

HOOVER
MAY 28 1971
INSTITUTION

weekly organ of the workers league

**Castro
Embraces
Them All**
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VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER THIRTY-SEVEN (197)

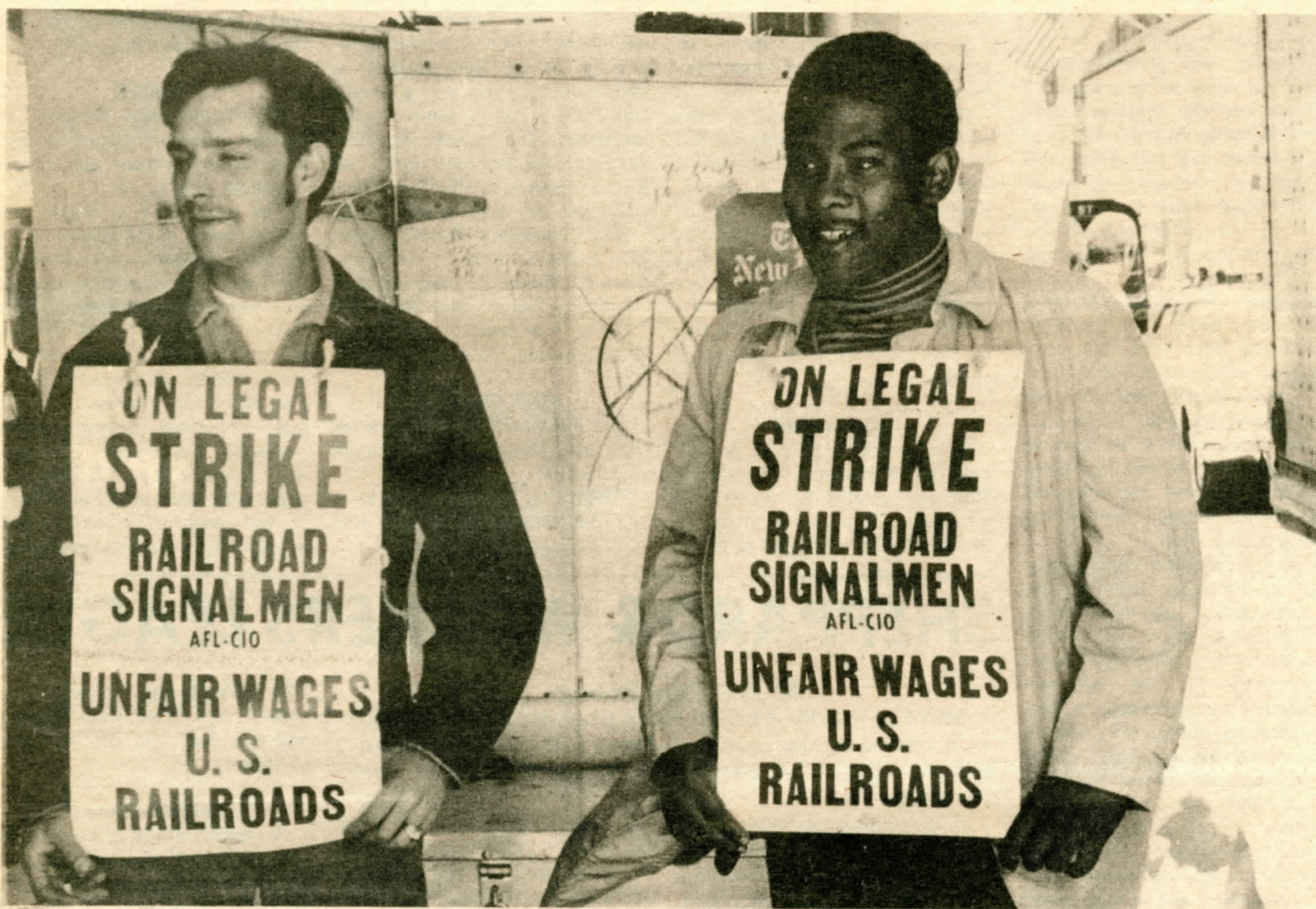
MAY 24, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

New York State Workers Set June 16 Deadline

THREATEN STRIKE AGAINST LAYOFFS

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**What
we
think**

From The Bottom Of The Barrel

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CONGRESS BREAKS RAIL STRIKE! Page 3

Ceylonese Trotskyists Jailed!

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The Political Committee of the Workers League condemns this traitorous action and demands that all working class organizations immediately send statements of opposition to the: Ceylon Embassy, 2148 Wyoming Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.

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Open Letter To Joseph Hansen

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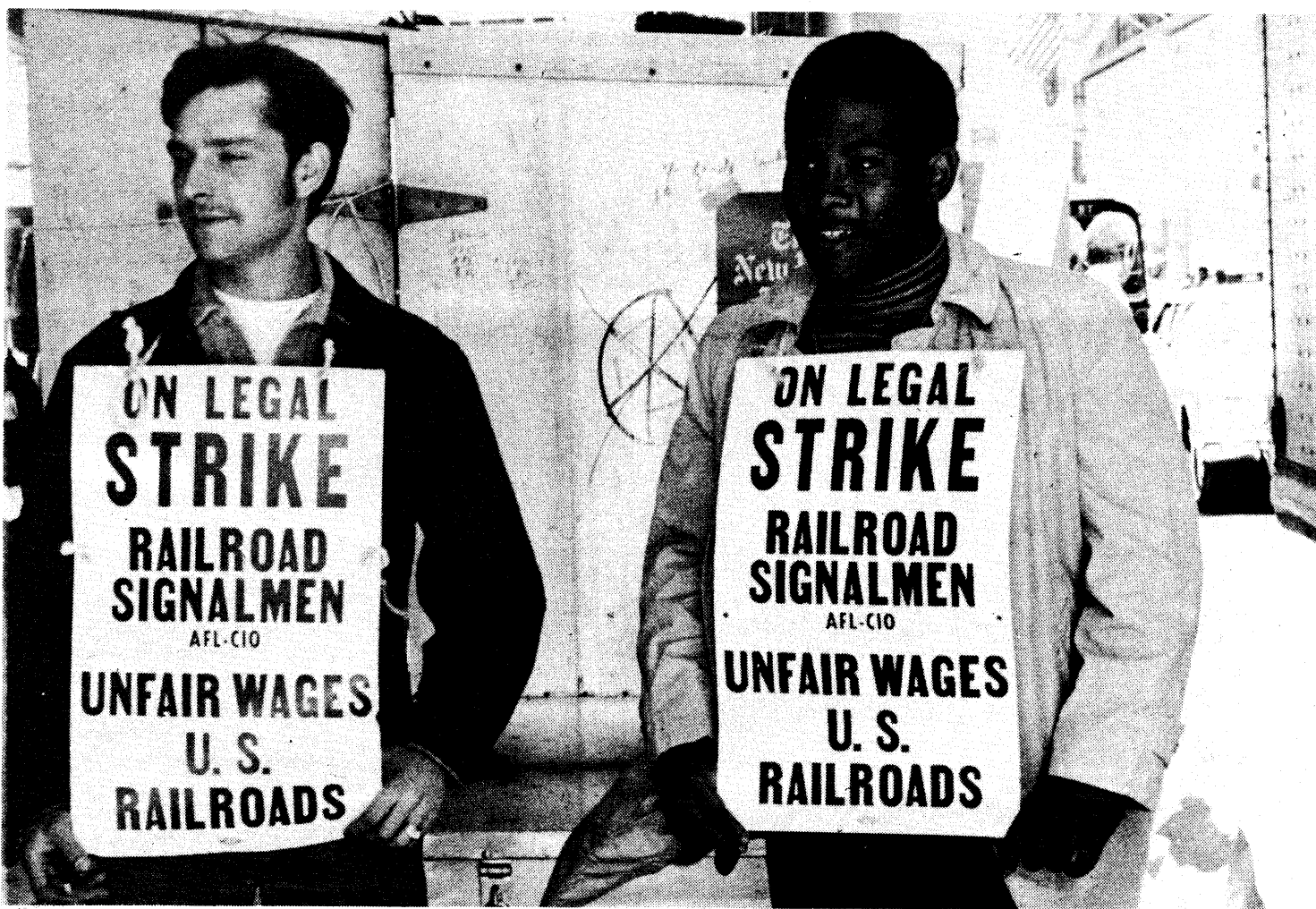
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CP Attack On French Trotskyists

Labor Victory In British Elections

BY MELODY FARROW

On May 9th a group of left wing militants were savagely attacked by members of the Communist Party while they were selling Informations Ouvrieres and Jeune Revolutionnaire to workers at La Courneuve.

A band of more than a hundred thugs attacked with knives, bicycle chains, iron bars and razor blades mounted on sticks.

Helene Fargier, a teacher and regional secretary of her union was sent to the hospital in a coma with severe head injuries. Gilles Fagniot, a postal worker and Jean-Jacques Garosi, a social security worker were also hospitalized with head injuries. The fifth comrade, Jeanine Lacomdeme also received similar injuries.

THUGS

The thugs were led by a member of the National Committee of the Jeunesse Communiste (Communist Party youth organization) a staff worker of the Communist Party at La Courneuve and an assistant to the mayor of the town.

Those in the band had been recruited from lumpen elements who hate communism as the Communist Party is unable to mobilize its rank and file workers to do its dirty work. They shouted "AJS-fascists" and "Leftist-fascists, the people will have your skin."

It was only pure chance that the injuries were not more serious.

Moreover, the French CP has made it clear that this is just the beginning. A Communist deputy wrote in the magazine, Express, that "Now, we are going to settle our accounts physically ourselves. No, for the working class will not call on the police of the bourgeoisie. We have already begun. There must be five in the hospital today. We will continue."

STALINISM

This attack is part of the escalation of physical violence by Stalinism against the Trotskyist movement. It comes at a time of the most massive upsurge of the

French working class since May-June 1968. At the present time 100,000 Renault auto workers are on strike throughout France.

The attack came a day after the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) initiated a 4,000 strong meeting to stop the new frame-up trials in Czechoslovakia.

STRIKE

The strike movement began on April 29th when 82 specialized workers at the Renault plant in Mans went on strike after four weeks of negotiating for a wage increase. For four weeks the CGT, the Stalinist-controlled union, had staged futile limited stoppages.

Their action brought out the rest of the 5,500 workers who have occupied the plant.

The militants of the OCI and the AJS leafleted the workers calling on all Renault workers to strike. The CGT did everything it could to prevent the movement from spreading.

May 4th the Renault workers at Flins and Sandouville went out. On May 5th a section of workers at the big Renault plant in Billancourt called for a strike and 1500 workers demonstrated throughout the factory. The next day, despite the Stalinists' call for a referendum, 30,000 workers occupied the Billancourt plant.

The Communist Party, thrown into a panic wrote in its newspaper, L'Humanite that weekend, "Renault must operate," and "There is nothing revolutionary about wanting things to change."

DECLARATION

The Political Committee of the OCI has issued a declaration which states:

"Workers, youth, militants:
"The 100,000 workers of Re-
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SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Labor Party candidates won sweeping election victories in England's local elections last week.

The Labor Party which lost the General Election last June won a total of 2,000 seats while the party in power, the conservative Tories, lost 1,800 seats.

In London, Labor won control of 21 of the 32 boroughs in the Greater London Council and almost 70 cities. Even Bexley, the Tory Prime Minister's home district and Harrow, a traditional Tory stronghold, lost to Labor.

DETERMINATION

The massive vote for the Labor Party expresses the determination of British workers to defend their living standards and rights against Tory attempts to drive down wages and destroy their unions with the Industrial Relations Bill.

It also indicates that important sections of the middle class, also hit by the crisis, are turning against the Tories.

TORIES

The Tories had pledged to reduce inflation but prices have gone up 9% a year and unemployment is soaring.

The workers vote Labor, not out of faith in its leaders like Harold Wilson but because they see it as a political weapon with which they can fight.

The Socialist Labor League has consistently campaigned for the unions to call a General Strike and force the Tories to resign and re-elect Labor under socialist leadership. Through this struggle the SLL fights to expose the reformist Labor Party and trade union leaders and prepare for socialist revolution.



Helene Fargier was hospitalized along with five other members of French Trotskyist movement after vicious armed attack by Stalinists.

NY State Workers To Strike Against Layoffs

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK, May 19—Yesterday the New York State Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) called for a statewide strike of its 150,000 members starting June 16th, unless the threatened 8,250 layoffs are rescinded.

Tens of thousands of state workers responded to a mail ballot by demanding strike action, despite the slave-labor Taylor Law, which makes strikes by public employees illegal.

In a meeting last night of over 1000 delegates and shop stewards from every union in District Council 37, Victor Gotbaum, DC 37 Executive Director, threatened "the biggest strike this city has ever seen" if the state legislature did not approve the DC 37 pension plan.

The passing of the pension bill would mean a real disaster for municipal labor, as it would set a precedent for all gains made in collective bargaining to be taken away by the state legislature. Gotbaum correctly stated that it would mean an end to collective bargaining in the City. However, Gotbaum refuses to link the fight on this issue with the fight against the mass layoffs, an equally dangerous threat to unionism. The question of strike action against layoffs was conspicuously absent. Gotbaum must strike along with the CSEA on June 16th on both the layoffs and the pension bill.

Last week, about 80 provisional and certified caseworkers demonstrated in front of the office of Victor Gotbaum, District 37 head. They were demanding that Gotbaum take up the fight now for general strike action against the layoffs of City workers.

Dennis Cribben, member of the Committee for a New Leadership of SSEU-371, spoke at the rally, and put forward a motion which called for general strike action June 1st, and a break with the two capitalist parties through taking immediate steps for a convocation of labor to call a labor party. The motion

passed overwhelmingly.

However, the demonstrators were not allowed to bring the motion into the District Council Executive Board Meeting, as Gotbaum had called the cops on his own workers, and would not let them enter the building. Such is the contempt of the labor bureaucracy for the rank and file!

Gotbaum and SSEU president Hill are under tremendous pressure. Next week, 266 provisional caseworkers, and about 30 more provisional clerical and messenger staff are slated to be laid off. It is getting more and more difficult for them to hide behind the artificial distinction between provisional and certified staff.

The CNL has been consistently fighting inside the SSEU for the general strike and labor party policies to be taken up. At the last Delegates Assembly meeting, when a CNL member demanded that Hill make a public plea on radio, TV, and in the press for general strike action against Lindsay and call for a labor party, he was very warmly received by the delegates. Unfortunately, the meeting was just a few members short of a quorum, and a vote could not be taken. The CNL intends to raise a motion in the next DA or membership meeting which would mandate President Hill to take this action.

Hill's response to the CNL was that the SSEU-371 leadership would be politically demolished if it put such a motion on the DC 37 floor. What he meant by that was obviously that his reputation as a "responsible" labor leader would be destroyed, as well as would be his career in the DC 37 bureaucracy.

The only force which can beat back the economic and political attacks of the ruling class against the workers and the poor, is the working class, organized in the trade unions. The only way to fight is through industrial action against the bourgeoisie coupled with a complete and total political break from it. This is the policy which the CNL is fighting for.

SHEPPARD & WORKERS LEAGUE

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

MINNEAPOLIS—Middle class liberalism thinly veiled with orthodox Marxism and laced with slander characterized the YSA educational conference held here recently.

As the revisionists desperately seek a political justification for their liquidationist program they were forced to change the entire schedule of the conference after all publicity had been released.

The opening session still dealt with women's liberation but Saturday sessions, originally "Is There a Ruling Class?" and "History of the Antiwar Movement," were revised to deal with "Building a Revolutionary Party" and "The Theory of the Permanent Revolution."

WORKERS LEAGUE

What was really going on was clear right from the start of Barry Sheppard's talk on the party. After dutifully reminding us that the revolutionary party is necessary for the success of the revolution, he proceeded to discuss how to build a party by showing the mistakes of the SWP's opponents. Who was the prime example of how not to build a party? Not the Stalinists who were hurriedly dismissed as having "...sold out

the revolutionary essence of the party." No, it is the Workers League that the Socialist Workers Party fears, and it is the Workers League that Sheppard was sent to Minneapolis



Barry Sheppard

to discredit.

The League, he says, feels that the essence of politics is to quote sacred texts—this from a Political Committee member who could only answer a question on the role of the press by saying, "Well, as comrade Lenin said, the press is the chief organizer of the party!"

There were also references to the "invincible thoughts" of

Tim Wohlforth, lumped together with Mao, Huey Newton and Gus Hall, and similar snide comments.

EMBRACE

Sheppard moved on to discuss the building of the party through "creative application of theory" in daily situations. Even the "creative" application of theory soon vanished and attacks on the Workers League continued. The audience was admonished to "embrace" anything which is "a genuine struggle...whether or not we completely understand it."

Other groups like the Workers League failed to embrace Black nationalism and feminism as revolutionary so they cannot understand it except abstractly. Next we will be asked to embrace capitalism as revolutionary in order that our understanding of it should not be abstract.

But the crux of the revisionists' disagreement with the Workers League and with Trotskyism is not in these questions but in the basic characterization of the historical period.

The essence of Sheppard's accusations was that our under-
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Rail workers picket in NYC as they fight Democrat-Republican Congress strikebreaking.

Dems Help Nixon Bust Rail Strike

May 19—A united Democratic-Republican Senate and House passed the emergency bill to break the railroad signalmen's strike. The bill was an even more vicious attack on the rail workers than the original version proposed by Nixon, but the President happily called the bill "acceptable" to him.

Under the terms, the signalmen have been given an extended "cooling off" period until Oct. 1, giving Congress plenty of time to enact Nixon's so-called emergency transportation bill, which would replace the current stop-gap type of action with permanent legislation establishing binding arbitration throughout the transportation industry.

On top of this, the emergency bill grants an "interim" raise of a piddling 13.5% retroactive to Jan. 1, 1970, thus running nearly 2 years. The signalmen have indeed been given the busi-

ness by Nixon together with all the doves and friends of labor in Congress.

As with the two previous Presidential-Congressional interventions against the railroad workers this year, the aim of the ruling class is not only to hold back the wage demands of the railroad workers and bludgeon them into accepting revised "work rules" (massive unemployment) but is a further preparation for eliminating the right to strike of the entire labor movement.

The Taft-Hartley law with its 60 day cooling off period is no longer sufficient for the ruling class. There is no doubt that the proposed transportation bill is not only aimed at the East Coast longshoremen who face a strike next fall, but is also a stepping stone to extend binding arbitration to all sections of U.S. industry.

REHEARSAL

The current "emergency" bill and the plea for the transportation legislation are taken now as a dress rehearsal for a probable steel strike this summer. With the steel strike coming up and the international monetary crisis threatening to erupt again at any moment, Nixon cannot afford to give one inch to the railroad signalmen.

The only "solution" for the ruling class is to break the strength of the organized working class. That is why Nixon and Congress take such prompt action against the railroad workers and such labor supported liberals as Senator Jacob Javits rush to introduce Nixon's emergency bill into the Senate.

The *Bulletin* interviewed two signalmen in New York who said they did not understand why the railroad bosses and the government are united against them, when all they simply are asking for is a decent wage. They said that they make less than workers on the MTA and work under worse conditions. "The cost of living has skyrocketed but signalmen's pay hasn't. In order to be able to pay your bills, you have to have another job besides this one, and we get no sick pay."

The signalmen are among the most highly skilled of US workers and in reality need an immediate 100% increase just to bring them up to the level of many other highly skilled workers. As it is, the signalmen's leadership under C.J. Chamberlain has already retreated from its previous demand for \$2.40 an hour over 36 months to \$1.99.

But as Chamberlain also says, accurately reflecting the mood of the signalmen, "our patience is completely exhausted." The question is whether the railwaymen are once again going to yield to Presidential-Congressional decrees and the cowardice of their leadership or are they going to demand support from the rest of the labor movement against this strikebreaking the aim of which is to enslave all workers.

NY Jury Frees Black Panthers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—All thirteen Black Panthers here, accused of conspiring to bomb department stores and murder policemen have been acquitted on all twelve counts.

The jury, which had five blacks and one Puerto Rican on it, took just one hour and a half to reach their verdict.

Applause and shouts of "Power to the People" filled the courtroom as James Fox, the jury foreman, pronounced not guilty 156 times. As Justice Murtagh and John Phillips the prosecutor who had accused the Panthers of a "conspiracy to harass society and the power structure" consoled each other, jurors and the Panthers openly embraced.

The verdict is a victory for the Panthers and the working class. It strikes a blow at Nixon's campaign to slander the Panthers and other revolutionary organizations as terrorists in order to wipe them out.

The verdict sharply exposes to masses of workers that these are political trials, that the Panthers are being systematically framed for their struggle against the capitalist system.

BIAS

The jury, composed of many working class people, overrode Judge Murtagh's blatant bias against the defendants and his instructions that they should consider the flight of Michael Tabor and Richard Moore to Algeria as "consciousness of guilt."

Joseph Gary, a postal clerk, said: "There just wasn't enough evidence." Another juror, Fred Hills, called the conspiracy trial "disgusting" and said it was "a large lasso to bring in people for so many things."

The prosecutor's case rested solely on the testimony of three undercover agents who claimed they heard the Panthers plot bombings. There was not one other witness to confirm this and no material evidence was ever revealed.

LIBERALS

The verdict is now being cynically used by the liberal capitalist press as well as civil rights and other reformist organizations as proof that revolutionaries can indeed get a fair trial in the United States.

Jeff Greenup of the NAACP stated "this will show those on all sides that it is possible to get a fair shake within the system."

The *New York Times* adds:

"The outcome of this trial in New York also exposes as a fraud the Panthers' noisy and noisome oratory about the fascist nature of justice in America." Barely containing their hatred of the Panthers the *Times* praises the jury for not making it a political trial when it was the representatives of "justice" that sought to turn it into one.

It was the "fair" judicial system that kept the Panthers in jail for two years on completely phony charges and set their bail at \$100,000 each. Even Afeni Shakur, who was pregnant, was not released on bail until the last weeks of the trial.

As one of the Panthers said "It wasn't the system that freed us, it was the jury."

The release of the Panthers can mean only one thing to Nixon, Mitchell and the entire capitalist class: in order to continue their campaign against socialist and other militant groups they must place complete control of the judicial system in the hands of the state.

In preparation for war against the working class Nixon must now launch new attacks on the jury system. This has already begun. In Washington thousands of youth were arrested and thrown in detention camps without being charged.

Growing Movement To Free Hoffa

BY OUR LABOR CORRESPONDENT

On May 10 Teamsters' President James Hoffa lost an appeal in Federal Court to serve his five and eight year sentences for mail fraud and jury tampering concurrently instead of consecutively.

Hoffa has already been in jail for over four years and has been turned down several times for parole, most recently last month.

It was believed that if he had won the right to serve the two terms concurrently he might have then been successful in winning parole almost immediately. The court decision indicates that he will have to spend perhaps 4 or 5 years more in jail.

Hoffa had stated previously that if he had no chance of release soon he would step down and not run for re-election scheduled for this summer.

He has now asked, however, for 30 days in which to decide whether to run for re-election. This request, made to the Teamsters' Executive Board, is based on new legal moves in the jury

tampering conviction. One of the key government witnesses has said that he was coached and pressured by the Justice Department to testify against Hoffa.

The government would like nothing better than to see Hoffa step down as Teamster President and thus make highly unlikely any future "comeback." The reaction of the Teamster rank and file and the officials to this situation is highly revealing.

Hoffa's fellow officers are falling all over themselves in trying to persuade him not to run for re-election. There is the example of "progressive" Harold Gibbons, who has participated in some anti-war demonstrations and recently took part in the meeting of the "Labor-University Alliance" in St. Louis at which

Students Get Harsh Sentences In Canada

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MONTREAL—In February of 1969, students at Montreal's Sir George Williams University were arrested during a protest against the University.

The protests centered on Black and West Indian students' demands that the University carry out an investigation into the conduct of an assistant professor, Perry Anderson, who, the students charged, was a racist. After the University carried out an investigation designed to hide more than it revealed and which let Anderson off scot free, the students staged a sit-in on the 9th floor of the Hall building to protest the University's conduct and to demand a new, impartial investigation. After several days, the University officials called in Montreal's notorious riot squad to comple-

tely smash the protest. Many of the students were arrested.

Now, two years later, the last trial of the arrested students has ended. Roosevelt (Rosie) Douglas, Ann Cools and Brenda Dickinson-Dash, three students who played a leading role in the protests, were all found guilty. Douglas was sentenced to two years less one day in jail and fined \$5000 or an additional six months. Cools was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$1500 or an additional six months. Dickinson-Dash was fined \$2000 or six months.

All across the West Indies, where many convicted students

come from and where Canada has heavy investments, workers and students protested the convictions. In Georgetown, Guyana, the Canadian High Commissioner's house was stoned while in Barbados Prime Minister Trudeau was burned in effigy along with the Canadian flag.

ATTACKS

It is now clear that the arrest of the SGWU students, just as in a far sharper form, the killing of the students of Kent State and Jackson State Universities in the U.S., marked the beginning of a new phase where capitalism would be forced to step up its attacks on youth and workers to the point of having to shoot them down in the streets.

Sirabella Begs For Support

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
NEW HAVEN—A general membership meeting of the Yale Campus Workers' Local 35 on May 10th, ended with Union business agent and current president of the New Haven Central Labor Council, Vincent Sirabella, pleading for continued support of Local 35's rank and file.

With the strike well into its second week and negotiations stalemated, Sirabella made it clear that Yale is out to bust the Union. He quoted from the Yale Journal an article, by a Yale trustee of its future plans to replace full-time campus workers with students and part-time help. Sirabella also stated that the Yale representatives told him "it was the survival of Yale as an institution vs. the survival of the Union." Sirabella went on to explain Yale's determination to destroy the union by attempting to "further" increase speed-ups, no limit on student part-time help and no end to job-freeze.

Sirabella plainly stated to the workers that they will win the strike and their demands. He further stated that he understands the problems of "poor" workers as his background as a worker began as a kitchen helper. Since this will probably be his last time representing them in contract negotiations, he will be entering the primaries for Mayor on the Democratic ticket, he felt that he would be a hypocrite if he betrayed the union or gave in to the attacks on the Union by Yale.

COMMITMENT

Sirabella must and will be held to his commitments to win the strike and beat back Yale's attacks. He must not wiggle off the hook with such statements as Yale's "overwhelming power" and "cleverness" and that the union is not "viable" or

"strong."

Ten students have already been arrested as the strike enters its 3rd week and more arrests are contemplated as Yale campus police pick them off on the picket lines singling out the most militant supporters of the strike, including a member of the Yale Workers League Club.

ISOLATE

With the school year coming to an end Yale intends to isolate the strikers and divide them. Yale hopes to defeat the workers with Sirabella's help, by starving and forcing them back to work out of desperation.

The Workers League and Yale Workers League Club demand that Sirabella develop a new strategy to win. A fight must be conducted to mobilize the New Haven labor movement (the nearly twenty thousand unemployed, YNFAC, 1199 Hospital Workers),

to drive back Yale's attacks by shutting Yale down.

Sirabella must build a strike fund, and not let the union be starved into defeat. As New Haven's largest employer, a victory for Yale's workers is a victory for all New Haven workers.

Build a Labor Party. Force Sirabella to break from the bosses' party.

This strategy must be coupled with demands that guarantee decent living standards for every worker. The right to a job and a decent income must not be bargained away. Make the following demands non-negotiable:

- \$2.00 an hour raise immediately.
- 18 month contract & full escalator clause.
- No job freeze—A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.
- No scabs. Drop all charges against students and union members. No reprisals.

Steel Mill Closure Threatens 2,500 Jobs

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER
DULUTH, Minnesota—As steelworkers across the country prepare for strike action against the steel barons and Nixon on August 1st, over 2500 of them still face the threat of U.S. Steel closing its Duluth mill and cement works. Involved are members of Locals 1028 and 1281.

U.S. Steel has been under state orders for some time to end the pollution coming from its 55 year old Duluth complex. Corporation officials have always replied with a threat to close down the complex, a move that would wipe out at least one fifth of the city.

The latest move to bail U.S. Steel out of the situation is the

frantic attempt by the Minnesota state legislature to grant a 20 year tax freeze on the assessed valuation of the steel mill. The money saved from not having increased taxes would be used for pollution control equipment.

DUMPING

The dumping of this extra tax burden onto the backs of the working class, estimated as being up to \$50 million, is part of the meaning of Governor Anderson's recent budget message. Promoted by the union bureaucracy as a "friend of labor," Anderson now comes forward with proposals for all sorts of tax increases. The bureaucracy is trying to sugarcoat this on the grounds that the tax program put forward by his opponents in the legislature are worse.

PAY

In Duluth, full support has been given by the Central Labor Union leadership to freeze the Duluth steel mill's tax assessments. They have joined with the Chamber of Commerce in accepting the fact that the workers must pay for the crisis of their employers.

District 33 Director of the Steelworkers, Glenn Peterson, has taken an even more reactionary position on this issue than the Central Labor Union. He would rather see no pollution equipment installed if necessary to keep the plant open.

Their accommodation to the employers on this issue is an indication of the willingness of the present union leadership to collaborate in plant closings. What is essential now is to build a national rank and file movement in the Steelworkers that can fight for the nationalization of U.S. Steel and the entire industry, without any compensation to its present owners, and under control of the steelworkers.

Mafia And Zionists Join Hands

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—The new alliance between Rabbi Meir Kahane of the Jewish Defense League with Joseph Colombo of the Italian-American Civil Rights League is another indication of the extreme reactionary character of the JDL.

Kahane in his search for allies finds natural bedfellows in Colombo and Company. Colombo has been labeled one of the top Mafia leaders. His whole campaign, ostensibly designed to stop the "smear" campaign against Italian-Americans, is of course aimed at taking some of the heat off himself and his friends. This is the man whom Kahane now embraces.

The rise of the Jewish Defense League shows that the Jewish middle class, 25 years after the



Meir Kahane (left) of fascist JDL with mobster Joseph Colombo.

end of World War II, is by no means immune from fascist ideology. Squeezed by the economic crisis, caught up in the intensifying class struggle and the militancy of the youth and minorities, these elements begin to turn, in the absence of revolutionary leadership, to right wing demagogues who promise support for the "little man" and a return to "law and order."

When these political hoodlums join the outright hoodlums it is a sign of the depth of the crisis and the deep danger to the working class from such elements. What is needed now is an all-out fight for the labor party to unite the working class and at the same time firm steps of self defense to protect working class organizations from hooligan attacks.

Repression Hits Maryland U

BY STEVE DAMON
COLLEGE PARK, MD.—Students at the University of Maryland here face serious repression in the aftermath of last week's riot triggered by the jailing of twelve thousand youth in Washington, D.C. Approximately 100 students have been arrested thus far.

The riot broke out at an anti-ROTC rally. But the thousands of students who came were clearly uninterested in irrelevant anti-ROTC protests in the face of the vicious repression in Washington. Thousands of students swarmed on to Route 1 to block traffic.

ROTC

Throughout the next week building occupations against ROTC took place. At most hundreds participated in these, but thousands of angry students watched outside, eager to defend the students in the buildings against the National Guard and police. From the very start PL-SDS betrayed the mass movement against repression, seeking to divert it into anti-ROTC adventures.

Turning its back on the fight against repression, PL-SDS it-

self is now under attack and is being literally torn apart by the state. PL-SDS leaders Karyn Pomerantz and Mark Woodard are among those arrested, and Karyn has been barred from campus. But even in the face of attacks on themselves, they refuse to fight the repression. In an article in the University of Maryland newspaper, the Diamondback, Karyn Pomerantz states that the only way to fight the repression is to continue to fight ROTC.

STATE

Meanwhile the state is using these miserable anti-ROTC adventures to attempt to destroy the entire socialist movement on the University of Maryland campus. No radical on that campus is now safe from arrest, and those arrested include individuals only very marginally connected with the adventures.

PL-SDS will not admit that its anti-ROTC program has been defeated. Like the Stalinists of the Third Period, on which they base themselves, they promote the doctrine of a continuous offensive with no defensive struggles. Now seeking to continue their anti-ROTC campaign, with the students tired and demoralized, they irresponsibly

pave the way for still deeper repression.

The way forward against repression and war was shown by the Workers League at a rally immediately preceding the student rebellion. The Workers League pointed out that repression and war could be fought only through the mobilization of the labor movement for a general strike, with the labor party question at the center. Middle class adventures divorced from labor would only bring defeat.

ADVENTURISM

During the disturbances the Workers League held an open meeting against the repression, showing what the repression meant as a class attack, how it must be fought, and drawing the lessons of the defeat of middle class adventurism.

Labor must now take up the defense of the arrested University of Maryland students along with the 12,000 jailed in Washington. This situation can only be turned around with a struggle for the understanding of the meaning of these attacks, rooting the fight back in the general strike movement of the working class.

Ferre Wants Low Wages For Puerto Rico Workers

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

Governor Luis A. Ferre of Puerto Rico has issued another warning to the workers and youth of the island. Speaking before the Puerto Rico Chamber of Commerce in the United States he opposed the raising of the federal minimum wage to \$1.80 by next January and to \$2.00 by January 1973.

According to the Governor, "requiring an industry to pay \$2.00 an hour will not help our workers if as a result of that requirement the industry disappears." He further called for the continuation of the special committees provided by the wage laws to review their application in Puerto Rico. These committees in the past would determine whether the minimum wages set by law were "harmful to the island industry," and recommended the maintaining of lower wages in certain industries.

What Governor Ferre, who heads the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, is saying is that the Puerto Rican workers will have to continue to foot the bill for Puerto Rico's so-called "economic growth." Higher wages will be bad for the workers, says Ferre. But this hinges on the imperialist relations existing between the US and Puerto Rico, in which American big business enjoys not only the low wages which Ferre supports but huge tax exemptions as well.

POWER

At a time when the whole capitalist system is in crisis these words of Ferre take the sinister character of preparing even bigger attacks on the standards and conditions of living of the Puerto Rican workers. These attacks must be answered by the united action of the Puerto Rican and American workers around a program for power.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Sadat Coup Is Threat To Palestinian Fight

BY FRED MUELLER

The new political crisis in Egypt reveals another sharp turn to the right by the capitalist regime. The timing of this crisis is anything but accidental.

Ali Sabry was ousted as Vice-President by President Anwar el-Sadat on May 2. Just a few days later U.S. Secretary of State Rogers went on his "peace-seeking" mission to the Middle East which involved extensive consultations with Sadat and other leaders.

Just days following the Rogers visit, on May 13, Sadat announced the resignations of six leading members of the government and three top leaders of the Arab Socialist Union.

Sadat announced that he was prepared to "cut to pieces" anyone who opposed him. He accused those resigning of having planned a coup d'etat and suggested that trials might follow for the alleged conspirators, now under house arrest.

Sabry has been denounced as the principal conspirator, and on May 15, for the first time since Nasser's death last year, huge portraits and banners acclaiming Sadat were carried through the streets of Cairo in mass demonstrations.

OMINOUS

All of these developments fit into a pattern which can only be regarded as extremely ominous for the future of the Palestinian and Arab struggles. The background for these moves is the growing and intense pressure for a Mideast settlement between the bourgeois regimes and Israel at the expense of the Arab masses. Washington has been particularly active in the diplomatic maneuvers for such a deal, and it has been assisted discreetly by the Moscow Stalinists at every point.

The Palestinian guerrillas have been put on the defensive.

During Rogers' latest trip, Jordanian King Hussein proudly displayed sections of his capital city of Amman which were previously under guerrilla control but are now firmly held by the royalists.

During the Jordanian civil war last year, the Soviet bureaucracy applied intense pressure to induce the Syrians to pull back their tanks sent to aid the commando forces and to prevent the Iraqis from taking any similar moves. This was shortly followed by a Syrian government shakeup which replaced a more "radical" nationalist regime with one closely tied to Nasser's heirs in Egypt.

FEDERATION

The latest development along this line was the formation of a new federation between Egypt, Syria and Libya. It was disagreement over this move which was said to have led to the clash between Sadat and Sabry.

Following the latest shakeup in Cairo the heads of state of Syria, the Sudan and Libya journeyed immediately to Cairo to demonstrate their support of Sadat.

What is involved in every single one of these moves is the consolidation of a bourgeois leadership which is prepared to do business with the imperialists and to go all the way in imposing a betrayal on the Arab masses struggling against imperialism and Zionism.

The New York Times reports from Beirut that "conservative Arabs praised what they considered President Sadat's crackdown on Communists and their supporters." The correspondent from Cairo says that "the

sympathy and support for Mr. Sadat aroused by the political challenge are expected to strengthen his ability to make difficult decisions in the political maneuvering for a settlement with Israel."

SELL-OUT

These "difficult decisions" are of course a not-so-veiled reference to a sell-out deal with the Israelis. The latest maneuvers on negotiations for the reopening of the Suez Canal are the preparation for a "political" settlement which would immensely strengthen Zionism and imperialism in this region.



Anwar el-Sadat (left) is on good terms with Yasir Arafat of the PLO at same time as his coup in Egypt endangers Palestinian struggle.

Taxi Militants Demand: Dump Rotten Contract

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Taxi drivers, struggling against sagging business, are hard-pressed to maintain their previous take-home pay. The union leadership is employing goon tactics—selected beatings, garage meetings, firings, etc.—in an effort to force a contract acceptance.

The Taxi Drivers Coalition, the amalgam of militant groups opposing the Van Arsdale contract sellout, has taken some important steps—a petition campaign to build support in the garages, individual legal action against the dime—but finds itself still unable to force an open and direct confrontation with the union leadership, Lindsay, and Van Arsdale.

Drivers, while not actually municipal workers, are never-

theless part of the whole city labor movement which Van Arsdale heads, a movement under direct attack from the bosses and city administration. Only by basing their struggles within the city labor movement can the cabbies hope to win any kind of wage gains. By supporting and calling for general strike action, by realizing that layoffs anywhere in the city affect taxi business, in short by taking a broader perspective and not seeing themselves as isolated as in the last strike—taxi drivers will move forward.

LEGAL

Legal action is important, but drivers must remember that ultimately the legal system is not set up to protect the workingman. The owners for example are illegally extracting the "dime" when the contract has not even been signed. Drivers should consider "extracting it back"

and letting the owners worry about the legal technicalities.

PROGRAM

What is needed is a massive demonstration at City Hall demanding that the contract (signed or unsigned) be thrown out. If by May 30th, Van Arsdale refuses to call a ratification meeting to throw out the present agreement direct garage action should commence. Withholding the "dime" by the drivers, new drivers keeping 49% rather than 42% of the meter, and other actions designed to force a ratification meeting, should all be employed to force Van Arsdale to accept the will of rank and file drivers.

At the same time, a new negotiating committee should be formed with two Taxi Driver Coalition members from each garage, in order to formulate and present new contract demands, demands centered around "parity with transit."

SAFETY IS BIG ISSUE IN STEEL CONTRACT FIGHT

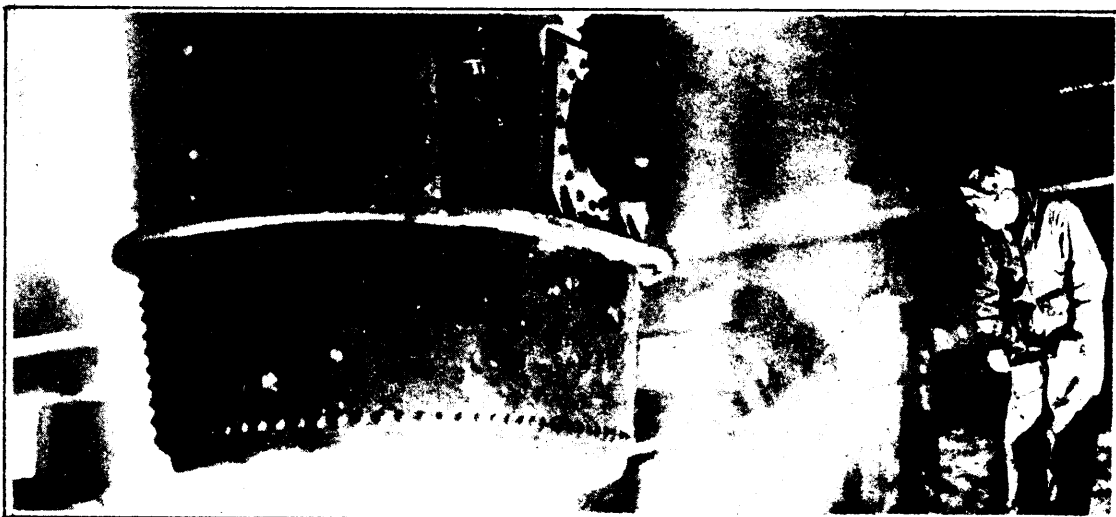
BY STEVE CHERKOSS
LOCAL 1845 USWA

On March 25-27 the United Steelworkers of America held a National Safety Conference in Chicago attended by 1500 delegates from local steel unions throughout the country. The conference got a good deal of coverage in the April and May issues of Steel Labor—monthly newspaper of the USWA.

The conference itself was led by I.W. Abel, president of the USWA. Abel, in part responding to the tremendous pressure of the rank and file against the rotten and unsafe working conditions, did describe some of them. But in no way did he get to the basic causes of those conditions or offer a solution. This is very typical of the present leadership. In order to try to hoodwink and keep the lid on the growing rank and file rebellion, Abel must talk militantly. But when it comes to action, he lets the cat out of the bag.

CONTRACT

While the leadership talks in



general about fighting on the "legislative and bargaining front" to do away with unsafe and hazardous conditions, they do not come up with a single demand to present to the steel, copper or aluminum bosses in the upcoming negotiations. The four concrete things workers are supposed to do when observing an unsafe or unhealthy condition are: 1. Promptly report a complaint in writing to the appropriate management representative, giving dates, time; 2. Include in your complaint des-

cription of the violation; 3. Make four copies—one to send to the regional office of the Department of Labor, one to the union district rep, one to the USWA safety and health department at the Pittsburgh headquarters and one for yourself; 4. When reporting to the Federal Inspector be sure to include the plant location, etc.

These four steps are the logic of the union leadership. Talk tough but don't rock the boat. This same leadership is presently bargaining with

Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel to drop out of the bargaining. They have already approved of Colorado Fuel and Iron dropping out along with fifty-five other steel companies, including such giants as Kaiser and Crucible. This means the union won't strike them. Obviously this weakens the union and plays directly into the companies' hands. This is not exactly a strategy for victory. **THE UNION MUST SHUT DOWN THE WHOLE INDUSTRY AND PUT AN END TO STOCK-PILING NOW!!!**

These four steps to heaven are really a joke when we examine the actual conditions in the mills. The mills and mines and plants in this country are deathtraps. Since 1958, the first year any statistics were made available, the death and severe casualty rate has been increasing rapidly. In the last four years more US workers have been killed on the job than in Vietnam.

Keep in mind that this is only what the companies themselves report—the actual figures are undoubtedly much higher. They do not mention the millions of workers in this country who are dying slow deaths because of the unhealthy conditions on the jobs.

CAPITALISM

This increasingly high death and casualty rate is not due to carelessness on the part of the workers—the line the bosses always push—but is a result of the conscious penny pinching on not providing safe equipment, and working conditions free from steel and other kinds of poisonous dust; increased speed up and crew cutting; and the added factor of the workers
(Continued On Page 12)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Reformists Derail Move To Labor Party

The wage offensive of the American working class is now undermining every attempt by Nixon and the employers to hold together its fast falling economy. This is why Nixon and the Democratic and Republican parties acted swiftly to try to break the railway signalmen's strike.

Nixon went to Congress to demand not only emergency legislation to stop the signalmen's strike but legislation which would deny the right to strike to unions in the transportation industry and force compulsory arbitration. The same day Nixon's Secretary of the Treasury Connally made clear that the dollar could only be preserved by stopping the wage demands of American workers.

Capitalism's greatest problem is that it now faces a working class more powerful than at any point in history which has been strengthened by thirty years of full employment and a high living standard.

This is why it must now turn to the most vicious methods against the labor movement to take away every right, every gain the working class has won and to destroy the trade unions.

The government must now intervene with all its force in this situation. The action against the rail workers is only the beginning and is the preparation for the upcoming battle in steel. This is understood by each and every Democratic and Republican politician who fills a seat of Congress, the state legislatures and the city governments.

The struggles of the American workers now come into direct conflict with their political ties to the capitalist parties and in particular to the Democratic Party. As the Democrats join wholeheartedly with Nixon to pass legislation to stop the rail strike, they also join in the loud outcry for a wage freeze in every industry. This raises immediately the necessity of a break from the capitalist parties and the building of a labor party.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Democratic Party cannot be sold to the ranks of the labor movement, to the unemployed, to the minorities and the youth. Precisely at this time sections of the trade union bureaucracy and the liberals together with the Stalinists and revisionists are moving to prevent the development of a labor party.

These forces will try to create a third alternative which unites the working class on the basis of reformism with a section of the capitalist class.

This was the strategy which was mapped out in St. Louis between a section of the trade union bureaucracy including Woodcock, head of the UAW and Gibbons of the Teamsters together with various liberals and the Stalinists. Using the model of Berkeley what they propose is the formation of a coalition of the community, labor, and student movement on the basis of a program for "reconverting" the capitalist economy.

At the same time last week 37 Black politicians including Stokes, Gibson and Hatcher met at the home of Black nationalist, Jesse Jackson, reportedly to choose a candidate for president in 1972. This is in line with Jackson's announced intentions to create a third party to pressure the Democrats and Republicans into taking up the interests of Blacks.

The Socialist Workers Party is playing an important role in this in its attacks on the labor party demand and its proposal for a Black political party. It is only a short step from this to an open electoral alliance with the Stalinists, the liberals, the Gibsons and Jacksons.

Above all these forces are united against the building of an alternative based on CLASS, which under the leadership of the organized working class welds together the entire working class, the youth, minorities and students in a struggle AGAINST capitalism.

We say the movement of the working class on wages and against unemployment will not stop. At any moment the struggles in one section, in rail, steel, construction or city labor, can and will break out into a general strike.

This movement can only go forward politically by preparing for 1972, by right now beginning to build the labor party on a socialist program which can defeat Nixon and his class brothers in the Democratic and Republican Parties.



"Herr Moller's resignation had nothing to do with this."

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

Robins launched into a tirade against the perspectives adopted by the recent conference of the Workers League which he characterized as "anti-Trotskyist." When he was interrupted in that tirade as it seemed pointless to discuss "unification" under such conditions he walked out of the office and that was that.

Turner somehow turns this into the accusation that the Workers League has adopted "neo-Stalinist methods!" It is accusations of that level which attract Hansen to the letter.

The Turner business is a blatantly obvious attempt on the part of the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party to obscure the differences between the International Committee and the United Secretariat precisely at a moment when the principled positions of the International Committee have been confirmed in every detail by recent developments and the revisionism of the United Secretariat is leading to new splits and deeper liquidation of their international formation.

This is revealed through the introductory remarks and footnotes provided by Editor Hansen. Both are very crude attempts to obscure the nature of the split in the Fourth International at a time when the ranks of the United Secretariat are demanding an explanation of that split. This is what he says about the SWP's split with the International Committee: "Their principal point of difference was over the Cuban revolution, which they held has not been victorious. Healy in particular maintained that Fidel Castro was just another 'Batista,' a view he still insists on."

Hansen seeks to maintain that the differences were only over Cuba and these differences are grossly distorted. Along the same lines in a footnote he seeks to obscure the question of Pabloism. Referring to Pablo's split from the United Secretariat in 1965 he states: "The Healyites dismissed Pablo's departure from the Fourth International as meaningless." The implication is that the meaning of this split was that "Pabloism" is revisionist but that it was and is confined to the individual Pablo and those

who followed him out of the United Secretariat in 1965.

Editor Hansen urges us to turn to the statement "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement" in order to discover the "principles" upon which the unification of the SWP forces with Mandel and Pablo took place. There we find the following on Cuba: "The Cuban Revolution dealt a blow



N.M. Perera

to the class-collaborationist policy of Stalinism in Latin America and other colonial countries. New currents, developing under the influence of the victory of Cuba, are groping their way to revolutionary socialism and seeking to apply the main lessons of the colonial revolution to their own situation. The Algerian Revolution has had a similar effect on the vanguard of the African revolutionary national movement. To meet these leftward-moving currents, to work with them, even to combine with them without giving up any principles, has become an imperative necessity."

What is the record of the evolution of Cuba since 1963? Cuba, far from breaking from class collaborationism, supports the very Peruvian junta which maintained Hugo Blanco in jail and today still holds other revolutionaries in jail. Cuba is a warm supporter of the bourgeois coalition government in Chile and refused to support the Mexican students in 1968. Cuba turned its back on the May-June events of the same year and supported openly the Soviet tanks in Czechoslovakia. Now it jails poet Heberto Padilla for being critical of the regime.

A section of the United Secretariat led by Moscoso in Bolivia and supported by Mandel and Maitan are actually seeking to carry out this "principled"

document's urgings to "combine" with "leftward moving elements" effected by Cuba. Their efforts to liquidate the remnants of the United Secretariat in Latin America into Castro's OLAS around a perspective of guerrilla war is being denounced now by Hansen. No doubt when this section splits with the SWP supported section Hansen will consider the question of adaptation to petty bourgeois Castroite guerrillism ended there just as the question of Pablo ended with his split in 1965, and the question of the LSSP ended with its expulsion in 1964.

The truth is that Pabloism represents the fundamental revision of Trotskyism. It is at its heart a method, the pragmatic method of the ruling class as it is expressed within the workers movement. This method leads to an adaptation to surface movements of the petty bourgeoisie, the abandonment of the perspective of the Transitional Program for "new transitional programs" and "structural reforms" and finally the liquidation of the party itself.

Since there are constant shifts in surface movement and in different parts of the world, Pabloism shifts in political position while maintaining a common method. And so the United Secretariat breaks into pieces and the SWP itself shifts from Castro, to Malcolm X, to the peace movement, to gay liberation.

Let Hansen explain why is it that his "principled" statement of reunification was agreed to by Pablo, and Mandel-Maitan-Moscoso, and Colvin deSilva N.M. Perera! No discussion took place on the question of Pabloism and on the already marked rightward reformist movement of the LSSP. As far as guerrillism is concerned they all openly endorsed it—Hansen above all!

We end once more with another prediction of more slanders to come. The SWP cannot avoid a discussion with us and therefore is determined on their part to throw bricks, bats, Turner, Tate and the kitchen sink at us. But Hansen will nevertheless have to answer to us and his own ranks on the 1963 reunification and its political and methodological basis. He will be taken to count for this betrayal of Trotskyism!

AN OPEN LETTER TO

BY ROBERT BLACK

JOSEPH HANSEN

IN TWO PARTS

The following articles are reprinted from the Workers Press.

IN AN 'open letter' published in Workers Press, April 18 and 21, 1970, we addressed the following questions to Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party (US).

What is Castroism? Who will build the revolutionary leadership to defeat imperialism and Stalinism? What is the future of Trotskyism?

Hansen — a leading apologist for Castroism since 1960 — refused to answer these questions, or any of the points raised in our 'open letter'. This drew attention to his record on Cuba, and also to the recent attacks made on Castro by Hugo Blanco, the peasant leader imprisoned by the Peruvian military junta.

Castro has on several occasions praised this military regime, despite its repressions of students, workers and peasants.

This second open letter deals with Hansen's evasions and answers his recently repeated slanders that the Socialist Labour League has been the main opponent of a principled unification on a world scale of genuinely Trotskyist forces.

Since 1963 the SWP has supported the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International. Before that it had maintained fraternal relations with the SLL and the International Committee of the Fourth International. (The repressive Voorhis Act prevents any party in the US having international affiliations.)

The record of the SWP and of you in particular, on the Cuban Revolution was the subject of our first 'open letter' to you.

That letter, showed how the emergence of the Castro leadership and the discussion on the class nature of the Cuban state served as a cover for an unprincipled re-unification between the SWP majority and the European supporters of Pablo. The SWP had been one of the parties which broke with Pablo in 1953.

Considerable documentary material relating to your position over the last decade was marshalled to prove that you had renounced vital questions of Marxist theory and principle in your anxiety to break from the International Committee and link up with Pabloite International Secretariat.

But in your journal 'Intercontinental Press', May 11, 1970, you once more evade the issues raised by both the crisis in your ranks, and the further drift to the right of the Castro leadership (which, as you know, faithfully endorses the Kremlin policy of supporting the reactionary military junta in Peru).

In this article 'A note on Healy's Current Slanders' you refer to our publication of material relating to the congress of the 'Unified Secretariat' last

summer. These are to be found in 'Fourth International' (Vol. 6 No. 2, Winter 1969-1970).

Our publication of these documents obviously causes you some political discomfort, for you make the cynical remark:

'Shocking as it may seem to a good many members of the SLL that such a free discussion could be held, others may begin to wonder about the monolithism in their own organization.'

By attempting to turn the discussion away from politics, perspectives and history to innuendo about the internal 'regime' of the SLL you emulate the spokesman of the petty bourgeois opposition to Trotsky and Cannon in your own party in 1939-1940.

Following in the tradition established by Trotsky and his supporters in the fight against Burnham and Shachtman, we refuse to be diverted by such petty-bourgeois tactics.

Your political case rests with the reproduction of the SWP resolution of March 1, 1963: 'For the Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement'. But even this resolution is introduced in a sick style, a style that betrays a whole political method:

'In his list of further documents to be "exposed", we should like to suggest that Healy gives top priority to the one reprinted below (i.e. For Early Reunification). It should be of special interest to members of the SLL since it can be safely asserted that 99.9 per cent have never heard of it and the remaining 0.1 per cent probably had to turn their numbered copies back in to Healy personally.'

'What did Healy object to in this document? He has never stated his objections but they are hardly any secret. In my considered opinion, Healy was motivated primarily by dead-end factionalism.' What does this explain? Are political tendencies and splits to be explained on the basis of guessing at psychological motives? What has this to do with Marxism?

Abandon

You continue, 'In the years since the Reunification Congress Healy has covered up his differences on these points with an immense amount of verbiage about the importance of theory.'

Here indeed is the heart of the question. The SLL did not simply talk about the importance of theory, but demonstrated in minute detail that yours and the SWP line consisted of the abandonment of Marxist theory, a capitulation to the so-called 'facts', a substitution of empiricism for Marxist theory.

As you once proudly announced: 'I start with the empirical fact of the Cuban Revolution'. And, on another occasion, 'Dialectical materialism is empiricism consistently carried out.'

In order, to cover up your thoroughly opportunist record on Cuba over the last ten years, you have to resort to a total distortion of our position. For



example, you write:

'... Healy still holds that Cuba's economy is state capitalist and that Castro is another "Batista".'

We hope your readers will carefully note the use you make of quotation marks in this sentence. Putting the name of the former Cuban dictator in quotation marks suggests we said that Castro and Batista were identical. You know this is a downright lie. Yet you develop this lie further, saying:

'... it is sad that a person who shouts so much about the importance of theory should have found so little time to attempt to make at least a small contribution to the economic theory of state capitalism and the political theory of Castroism as a synonym for "Batistaism".' (Again, the unexplained quotation marks.)

In our first 'open letter' to you, we were scrupulously careful in quoting from your writings on Cuba.

The bulk of our case rested on what you have said in the past about the 'unconscious Trotskyists', (e.g. Castro) who endorse the most reactionary aspects of Stalinism and defend the military junta in Peru which held Hugo Blanco and his comrades captive.

But before checking over our position on Cuba, we will deal with the issues raised by your

reproduction of the SWP majority resolution on reunification.

You say, 'It was accepted by an overwhelming majority on each side and this became the statement of principles on which the two sides carried out a fusion at the subsequent Reunification Congress in 1963.'

'While substantial differences still remain, especially over the causes of the 1953 split, the area of disagreement appears of secondary importance in view of the common basic programme and common analysis of major current events in world development [i.e. Cuba] which unites the two sides.'

The SLL and our French comrades on the International Committee saw the differences as growing greater as between ourselves and the revisionists. But this line of yours was not new. As early as February 6, 1961, your Political Committee wrote to us arguing for a rapid reunification with Pablo:

'... we have no reason to deny our differences on political and organizational questions with leading members of the IS (the Pabloite, "International Secretariat") and we have not concealed them. But we cannot agree with your opinion that our political differences with the IS have increased to the point of irreconcilability.' (If the differences were not "irreconcilable" in 1953, why your "open letter"

and the ensuing split?)

'On the contrary, we have noted nothing since the question was last discussed with you that would indicate we should revise the view that the political differences on some key questions have diminished to the point where unification is possible and justifiable and that we must make it our responsibility to follow policies that will facilitate this objective.'

We did not oppose a principled unification then, and we do not do so now. But the type of fusion you were advocating was one where the theoretical and historical questions would be obscured—hence the emphasis that the SWP leadership placed on the organizational nature of Pabloism, and the neglect of its idealist, middle-class roots.

Revises

We took up this point in our reply to you: 'We believe that the reasons for the split in 1953 were not of a tactical nature... In effect Pabloism revises the whole concept of the Marxist party...'

We concluded our reply by calling for the careful preparation of an international discussion, 'first within the ranks of the International Committee and then, if it is possible, within the Pabloites along the lines we have already suggested. (Emphasis



Fidel Castro



added.)

'They will find it most difficult to resist such an approach. Even if they do, the most important question is first to clarify our own ranks.'

By refusing to begin such a discussion, you protected the Pabloites from this pressure. You put a spurious unity with the liquidationist forces of the IS before a clarification within the ranks of the International Committee, which since the split of 1953 had been the rallying point for all genuine Trotskyists.

Then a full year passed without our being able to encourage the SWP leadership to begin such a discussion. The record speaks for itself.

On January 2, 1961, we wrote a letter to the National Committee of the SWP raising the question of Pabloism and our political evaluation of it. You replied on February 6—the open letter from which we have quoted.

We then wrote back, requesting that the discussion proceed as promptly as possible. To this letter, we received no reply.

We wrote again on February 24, reiterating the points we made previously. Again, no reply.

On May 4 and 8 we sent two more letters to the SWP National Committee—with the same lack of response.

The questions raised by us for discussion were finally tabled for examination by the SWP National Committee for its plenum in the middle of June, 1962, almost 18 months after we had opened up the discussion.

In a letter dated March 12, 1962, we commented: "We have waited almost eighteen months and the record of correspondence between us speaks for itself. What does international collaboration mean if it does not imply discussion between sections? What is the purpose of drafting an international resolution as you have done and talking about the need for discussion upon it if you have not presented to your membership our contribution to that discussion."

But despite your flagrant violations of these comradely norms, we still held out hopes that the discussion could begin in a way that would bring together our two movements for a common fight for Trotskyist principles within the international movement:

'In conclusion we would like to emphasize something we have stressed on a number of occasions. We feel proud of the work which our comrades of the SWP have carried out under the most difficult circumstances.

'As internationalists, we feel that the close association between our two sections can continue under conditions where the present discussion may well draw us even closer together. We look forward to your political contribution to the discussion.'

THE NEXT stage in the discussion was the SWP Political Committee draft resolution, 'Problems of the Fourth International and the Next Steps', dated May 1, 1962.

Section five, 'Proposals for Reunifying World Trotskyism' developed your thesis of January 1961 that the gap had narrowed between the IS and the IC:

'This narrowing of the political differences between the two factions of the world Trotskyist movement made it possible to seek unification with the proper conditions and organizational safeguards . . .'

This is where the question of the Cuban Revolution was dragged in. It somehow proved that unity was not only desirable but possible:

'Today the unfolding crisis of world Stalinism, the progressive development of the Cuban Revolution, and the renewed interest in Trotskyism make unification all the more urgent, and we intend to fight for it against any opposition from any source.'

Arguing along these lines, you stated that an organizational unity between the IS and the IC could precede a thorough-going clarification of past and present differences and their roots in differences of method and theory:

'A cohesive world movement would be a powerful pole of attraction for communist dissidents and other militants who are looking for the Leninist road. At the same time the political positions of the majority of the IS, a number of IC affiliated groups, and some Trotskyist organizations affiliated with neither side on most of the vital issues of the day, from the de-Stalinization process and the Sino-Soviet conflict to the Cuban Revolution, are so close that they are indistinguishable to any unprejudiced reader of their respective publications.

'If the organization blocks can be surmounted, as we believe they can, there is no reason why unity cannot be achieved.' (Emphasis added.)

Your document concluded by stating explicitly that the basic theoretical and methodological differences should be discussed only after such an organizational merger:

'Unification, in the Lenin-Trotsky tradition, does not exclude, but rather presupposes further discussion, including the discussion of past differences. But all such discussions, in our opinion, can be conducted most fruitfully now in a united international movement.'

In other words, a method of achieving 'unity' that would be denounced by both Lenin and Trotsky!

In our reply to this document ('Trotskyism Betrayed', July 21, 1962) we took up this formulation of stressing organizational questions to the exclusion of

political differences:

'Instead of a basic departure from all Marxist principles, we now find the Pabloite position characterized as "an apparent tendency" to conciliate with Stalinism, etc. Nine years later (i.e., after the SWP "open letter" of 1953), the SWP lays most of the stress on organizational differences, forgetting the fundamental lessons of its own history in the 1950s. Organizational differences flow from basically different political positions. Once the political differences of 1953 have been "cut down to size", they are easily shown by the SWP document to have disappeared in the course of the years.'

We never opposed unity with forces outside the IC. We simply insisted:

'Organizational unity must follow political clarification, and we insist on a thorough settlement of all revisionism whatever its source before any organizational fusions can take place.'

That remains our position today.

The fight against revisionism now had to be conducted within the ranks of the IC—a fight that was a necessary preparation for settling accounts with the Pabloites. It was on this point that our reply ended:

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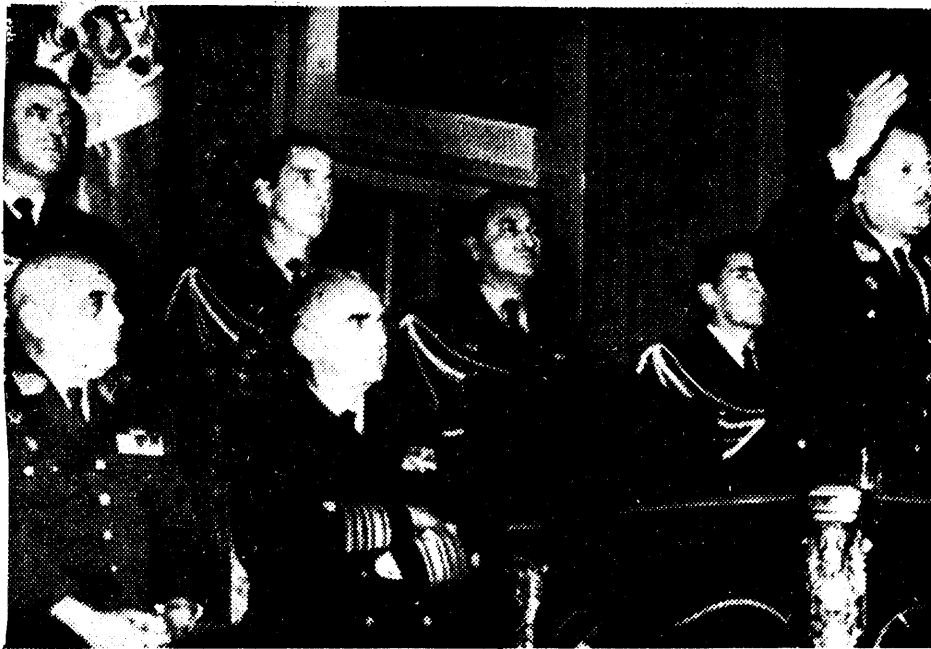
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Unification will 'work'—it may

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These are the philosophical roots of your turn towards Castroism, as a movement that could apparently prosper without devotion to theory, without an accounting of its own origins and history, and without a struggle within its own ranks for the Marxist method of dialectical materialism.

This was made even more explicit in your next letter to us (dated April 13, 1963), when you said:

'For all Trotskyists who have reached a common position on the basically socialist character of the Cuban Revolution, the discussion has been completed.'

In reality it had hardly begun between the SLL and the SWP, and between the IC and the IS, not at all. For you, it was all over. You and Pablo agreed on the class nature of Cuba—and that was enough.

We had already warned against this method in our letter to you of March 29, 1963:

It would be wrong hastily to involve sections in Latin America in a unification on grounds that they appear to agree with you over the designation of Cuba as a workers' state. This does not at all mean that they agree with Pabloism and its activities in the international movement. If you rush into a unification now with the crisis inside the Pabloite ranks and confusion over Pabloism in our ranks, not only will you run the danger of further splits and explosions such as in 1953, but we may well be saddled with a leadership which will be nothing more than a continuation of the old clique of the past.'

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'Let the two separate international congresses go forward with an exchange of delegations supporting a joint resolution urging the organization of the discussion.'

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'Let the Parity Committee continue organizing joint work where possible, distributing the material that is available internationally from both congresses and the publishing of the contributions of all comrades.'

'We suggest that in order to remove organizational and factional disagreements and to allow the groundwork for the most favourable political relations between the tendencies, that the constitution of an internal control commission be agreed at the two congresses.'

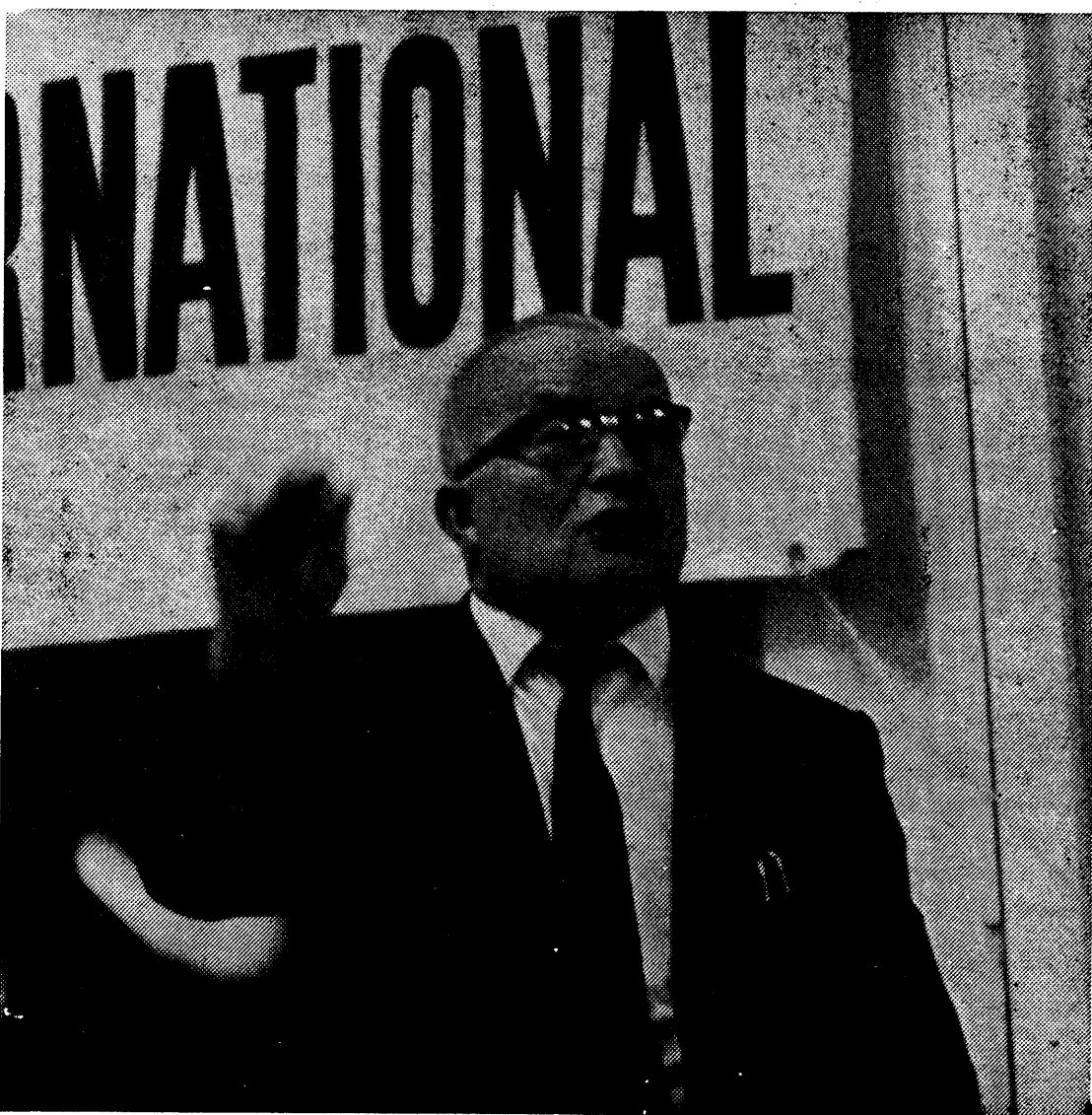
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Hugo Blanco



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Gerry Healy

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'If this is agreed and the discussion organized thoroughly, we can prepare an international conference of the two tendencies for some time during September or October 1964, certainly not before. If properly prepared, this conference would be in a position to discuss all the questions affecting the differences between the tendencies and the work of the various sections.'

It would not be so much a unification conference, although a unification may very well arise as a result of it. It would be a conference whose prime purpose would be to make a balance sheet of the discussion that had already taken place, and then work out the next steps towards reorganization and reunification.

'The Socialist Labour League would leave no stone unturned in its efforts to obtain genuine unification at that congress.'

Your reaction to this appeal was to press ahead with the unprincipled unification against which we were warning. Our reference to the Cuban question serving as a cover for this merger was curtly and smugly dismissed in a single paragraph:

'In Britain which is remote from the scene of revolutionary action, the Cuban Revolution is seen through insular eyes. Thus, a discussion for the next years on the meaning of the 1953 split appears much more important than the problem of properly appreciating the engaging in the opening of the socialist revolution in the western hemisphere.'

For you, the discussion on the split of 1953 was to be buried beneath a welter of commentary on the 'opening of the socialist revolution in the western hemisphere' — carried through, the Pabloites argued, by forces hostile to Trotskyism.

THE ATTACK on the SLL'S 'British insularity' was a slander of the worst kind. The fight to understand and carry into action the implications of the 1953 split was an undertaking of a thoroughly internationalist nature.

It demanded a principled fight against the traditions of anti-theory and narrow practicalism that have dominated the British workers' movement and the radical middle-class circles which have always infested it.

This fight was in fact the making of the SLL, and helped to lay the theoretical and practical basis for the expansion of our press — the springboard launching the mass revolutionary party in Britain.

With this letter, it was evident that the SWP had rejected our call for a principled stand against Pabloism and a thorough discussion of our mutual differences.

Even so, on April 25, 1963, we wrote to you again pointing out the dangers involved in such a refusal:

'It is not enough for you to stress the "sentiment" for unification. The great danger today arises from the considerable political confusion within our movement as a result of the Pablo-

ites, the split of 1953 and now the capitulation of the SWP to Pabloism.

'Any unification carried out on the basis of such confusion will only accelerate the splitting and disintegration of our forces in the next period.'

'What the Trotskyist movement needs is a thorough-going discussion which will lay a firm foundation for the reorganization of the Fourth International.'

'We are not impressed by "sentiment" which is directed towards a unification at the expense of principle. We ask you to halt this move towards a split and agree to our proposals for holding the international conference of the IC late in August or early in September.'

'We ask you not to call a conference of your own faction of the IC. If such a conference takes place, and is followed by a reunification with the Pabloites, we shall consider it as a hostile political act. It will most certainly tend to sharpen the international split, something which we want to avoid.'

So we made it clear that the onus for a split lay on the SWP. Once such a betrayal of Trotskyism was carried through, a new situation would obviously prevail within the international movement:

'If you go ahead and split the International Committee, this would automatically cancel the proposals contained in our letter of March 29.'

New assessment

'We would then be required to make a new assessment of the situation to see if it were possible to arrange joint activity and discussion between our respective organizations.'

So even after an SWP merger with the IS, we did not rule out a continuation of the discussion with either the SWP or the European Pabloites.

In fact, we had always favoured discussion with the Pabloites (precisely in order to step up the fight against their revisionist influences in the International) — even when the SWP opposed it.

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Hugo Blanco

Below: Peru military junta.

political differences:

'Instead of a basic departure from all Marxist principles, we now find the Pabloite position characterized as "an apparent tendency" to conciliate with Stalinism, etc. Nine years later (i.e., after the SWP 'open letter' of 1953), the SWP lays most of the stress on organizational differences, forgetting the fundamental lessons of its own history in the 1950s. Organizational differences flow from basically different political positions. Once the political differences of 1953 have been "cut down to size", they are easily shown by the SWP document to have disappeared in the course of the years.'

We never opposed unity with forces outside the IC. We simply insisted:

'Organizational unity must follow political clarification, and we insist on a thorough settlement of all revisionism whatever its source before any organizational fusions can take place.'

That remains our position today. The fight against revisionism now had to be conducted within the ranks of the IC—a fight that was a necessary preparation for settling accounts with the Pabloites. It was on this point that our reply ended:

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Cuban militiamen. The discussion on the class nature of the Cuban state and its armed forces was used by the SWP leadership to re-unite with the European Pabloite revisionists in the 'International Secretariat'.





Pabloites held that bureaucracy (Khrushchev, above) could be pressured into taking up revolutionary struggle.

letter to the SWP secretary F. Dobbs, dated May 22, 1963:

'From 1956 onwards, it became clear to those of us who studied your press and publications that the SWP was very rapidly developing methods of work and thinking similar to those of Pablo. We hesitated to raise these matters with you at first since we hoped that they would be corrected in the course of time. However, this did not take place and the political differences between us became more serious.

'Early in January 1961 we opened a written discussion with you. This discussion was entirely a one-sided affair. An examination of the records shows that not only did you not submit our documents over this period for the consideration of your membership, but you failed to reply to us on the important questions we raised.'

These facts have never been denied by the SWP leadership. They prove that it was not the SLL that was 'insular', turned-in upon itself and indifferent to the developments within the International and the world class struggle.

In this same letter-written only weeks before the SWP majority unified with the Pabloites—we made it clear that we would still press for discussion:

'You are now splitting from the IC and organizing a factional gathering of former IC supporters to have a fusion. We consider that you are making a serious mistake which we shall speak about in a few days, but we have always recognized that such

alliances might well take place in the course of the struggle for clarification.

'We propose to continue the discussion through the Parity Committee even though we feel that your split is completely unjustified. [Emphasis added.]

'We feel that you should have waited until the International Committee holds its congress and then debated the political issues before the comrades with whom you have been associated for the past 10 years. Although the ultimate goal of our movement will suffer a reverse as a result of this action, we shall still press for a genuine and thorough discussion within the international movement for the purpose that we have already outlined.' [Emphasis added.]

The next day (May 23) we wrote to E. Germain of the European Pabloites, with whom the SWP leadership had been arranging their unification with the IS:

'A conference of this committee—the International Committee—is to take place during the first two weeks of September 1963. We urged the SWP and those who support it to discuss their differences at that conference, yet before the conference they organized a split.

Prefer to split

'We further proposed that this international conference should get together with yourselves

through the medium of the Parity Committee and organize an international conference of all our forces during October 1964.

'In 1953 there was a deep-going split which we consider was the outcome of a revisionist rejection of Marxism by Pablo and his group on the International Secretariat. You, at the time, organized a split based upon your "open letter" to all Trotskyists issued in November 1953.

This split took place in an atmosphere of confusion because the ranks of the international movement were not sufficiently clear on the issues involved.

'Early in 1954 we proposed a Parity Committee to recommence the discussion and endeavour, if possible, to work out direct methods of collaboration. You at first agreed to this, but you requested us to break off our relations with the Parity Committee and discontinue the discussion with the International Secretariat.

'In 1956 you proposed a unification on the basis of a parity in the world leadership because you said you did not trust the organizational methods of Pablo and his group. We suggested to you that this approach had serious shortcomings because it did not allow for adequate political discussion beforehand. The International Secretariat did not accept your proposals and there matters stood for the time being.

Yet they prefer to split rather than accept this procedure.

'It is also clear that you have been involved with them in the organization of this split. Both yourselves and the SWP not only regard the problem of political clarification as an entirely secondary one, but you go out of your way to place emphasis once more on the organization of a unification which cannot but encourage a repetition of the disastrous results of the past.

'We shall under no circumstances ever enter such a unification. We consider that it is merely the substitution of organizational measures in order to avoid facing up to the real political tasks.'

But our political hostility to the European Pabloites did not prevent us from upholding the principles we had fought for in all our dealings with the SWP since the development of the differences over method. Political and theoretical clarification was, as always, paramount:

'The National Committee of the Socialist Labour League will be submitting proposals to its forthcoming conference in relation to our attitude towards your movement after your June conference.

'We feel that discussion can continue to be carried out on the basis of the existing Parity Committee, although the immediate effects of such a discussion have been greatly weakened by the splitting action of the SWP.' [Emphasis added.]

And even after the unification of 1963, we continued to press for such a discussion, only to be refused on every occasion.

Just one example will suffice. 'World Outlook', the forerunner of the present 'Intercontinental Press', in its November 22, 1963 issue reproduced the proposals that we published in 'The Newsletter' (forerunner of Workers Press) for September 28, 1963, in which we appealed once again for the re-opening of the discussion on the problems of the international movement.

The proposals were in the form of a resolution adopted at the second conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International:

'1. That a world congress of the forces of the IC and the IS should be convened during the autumn of 1964;

Positive discussion

'2. That a joint committee of representatives of the two organizations should regularly meet to

Farell Dobbs, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in 1963.



prepare this conference and to work out practical ways and means for co-operation in the different countries;

'3. This committee should set out to prepare a joint resolution on world perspectives for the conference.

'This resolution would outline the points of agreement as well as disagreement. During the preparation of the resolution, all the sections would be constantly informed of the work of the committee. In this way a genuine and positive discussion involving the differences would be organized;

'4. Congress insisted that this discussion must take place in all sections, not only in the leaderships, but in the ranks.

'Unless this decision was carried out, it would be impossible for the international movement to develop new cadres which would be able to provide adequate political leadership in the next period. A proper circulation of all documents must take place.

'5. Joint discussion between the members of the sections, particularly in western Europe, should be organized. While these discussions would deal with the differences, Congress believed that they should be extended to include a discussion on the practical work of the various sections in a way that would bring members of these sections closer together. Such a discussion would also have an all-round effect on the education of the cadres.

'These proposals are to be immediately transmitted to the International Secretariat, with the hope that the joint work can begin immediately.'

As on all previous occasions, our proposals were rejected by the International Secretariat.

Its refusal, also published in 'World Outlook', November 22, 1963, said in conclusion:

'As for "co-operation now with the Healy-Lambert forces, we are of course ready to meet with their representatives to discuss such matters of mutual interest as may arise from time to time. We suggest, however, that meetings be projected in relation to specific practical questions in which the well-known political differences now separating us publicly can be put to the side.' [Emphasis added.]

Swept under mat

Once again, in the anti-Marxist tradition of Schachtman, 'practical questions' were to take priority over theoretical differences, which, although 'well-known', were to be 'put to the side'. Or as the saying goes, swept under the carpet.

The anxiety to suppress serious



Ceylon's Prime Minister Mrs Srimavo Bandaranaike. She headed the 1964 coalition government which contained members of the Pabloite LSSP. They were subsequently expelled from the 'Unified Secretariat'.

discussion within the ranks of the IS, one of the points we insisted on in the resolution, was understandable, if indefensible.

It would have blown the whole edifice of the newly-proclaimed revisionist unity sky high!

For even at this early date, Pablo, the founder of the tendency that now bears his name, was developing serious differences with the SWP leadership and their European allies over the trends within Stalinism (Pablo argued that Khrushchev represented the left wing of the bureaucracy as against the Chinese) and the approaching crisis in Ceylon.

But the differences could not be suppressed, even by agreeing to unite against the International Committee. As we noted in 'Fourth International' for summer, 1965:

'Since the "reunification" one disaster has followed another for the "unifiers". Pablo himself, with his faction, has been suspended from the leadership of the "Unified Secretariat".

'In a number of countries new splits have taken place. A whole group of leading spokesmen of this tendency have written publicly in agreement with left social-democratic reformists in the European press.

'And above all has come the disaster of the entry of the "Trotskyist" ministers into the coalition government in Ceylon.'

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

**MARXISM
& AMERICAN
PRAGMATISM**

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

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BOOKS

ROBERT BLACK

Lenin Letters Collected Works, Volume 45

COLLECTED WORKS, VOLUME 45, LETTERS—NOVEMBER, 1920—MARCH, 1923. By V. I. Lenin. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970.

This, the last volume of Lenin's "Collected Works", was certainly worth waiting for.

Volume 44 dispelled a number of hoary old Stalinist myths about Trotsky's relations with Lenin in the Civil War period.

This volume does the same for the last fateful years of Lenin's political life—and with even more devastating effect.

MYTH

Before we turn to the documents in question, let us disinter the myths they demolish.

Ever since Stalin's faction expelled the Trotskyist "Left Opposition" from the Soviet Communist Party in 1927, the legend has run thus:

Throughout Lenin's lifetime, from the foundation of Lenin's party in 1903, to the preparation of the Revolution in 1917, the winning of the Civil War and the first steps towards the construction of socialism, Stalin was his closest collaborator, comrade and friend.

This myth has certainly taken some resounding knocks over the years, not the least of them Khrushchev's devastating revelations in his "Secret Speech" to the March 1956 20th Congress of the CPSU.

But despite the contradictions in official Party history exposed by Khrushchev, both then and five years later at the 22nd Congress, Stalinists all over the world, "Maoist", "liberal" and pro-Moscow alike, have manfully fought to preserve the essence of the fictions first propounded under Stalin's rule.

This volume smashes them.

It shows how Lenin fought three major political battles in the last months of his political life. They can be listed as follows:

- Against bureaucracy.
- Against the weakening of state control over the economy.
- Against Russian chauvinism.

In each case, Lenin was compelled, despite his declining health, to take issue most sharply with leading Party members on questions of basic principles. And each time his main opponent was...Stalin!

Volume 45 not only proves this to the hilt, it also establishes that, contrary to all the claims of the Stalinist myth makers, Lenin's main (and in fact only) ally was...Leon Trotsky!

Lenin discovered early in 1922 that a group of Central Committee members favored a relaxation in the state monopoly over foreign trade.

Any weakening of this monopoly would both undermine Soviet industry by allowing far cheaper goods from capitalist countries to flood the market, and permit Soviet private exporters to by-pass the state and establish direct relations with world capitalism.

Bukharin—later to become leader of the "Right Opposition"—emerged as the main spokesman for this group. But also numbered among them was Stalin.

This can be established by reference to Document 807 (pp. 602-3), which is a letter from Lenin to Stalin, which speaks of Stalin's retreat from his former position on this question.

That in itself is damning enough for our Stalin-worshippers. But the worst is yet to come.

In Document 804 (p. 601) dated December 12, 1922, Lenin wrote to Trotsky:

"Comrade Trotsky:

"I am sending you Krestinsky's letter. Write me as soon as possible whether you agree; at the plenum, I am going to fight for the monopoly.

"What about you?"

Trotsky must have given Lenin his reply at once, for on December 13, Lenin again wrote (Document 805, p. 601):

"Comrade Trotsky:

"I have received your comments on Krestinsky's letter and Avanesov's plans (which called the full maintenance of the



state foreign trade monopoly). I think that you and I are in maximum agreement..." (Emphasis added)

Neither was it just a question of a formal agreement between Lenin and Trotsky. The sick Lenin asks Trotsky to fight for their shared position:

"...it is my request that at the forthcoming plenum (of the Central Committee) you should undertake the defence of our common standpoint on the unquestionable need to maintain and consolidate the foreign trade monopoly." (p. 601)

This was no small question for Lenin. He was prepared, with Trotsky, to take the matter to the forthcoming March Party Congress, and even risk an open split with the Stalin-Bukharin group:

"...I believe...that in the event of our (i.e., Lenin and Trotsky's) defeat on this question we must refer the question to a Party Congress."

His bloc with Trotsky now secure, Lenin sent a letter to the remainder of the Central Committee members, informing them of his agreement with Trotsky (Document 807, pp. 602-603):

"I am now through with putting my business in order and am in a position to leave without worry (Lenin here refers to his departure—for health reasons—to the small town of Gorki outside Moscow). I have also come to an arrangement with Trotsky to stand up for my views of the foreign trade monopoly."

Lenin added a postscript to this letter which requires little comment:

"I am reasonably opposed to any delay on this question of the foreign trade monopoly. If the idea should arise, for whatever reason...to postpone it until the next plenum, I should most resolutely object to this, because I am sure that Trotsky will be able to stand up for my views just as well as I myself." (Emphasis added)

The next letter (Document 808, p. 604) is another to Trotsky, also on December 15:

"I consider that we have quite reached agreement. I ask you to declare our solidarity at the plenum..."

Lenin's anxieties on the outcome of this struggle are expressed not only in his letters to Trotsky, but in their very frequency.

This volume contains four notes dictated by Lenin and sent to Trotsky between December 12 and 15. The last of these (Document 809, pp. 604-605) again returns to the crisis developing in the Party leadership over the question:

"If there are any fears that I am being worried by this question and that it could

even have an effect on my health, I think that this is absolutely wrong, because I am infinitely more worried by the delay which makes our policy on one of the most basic questions unstable."

The massive pressure brought to bear by Lenin on the Party leadership, together with the support given to him by Trotsky, was sufficient to rout the campaigners against the trade monopoly. For Lenin writes to Trotsky on December 21 (Document 811, p. 606):

"It looks as though it has been possible to take the position without a single shot, by a simple maneuver."

A temporary victory had indeed been gained. The Bukharin-Stalin group had backed down from a frontal clash with Lenin and Trotsky on such a fundamental issue. But Lenin did not relax for an instant. His letter to Trotsky continues: "I suggest that we should not stop and should continue the offensive, and for that purpose put through a motion to raise at the Party Congress the question of consolidating our foreign trade..."

"...I hope that you (Trotsky) will not object to this and will not refuse to give a report in the group."

That proved to be the end of the attack on the trade monopoly.

But another, and even more explosive crisis, was brewing at this very moment. This too can be traced through a document in Volume 45.

It is, of course, the so-called "Georgian affair". An ardent enemy of Russian nationalism, Lenin insisted that the utmost care should be taken over the unification of Soviet Georgia with the other Soviet Republics.

Stalin ruthlessly trampled on the national sensitivities of the Georgian Communists, and towards the end of 1922 became involved in a series of incidents that ended with one of his delegation striking the face of a Georgian Bolshevik leader.

When Lenin learned of this, he was furious, and at once drafted a postscript to his famous "Testament", calling on the Party to remove Stalin from his post of General Secretary. He was, said Lenin, too "rude" and "disloyal" to hold such a Party post.

(This, and other documents pertaining to the Lenin-Stalin split, are to be found in Volume 36 of the Collected Works.)

Volume 45 has only one letter on the Georgian question. But it is quite enough:

"Dear Comrade Trotsky:

"It is my earnest request that you should undertake the defense of the Georgian case in the Party CC. This case is now under 'persecution' by Stalin

and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Quite to the contrary. I would feel at ease if you agreed to undertake its defense.

"If you should refuse to do so for any reason, return the whole case to me. I shall consider it a sign that you do not accept.

"With best comradely greetings, Lenin."

(Document 812, p. 607)

This is followed by the most sensational letter of all, one that was quoted by Khrushchev in his secret speech, but never before so much as acknowledged, let alone published, in an English edition of Lenin's works:

"Dear Comrade Stalin:

"You have been so rude as to summon my wife to the telephone and use bad language. Although she has told you that she was prepared to forget this, the fact nevertheless became known through her to Zinoviev and Kamenev (both later shot after the 1936 Moscow "Show Trial" on framed-up charges of terrorism. They have never been officially "rehabilitated" by the Soviet Government and Communist Party).

"I have no intention of forgetting so easily what has been done against me, and it goes without saying that what has been done against my wife I consider having been done against me as well.

"I ask you, therefore, to think it over whether you are prepared to withdraw what you have said and make your apologies, or whether you prefer that relations between us should be broken off." (Document 813, pp. 607-608)

This was almost Lenin's last letter. It exposes for all time the lie, cultivated by Stalinists and anti-communists alike, that Stalin was a loyal executor of Lenin's cause, or as the gravedigger of the Bolshevik Party put it himself a "worthy pupil of Lenin."

Lenin's final political document follows this denunciation of Stalin. It too, burns with hatred for the future leader of the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy:

"To Comrades Mdivani, Makhharadze and others (to the leaders of the Georgian Bolshevik Party). Copy to Comrades Trotsky and Kamenev:

"Dear Comrades:

"I am following your case with all my heart. I am indignant over Orjonikidze's rudeness (it was he who struck the Georgian Bolshevik) and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I am preparing for you notes and a speech." (Document 814, p. 608)

This, then, is how the last letter, of the last volume of Lenin's works ends—with Lenin preparing, alongside Trotsky, a fight to the end against Stalin and his faction.

REFUTE

How fitting that this volume, establishing beyond any doubt the real political relations existing between Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin in the last weeks of the Bolshevik leader's political career, should be published at this moment, when Stalinism plunges into its deepest-ever crisis.

We challenge the leaders of the British Communist Party—refute these writings of Lenin if you dare.

Just try to deny that it was Trotsky and not Stalin, to whom Lenin turned for support in his fight for basic Marxist principles, against their perversion by nationalism, bureaucracy and sheer disloyalty.

Nothing will ever erase these truths, truths that were defended by Trotsky and his comrades against counterrevolutionary Stalinism in the teeth of world reaction and the most terrible purges, slanders and lies.

In a formal, literary sense, Lenin's "Collected Works" end with this volume. But his real collected works, a life-time devoted to the building of a party, based on Marxist theory, to lead the working class to power all over the world, a struggle which we find reflected in his stupendous literary output, lives on.

Letters to the Editor

Communist Party & The Docks

Editor:

George Morris, labor editor of the CP Daily World, does more than write about CP union policy. For the last 25 years, he has had a major role in determining what the CP "line" should be. He was the main one who insisted at the beginning of the Cold War that fascism was coming to the U.S., therefore the CP leadership in the unions should dissolve their unions and amalgamate them with other unions as a "cover."

This would also mean some of the CP labor fakers would have to lose their high paying jobs on the grounds of "unity." The Furriers joined the Amalgamated Butchers. But the leading factions in Bridges' longshore union and U.E. refused to go along with the policy, sparked by George Morris, and broke organizational ties with the party, while remaining on "friendly" terms.

In the Daily World of May 13, George Morris intimates that the CP has made some sort of deal with Comrade Bridges, after a brief period of criticism, forced on the CP by the frequent contempt of some CP longshoremen for

Bridges.

He mentions the ILWU branch in Hawaii without saying it is the largest in the union. He talks about "ethnic composition" of the union in Hawaii. Is the top leadership of the ILWU representative of that ethnic diversity? Or of its large Black membership?

I agree with him when he writes: "Bridges was a big factor in the ILWU's history and in making it what it is." What is it?

Reading Morris when he compares the two longshore unions can be misleading. The "progressive" ILWU has not had a strike since 1948. The "conservative" ILA has had six strikes and holds the union record for Taft-Hartley injunctions. Because of this, the average ILA "hardhat" member is a more "militant" unionist than the average "peace loving" ILWU member who loads the armaments and war cargo for the Vietnam war while pretending to be "left wing."

In many ways the ILA Checkers contract is superior to the West Coast. Morris writes that the convention calls for the guaranteed annual wage. The "conservative" ILA got that in its last contract, but you have to work 700 hours the previous year to be eligible. This will eliminate hundreds of longshoremen when the present ILA contract expires September 30.

One can understand the reluctance of some ILWU members to combine with the "racketeer"-dominated ILA although Harry Bridges does not mind working with the syndicate in both the Longshore and Teamsters unions.

Why couldn't the ILWU convention go on record for a joint date for the expiration of union contracts on both coasts by extending the ILWU contract date to September 30? Both have the same shipowner bosses to negotiate with.

Morris says nothing about the

failure of Bridges' "mechanization" program which cost the ILWU many jobs and helped put it in the weak position it is today. Morris has never criticized this plan to this very day. When it was first proposed, a few young CP members on the East Coast objected and quit the party in disgust.

The Militant wrote a good article at the time. Why is it silent about longshore, East and West, today?

Morris claims that "the big local in Brooklyn ILA is certainly a more advanced section of the ILA." It is headed by Anthony Scotto. Here is what the Village Voice (May 13) said about him:

"If the Mayor doesn't believe the FBI which has Scotto listed as a capodecina in the Carlo Gambino Mafia family, maybe he should take a look at a more recent listing by the Joint State Legislative Committee on Crime.

It has Scotto listed as one of the top 109 organized crime leaders in New York State."

Scotto supported Mayor Lindsay in his last campaign, as did the CP.

It's true that the Brooklyn ILA is more "advanced" than the Manhattan ILA where President Gleason, supported by a different faction of the syndicate, has his main support. It is more active in "politics," has a Black organizer, participates in programs to help Puerto Ricans, goes on record for "civil rights."

At the same time, Scotto is the one ILA leader the shipowners prefer over the more "tainted" and "outmoded" Gleason. A check with the early copies of your paper will show that the Bulletin was the only paper on the Left to emphasize this fact. Scotto is guided by Paul Hall (Meany-Lovestone-Dubinsky); Gleason by Joe Curran (Stalinist agent, shipowner's stooge). I do not agree with your political line but agree with your line on the unions.

Ex-CP.

SHEPPARD . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

standing of the urgent need to build a labor party and to build the revolutionary party are merely "twin slogans" because they are divorced from present reality."

What is that present reality? Not the rivers flowing with blood in Ceylon. Not the 5 million unemployed. Not the steel strike or the collapse of the dollar. No!

Present reality is only the upsurge of mass movements against repression, growing radicalization, the fact that "no layer is so beaten down, so prejudiced against, so oppressed that it will not rise up and demand human treatment." Only through participation, only by waiting and watching, and being prepared for "surprises" will we begin to know how the revolutionary struggle will develop.

PARTY

Sheppard went on to say that the major mistake of the Workers League is not admitting that we are small. He proceeded not only to admit that the SWP is small, but that it is not even a revolutionary party yet. This then is the excuse he gives for building what is essentially a popular front. "Because we are small we work in mass movements and do not lead in our own name."

Here is the other key threat which the Workers League poses for the SWP. How dare you, they shout and sneer, how dare you lead? How dare you call for a general strike, call your own rally, call for a labor party? He openly admitted "If we had called a rally in our own name we wouldn't even be able to get all our members to come."

The real depth of Sheppard's hatred of the Workers League and Trotskyism came out during the discussion period. In the context of the understanding that the fight against Stalinism is central to a Trotskyist party, a motion was put forward that the conference go on record as opposing the physical attacks and slanders that are part of the Stalinist arsenal against Trotskyism.

Sheppard's reply was to sneeringly bring forward the Tate affair, giving a distorted inaccurate picture of the incident and the Workers League's position on it to the youthful audience. When pressed, he openly refused to permit the body to take up the motion.

COCHRAN

Barry Sheppard and his associates on the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party have now completed a full circle. Starting out in 1953 in a fight with the liquidationism of Cochran, extending this fight to Pablo in Europe, only to drop the fight against Pablo ending up back with the Pabloites. But it doesn't stop there. Now the very center of revisionism moves to the United States and the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party endorses positions essentially the same as those of Cochran in 1953.

Seeing no crisis, adapting to the surface movement of the petty bourgeoisie, the SWP now deserts the party itself embracing the liquidationist position of Mandel that the party is no more than "nuclei" which can lead

FRANCE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

nault have taken up the struggle for their demands against the Pompidou-Chaban-Marcellin government of the banks and monopolies, the government of Capital.

"—they are on strike

"—they have imposed unity

"—they have occupied their factories

"The fight of the Renault workers is the fight of the entire working class and youth.

"At a time when, drawing the political lessons of the 1968 General Strike, the working class with the 100,000 Renault workers at its head, fights for its demands against the government, when the necessary political conditions can and must be forged to fight for a government of workers organizations, slander and violence against working class militants are counter-revolutionary acts which serve the banks and monopolies. "Thirty years of Stalinist

nothing but can be buried in a "mass movement" which somehow will become a mass revolutionary party at a later date. In what respect does this differ from what both Cochran and Shactman said in the 1950s?

WEISS

Several years back another Political Committee member, Murry Weiss, came to the conclusion that Cochran was right and resigned from the party. Weiss had led the fight against Cochran in 1953. When, Mr. Sheppard, are you and the rest of the Political Committee going to resign? What differences do you now have with Weiss and his course?

SLANDER

It is this new openly liquidationist course which forces the SWP to slander the Workers League and the International Committee which today emerges as the revolutionary party internationally with a daily paper in England and now a 16 page weekly in the United States.

crimes, the most monstrous slanders have not defeated the Trotskyists. Today, civilized humanity knows that Stalin was nothing more than a bloody butcher. This time again, the instigators of this vicious campaign will fail. We warn them that the old days of Stalinism are over. The future belongs to the builders of the party and the Internationale which is faithful to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky."

May 11th, at 7:30 the militants of OCI and AJS held a meeting. Before several hundred Renault strikers the OCI and AJS said:

"Through unity, Renault will give in, the workers organizations must call a demonstration of Billancourt workers at the headquarters of Renault management and Dreyfus will be beaten and the government will be defeated."

STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

being forced to work overtime (double shifts) to make ends meet.

Much of this slaughter takes place in the mines and mills owned by the steel companies. No mill in this country goes even one day without a lost-time injury. The majority of workers are on rotating shifts which change every five days. With hours like these, the guys don't know if they are coming or going, are always worn out and this results in deteriorating personal health and more on the job accidents. Excessive heat, noise, gasses, falling objects, and much more are all safety hazards.

Besides the accidents, steelworkers have been getting Black Lung, emphysema, lung cancer and other serious chronic health problems brought on by the excessive steel dust, fumes and heat in the mills, at a much higher rate than the average working class population.

Naturally the steel company

owners do not care. They only care about profits and this is the root cause of all the rotten, unsafe, hazardous conditions under which we are forced to work and of the whole capitalist system itself. This is what Abel and his kind of leadership cannot face up to.

CAUCUS

What must now be organized in the mills is a caucus committed to an all-out fight against the steel bosses—to fight Abel all the way when he tries to sell out the workers. Such a caucus must be built around a program to break the pattern of the can settlement with an immediate \$2.00 cross the board and full escalator clause and job security with thirty hours for forty. Within this framework we must demand real safety committees run by the rank and file throughout the union that will set standards and have the power to enforce them.

The Workers League is committed to building such a caucus and will work with all steel workers to this end.

What Is Spartacist?

by Tim Wohlforth



50¢

Labor Publications, 6th Flr.
135 W. 14 St., NYC 10011.



(On May 5th over 100 people attended a Workers League meeting in New York City featuring Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, on "Pakistan, Ceylon and The Fourth International." The same speech was given on May 13th at the State University at Stony Brook. The following is a section of that speech devoted to the relationship of revisionism to the current murderous campaign of the coalition government of Ceylon against rural youth.)

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT of Madame Bandaranaike carries out a bloody war against rebel youth in the countryside armed with Soviet MIGs. At the same time it furnishes aid to Yahya Khan of West Pakistan to crush the Bengalis. This coalition government is supported internationally by the government of India as well as the United States. Madame Binh recently met with Madame Bandaranaike and the latter endorsed the position of the "People's Peace Treaty." China continues to maintain the friendliest of relations with Bandaranaike.

The coalition is composed of three major forces: the "leftist" bourgeois party of Bandaranaike, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP); the pro-Moscow Communist Party; and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) which was until 1964 a member of the same international as the Socialist Workers Party.

Les Evans of the SWP writes in *Intercontinental Press*:

"As for Bandaranaike's 'Trotskyite' allies, these renegades from Marxism, who were expelled from the world Trotskyist movement in 1964 when they first allied themselves with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party, have been among the most vociferous defenders of the army's slaughter of radical youth.

"Two prominent leaders of the LSSP—minister of plantation industries and constitutional affairs Colvin R. deSilva, and member of parliament Bernard Soysa—were named by the government April 18 as part of a seven-member committee to 're-establish civil authority' in the areas that have come under rebel control."

The matter is then left there by the SWP. It is as if your best friend walks into your house and shoots your wife and children and then leaves. When people as you: "How could it happen that your closest friend butchered your family?" you respond: "He's no friend of mine any more!"

The question that simply must be asked is how did it happen that a section of the Fourth International ended up in a coalition government with the bourgeoisie? After all the cardinal political principle of the Fourth International since its founding has been that of Lenin as well—no popular front with the capitalists! In answering this question we will discover that the LSSP did not just "first ally" with SLFP in 1964 but that that process began much earlier—as early as 1960. Its roots go back at least a decade before that date.

PABLO

In 1950 Michel Pablo, then head of the Fourth International, engineered a unification between the LSSP headed by N.M. Perera and the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon headed by Leslie Goonawardene and Colvin de Silva. The

Ceylon

Pabloism & The History Of The LSSP

purpose of the unification was to throw up a more formidable parliamentary force in Ceylon and therefore no serious principled discussion took place before or after the unification.

One of the criminal results of the unification was the separation of the Fourth International forces in India and Ceylon. This increased the provincial and nationalist tendencies of the LSSP by removing from it the responsibility to build a party in the vast Indian subcontinent. At the very same time as Pablo was bringing about this parliamentary unification in Ceylon back in Paris he was spinning liquidationist schemes based on the theory that Stalinism could play a revolutionary role under the pressure of the masses.

SPLIT

In 1953 the Fourth International split into the International Secretariat headed by Michel Pablo and the International Committee composed of what is today the British SLL, the French OCI and supported by the SWP. At first the LSSP leadership expressed sympathy with the IC. In that period it clearly opposed Pablo's adapta-



Mrs. Bandaranaike (center) with members of her reactionary coalition government, including members of the LSSP and CP.

tion to Stalinism. But it chose to remain in the International Secretariat recognizing that Pablo could be counted on not to interfere with its own opportunist schemes.

The LSSP lent its considerable prestige to Pablo's formation and this prestige acted as a cover for the liquidation of Trotskyism. At the same time this action of the LSSP expressed its refusal to confront the theoretical questions of the development of the International. Without a deep turn into the International and its problems a revolutionary party cannot be built in a colonial or any other country.

It was the rise of the SLFP party in the late 1950s with its nationalist and leftist demogogy which was to expose the internal decay of the LSSP and drag it further to the right. In this period Madame Bandaranaike's husband formed a coalition government which included the MEP party headed by Philip Goonawardene who himself was a renegade from the LSSP. Goonawardene wrapped himself in the most extreme communalism of the Sinhala population against the more recent Tamil speaking immigrants from India. The LSSP opposed this government as a bourgeois government but at the same time Philip's movement into the government was to foreshadow their own.

ELECTIONS

It all came to a head around the two general elections held in 1960. The perspective of the LSSP for the 1960 election was to fight for an LSSP government. It was convinced, together with Pablo, that the country would polarize between the traditional right wing UNP and the LSSP, reducing the SLFP to a minor factor.

While on the surface the demand for an "LSSP Government" seemed radical it was clearly a parliamentary approach. The LSSP resolution on the question made this clear when it stated:

"The party will demonstrate that this (an LSSP Government—TW) is a necessary means to preserving and fostering national unity, ending corruption, carrying through the urgent reorganization of the country's political, administrative, economic and social structure, and releasing and mobilizing the nation's energies for these tasks."

Instead of fighting, as did Lenin, for the destruction of the bourgeois state, the

LSSP with Pablo's blessing wanted an "urgent reorganization" of it.

The election turned out to be a disaster for the LSSP. Instead of a polarization between the LSSP and UNP there was a polarization between the SLFP and UNP reducing the LSSP to its smallest parliamentary fraction in years. How could it be otherwise when the LSSP was unable to confront and fight the SLFP in a principled manner as the bourgeois party it was, counterposing not electoral maneuvers but the actual struggle for power of the working class.

A new election had to be called immediately as neither of the bourgeois parties had the support to form a government. In the second election of 1960 the LSSP made a no contest agreement with the SLFP whereby it would not run against the SLFP in certain districts in return for the same from the SLFP in other districts. This was in effect a coalition in the election itself. Following this the LSSP voted for the Crown speech of the SLFP which means an actual endorsement of the SLFP-led government. So much for Evans' lie that 1964 was the

United Left Front—a coalition of the LSSP, the CP, and the communalist MEP. This bloc supported communalism and did not even pose the nationalization of the plantations. While it was a bloc of workers parties it was based on a bourgeois program and thus a stepping stone to an open coalition with the bourgeoisie.

ENTER

Shortly thereafter in 1964 the LSSP held a special convention and in its overwhelming majority decided to enter the Bandaranaike bourgeois government. While the United Secretariat opposed this entry, it did so with the method of Pablo. It opposed:

"Any form of coalition with such a party as long as it remains the dominant majority within such a coalition...."

This opens the doors to a coalition in which the SLFP was a minority!

It even refused to expel the center group of Leslie Goonawardene and Colvin deSilva after they rejoined the LSSP.

TAMPOE

A rump group called the LSSP(R) maintained affiliation with the United Secretariat but refused to confront the roots of the degeneration of the LSSP in the history of Pabloism and its anti-Marxist method. This group has since split between Edmund and Bala Tampoe. Tampoe, who now acts as spokesman of the United Secretariat in Ceylon and heads the large white collar union there, gives uncritical support to the JVP (rebel youth). He not only adapts to their political weaknesses but also refuses to use the real power of his union to stop the coalition government's murderous actions.

The struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon is now taken forward by the Revolutionary Communist League, affiliated with the International Committee. This organization begins from an international perspective, has conducted a serious struggle to understand Pabloism, and fights to take forward the Marxist method.

The Socialist Workers Party today throws up a coalition similar to that carrying out murder in Ceylon in the peace movement today. The political logic of its refusal to take up the fight for a revolutionary perspective will force it in the near future over into open coalitionism with the bourgeois parties just as happened to the LSSP.

Revisionism and Stalinism in the United States can mean bodies floating down the Hudson River unless they are stopped through the Workers League's struggle for Trotskyism!

first time the LSSP "allied itself" with Bandaranaike's party!

Pablo criticized the LSSP for this "extreme" attitude but at the same time made it clear his difference was not of a principled character:

"The Fourth International does not exclude support for the adoption of progressive measures, even by a national bourgeois or petty-bourgeois government in a colonial or semi-colonial country. But the social nature, composition, and general program of the Bandaranaike government does not justify the support which was accorded it."

UNITY

One year after this the SWP began its unity maneuvers with the International Secretariat which led in 1963 to its split from the International Committee and reunification with the Pabloites. The LSSP was to support this reunification as wholeheartedly as it had earlier refused to withdraw from Pablo's international.

In 1962 Colvin deSilva, the very man who today is in charge of the butchery in Ceylon, appeared before the Political Committee of the SWP making clear his support for the reunification. At the same time the SWP leadership made it clear that while it agreed politically with the left wing of the LSSP around Edmund Samarakoddy it agreed with and supported deSilva's efforts, as the center of the party, to hold Edmund together with the right wing around Perera. And so the reunification took place without any discussion at all of the LSSP question.

In the period immediately following the reunification there developed a tremendous movement in Ceylon around the 21 demands of the trade union movement. This movement threatened the existence of capitalism in Ceylon if it was taken forward around a fight for a socialist government committed to nationalization of basic industry. At the same time through this movement an understanding of the need to destroy the capitalist state itself throwing up new organs of power out of the working class could have developed.

But the LSSP, this time with full blessing from the United Secretariat supported by the SWP, took a different course. It formed a parliamentary bloc known as the

Just Out!

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Inside Cuba

Castro Embraces Them All

BY ED SMITH

Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro chose the 10th anniversary of the defeat of U.S. imperialism's Bay of Pigs invasion to unveil his absolutely rotten strategy for "anti-imperialist struggle," a strategy that if followed up by the Latin American workers and peasants will lead to the smashing of the masses throughout the continent.

The 10th anniversary commemoration meeting at which Castro made his speech was significantly enough opened by Volodia Teitelboim, representing Salvador Allende's Popular Front government in Chile. Teitelboim in turn quoted Castro's brother Raul who said on April 17:

"The face of today's Latin America is not the same as it was ten years ago. The peoples are struggling against imperialist exploitation and, following different paths and methods, are finding the road that will lead them to the definitive solution of the Continent's problems. Two examples of this are Chile and Peru (our emphasis)."

NATIONALISM

In his response to Teitelboim's speech, Castro elaborated his brother's remarks into a whole strategy for the confinement of the struggle of the Latin American masses behind nationalism, assisted by Stalinism and its Popular Front.

After extolling the nationalist struggles against U.S. domination, Castro goes on to make it clear that he regards the present day struggle in Latin America to be one of nationalism against the "yankees," not of the workers and peasants against the bourgeoisie, both foreign and domestic. Castro does not, cannot distinguish himself from the position of a petty bourgeois nationalist, because in fact he is one.

Says Castro:

"We consider ourselves to be a part of the Latin American family, a part of this continent, citizens of this continent, revolutionaries of this continent..."

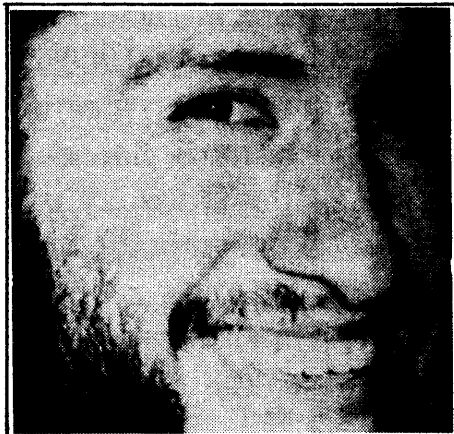
"Those who were the first to fight for the independence of our peoples didn't conceive of what we have today. Nothing could be further from our aspirations and objectives. Bolivar, San Martin, and Sucre fought for another kind of America—for a united and strong America, not a balkanized, impotent and weak America."

BOURGEOIS

Castro fails to note that Bolivar, San Martin and Sucre fought for a united, strong, and bourgeois America. Latin America, like Europe, is indeed kept "balkanized" by imperialism but this can only be rectified through the destruction of capitalism and the assumption of power by the workers. Anything else, as Lenin and Trotsky made clear, was nothing but a "bourgeois utopia." But this "bourgeois utopia" is precisely what Castro has in mind. Let us go on and see how he views the development of the military junta in Peru:

"We know and look with great sympathy with the development of Peru's revolutionary process. We in this country have observed that process with interest ever

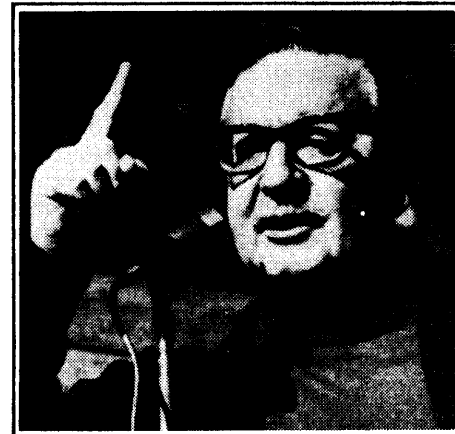
since the first statements were made by the government that overthrew the oligarchic, sellout Belaunde. Our country immediately saw that completely different events were taking place in the Peruvian process. When we saw that concessions to the oil companies were being cancelled and that the resources that were controlled



As the Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco has exposed, the "change in structures" Castro speaks of was nothing more than an attempt by the national bourgeoisie to somehow tear the Peruvian economy away from imperialist domination. In the epoch of imperialism such attempts cannot lead to any long term changes in imperialist exploitation of the colonial countries. This can only be accomplished by the socialist revolution.

This is of no concern to Castro. He continues:

"We had no doubts, when it was still early in the process, that the process was



Marxist theory for "the development of objective revolutionary processes", under which the Castro regime had inevitably and unconsciously smashed the state and set up a workers' regime.

Now Castro uses the same method to applaud "a patriotic and nationalist revolution" in Peru where no one must think



Castro (below) openly embraces not only Allende (center) and invites his representative Teitelboim (right) to Cuba, but praises Peruvian regime which jailed Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco (left).



by the oil monopolies were taken over and recovered; the ferocious campaign against Peru launched in the United States; the Agrarian Reform Law; the exchange control; in sum, when we saw a series of measures that were taken, we understood that a true change of structures and a revolutionary process were under way in that country..."

revolutionary. This is because what determines whether or not a process is revolutionary aren't the schemata, the fictions, and the abstractions but the facts. And the facts were telling us, in an objective manner, that there was a revolutionary process in Peru.

"Of course, every process has its own characteristics.

"In the Peruvian process the motives of the struggle against underdevelopment, against the foreign domination of the economy, the strongly patriotic and nationalist sentiments prevail. No one must think of a Marxist-Leninist revolution in Peru. However, from the point of view of revolutionary theory, one may objectively consider that a revolutionary process is taking place in Peru."

The reasoning, the political method in this statement of Castro's should be familiar to all who have studied the controversies inside the Trotskyist movement on the nature of Cuba. It sounds similar almost word for word to the arguments of Mr. Joseph Hansen that the Castro regime presides over the first workers' state in the Western Hemisphere. Hansen advised us to consider "the facts", just the facts, which conformed to his abstract criteria of what defined the workers' state. He too bade us to discard the "schemata, fiction and abstractions" of

of Marxism-Leninism. This same "revolutionary" "progressive" regime is presently, as Hugo Blanco points out, repressing in the most brutal fashion the workers, peasants and students who dare to rise against the capitalist nature of Peruvian society.

It could not be otherwise. The misery of the colonial and semi-colonial countries lies in the capitalist regime in these countries as well as in the advanced capitalist countries. Their underdevelopment can only be overcome through workers revolution on a world scale.

This does not concern Castro in the least, however. "Of course, every process has its own characteristics", he remarks sagely. And if these characteristics include clubbing down the workers and peasants of Peru—well, so be it!

"Here we can express our confidence in the Peruvian revolutionary process, in the Peruvian government and the people of that country; in the Chilean revolutionary process, in the People's Unity movement, the people and Government of Chile, and in the workers, students and farmers—the people of Bolivia!"

UTOPIA

At all events, nothing must get in the way of Castro's bourgeois reactionary Utopia of "a long historical process, one of partial economic integrations until one day—and this is a law of history—we will belong to the Union of the Peoples of Latin America, an economic and political union of the Latin American peoples."

To secure this, "there must be revolutions in every country in Latin America"—but as Castro makes clear they can very well be of the Peruvian type—in other words a military nationalist coup that represses the workers. Castro will let none of this get in his way. To the Trotskyist demand of the United Socialist States of America he counterposes nothing more than a rotten little Common Market.

This is the alternative Castro holds out before the Latin American masses! This is where the empiricist methodology of the Novacks and Hansens ends up—a justification for what is in actuality a complete capitulation to imperialist domination in Latin America.

Castro's speech—followed by his attacks on left critics in Stalinist fashion as "CIA agents"—proves absolutely that the struggle in Latin America can only be carried forward not by a liquidation into Castroism, as the Pabloite United Secretariat proposes, but by an irreconcilable struggle against Castroism and its political line all down the line, on the program of Trotskyism.

Bulletin

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West Coast News

YSA, Marcuse Unite Over Commune

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—The depths to which revisionism must plunge in this period was further revealed in a recent "non-partisan forum" commemorating the centenary of The Paris Commune and hosted by the Young Socialist Alliance in San Diego.

Pursuing their perversion of the "united front" a step further, they mounted the platform, and united with a front for Stalinism in the person of Herbert Marcuse, a professor who long ago rejected Marxism, and now concocts revolutionary theories around the stampeding middle class and sur-realist art.

The Paris Commune was commemorated by invoking its memory as a cover and justification for every middle class movement that the revisionists are currently pushing.

After a liberal history professor presented the "facts" on the Commune's history, a YSA member, and leader of the local women's movement, showed how the women of the Commune were busy doing what women today do under capitalism: building women's liberation. After discussing various groups that Communist women had formed, it was noted that the only thing that cut short the elaboration of the maximum program for women,

including, we presume, day-care centers, free abortion for all, and control of one's own body, was the victorious counter-revolution that recaptured Paris and slaughtered the Communards.

SLANDER

What a slander! With the workers of Paris locked in a great class battle to the death, this young lady has the effrontery to say that the Communist Women's Union "sounds like our own women's center downtown today."

Following the YSA, Mr. Theodore Edwards, a National Committeeman of the Socialist Workers Party, presented more "lessons" of the Commune, and discussed what Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky had to say about it.

The primary lesson that he drew out of the Commune was the necessity to construct a revolutionary party and international movement, but he drew that conclusion without mentioning even once Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism and the building

of the Fourth International.

In Mr. Edwards' hands the struggle against Stalinism was transformed into a discussion of Moscow and Peking's "nationalist deviations," and the construction of the revolutionary party became support for Black and Brown parties, women's liberation, and everybody else's movement.

Marcuse prefaced his short speech with an attack on the SWP for not abiding by the "non-partisan" format of the meeting, and then launched into an emotional presentation with a few of his own "lessons of the Commune."



Herbert Marcuse

In the midst of his discussion about the "boundless violence of the forces of order," the "futility" of the Communist's struggle, and the necessity to bring about a change in social structure, one very significant conclusion emerged.

SUBMERGE

Marcuse posed the necessity of submerging all ideological differences in order to unify the struggle against the enemy. With his history of anti-Bolshevism, that can only mean that the working class is not to be prepared politically for revolution under the leadership of a revolutionary party. Rather, it is drawn into the morass of middle class radicalism that is the only alternative to Bolshevism.

This point was further clarified in the discussion period, when Marcuse said that since there is neither a revolutionary nor pre-revolutionary situation in the United States, ideological differences are meaningless anyway.

In distorting the meaning of the Paris Commune in order to justify its liquidation into the petty bourgeois radical movement, the SWP struck a bargain and stood side-by-side with Mar-

cuse, this enemy of the working class who is well-trained in providing a philosophical cover for Stalinism, and edifies the petty bourgeoisie with an occasional "theory."

ADAPT

Armed with a view of the present which holds that the working class is not "in motion," the SWP-YSA easily adapted to Marcuse, who stands on precisely the same ground. But in the attempt to maintain a pretense to being Trotskyist, they let him draw that conclusion explicitly in this meeting while they came out with some formal statements about "building the revolutionary party."

Methodologically, Marcuse and the SWP stand together, and that is why they met together. Beginning, not with the strength of the working class movement and taking up the fight for Marxism, but rather with a series of impressions about "where the action is" that ends them up in opposition to the working class, this "non-partisan" meeting came as no surprise.

But it wasn't really non-partisan at all. The partisans of the petty bourgeoisie were out in force.

Stanford Maoists Cover For Khan

STANFORD—At a teach-in at Stanford on Bangla Dosh the Maoists of the Pacific Studies Center and Venceremos refused to take a stand against Mao's open support for Yahya Khan's butchery of hundreds of thousands of East Bengalis.

The Pacific Studies Center, which co-sponsored the event along with the Stanford chapter of the National Federation of Bangla Dosh, played the utterly cynical and cowardly role of feigning support for Bangla Dosh while at the same time attempting to justify Peking's bloody part in crushing the revolution in East Bengal.

In a document prepared for the teach-in by the PSC entitled "Rebellion (not revolution!) in Bangla Dosh," the author engaged in the most torturous sophistry to suggest (shame must have prevented the author from making a clear counterrevolutionary statement) that Mao's support for Yahya Khan was part of a long range plan to foil the intrigues of the U.S. and India to set up a client bourgeois state in Bangla Dosh under the leadership of the Awami League.

China's purpose, according to the document, was to keep the struggle in East Bengal a civil war until a Vietnam-style liberation front emerged, which China would then support. We should not rule out, the author added, the possibility that China is publicly supporting Pakistan against Indian intervention, while privately supplying guns to the Bengalis!

FALSIFICATION

The author of this trash, a gem of Stalinist falsification of history, had the gall to sit on the same panel as East and West Bengali supporters of Bangla Dosh. Her contribution to the teach-in was nothing more than a rehash of Peking's rationalizations and attempts to give a left cover for its frantic attempt to outbid the Kremlin bureaucracy for the good graces of U.S. im-

perialism. Mao's support for Yahya Khan is part of the Stalinists' race to prop up the crumbling edifice of imperialism throughout Asia.

At this point a member of the Stanford Workers League Club got the floor. He affirmed before the PSC and Venceremos the Marxist-Leninist principle of defense of the right of oppressed nations to secede and form independent states. He affirmed the unconditional support of the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International for the East Bengalis' independence struggle.

He pointed out that the massive rallies in Dacca for independence at the time when Sheik Rahman and Yahya Khan were negotiating for autonomy, together with the sympathy strikes in West Bengal and protests in West Pakistan showed that the struggle in East Bengal had already gone beyond the bourgeois leadership of the Awami League, that it threatened to go over to a general struggle for socialism throughout the Indian subcontinent. It was this that brought the Stalinists, who base their power on peaceful co-existence and deals with imperialism, to the aid of Yahya Khan. He concluded by demanding of Venceremos and the PSC that they take a stand—either with Chairman Mao and the butcher Khan or with Bangla Dosh.

Despite the enthusiastic applause that followed this demand, Venceremos and the PSC remained silent. Let the silence of Venceremos be a warning to workers and militant youth. Today's silent counterrevolution by Stalinists of all stripes will be tomorrow's conscious and active betrayal.



Vultures eat the bodies of Bengalis massacred by Khan with Mao's blessings and weapons.

Leaders Split San Diego Workers

BY RICHARD RIVERA

SAN DIEGO—The leadership of the San Diego County Employees Association is attempting to split and pit against each other the ranks of the county workers in order to insure that they cannot mount a successful strike against the County of San Diego.

By ramming a "good" contract of 5% down the throats of the Interdepartmental section, they are hoping to create a scab force to break the threatened strike of the militant maintenance, construction, sanitation, and dock workers sections.

Those sections were offered 2.5% contracts, which were flatly rejected, followed by a strong demand for a strike, even though such action is illegal by county law. The county supervisors and the CEA bureaucrats recognize and understand that rank and file

militancy, and they agree that it must be smashed at all costs.

This is what lay behind the recent meeting of the Interdepartmental section; consisting of clerical, technical, and professional workers, to vote on the "final offer" from the county Board of Supervisors. The meeting was called in the Supervisors' Chambers, which won't even hold 200 of the 3600 members of this section, and which are as inviting to most workers as a concentration camp. The chambers were filled immediately, and the rest of the ranks overflowed into the hallways.

The offer was read by the bureaucrats, lauded as the best they could do, praised as being twice what the city workers had been offered, apologized because they had to maintain county wages in line with private industry, and the ranks were threatened with losing even that if it was not approved.

The leadership then tried to prevent any discussion by calling for an immediate vote. When this failed, they attempted to monopolize the discussion, and cut it short for fear of being unmasked as the agents of the county. When the vote was taken, only those who were packed into the chambers had any voice. All those who were listening from the hallways were never heard from or counted.

The ranks of the interdepartmental section must see that the contract they got, which doesn't even make up for last year's inflation, and will force them back still further in the coming year, is the handiwork of the leadership of the Association, who are working hand in hand with the county supervisors.

If a decent contract is to be obtained now or in the future, this one must be rejected with the force of a strike of all county labor.

West Coast News

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

Stanford Head Arrests Youth In Witchhunt

BY BARRY ZVERKOV

STANFORD—The administration of Stanford University and the local authorities have intensified their campaign to eliminate all militants from the campus.

On May 4th six more warrants were issued against participants in the April 9th sit-in at the Medical Center, bringing the total number of people charged to thirty. All are charged with nine counts of misdemeanors. Seven, including BSU Chairman, Willie Newberry, are also charged with felonious assault on a police officer. Among the six most recently charged is Sam Bridges, a Black hospital worker whose firing touched off the struggle at the Medical Center.

The following week, Leo Bazile, former chairman of the BSU, and Chris Laury, a member of the Black Liberation Front and a leader of the Medical Center fight, were arrested and charged with the beating of a white hospital worker who crossed a picket line thrown up in support of Black and Chicano hospital workers' demands. Bazile and Laury were charged with criminal assault and burglary, both felonies.

ISOLATE

The seriousness of the charges against Bazile, Laury, and Newberry are indicative of President Lyman's plan to isolate and smash all opposition to his policies of educational cutbacks, layoffs, and political repression. In a recent speech in Colorado, Lyman railed against the "new barbarians," only days after he gave the go ahead for the notorious Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department to increase its patrols at Stanford and take over from the campus police the job of hunting down militants. The Sheriff's tactical squad is

in fact responsible for numerous barbarian attacks on peaceful demonstrators at Stanford, including the protestors who sat in at the Medical Center.

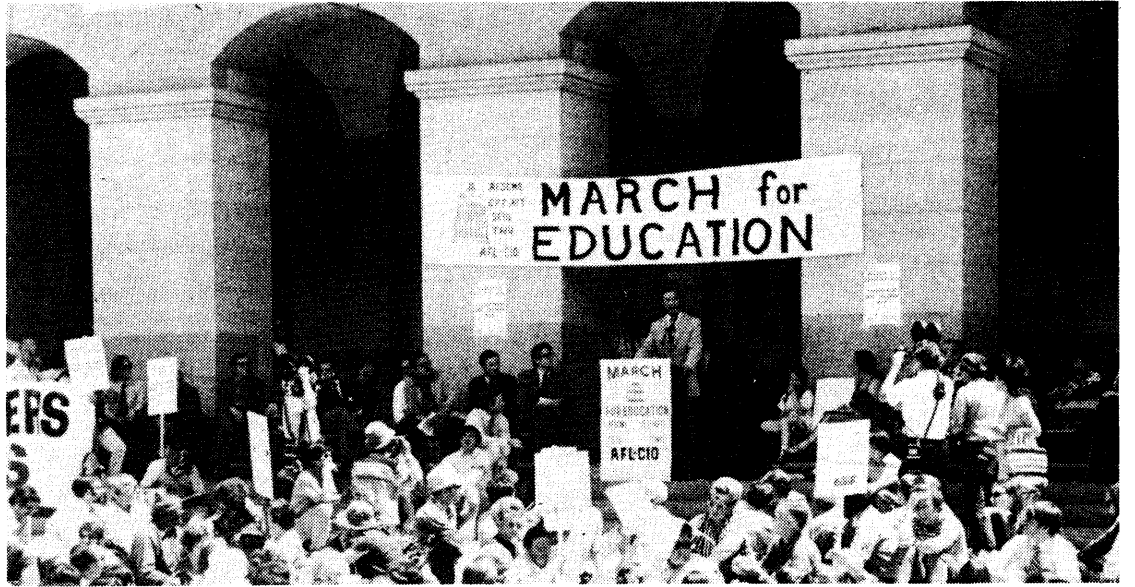
The wave of repression at Stanford is just a sample of what the ruling class has in store for the working class as it prepares to smash the unions. The first priority of Lyman and his class brothers is to isolate and eliminate revolutionary students and minority youth, the potential leadership of the working class.

The leadership of the Medical Center struggle—the BSU, Black Liberation Front, Mecha, and Venceremos—basing themselves on Maoist and nationalist conceptions and the bankrupt confrontation tactics of Venceremos played into the hands of Lyman and his thugs. The result is a dangerous isolation of Blacks, Chicanos, and militant whites from the mass of workers and students. This isolation enables Lyman to make a sweep of all militants and seriously demoralize the campus.

The way forward was posed by the Stanford Workers League Club when it called for the immediate formation of a strike committee to shut down the campus in defense of the victims of Lyman's political witchhunt and in support of the unionization of the campus and hospital workers.

All militants at Stanford, despite their political differences, must now stand firmly in defense of Bazile, Laury, Newberry, and all political victims.

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2,000 teachers protest budget cuts despite union bureaucracy's refusal to fight back.

Teachers Protest Cutbacks

BY EARL OWENS

SACRAMENTO—"It's all a lot of rhetoric," one teacher commented as he listened to the speeches in front of the State capital. Less than 2,000 teachers and municipal workers showed up here last Saturday for the so-called "March for Education."

The failure to produce a large turnout was due in part to a complete lack of publicity (this will enable the union bureaucrats to blame the rank and file for apathy) as well as an understanding by many that the marchers would do nothing more than listen to political speeches, applaud, and be led back to the buses.

The crisis in education in California has left 15,000 teachers unemployed, but the organizers of the rally had no action to propose. On speaker had little more to say than "Decent education is good for everyone." George Mascone, Democratic State Senator, promised that a "withholding system of state taxes" would improve public education.

Maxine Wolpinsky of AFSCME then took the platform. Although

not a member of the Independent Socialists, she has been clearly associated with them in the past. She began her speech by presenting the fight to defend jobs as a women's liberation question: "We are asked to work for wages men will not accept." Apparently, for her all bosses are men. She called for free child care for working mothers, but omitted any mention of state wide strike action against lay offs and budget cuts.

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"reforms" were consciously designed to produce a reactionary frenzy among the middle classes.

In Orange County, approval of Reagan's welfare "reforms" will shift an additional \$2 million in costs onto the county. In addition to that, Reagan's budget reduces the county's share

of Medi-Cal funds from \$2.9 million to \$192 thousand, and also reduces the amount of state funds given to the county for its mental health programs. Since Reagan's budget fails to recompensate the counties for the loss of tax revenues.

County revenues are principally derived from local property taxes; and the result

of the state cutbacks in funding in Orange County is a projected 20 1/2% increase in the property tax rate. On May 5th, County Budget Director Tom Corbin announced that "welfare costs are the basic cause of the budget increase." This, in fact, is an exaggeration, since the shift in welfare costs from the state to the county only accounts for 14% of the increase in the county's budget.

But it is an exaggeration for a purpose that Reagan's speech makes clear. Reagan told the delegates that their children are "being robbed by the welfare monster which is destroying the moral values that have made America great." Unless welfare spending is cut, said Reagan, "there will not be enough money to adequately finance our schools." And in a truly bold and big lie, Reagan proclaimed that "every dollar of the cost of welfare and Medi-Cal in California is a dollar that might have been spent for education if the welfare drain did not swallow up so much public revenue!"

New Blow Against Union Rights

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SANTA ANA—In April of last year, the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) waged a bitter strike—defying court orders to return to work—and won a contract from the L.A. Board of Education.

Last autumn, that contract was ruled invalid by the state courts on the grounds that the school board had no authority to sign contracts with employee organizations.

In the face of the court's attack

upon the trade union movement of all California teachers, the UTEA leadership did nothing. Indeed, the UTLA bureaucrats appeared not to even understand the role of the capitalist courts; for, following the decision, one picard was reported as complaining that the judge had "ignored the fact that 75% of all teachers are covered by such contracts."

Of course, the judge understood very well the precedent he set with his decision. And Orange County Superior Court Judge William Lee demonstrated by a recent decision against the Placentia Unified Education As-

sociation (PUEA) that he also understands.

The PUEA—supported by the southern section of the CTA—had filed a suit against the trustees of the Placentia Unified School District over an alteration in the wording of their contract.

The disputed provision, as originally worded, required that grievances be submitted to a panel whose decision would be "final and binding" on the trustees. On advice from the Orange County Counsel's Office, the trustees unilaterally changed "final and binding" to "advisory."

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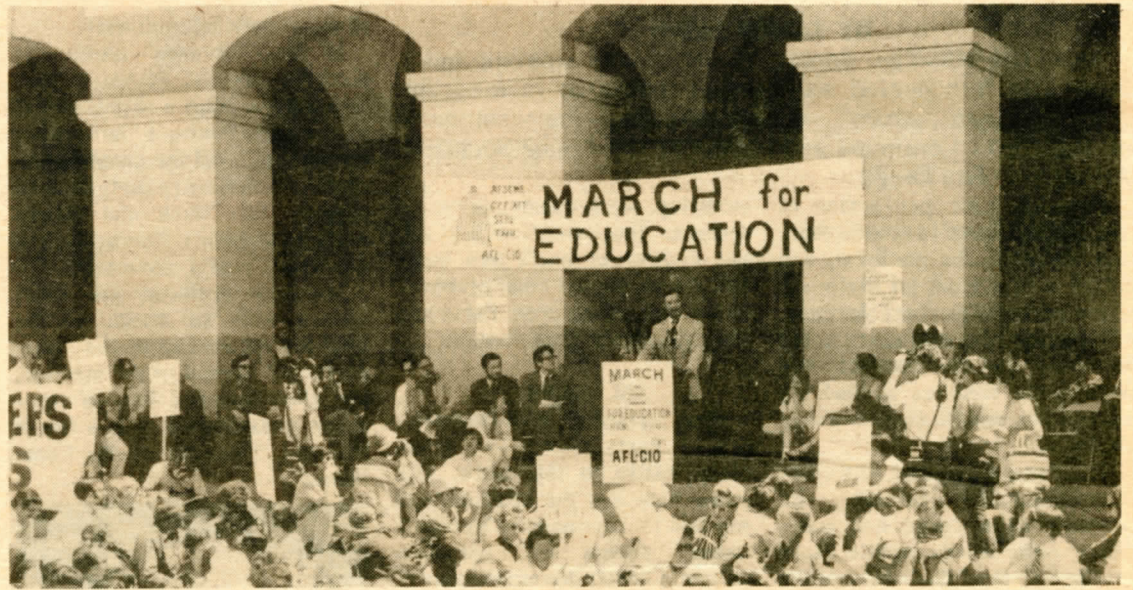
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