

APR 3 1967  
INSTITUTION

# For the Military Victory of the NLF -- Defend China!

Statement of the Coordinating Committee  
of the American Committee for the  
Fourth International

The United States is well down the road to an all-out war with China. The imperialists cannot win the Vietnam War but they cannot afford to lose it. The stakes are too high. A U.S. imperialist victory would be a major defeat for the world working class. Conversely, the military defeat of the United States would be a major blow to the power of world imperialism.

Unable to win a war within South Vietnam the United States aggressors press on ever deeper into North Vietnam. Each step requires renewed vigor and struggle from the working class in all lands.

American socialists bear a particular responsibility in this world conflict. Our tasks must start with a clear political stand. We

must stand for the military victory of the oppressed Vietnamese masses. We must urge the military defeat of the soldiers of American imperialism in Vietnam. There can be no compromise on this central issue. Our first task is the struggle against our own imperialist ruling class. Those who sidestep this task are betrayers of the world working class.

It is not enough to limit one's propaganda to the slogan "Bring the Troops Home Now" as does the Socialist Workers Party. This side-come home in victory or in defeat. This ambiguity is the basis of the SWP's ability to block with right wing forces within the peace movement. At a time when not only the defense of a revolution is at stake but the defense of the workers states themselves, such a stand is nothing short of BETRAYAL.

Once we are clear as to where we stand on the Vietnamese war the next question is how do

we implement our stand. During World War I Lenin summed up the revolutionary socialist position on war with the slogan "Turn the Imperialist War into a Civil War." In the United States today this means doing everything possible to develop and expand the class struggle. The struggle of the masses of the people, the workers, the Negroes, the youth, must be sharpened and pitted against the American ruling class. These struggles must be linked to the question of the war in Vietnam.

MILITARY VICTORY FOR THE NLF!

UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE  
CHINESE WORKERS STATE!

DEEPEN THE CLASS STRUGGLE  
AGAINST THE AMERICAN RULERS!

Hansen  
and  
Spartacist  
  
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# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Independent  
Politics  
in Brooklyn  
  
page 4

Vol. 3, No. 1 - 43

Sept. 12, 1966

Ten Cents

## NFWA Wins Farm Workers At DiGiorgio

(As we go to press no official results on the DiGiorgio election have been released. Unofficial returns give the AFL-CIO union a majority of the field workers (528-328) and the Teamsters a majority of the shed workers (94-46). The following article is based on a trip to Delano on the eve of the election.)

by Earl Owens

DELANO -- The farm workers in Delano had been on strike for ten months when one day the Teamsters arrived. The Teamsters set up headquarters at the Stardust Motel, conveniently located next to the Stardust Liquor Store, and began distributing souvenir key chains.

The DiGiorgio Corporation, which destroyed the unions which attempted to organize its workers in 1939, a second time in 1947-50, and again in 1960, suddenly decided to officially endorse the Teamsters! (In union elections set up by the NLRB such actions by an employer are considered illegal).

One Teamster leaflet reads as follows: "The Teamsters is a union that encourages understanding between its members and the employer because both are needed to provide the

food we eat. Not one that breeds revolution... It is a union (the Teamsters) that has had only one 11 day strike in the food processing industry within the past 20 years."

### TEAMSTERS INTIMIDATE

The Teamsters organizers attempted to intimidate farm workers. •Richard Edmunds was with a girl friend at a dance. A few of the Teamster organizers at another table began taunting him because they knew he supported the NFWA. Three of them later followed him to the restroom where they jumped on him, beat him threw him to the floor and kicked him in the face. The next day several carloads of Teamster organizers surrounded the car of Brothers Eliseo Medina and Robert Bustos. They attacked the car and smashed Eliseo in the face and cut his lower lip, requiring medical care.

The protagonists in this struggle, despite temporary alliances, have divergent interests: The DiGiorgio Corp. attempting to use one union against another as a more sophisticated way to break a strike; The Teamsters interested in farm labor as a way to get truck drivers who haul farm produce; The AFL-CIO attempt-

(Continued on page 4)



NFWA MEMBERS RALLY AT STATE CAPITOL. THIS SPIRIT BEAT DIGIORGIO.

### black power and the white worker

## Integrationist King's Marches Provoke Fascist Reaction from Chicago Whites

by K. Uhle

Dr. Martin Luther King and his aides, with the alleged purpose of gaining non-segregated, or 'open' housing, have been leading numerous marches for weeks into many of Chicago's all-white, 'middle income,' one and two family house neighborhoods.

These 'civil rites' treks, with both Negro and White participants (about half and half) have the usual clerical-pacifist tinge. Thousands of marchers poured into Gage Park, Chicago Lawn and Marquette, etc. They generally chose a new neighborhood for each of the ten or so expeditions, and on each one stopped occasionally for 'prayer-vigils.'

But no matter where they went, they were jeered and attacked by the local residents (by the thousands) and were only saved from annihilation by hundreds of Chicago cops. At one point cops shot over the heads of a menacing crowd. Dozens of marchers were injured (primarily by things thrown at them) and many cars used by the marchers burnt. The hecklers shouted such inventive slogans as "hate, hate, hate."

Members of the National States Rights Party and the American Nazi Party were all dressed up and were busily handing out applications for memberships (which apparently were snapped up) for their re-

spective Fascist groups.

One Nazi Party member summed up his group's perspective with "if Negroes can march into White areas, we can march into Negro areas."

### OPEN HOUSING

We support "open housing" both in the law, which Chicago has, and in practice. (Chicago does not want to enforce this difficult-to-apply law.) Our position is taken despite the fact that most Negroes do not have, and under Capitalism will not have the money to make the down-payment for an "open" house. We also deplore the violence inflicted upon the marchers.

(Continued on page 2)

# Indonesia -- The Whole Bloody Truth Comes Out On PKI, Sukarno and Million Murdered Workers

by Tim Wohlforth

Sukarno's days as president of Indonesia are clearly numbered. He has served his dirty purpose as a left cover for the usurpation of power by the right wing generals -- no doubt with the aid of the CIA. These generals are only waiting for the proper moment to dump Sukarno with the least amount of internal difficulty.

Sukarno has made the generals' task very easy indeed. He has joined with the generals in denouncing the "Untung coup" as a terrible, unpatriotic, "communist" plot. Since it is clear that Sukarno was involved in the very organization of this "coup", Sukarno has simply prepared the ground for his own prosecution.

## MURKY EVENTS

Already the murky events around one of the greatest political slaughters in history are slowly becoming clear. Just after the coup, in our November 15, 1965 issue, we stated: "Much of the detail in the coup and counter coup still remains obscure, but the general outline of developments is clear enough. The drive against the PKI following the failure of the Untung 'coup' lends considerable weight to General Untung's move which was calculated to prevent a coup by the right wing generals. Under the guise of 'defending' Sukarno these generals are right now waging a campaign of terror against the PKI, that is, carrying out the policy they obviously

had in mind prior to the Untung move. It also seems quite likely that Sukarno supported, and in fact may have instigated, Untung's 'coup'."

The recent series of articles in the New York Times by Seymour Topping generally substantiates this picture. He reports, for instance: "On the army side, a secret council of generals had been formed, although the army denied it after Sept. 30." He also states that it was Sukarno who organized the "Untung coup" upon learning of the army council from Dr. Subandrio.

## NO COUP D'ETAT

The political objective of the coup and the role of the PKI leadership in the coup offer more evidence as to the PKI's contribution to its own bloody massacre. "It was not to be a coup d'etat," Topping states, "that is, a seizure of the government, although the events of Sept. 30 are often so described. An immediate Communist takeover of Indonesia was not planned. The plotters intended what one scholarly researcher recently described as another 'political shift to the left.'"

Sukarno collaborated with the PKI in this project, Topping explains, both out of fear of a right wing coup and because he was convinced the PKI "could become free of outside Communist domination." His long range objective, then, was to transform the PKI into a reliable base for the capitalist development of Indonesia. Considering the PKI's functioning during the

Sept. 30th events, Sukarno's judgement may very well have been correct.

According to the Topping account, the PKI participated with the coup from on top only, not even informing its leading members throughout the country what was to happen. Thus when the coup went sour the members were unarmed and massacred, totally disoriented, totally leaderless.

Not only were the mass of the PKI membership unarmed but the PKI had actually turned over its membership list to the army prior to the coup! During the bloody massacre of perhaps a million PKI members and sympathizers the army simply went down these lists one by one, rounded up the members and shot them.

## LEGALITY

The wholesale slaughter of the PKI was carried out precisely because this party did not conduct an independent struggle for power. Accustomed for so long to its role as supporter of the bourgeois governmental structure of the country it even went so far as to participate in a political coup against the army generals without serious preparations. The bourgeoisie and the CIA, however, are not as interested in legality.

Symbolic of the whole role of the PKI was Aidit's comment the night he was shot. After being taken in a jeep to a desolate spot and forced to get out, he exclaimed: "What is this? This is not legal."

these beginnings will attempt to incite a total race war. King has made Chicago Fascism's first base in America.

(3) the defaming and damaging of the movement for Black emancipation. The mobs chanting "White Power" were reacting to anti-Black Power advocates, acting in an apparently aggressive fashion. Black Power is not anti-white.

(4) most importantly, injuring the prospects, and harming any existing trends, toward Black-White Proletarian Unity, a unity which is essential for any fundamental social (including racial) change in the United States.

## WHITE WORKER

What are these "middle income" neighborhoods that were marched upon? They are areas populated by white workers and their families, with incomes of \$6-7-8,000 per year. The workers own modest houses and are saddled with heavy mortgages.

These workers, now badly hit by the Vietnam War inflation, are perhaps a generation or less away from the very ghettos Negroes now populate. They do not

want to lose what little comfort and security they now have.

Instead of "open housing", the marchers gave the impression of desiring a displacement of white people as a whole, for the benefit of Black people. This poses the question to the residents -- "where can we go now?"

## HOUSING

Housing is a social, not a racial question. Insufficient and poor housing can only be remedied by more and better housing. Government construction of housing, available to everyone as a matter of right is the only solution.

Capitalist America cannot do this, although minor construction (gained through the pressure of class protest) may be achieved. Capitalism and its typical no-housing policy can only be opposed by workers struggle, the merging of black workers power with white workers power aiming toward socialism -- the first basic step being the formation of a labor party.

We must struggle to join the very sources of workers power which come from these neighborhoods -- and go to work daily for the Boss Class.

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM



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## ANTI-WAR FIGHTERS STOMP HUAC

The degraded spectacle of the Lucy Johnson-Pat Nugent Hiroshima Day wedding wasn't sufficient. Not to be outdone the HUAC klan goosestepped out to launch an attack on the militants in the anti-war movement. HUAC chairman, Joe Pool, the ideal stereotype of a fat bigoted Southern sheriff, started the hearings off with testimony from the famous author-fink Phillip Luce. In addition to lining up votes from the folks back home for the coming elections the major purpose of these hearings was to give publicity to the "Pool Bill", a piece of legislation designed to strangle opposition to the war with threats of jail and fines.

If HUAC had any idea of intimidating the anti-war movement it sadly miscalculated. The young revolutionaries subpoenaed by the committee treated the "honorable" representatives with all the contempt they deserve. They used the hearings as a revolutionary forum to attack the government. They made the HUAC louts into punching bags and never lost the initiative. They admitted to being Communists and solidarized themselves with the National Liberation Front. The Communist Party never prepared the witchhunters for this!

The anti-war movement won this confrontation and it is important to understand why. The militants called before the committee were not alone. There is a growing mass opposition to the war. The middle class has been most vocal in its opposition but the growing labor militancy indicates great discontent among the workers with the economic squeeze caused by the war. As the war expands and increasingly threatens to involve China the Administration is met with a growing crisis at home. Militant strikes, exploding ghettos, discontent with the war and the inevitable effect of this on the troops can force Johnson to hold back.

The most effective defense we have against future government attacks is precisely extending the struggle against the Vietnam war into the labor movement and the Negro movement.

## AFTER THE AIRLINES STRIKE

The airlines strike marks a new stage in the militancy of the American working class. The Machinists were able to make some important gains only because they defied their national leadership and rejected the contract Johnson sought to force upon them.

Despite the threat of special legislation directed against them, the rank and file held out forcing a richer settlement. Even so the final settlement will be largely eaten up by the constantly increasing inflation. The important cost of living escalator does not take effect until the last year of the three year contract.

Gardner Ackley, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, estimates the settlement at 4.9 per cent a year. However, he also reports that productivity in the airline industry has been gaining at the remarkable rate of 9.8 per cent a year from 1960-1965 and 11.2 per cent last year.

The significance of the airlines strike lies mainly in what it portends for the future. Next year contracts come due in a number of basic industries including auto, trucking, rubber, and clothing while the electrical unions are already engaged in negotiations with the giant electrical companies. Faced with inflation which is eating away at the workers gains, fat profits and opulent living on the part of the bosses, intensified speed-up in the factories, and continuing unemployment despite a booming economy -- the working class can be expected to seriously struggle.

The stage is set for larger and larger confrontations between the working class and the government which will be forced to intervene more and more often in behalf of the bosses. The absurdity of voting for the bosses' parties only to be crushed by those same parties on the industrial front will be driven home time and again to the American workers.

It is extremely important that a number of West Coast local Machinist leaders raised the need for a labor party during the airlines strike. This concept will be pushed more and more to the fore.

The next great step for the American working class will be independent political action. It is our job today to prepare for this step by struggling for a labor party in the unions, in the ghetto communities North and South, and within the peace movement.

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**swp as spartacist's advocate****JOSEPH HANSEN RECONSTRUCTS THE TRUTH**

by Fred Mueller

Once principle is abandoned, politics makes for the strangest bedfellows. Not so long ago the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party expelled the Robertson group as the most vehement of charges flew back and forth between this leadership and Robertson. Today they stand together in a common bloc against the International Committee of the Fourth International.

At first it was Robertson's Spartacist which broke with the International Committee (IC), filling its publication with a veritable deluge of organizational charges. Now the SWP's international expert Joseph Hansen comes none too gingerly on the scene with his little pamphlet "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International-- Documents and Comments by Participants in a Fiasco".

Upon first reading this particular contribution, we must confess that we were rather stunned. Hansen's hatred for those who represent the real continuity of Marxism and Bolshevism is of course not at all surprising. But one would have thought that the SWP revisionists would have exercised just a bit more caution in their attack. Instead, what they have done in their haste and desperation is to accept without any question whatsoever the account of the London Conference of the IC given by the Spartacist, and they have added for good measure a few embellishments of their own.

As observers at the International Committee Conference, we are obligated to set at least some of Hansen's lies straight.

**hansen lies repeatedly**

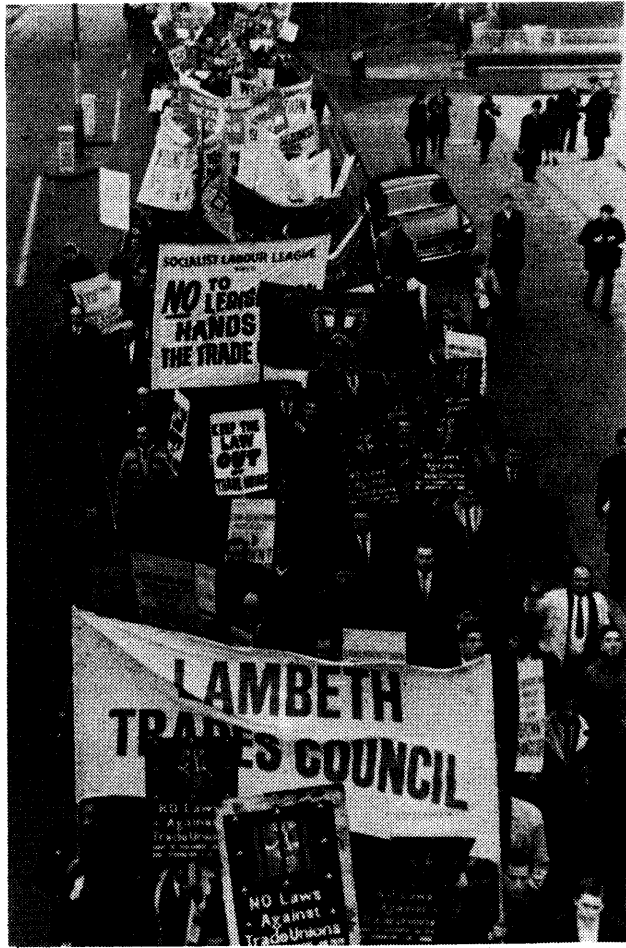
Hansen lies repeatedly in trying to bolster his case of Stalinist bureaucratism against the SLL and the IC. He claims that Robertson apologized for absenting himself from a session of the conference "emphatically", as a matter of fact. The fact is that Robertson never apologized, and Spartacist has never even claimed that he did. Hansen furthermore claims that Robertson was ordered to characterize himself as a petty bourgeois American chauvinist. This is an absolute lie. In addition Hansen deliberately covers up the fact that Robertson was asked to return to the conference from his quarters, which were only across the street.

The facts are, quite simply, that Robertson absented himself from an approximately 6 hour session of the conference at which his contribution to the discussion was being taken up. He stated that he was "unavailable" after he was requested to return. The conference unanimously requested this and explained that his participation could not be taken seriously if he absented himself during the session at which the differences posed by his remarks were being discussed.

Only after he had refused to return was he asked to apologize for this absence. Only when he continued to refuse to acknowledge that he had caused the conference to be inconvenienced was his attitude characterized as that of a petty-bourgeois. He was, of course, never ordered to agree with this characterization. But he continued, for the next 24 hour period of the conference, during the summation and vote of the main resolution, to refuse to apologize. At this point he was excluded from the meeting.

But alas, our friend Hansen did not bother to check these facts. He simply accepted everything that Spartacist said, and added a few "interpretations" of his own. The very same Robertson whom Hansen and the rest of the SWP leadership threw out of the SWP in 1964 (the expulsions were of course opposed and denounced by those of us who were later to form the ACFI), the very same Robertson whom Hansen and his fellow revisionists insisted at that time was an untrustworthy, habitual liar, has become, in such a short time - a truth-teller! Just a short time ago he could never be trusted, but now his word is simply not to be questioned! It is Hansen's political bankruptcy that leads him into this truly outrageous and dishonest contradiction.

Let us go just a bit further. Those to whom the SWP is peddling this pamphlet, as well as its own membership, are owed an explanation as to why Hansen chooses to accept all of Spartacist's "evidence" without question. Hansen, in trying to explain this, only gets into more trouble. He says, "The facts reported by the Robertson delegation are different from anything yet revealed



THE MOVEMENT HANSEN CANNOT EXPLAIN

since they come from people who were pathetically loyal to Healy and who could scarcely believe their eyes as they witnessed what was happening."

Here, too, Hansen is lying, and he knows it. Hansen, as a matter of fact, gave the report on the International Resolution at the 1963 SWP Convention. He could not possibly have forgotten how Robertson sharply differentiated himself from Healy and the International Committee at that time. Nor could he have forgotten that Robertson for over a year up until his expulsion from the SWP defended himself by denouncing Healy! But Hansen's only justification for accepting Robertson's evidence now is this deliberate lie concerning Robertson's previous relationship to the International Committee.

A catalog of Hansen's distortions and lies beyond this point would go on and on and would detract from the major issue. The major issue is Hansen's method, his approach to the IC Conference and to Robertson's organizational attacks upon the IC.

**swp turns on itself**

One of the most important traditions of the Trotskyist movement comes from the 1940 struggle inside the SWP against the petty bourgeois opposition led by Shachtman, Burnham and A-Bern. Two books came out of this struggle, books which retain their basic validity to this day. Cannon's "Struggle for a Proletarian Party" and Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism" expose the bankruptcy of the method used by Hansen and Robertson today.

Trotsky taught the SWP that a political struggle can never be launched over questions of regime alone. Regimes must be judged by their political stands. The sign of every petty bourgeois opposition has been precisely this tendency to bloc with everybody and anybody in an unprincipled struggle against the "regime." For as long as one struggles on the organizational plane alone then the most diverse political tendencies can stand together on what they are against having no agreement whatsoever on what they are for.

Robertson, of course never really understood this. He spent ten years in the Shachtmanite movement before entering the SWP and his short stay within the SWP was during a period of the degeneration of that organization.

But with the SWP leadership and ranks it has been different. This party has been imbued with an absolute hostility to unprincipled organizational struggle. All a minority had to do was start a struggle inside the SWP against the "regime" to be immediately met with a hostile reaction from the party ranks.

In fact in 1959, when a small group inside the British SLL led by Peter Cadogan launched an

organizational struggle much like the current writings of Robertson, so hostile was the reaction of the SWP leadership that they sent out the Cadogan material to their National Committee without comment assured of the immediate hostile reaction of the party.

But today Hansen has violated all this. He has eagerly grabbed up every little morsel of organizational garbage written by the Spartacist and published it all under the SWP primature. And so the SWP's degeneration is complete as the leadership embraces the organizational methods of Shachtman.

The logic of the SWP's revisionist politics has caught up with it and forced it to openly and crudely betray the most basic principles it fought for 25 years ago. Hansen's attack stems from weakness, not strength. It is a desperate effort to divert attention from the crisis facing the revisionists. Hansen tries to say that two groups split from the International Committee in London, when in reality neither group was ever affiliated to the IC. What he would like us to forget is that two large groups did split from the forces of the revisionists within the last two and a half years. The expulsion of Pablo's group and of the majority of the Ceylonese section were very heavy blows for the revisionists. They were totally unprepared politically for developments in Cuba, Algeria, Ghana, and Indonesia, nor are they prepared for the rising tempo of class struggle in the advanced countries. The International Committee, moreover, simply will not disappear. It continues to grow and several of its sections are making serious progress in rooting themselves in the working class. The SLL is the largest, and even more important, the most solidly proletarian and politically developed Trotskyist organization in the world. This growing adverse relationship of forces, politically but also organizationally, is what has called forth the venom from Hansen's pen.

**a rotten bloc**

What of Spartacist's responsibility in regard to the SWP attack? It is clear that Spartacist presented the SWP leadership with a very tempting opportunity to stab the IC in the Back. The attacks on the regime appeal to the revisionists precisely because these attacks have no real political content. The SWP could not have utilized Spartacist if Spartacist had made a clearly political attack upon the IC. But this is precisely what Spartacist was incapable of doing. Even the Voix Ouvriere group is in this respect a notch above the Spartacist. Hansen can make only slight use of their criticism because it is at least a political criticism, though a completely false one.

Spartacist's correspondence coming into the hands of the SWP, Hansen informs us "by chance", represented a bid for an unprincipled bloc against the International Committee. It is the IC which is the main enemy, of course, as far as both revisionist groups are concerned. The SWP accepted the offer of a bloc, and Hansen's piece of sewer journalism is their contribution to it.

Both components of this bloc will of course continue to affirm the many differences between them. They will in fact deny that a bloc has been made. Political struggle is often not so simple and uncomplicated as to confront us with an openly acknowledged political alignment. Especially where centrists are involved, the situation is most often quite muddy. It is in the nature of such tendencies to refuse to recognize and admit their true political nature.

But the fact is, of course, that the SWP and Spartacist are both directing their fire against the same opponent, and their attacks on this opponent have exactly the same content. Spartacist has yet to denounce the SWP for this pamphlet. As a matter of fact, Spartacist is selling the pamphlet to individuals who are not even sympathizers of theirs. As Hansen says, "The testimony of the Robertson delegation on Healy's undemocratic practices, is well worth study by all those who are interested in the health of the Socialist Labour League and the good name of Trotskyism in the British Labor movement." The reply of Spartacist to this compliment is that Hansen's pamphlet is indeed well worth study. What is this if not an unprincipled bloc, reflecting the extreme political instability and crisis of its two component parts?



# Independent Politics in Brooklyn's 12th CD



BULLETIN SUPPORTERS TAKE LABOR PARTY SLOGAN INTO PEACE MARCH

by Irv Hacker

The 12th Congressional District in Brooklyn is being transformed into an important testing ground for independent political action. The district covers parts of the neighborhoods of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Park Slope, Crown Heights and Boro Park.

For some years now this area has been represented by Edna Kelly, a regular Democrat whose support for the Administration's Vietnam position has been shown without ambiguity by her voting record. Her indifference to neighborhood conditions and her voting against the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has done nothing to increase her popularity among the slum dwellers in the ghettos which comprise much of her Congressional district.

After years of deadening political tranquility, Rep. Kelly now faces opposition from not one but two radical candidates, as well as the traditional token Republican campaign. Both Hal Levin, a young lectur-

er in political science at Brooklyn College, and Herbert Aptheker, well known Communist Party leader, have chosen this district for experiments in political action.

#### APTKEKER CAMPAIGN

For Herbert Aptheker and the Communist Party the Kelly district was a perfect choice. Being a conservative Democrat the CP could run against Kelly while at the same time continuing to plug reform Democrats elsewhere. The Aptheker campaign not only does not represent a break from bourgeois politics, but it rather functions as a cover for the CP's continued support to the "liberal" capitalists.

In fact Aptheker's campaign specifically avoids any mention of socialist or class politics. While mentioning that Aptheker happens to be a member of the Communist Party, one is urged to vote for him on the following basis: "As a citizen, soldier and scholar, my life has been devoted to the struggle against fasc-

ism, against racism, and against McCarthyism; as a candidate, these aims remain central." We take him at his word--central to him is a liberal bloc against "reaction", not the independent struggle for the working class. Any socialist who gives an ounce of support to the Aptheker campaign is betraying class principles.

#### LEVIN'S PROGRAM

Levin, in opposition to Aptheker's lack of a clear class program, does make some very definite programmatic demands. First, he calls for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam: "United States to get out of Vietnam and allow the Vietnamese people to run their own country."

He further states: "While corporate profits have soared, inflation has resulted in a lowering of real wages. Thus war profits only a few while it hurts most. The real interests of the vast majority of the American people lies with us withdrawing from Vietnam now."

In addition to his general Vietnam position, Levin calls for the billions being spent on destruction to be used for the building at home. He also calls for the passage of a \$2.50 per hour minimum wage law, the replacement of slums with public housing in prime areas, a massive public works program, full social, economic and political rights for all Americans - black and white, "full freedom of speech, press, and due process of law."

Finally and most importantly, he states that "this campaign is designed to build a broad based movement independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties... we want to build a broad based movement independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties... we want to build a movement for the vast majority of the American people, not for the corporations that profit by war."

#### CLASS CONTENT

It important and progressive that Levin, in contrast with Aptheker's coalitionism, clearly comes out for a third party in the United States. But it is a serious weakness that he remains deliberately vague as to the class content of this third party. We urge Levin to come out clearly and sharply for a labor party. Only such a statement with represent a real break with Aptheker's bourgeois politics.

The airlines strike (see editorial page 2) illustrates the real power of the American working class. It is significant that, faced with the threat of special legislation against the strike, a number of Machinist locals raised the idea of a labor party. With inflation eating away at the real wages of the workers, we can expect

more and more militant strikes. The next time the government may be forced to try to break the strike. This in turn will once again push the question of the labor party to the fore.

#### COMMUNITYITIS

It is extremely important when working on a community level to avoid succumbing to the outlook of the community. The problems of the ghetto masses are insoluble within the ghetto. The role of conscious political forces within the ghetto is to break down the isolation of the ghetto dweller from the working class as a whole. We must fuse in a common movement the masses organized on a community level with the working class organized at the point of production. The labor party slogan can be central to such a process.

We strongly favor socialists working in support of the Levin campaign seeking to overcome its weaknesses. However if Levin expects to get support from a broad section of the socialist movement, he must be willing to have these socialists and independents participate not only in the work of the campaign but in policy formation as well. So far discussion of program has been confined solely to the steering committee. This situation should be rapidly corrected.

THE BULLETIN  
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## NFWA WINS

(Continued from page 1) ing to prevent an independent radical force in the labor movement; The NFWA wanting to win this strike at any price.

#### AFL-CIO'S ROLE

One of the prices the NFWA has had to pay for victory is affiliation with the AFL-CIO. The reason -- the NFWA didn't have the money to compete with the Teamsters. But it was precisely the lack of AFL-CIO backing during the strike which had in fact encouraged the Teamsters to intervene. Nevertheless, the NFWA had no choice. The NFWA and AWOC, however, were not allowed to come into the AFL-CIO as an International with autonomous rights. The NFWA and AWOC were allowed in as the "United Farm Workers Organizing Committee" directly under the control of Meany and Lovestone.

The NFWA and AWOC issued leaflet after leaflet attacking gangsterism and class collaboration in the Teamsters. Needless to say every one of the arguments used against the Teamsters is equally true of the AFL-CIO!

Suddenly with the unification with the AFL-CIO thousands of dollars became available to the new farm workers union. Cavalcades of well-dressed union organizers from the AFL-CIO appeared in Delano. Union bureaucrats now get up on the platform to say how much they have always sympathized with farm workers and why it's supposedly so important for them to vote for Gov. Brown. Anyway, the farm workers are getting plenty of free soda pop. And there's even Tex Williams, paid \$500 by the AFL-CIO, to sing "Deep In The Heart Of Texas" in between speeches.



FARM WORKERS MARCH TO SACRAMENTO TO PUBLICIZE THEIR PLIGHT

#### THE FUTURE

It now looks like the NFWA will carry the agricultural workers while the Teamsters will win the shed workers in the August 30th NLRB election. Even this kind of victory at DiGiorgio will mark an important step forward in the struggle to organize agricultural labor. The victory will be primarily because of the struggles of the NFWA and the rank

and file farm laborers and not because of the Johnny-come-lately AFL-CIO money and organizers.

In any event, at one stage or other the militant NFWA would have had to form a relationship with the conservative bureaucratized AFL-CIO. This is a necessary stage in their development. Now the NFWA activists and militants will have to launch a dual struggle--against the bosses and

against the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which acts as the bosses agents.

But there is an important positive side of this development. This struggle is now a part of the organized labor movement in the United States. Success in both struggles can have a deep impact on the rank and file AFL-CIO workers in other industries who are just beginning to awaken to their own needs.