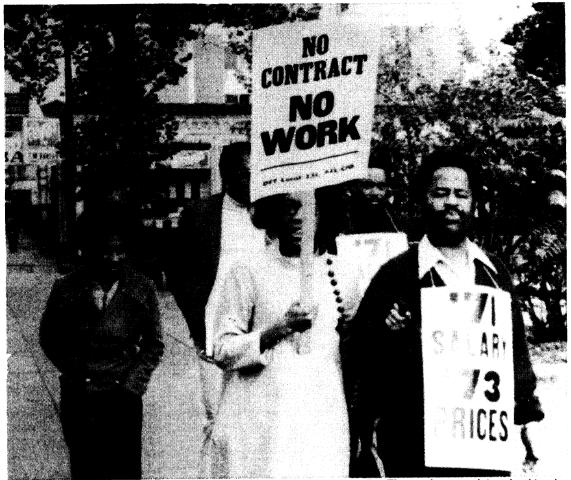
"It has been a real struggle. I have had to borrow money. I have had to go to the welfare office four times for food stamps.

"I have no savings. My checking account is gone. The payments on my home are due but how can I meet them without a paycheck.

strike. We all want nice things like anyone else. We have a right to a decent standard of living.'

The United Auto Workers has accused the school board of 'vicious, nineteenth century methods, anti-labor injunctions, and contempt actions, used in punitive fashion to force the teachers to return to work under conditions unfavorable to the children of Detroit."

But the UAW has not proposed any action to back up its pledge to defend the DFT.



Detroit teachers are challenging a \$1 million fine levied against their strike. The teachers are determined to win

#### Ford Deadline Set As Chrysler Strikes Go On

#### BY A UAW MEMBER

DETROIT-Only days after United Auto Workers Vice-President Ken Bannon set October 22 as the tentative strike deadline against the Ford Motor Company, a new nationwide shutdown of Chrysler plants is threatened.

Seven workers from the Chrysler Lynch Road Assembly Plant were fired last Thursday evening for walking off the job, attempting to lead a strike because the ranks are working without a local contract.

Bob Summers, one of the fired workers, told the Bulletin: "We just want to let our brothers and sisters know that they are working without a new local contract, and that they won't get anything without a strike. We did not get anything in the national contract.'

Chrysler workers in five critical Chrysler plants are preparing to strike early this week over local grievances which "This is why we must win this have not been settled, in order to create the conditions for scuttling the hated national con-

Strike deadlines have been set for Monday and Tuesday in a number of stamping plants and the Detroit Forge plant, where workers wildcatted in August over working conditions.

Opposition to the three percent wage settlement and the abolition of the eight hour day which Woodcock accepted is expressed in these local fights.

#### RUTHLESSLY

It is for this reason that the UAW International has ruthlessly intervened in all the local disputes to prevent a strike.

Woodcock now fears that the Ford deadline will be reached while Chrysler plants are on strike, making it possible for workers to overcome the artificial divisions created by the International and to fight the auto bosses all at once.

For this reason, Woodcock has left open the possibility that the Ford deadline will be delayed if all the local Chrysler struggles are not ended.

The UAW is seeking to prevent a united struggle just as the government's wage-cutting Cost of Living Council is indicating that the Chrysler settlement is too big and that Ford and GM workers will have to settle for

#### **FIGHT**

The conditions now exist for a massive fight against Nixon's new wage-cutting policies by Chrysler, GM, and Ford workers.

October 22 must be the strike deadline for Ford, GM, and Chrysler workers—whose "ratification" vote was bureaucratically manipulated and whose local demands have been sold out on instructions from the International.

A new leadership must be trained in this fight against Woodcock's collaboration with Nixon that will fight politically against the government through the building of a labor party.

#### **Newspaper Strike Ended**

#### BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS-A six-week strike that shut down both daily newspapers in St. Louis, the Post Dispatch and the Globe Democrat, ended Thursday night when members of Teamsters Local 610 voted to ratify a three-year contract.

The wage package negotiated amounted to \$1.10 an hour over three years, a cost of living adjustment clause, and various fringe benefits.

There was opposition to the wage settlement. Rumors of a possible wildcat strike by other unions represented at the newspaper because of the wage settlement are prevalent.

The strike itself was one of the most militant in the recent waves of strikes in the St. Louis area.

The main dispute centered around 32 dock hands at the Post Dispatch whose jobs were threatened by automation at the recently built plant.

Because of the importance of this issue to the rest of the workers at the newspaper, the strike was solid and gained the support of all the unions repre-

An attrition and inducement formula provides that the company must negotiate with each employee as his job becomes excessive, to reach a severance pay agreement.

This formula negotiated by the union leadership opens the door for job cuts. It takes the question of job security out of the hands of the union, making it an issue to be resolved between the employer and the individual worker.

#### **CLASSES IN** MARXISM

for trade unionists

#### MARXISM IN **AMERICA**

1. Historical materialism and the development of the American labor movement. 2. The capitalist crisis and the tasks facing the labor movement.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

#### MADISON

MON. OCT. 22 **University of Wisconsin Memorial Union** Old Madison Room 7:30 p.m.

> CHICAGO TUES. OCT. 9 TUES. OCT. 23 **Midland Hotel** Oak Room 172 W. Adams 7:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS WED. OCT. 10 WED. OCT. 24 Cabana Branch Library Basement 1:00 p.m. **Peacock Alley Community Center** 75 N. Ewing 7:30 p.m.

DETROIT ' THURS. OCT. 11 THURS, OCT. 25 King Solomon Church 14th and Marquette 7:00 p.m.

**DAYTON** FRI. OCT. 12 FRI. OCT. 26 **Downtown YMCA** Sage Room 117 W. Monument 7:30 p.m.

**MINNEAPOLIS** SUN. OCT. 21 Labor Hall 924 2nd Ave. So. 7:30 p.m. (Mpls., Mn. 336-9966 for

rides or information.)

Contribution: \$1 trade unionists

\$.50 students. unemployed

#### IUE Members Defend Bulletin

t the Chrysler Air Temp plant have denounced the attempt of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 775 President Wesley Wells to censor what they read about the rotten Chrysler auto contract that is to be the model for their union.

Support has been building for the right of members of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to sell the Bulletin and to distribute a leaflet which exposes the Chrysler contract as an attack on the living standards and working conditions of every auto worker.

Wells has given an interview to a big business newspaper, the Dayton Journal Herald, boasting of his physical attacks on TUALP members and Bulletin salesmen outside the Air Temp plant.

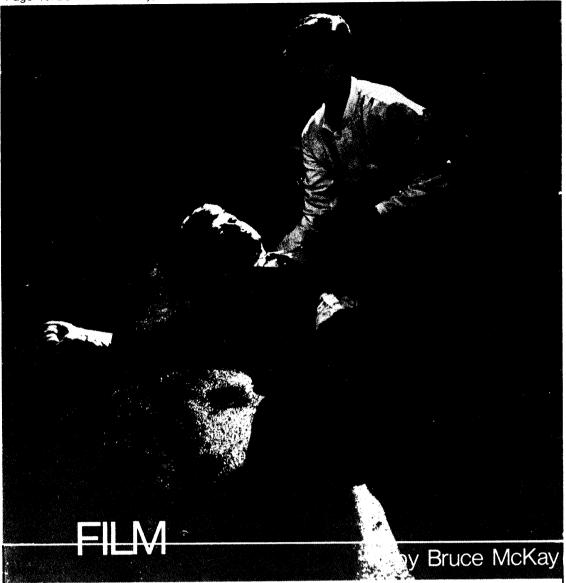
DAYTON, Ohio-Workers tion that his goons called Chrysler police to grab leaflets being distributed. Local 775 defied the intimidation and reached for the leaflets.

> "I'll read what I want to read," shouted one worker. This week, supporters of the Bulletin and TUALP distributed leaflets exposing the UAW contract at the commercial plant where the workers were threatened with a wage cut two years ago.

> A worker at the commercial plant at Chrysler Air Temp disclosed the company has been accelerating the speedup since the 1974 model changeover resulting in a pile-up in grievances.

He told the Bulletin that workers are glad to see an opposition to Wells.

He said that Wells' "strong arm tactics are well-known to the workers" and that "everybody knows the contract is



#### The Kennedy Case Reopened

THE SECOND GUN. Directed by Gerard Alcan. A documentary based on an investigation by Theodore Charach.

Robert Kennedy had the Democratic presidential nomination all but wrapped up and was well on his way to following his brother's footsteps into the White House.

It was shortly after midnight on June 6, 1968, and he had just won the decisive California primary vote.

Kennedy was in the pantry of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, shaking hands with a throng of hotel employees and well-wishers following a victory celebration.

Suddenly, a man pushed through the crowd toward Kennedy and fired two shots at him. Hotel maitre d' Karl Uecker, who had been holding on to Kennedy's arm, grabbed the assailant's gun arm as he wildly emptied the remaining into the pressing crowd.

#### **CHAOS**

It was all over in seconds. The small pantry room was the scene of complete chaos.

But the man who fired at Kennedy and wounded several others in the crowd was caught and arrested. He was Sirhan Sirhan, an Arab national whom the prosecution later characterized as a fanatic who hated the Kennedys because of their support for Israel.

These are the events as several witnesses recounted them, and investigative journalist Theodore Charach makes no attempt to dispute them.

What Charach contends and convincingly demonstrates on the basis of the prosecution's own witnesses, documentary evidence, the official autopsy report, and an unimpeachable independent ballistics study is that Sirhan Sirhan did not fire the shots which killed Ken-

The inescapable conclusion which must be drawn from the evidence Charach presents is that Sirhan was set up as a decoy, a diversion to draw attention away from the real assassin and allow him to escape, and a fall guy to provide the police and the district attorney's office with a conviction.

The Second Gun is political dynamite. Its release follows a series of scandals and coverups centered in the Nixon Administration, topped off by the Watergate break in and now the allegations that Agnew has been lining his pockets with bribes and extortion payoffs.

#### **COVERUP**

Charach's five-year investigation meticulously exposes the same sort of coverup, suppression, manufacture of evidence, and arrogance toward democratic rights and institutions on the part of high government officials in the Sirhan case that have marked the Watergate case and related

But the political implications of the film run much deeper and are touched upon by Charach only in passing, when he begins the film with former Attorney General John Mitchell's appearance before the Senate Watergate committee and his statement that he would go to any lengths to assure Nixon's election.

The fact is that many of the powerful right-wing boom capitalists and mafiosi responsible for Nixon's rise to power hated the old, established sections of Eastern capital, and particular the liberals who were willing to compromise with the working class during the period of the boom.

Nixon would not have been elected in 1968 if his opponent had been Robert Kennedy. The question Charach does not even speculate upon is how far these forces were willing to go to put their man in office and launch the drive against the trade unions toward dictatorship they had been demanding for

Charach is primarily concerned with the question of whether Sirhan fired the shots which killed Kennedy or if there was a second gunman, as some witnesses believed.

The film is in the best traditions of bourgeois journalism. Charach is very cautious, and he delves only into the empirical evidence in the case, aside from some liberal commentary on the nature of democracy and a plea for a new government investigation—both of which detract from the film's overall impact.

The central questions of who assassinated Kennedy if Sirhan did not, and why, are left unanswered.

#### **POTENT**

The Second Gun demonstrates the potential of the film and television documentary as a potent journalistic medium, one that has been barely developed.

At the same time, it reveals all the weaknesses of bourgeois journalism, and its inability to get beneath the surface to expose the motive forces in society.

Kennedy is portrayed only superficially, as an individual rather than political figure, much less the representative of

Charach has interspersed interludes in the film depicting Kennedy with his family, with astronaut John Glenn at a skating rink. One wonders why anyone would want to assassinate him.

Serious efforts like Murrow's at documentary journalism have almost disappeared as the television networks and the government turn television and film media more and more into propaganda devices. Charach's film may be the last of its kind to see the light of day under capitalism.

#### The Colonel's Empire

#### by Roger McDermott

THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ITT by Anthony Sampson. Stein and Day, 1973. \$10.

#### PART I

The military takeover in Chile, supported by Nixon and the corporations around him, brings sharply into focus the important role of the multinational corporations like International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) in the imperialist epoch.

Anthony Sampson's book Sovereign State of ITT is loaded with facts and figures about ITT's activities in Chile and other countries. ITT is one of the largest multinational corporations which originated in the tremendous expansion of US capital after World War One in search of international markets and holdings.

The founder of ITT, "Colonel" Sosthenes Behn, was the leader among leaders of the new generation of American capitalists who sought to apply the enormous development of technology in America to the international market for huge profits.

Behn recognized that while a rival corporation, American Telephone and Telegraph (ATT), virtually dominated the US market for telephones, the opportunities for big and quick profits lay in the underdeveloped or almost nonexistent telephone systems in the rest of the world.

#### **EMPIRE**

Behn built an empire out of the exportation of US capital and the exploitation of foreign labor before World War Two. When he met resistance from foreign capitalist governments to his expanding telephone system, he bought them off.

Behn's ruthless drive for profits knew no bounds. Almost Germany in 1933, Behn was invited to Berlin to discuss with officials of the Third Reich the integration of the ITT boards of his German companies.

dent in Hitler, and did not hesitate to invest huge amounts of capital in the Focke-Wulf company, which manufactured

bombers for Hitler.

Even after the US entered the war, Behn continued to play both sides, reaping a huge profit from German war industry while developing the spy system of the US Special Services division, the forerunner of the CIA.

"Thus while ITT Focke-Wulf planes were bombing Allied ships," Sampson writes, "and ITT lines were passing information to German submarines, ITT direction finders were saving other ships from torpedos.'

When the American Army pressed into Germany in 1944, ITT officials, who had sat alongside Nazi officials on the boards of ITT's German holdings, switched hats and donned the uniforms of American brigadier generals. Behn was even awarded the medal of honor by the American government after

#### AUDACITY

Although Behn was the only one with the audacity to openly collaborate with Hitler, Sampson documents discussions between Henry Ford and others and Nazi representatives which took place in New York City.

Ford came very close to pursuing the same policies as Behn, a fact which was buried in the back pages of the New York Times and forgotten after the war began.

Sampson brings all this to light in his book. His sources are broad, ranging from public documents to ITT memos and unrecorded conversations gained through excellent investigative methods.

Sampson, however, is a bourgeois historian dominated by idealist notions of the democratic institutions of American government and the good will of the American ruling class.

He is a confirmed anticommunist and makes reference to this fact throughout the work. He even goes so far as to compare the ruthlessness of the multinational corporations to the policies of the Soviet Union.

Sampson's utopian conclusion is that there is a need for more as soon as Hitler took power in regulation of multinational corporations and for self-restraint by the American capitalists.

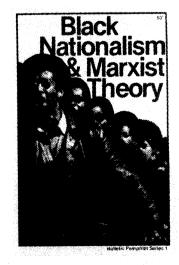
#### TAKEOVER

But as Sampson himself docu-Behn was extremely confiments, ITT's policy in Chile was wing takeover.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

Black Nationalism & Marxist Theory. by Tim Wohlforth.

Finally back in print, in its fourth edition, this pamphlet-based on Lenin's critique of nationalism-exposes the Black nationalist movement as a middle class tendency which seeks to keep the working class tied to the parties of capitalism. Today, as the capitalists move to attack all the gains of workers and it becomes urgent to unite the entire working class in its own political party, this pamphlet becomes critical in the fight against all tendencies which seek to divide the workers.



Labor Publications, Inc., 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011

## California Cuts College Expansion

#### BY TED BAKER

SACRAMENTO—Without any official announcement, the Regents of the University of California have accepted proposals by Governor Reagan that would halt expansion of the university, and jeopardize the continued existence of major portions of the nine campus system.

The drastic reversal in the official stance of the Regents came to light in budget proposals released here last week.

The Regents' new budget makes major cuts in planned construction and severely restricts funds necessary for maintenance of present buildings and facilities.

Total funds allocated for construction and repair are \$88,000,000, while the cost of repairs at the Berkeley campus alone is estimated to be \$80,000,000. Under this new budget, University facilities are expected to deteriorate rapidly.

The decision to allow facilities to deteriorate without repair poses the threat that the Regents will close part or all of some campuses in order to maintain the others.

#### **ENDANGERED**

Particularly endangered is UC Santa Cruz, where the construction of an entire college complex has been eliminated, along with a severe reduction in money allotted to library construction.

Four other campuses, San Francisco, Berkeley, Davis, and Riverside have planned construction projects which are eliminated under the new budget.

The danger that whole campuses will be closed is further substantiated by changes in the allotment of money for library purchases at the various campuses. For the first time in history, the library stock at UCLA and at UC Berkeley will be expanded more quickly than at the newer campuses.

In the past these seven campuses have been given preference in purchasing in order to catch up with the well-established libraries at Berkeley and Los Angeles.

#### CRISIS

The drastic effect this change will have on the smaller campuses is illustrated by the deep crisis the new budget is already causing in one of the two favored libraries: the one at Berkeley.

The UC Berkeley library has been forced to cancel magazine and newspaper subscriptions vital to research, has been unable to purchase much needed new publications, and has been forced to lay off three percent of its staff.

Although the actual money alloted to the Berkeley library for new purchases has in-

creased three percent, its purchasing power has decreased by 10 percent.

Under these conditions, the reversal in purchasing policy eliminates all possibility that the new campuses will be expanded to major university status.

If the Reagan plan, upon which the budget is based, is implemented, it would end once and for all the concept of free higher public education upon which the University of California was founded on.

The University of California system would be transformed into a high tuition school with enrollment limited to a relatively small number of students.

#### L.A. Crime Campaign Covers Cop Violence

BY MITCH PATTERSON

LOS ANGELES—Police Chief Edward Davis held a press conference here at which he announced: "With little trouble at all, Los Angeles can reduce crime by 50 percent within five years."

He continued by lashing out at the county judges: "The court's lenient sentencing practices here are making LA a mecca for dangerous criminals."

Davis has the go-ahead from Mayor Bradley, who has graciously endowed the LA police department with the bulk of LA's revenue sharing budget.

The programs that already began, "Basic Car Plan." "Sheriff's Neighborhood Plan," and the "Neighborhood Watch Program," through which Davis proposes to cut crime, are nothing more than more cops,

more sophisticated weaponry, more helicopters, and more legislation to unshackle the police force from the few laws that restrain their outright murdering of workers and youth.

Los Angeles residents are angered over the increased police harassment.

Elmer James, a worker from Watts said: "If I do not pay a traffic ticket, the police will be at my door to throw me in jail. But the people behind Watergate go free."

#### Liquor Distributors Lock Out Women Clerks

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Two hundred women clerical workers in Teamsters Local 856 were locked out Monday by Bay Area liquor distributors. The companies have decided on an all-out fight before the big holiday liquor rush.

Negotiations have been deadlocked since the contract expired June 1. The clerks want the right to preference in bidding for jobs which fall vacant. One striker said, "You can be here 25 years and a job opens up for 20 cents an hour more, and someone takes it right off the street."

The union is also demanding a cost of living escalator. "They think because we're women we

don't need a cost of living. But there a lot of people who are the only support for their children," said an older woman.

This lockout comes on top of the 18 week strike by beer truck drivers. The picket lines are being honored by Teamster warehousemen and freight drivers, but the companies are beginning to use all the methods of the beer distributors.

Retail store owners are picking up supplies, which are loaded by guards and management. One storekeeper showed up with a Doberman pinscher.

Armed security guards are patrolling the picket lines to "protect" the companies from their women employees.



Women clerical workers of Teamsters Local 856 were locked out Monday in the midst of a contract dispute. The company has hired armed guards to harass the picket line.

#### Tension Builds Up At GM Southgate

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES—A special midnight meeting was held last night for the chassis department after the second shift at the Southgate plant of General Motors here. Over 55 attended from the department of 425 workers.

In the last week, safety conditions have worsened. A whole part of a structure dropped which nearly killed an assembly line worker. Many workers report that they are not being allowed to go to the medical department. For the first time, plant officials are cracking down

and enforcing the 45 shop rules. Workers are especially facing disciplinary action from work rule Number Six (absent without excuse) and Number Seven (tardy).

Disciplinary actions are up 85 percent over the last two weeks. Although the committeeman blamed the new superintendent in the department, many workers feel that this is a new policy of GM as the biggest auto manufacturer gears up for attacks on working conditions.

As contract talks between GM

and the UAW draw near, local management has not moved on any of the local negotiations. Since changeover, only two Paragraph 78s out of hundreds have been settled.

Local 216 union officials are very reluctant to discuss the national contract. No doubt the committeeman called this special meeting to release some pressure, as it is in this department that a plant-wide petition demanding a union meeting to discuss the national issues has been initiated.

## Greet the twice-weekly **Bulletin**

#### San Francisco October 19 8PM

Gas Buggy Room, Jack Tar Hotel Geary & Van Ness

for information call:
Palo Alto-493-2854
or 854-5600
San Jose-923-3175
East Bay-465-9318
contribution: \$1.50/

75° youth & unemployed entertainment & refreshments

#### Portland Thurs. Oct. 18 7:30PM

Portland
Community
College
Cascade Hall
705 N.
Killingsworth
\$1/50° youth &
unemployed

#### Los Angeles October 20 8PM

Embassy Auditorium Assembly Hall 839 So. Grand Ave.

for information call: 678-3528 contribution: \$1.50/ 75¢ youth & unemployed

Speaker for all meetings: Lucy St. John, Bulletin Editor

strución de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que nesecitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirijir su correspondencia a Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications. 135.West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

#### ıcha obrera

lucía rivera-

#### **PSP** y Stalinismo

Las condiciones a la que se enfrenta la clase obrera internacionalmente, requiere que veamos el papel que juegan los movimientos revisionistas y nacionalistas tanto en Estados Unidos como en Puerto Rico.

Los sucesos en Chile demuestran el carácter traicionero de las políticas stalinistas de "frentes populares". Es en este contexto que tenemos que análizar el rol del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP).

El PSP surge luego del descalabro electoral del Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP) en el 1957. Se organiza bajo el nombre del Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) el 1959, a raíz del triunfo de la revolución cubana. Este movimiento encabezado por Juan Mari Bras, de composición de clase media y de estudiantes universitarios se basará en que no es necesario la creación de un partido marxista, si no que la clase media puede hacer por sí misma la revolución.

Basado en la experiencia cubana el PSP reafirma su posición de clase media. Fidel Castro es presentado como el gran marxista de nuestros tiempos que ha llevado a cabo una revolución sin nesesidad de un partido marxista.

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#### Phone: 824-4096

West Coast Office: 3327 24th St., San Francisco, Cal. 94110 EDITOR: BARRY GREY

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#### ucha obrera

#### **PSP** y Stalinismo

Las condiciones a la que se enfrenta la clase obrera internacionalmente, requiere que veamos el papel que juegan los movimientos revisionistas y nacionalistas tanto en Estados Unidos como en Puerto Rico.

Los sucesos en Chile demuestran el carácter traicionero de las políticas stalinistas de "frentes populares". Es en este contexto que tenemos que análizar el rol del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP).

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