

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Workers League  
Midwest  
Conference**  
Page 13

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER EIGHT (217)

OCTOBER 25, 1971

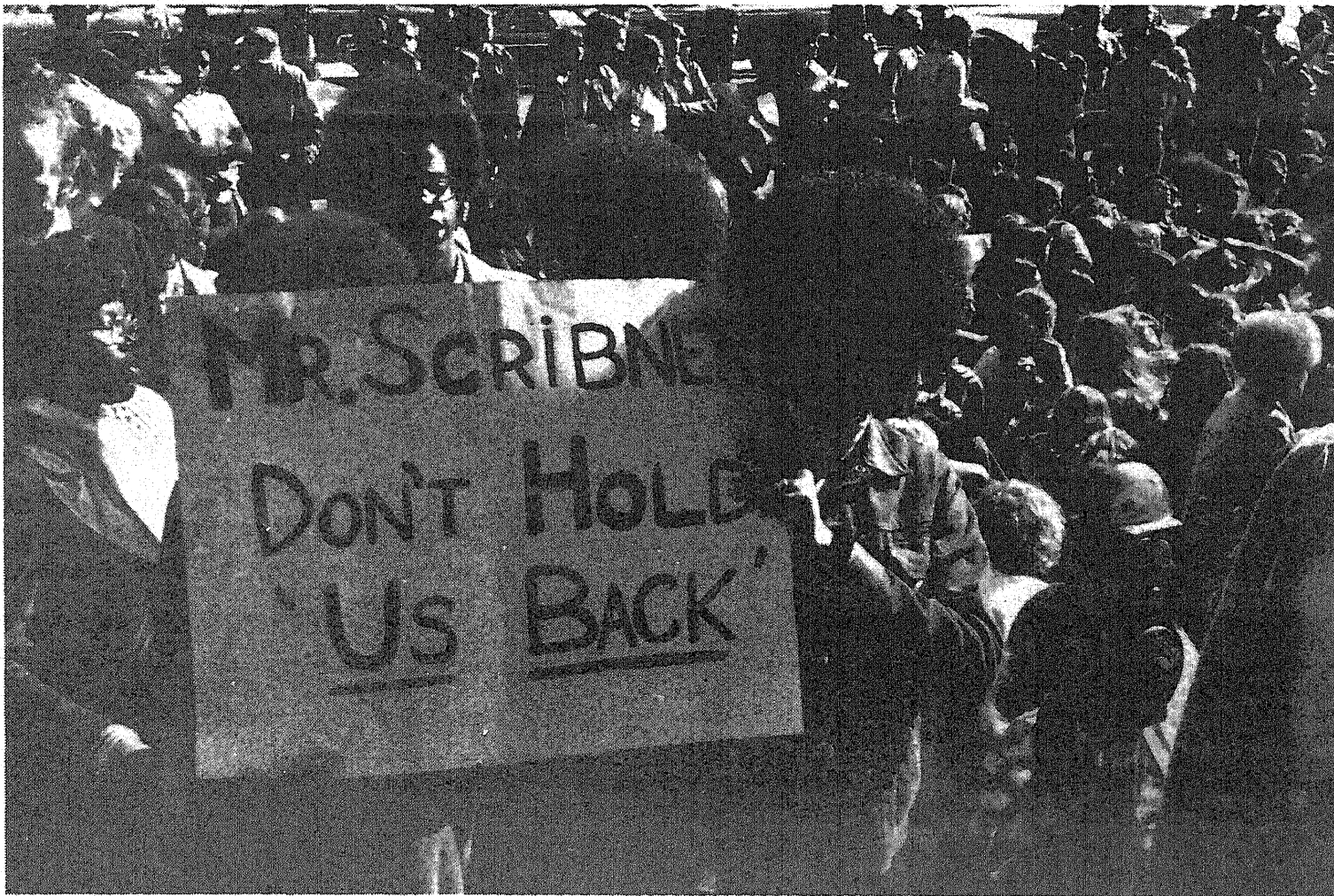


FIFTEEN CENTS

As 3000 March In Puerto Rico Against Wage Freeze

# AUTO WORKERS DEMAND STRIKE

Page 3



Over 3,000 high school students marched from City Hall to Board of Education to protest budget cuts in schools.

**MARCH WITH  
WORKERS LEAGUE  
NOVEMBER 6th** New York,  
Washington,  
Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Minneapolis, Madison

What  
we  
think

## CP Slanders Try To Cover Betrayal

The intensification of the class struggle internationally and the growing movement of the American working class against Nixon's wage freeze has exposed the two-faced, counter-revolutionary politics of the American Communist Party and its newspaper, the Daily World.

The role of Stalinism within the working class movement and particularly the trade unions, is to make "left" noises and "militant" gestures in order to divert it from any serious struggle against the labor bureaucracy. Above all, the Stalinists attempt to turn the anger and wrath of a growing number of rank and file trade unionists AWAY from political action, AWAY from a general strike of all labor, AWAY from the formation of a labor party against Nixon.

All of the Communist Party's attacks on George Meany for "surrendering" to Nixon's wage freeze and their "criticisms" of Leonard Woodcock for going along with Meany is a cover for reliance on the Democratic Party, the enemy of the unions and an apology for the labor bureaucracy itself.

The editorial statement in the October 14th issue of the Daily World asks the question, "Will the presence of the five labor members on the Pay Board insure the workers getting these (already negotiated) increases? NO!...Meany's acceptance of the  
(Continued On Page 6)

# NPAC-PCPJ Apologize To Mayor Lindsay

BY JEANNIE COOPER

As the crisis of capitalism deepens both internationally and in the United States, the revisionists and Stalinists are thrown into an ever increasing panic by the movement of the working class, and particularly by its conscious expression, Trotskyism. This was more clearly expressed than ever before at the National Peace Action Coalition-People's Coalition for Peace and Justice joint meeting held on October 16th at the headquarters of District 65 in New York.

It was apparent from the beginning that the meeting was being run by the dominant forces in the NPAC and PCPJ, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party respectively. The meeting was chaired by pacifist Brad Lyttle, and on the stage at all times were Jerry Gordon and Norma Becker of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. Gordon has worked closely with the SWP and Becker and Evanoff with the C.P.

The Workers League brought a large number of students and working class youth to this meeting to fight against the proposals of the Stalinists and the revisionists that liberal protest could stop the war, and that an alliance between the liberals and the labor movement was the way forward. Both the CP and the SWP are completely united in this fundamental conception of the Popular Front bringing the working class and the youth in behind the liberals.

The forces brought to this meeting by the Workers League represent the new forces which are now taking up the fight against Nixon and the Democrats, against the wage freeze, unemployment, racism and war.

The meeting was called to prepare for the November 6th demonstrations against the war. From the very beginning it was clear that both the SWP and the Stalinists wanted to avoid political discussion at all costs. The point of "speakers and program for November 6th" had been placed next to last on a 12 point agenda. A proposal that this major discussion be moved up on the agenda was voted down.

The hollowness of the NPAC-PCPJ perspective was revealed as speaker after speaker reported on the October 13th demonstrations by reciting how many leaflets had been distributed. The political perspective and the bankruptcy of the protest movement was clearly expressed by Al Evanoff. He said that the demonstrations went well, but "there was one thing missing—the people." He then explained that the labor leaders felt it necessary to apologize to Mayor Lindsay for the way he was greeted at the demonstration in the garment center.

For Evanoff and the SWP-CP bloc there is nothing strange in inviting to a demonstration against the war and the wage freeze a representative of the party which called for the wage freeze and gave Nixon the legislation he needed to put it in effect. Lindsay himself has persistently called for wage freezing.

For Evanoff the lesson of the poor turnout on October 13th is to turn the antiwar movement more sharply to the right than ever, to push it completely into the reform Democratic clubs and

behind the liberal Presidential aspirants. And the so-called Trotskyists of the SWP are aiding him in this move.

## PHONY

In the midst of the reports on October 13th Ernie McIntyre spoke for the Workers League at New York City Community College. He explained that on October 13th, the Workers League at NYCCC had called a meeting which explained why it was necessary to boycott the phony October 13th demonstration at which Lindsay spoke, and called for the building of the largest possible Workers League contingent on November 6th.

The meeting moved to a discussion on "special contingents and feeder marches" for November 6th. Only through a floor fight was the Workers League able to win the right to speak on this point, as the chairman tried to cut off all discussion just before the Workers League spokesman reached the microphone.

The Workers League spokesman pointed out the bureaucratic maneuvers which were being made in order to prevent discussion. She said that this was the way the demonstration was being planned as well and that the Workers League was mobilizing workers, youth and students in an independent contingent on November 6th, a contingent based on the strength of the working class, which will fight for a one-day general strike against the wage freeze in preparation for the class battles ahead. This contingent will march under a banner calling for the building of a Labor Party, to begin the fight for political power by the working class in this country. She urged everyone to join the Workers League in the fight for this program.

(Continued On Page 12)

## Greek Colonels Give Agnew Medal

BY JOANNA DI MARCO

Vice-President Agnew received a full military welcome on his arrival in Greece on Friday, October 16. He was awarded Greece's highest medal of honor, the Grand Cross of George I. The reception resembled those given throughout Europe for Japanese Emperor Hirohito, the man personally in charge of Japan's imperialist war, who has now found that the time is right to show his face again.

### COLONELS

Agnew has wanted to pay an official visit to Greece since he became Vice-President, but it is only now, when the capitalist crisis internationally is reaching a head, that Nixon decided he could



Workers League spokesman Ernie McIntyre speaks at NPAC-PCPJ meeting on fight taken up at NYCCC to build big turnout of youth for WL contingents on November 6th.

## NPAC Backs Farinas Appeal

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

NEW YORK—On Saturday, October 16th, Juan Farinas spoke before the citywide meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition-People's Coalition for Peace and Justice committee set up to coordinate the November 6th New York anti-war demonstrations.

The body voted overwhelmingly to go on record demanding that the supreme Court not only review Farinas' case but overturn the decision made by the Court of Appeals upholding the conviction of Farinas for violation of the Selective Service Act. Juan Farinas was tried and subsequently sentenced on January 29, 1971, on three counts. His only "crime" was to distribute a leaflet at his induction center in the summer of 1968 denouncing the Vietnam war as an imperialist war. He was sentenced to serve two years in jail.

On September 29, a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, in a 3-0 decision, upheld the conviction of the lower court. The only thing now that stands between Farinas and two years in jail is the Supreme Court—that means, a fight to force the court to hear the case.

The only way we are going to force the Supreme Court to review the case is through the mass mobilization of workers and youth demanding that the Court confront the political issues involved—that Farinas was convicted because of his political views.

As the first step in this drive, the Juan Farinas Defense Committee has launched an all out drive to publicize this case nationwide. In New York city, the Spanish-speaking newspaper, *El Diario*, has run a story on the case and is preparing to run a

feature article, and WLIB radio station will be taping an interview with the defendant that will be heard at midnight on "Perspective," Thursday, October 21.

The Committee has just had a fund raising party in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn and will be holding a party at Good Shepherd Church on West 66th Street in Manhattan on Friday, October 22. On November 1st, Farinas will be speaking before the school assembly of Jefferson High school in Brooklyn. At New

York City Community College, Friday, November 5, the Committee will be holding a dance.

We urge all supporters of the defense to immediately begin to fight to get resolutions passed in your union chapters, shops and school assemblies, to send to the Supreme Court demanding that this case be heard. A meeting of the San Mateo, Calif., Local 829 chapter of AFSCME has just voted to instruct their leadership to send a letter to Justice Douglas demanding that the court hear the case.

We urge all supporters of the defense to send contributions immediately to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

## NY Times Witchhunts Immigrant Workers

BY ED SMITH

The liberal capitalists, pressed by the crisis of their system, are becoming nothing more than the shadow of the most vicious, right wing sections of the ruling class.

This is why the October 17 *New York Times*, mouthpiece of official liberalism in this country, ran on its front page a disgusting scare story on "illegal aliens" repeating in well-modulated tones the same rabid, reactionary garbage headlined by the *New York Daily News* in recent weeks.

The purpose of this bosses' campaign is to demoralize and divide the workers in preparation for really big attacks which

aim to reduce the working class to the condition of the foreign workers it now screams against. It is no accident at all that this holy crusade against trespassers in the "land of opportunity" follows right on the heels of Nixon's wage freeze.

Somehow the more backward workers must be convinced that their steadily worsening conditions are caused not from an economic crisis born from the contradictions of capitalism but by "foreigners" slaving away under the most miserable conditions in order to avoid the starvation-level existence in their native countries.

So the *Times* reporter writes the following:

"Aside from the dollars sent home, it seems clear that the illegal traffic is of no social benefit to the home countries. Despite the menial jobs that aliens have here, many have at least a grade school education, are ambitious and experienced in business. What many regard as the lax American immigration system thus, in effect, deprives developing countries of needed talents."

Hundreds of thousands of workers are fleeing colonial and semi-colonial countries, particularly in Latin America, to find work in order to stay alive. According to the *New York Times*, this is not because the imperialists, headquartered in New York and Washington, D.C., have sucked the blood out of these

(Continued On Page 12)

and liberals in Greece, and was opposed in an affidavit signed by about 170 members of the U.S. House of Representatives. Their opposition, however, does not include a demand for a break with the Greek regime, and in fact these same representatives have consistently voted for continued military and economic aid to the military dictatorship. What these gentlemen object to is Nixon's decision to show open unconditional support for this regime, because it contradicts their liberal appearance to the voters at home and abroad.

The world crisis of capitalism now demands that Nixon realign himself with the Greek dictatorship. As the trade war and the attacks upon the working class deepen internationally, he expects to apply the methods of his Greek allies here at home.

This is the first official visit by the U.S. since Lyndon Johnson, then Vice-President, was here in 1962. The visit disturbs intellec-

# Battle Brews Against Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

While Nixon and the labor bureaucracy have been collaborating on Phase II, a big explosion is being prepared in the ranks of the labor movement against the wage freeze.

Auto workers are heading into a collision with Woodcock, head of the United Auto Workers, who has offered Nixon his services on the Pay Board and given the government the go ahead to rip up the contract won by the UAW in the six week strike last fall.

Auto workers are due a 28 cent an hour increase in November. The ranks returned to work after widespread opposition to the settlement. The ranks only accepted this contract because of the cost of living clause. Now Nixon is prepared to wipe it out.

Whole sections of the union are now demanding strike action against the freeze and the government's attempts to take away their gains. Many rank and file workers are saying that what is needed is a one day general strike.

At a recent union meeting of

the Ford Dearborn plant, an official of Ford Local 600 said:

"Leonard Woodcock said during Phase I of Nixon's freeze that if we don't get what's coming to us, he favored a nationwide strike. Since then the position seems to be changing. Now we are told, 'Don't get excited, we'll negotiate.'

"We assembly line workers are going to hold Woodcock to his original statements and if we don't get our 28 cents then the contracts, like he said, should be declared null and void....We Ford workers will lose \$50 a month in raises. We aren't about to buy that. I favor action, not negotiations."

One rank and file worker at the Ford Dearborn Assembly plant told a reporter: "We need a solid front, a strike if necessary, to win our money and if

that isn't enough, then let them call a general strike of all workers in the country to stop this Nixon." Many auto workers have taken up the call put out by the Illinois AFL-CIO for a one day general strike against the freeze.

At the same time in San Juan, over 3,000 trade unionists left work early on Monday to march on the Governor's mansion against Nixon and the wage freeze. Called by the major unions in Puerto Rico, the demonstration also marched in support of the striking Fomento Industrial employees.

In Philadelphia rank and file dockers refused their leaders plea to return to work and are defying a court injunction.

PITTSBURGH

The real frustration that is growing in the working class against the employers and government's attacks was expressed in Pittsburgh, the home of the steel industry, this weekend. Over 100,000 rioted in the (Continued On Page 12)



Auto workers at Dodge Main plant in Detroit welcomed Bulletin sales enthusiastically as they look for fight back against freeze.

## Coal Mines Shut Solid

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Over 80,000 coal miners, mainly in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia, have been out on strike since their contract expired on October 1st.

The strike began under the 90-day wage freeze announced by Nixon on August 15th.

The demands center around a raise from \$37 to \$50 a day for highly skilled miners, increased sick pay and benefits, and a 100% increase in company contributions per ton of coal produced into the pension fund, and improved safety and working conditions.

Miners are faced with rising prices and rising unemployment. In the past 20 years, the work force has been slashed from 400,000 to 100,000, and productivity has increased.

Safety conditions, which have never been good in the mines, are deteriorating under speedup.

Hundreds of miners are killed each year in explosions and cave-ins caused by the companies' push to drive profits up further. Three hundred nine men died in mine accidents between April 1970 and June 1971—an increase over the 246 who died in the mines in the previous 15 months.

This strike now means a real confrontation with Nixon and the government. With Phase Two, Nixon has clearly announced his intentions of fighting "inflationary tendencies"—that means fighting to drive down wages and conditions, and increasing speedup and unemployment.

The use of Taft-Hartley against the West Coast dockers is only the beginning. Confronted with the East Coast ILA dock strike, and with the strike of 80,000 miners, Nixon intends to do everything in his power to drive back these powerful sections of the labor movement.

The leadership of the UMW is not prepared to take up this fight. Tony Boyle fought right up to the wire to prevent a strike, and called for an "exemption" from Nixon's wage freeze.

This call, raised also by ILWU President Harry Bridges before knuckling under to Nixon, can only disarm the workers in the face of a vicious attack from which no union and no worker will be "exempted."

It has already been reported that miners were attacked by police in West Virginia when trying to shut down a non-union mine. This is only the beginning. Nixon holds not only the Taft-Hartley, but is prepared to bring in police, armed goon squads and troops if necessary to break this movement.

The fight must be taken up against Boyle in preparation for the battle against the government and the employers.

This means: no retreat on the wage demands; 100% increase in company contributions to the pension fund per ton; union control over safety and working conditions; full compensation to all black lung victims and their families.

If the companies claim they cannot meet these demands, we must fight for the nationalization of the mines under workers control with no compensation to the owners.



Over 3,000 workers marched against Nixon's wage freeze in San Juan, Puerto Rico last week. Teamsters, supermarket clerks and boilermakers unions were represented.

## 1199 Leaders Capitulate To Wage Board

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—"We are recommending no immediate action at this time," President Leon Davis of Local 1199 stated at the October 14th Guild Delegates meeting in his report on the Wage Board.

Hospital workers who have been awaiting word of some plan of action to defend their contracts following the magnificent 1199 rally October 1st will get no leadership from the Davis bureaucracy.

PHASE II

The October 14th meeting was especially important because it was the first one held since Nixon's announcement of Phase II and two days after Meany agreed to sit on the Board.

Everything Davis said revealed his skepticism that the power of the workers in strike action can defeat the wage board. Despite what he said previously about October 1st being a first step Davis is completely resigned to the existence of the Board.

Right at the beginning of his remarks Davis said Nixon's "methods are so deceptive there is a good chance he will stay in Washington a long time" and that he was "clever" for making the controls seem "flexible." Davis denounced Nixon as "a

vulture trying to pass as a dove" and said that because 2/3 of workers are unorganized the burden of the freeze would be the hardest on the poor.

For all his denunciations of Nixon as "vicious" and "irresponsible" Davis could not propose any alternative. It is absolutely true as Davis said that "Meany became a victim of his own strategy" and that "without labor the controls wouldn't work."

Now that Meany has stabbed the labor movement in the back by accepting the controls unions such as 1199 have a special responsibility to take up an immediate fight to drive Meany off the Board and to mobilize the ranks in action against the freeze.

This is not Davis' perspective. He revealed that he was "depending on Woodcock of the UAW but he went along...we're going to insist that the first time they make a wrong move they should resign...we will fight within the controls for everything we can get...We will continue not to sup-

port the Pay Board...If our union is strong there will be a time and a place to fight back."

TELEGRAMS

As far as Davis is concerned the fight was over when Woodcock went along with Meany. He places no faith in the independent action of the workers who showed their readiness to fight October 1st. The day before Meany's capitulation to Nixon, hundreds of hospital workers at Kingsbrook Jewish, Beth Israel and other hospitals sent telegrams insisting that he boycott the Pay Board.

The 1199 leadership cannot have it both ways. The unions cannot oppose the Wage Board in words and work within its guidelines at the same time. This is the road to destruction of the unions.

Isn't it clear by now that there is no way to work within the controls? One third of the Board is composed of big business and the other third includes their supporters. Is Davis saying that if the Board rules in favor of granting the 1199 increases they will keep silent about controls on other unions?

It is clear that Nixon attempted to create a split within the labor movement to weaken the fight a-

gainst the controls. Davis' reaction is to capitulate and say there is nothing that can be done.

The ranks of 1199 must not tolerate this capitulation! The 1199 leadership must back up its opposition to Meany by taking the lead to unite other unions by preparing for a one day General strike November 12th, the day before Phase II begins. If these unions base themselves on the rank and file they have the power to drive Meany off the Pay Board and defeat Nixon's whole attack.

Following Davis' report at the meeting a delegate from Mt. Sinai Hospital demanded to know why no coalition of unions had been formed against Meany and Nixon. Davis had no answer.

When delegates from the Rank and File Committee proposed that the leadership take a clear stand of no cooperation with the Pay Board and fight to build a one day strike action they were viciously attacked by the leadership. An organizer led off the attack by accusing the delegates of "monopolizing" the floor and of always "yelling strike."

A number of other delegates, who were obviously encouraged by the leadership, declared that they were tired of hearing about strike (Continued On Page 12)

# Rightists Kill Five Youths In Santo Domingo

BY MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

Five students have been found dead in the latest wave of right-wing terror unleashed in the Dominican Republic. The five students whose ages range from 16 to 21 years old, were found in different parts of the capital, Santo Domingo, dead from bullet wounds. All had been previously tortured.

## TERROR

This is the latest of such terror activities undertaken by the right-wing terrorist organization popularly known as "La Banda" (The Band). This is composed of elements from the old Trujillo regime and counts not only on the blessing but also the active cooperation of the police in the Dominican Republic. Their main activity is to murder left-wing students and workers.

The students apparently were killed because they had expressed

joy at the announcement that one of the members of La Banda, Johnny Vargas, had been shot down a few days before.

## PIOUS

Despite the pious statements by President Joaquin Balaguer and different members of his government against the killings and La Banda the fact remains that the organization has the blessing of the government. A few weeks back, in a public speech, the President lashed out against the terror of La Banda. The next day 300 members of the group were arrested and brought to court only to be immediately released because of "lack of evidence." This betrays the government's real position of allowing this terror campaign against the left to be openly carried out.

At the present time when the capitalist class is thrown into a tremendous crisis they mobilize and prepare their scum to terrorize workers and communists. Only the mobilization of the working class against the capitalist system can answer these tactics.



Leon Davis, President of Local 1199 speaks at Oct. 13th garment district rally against the war. Stalinists and labor bureaucrats invited Lindsay, lined up with Democrats.

# Imperiale Whips Up Racism In Jersey H.S.

BY BOB MICHAELSON  
NEWARK—The situation in the high schools in the northern New Jersey area continues to be tense. This part of New Jersey is one of the most highly industrialized sections of the country, boasting among the highest profit rates for capitalism and the highest unemployment and welfare for the working class.

These conditions also affect the educational system, which in Newark especially—the hub city of the whole area—are disastrous.

At Barringer High School in Newark, scene of recent confrontations between black and white students, a *Bulletin* reporting team interviewed students last week.

Leaders of a section of white students told this reporter that the trouble was caused mainly by the fact that the school was over-

crowded and that the students were forced to go on split sessions—one group in the morning and one in the afternoon. She said there were at least 800 students too many in the school.

She said the reason for the overcrowding is two-fold. First the budget for education does not allow for the building of new schools at a fast enough rate and secondly, Barringer is supposed to be one of the better schools in the Newark area, and many youth transfer to Barringer in order to escape the older, dilapidated schools.

The reason for the rebellion taking on a racial form is that many if not most of the youth who transfer to Barringer are Black and Puerto Rican, and Anthony Imperiale, the racist leader of the North Ward Citizens Committee has made the most of this particular fact.

Imperiale joined with Leon Jones, Black nationalist leader, in separating the white youth from the Black. Now Imperiale's tactic is becoming clearer. He's trying to whip up the racism among the white students in order to "win" Barringer for the "white community" against the "Black community."

But a whole section of white students stated clearly that what they thought was needed was unity between all sections of students around a common program to win their demands from the administration and government.

Black students who were interviewed said they did not understand why the thing exploded the way it did. They said the riot erupted after an incident between a Black and a white youth, although they agreed that the overcrowded conditions aggravated the issue.

All of the students interviewed agreed that the deteriorating situation in the schools is the basic problem. The government can no longer provide a decent education for the youth.

The only way the youth can win their demands is if they fight against the racism of Imperiale and the nationalist programs of Jones in order to unite around a political program which really shows the way forward to struggle against the government.

# Bengali Victories Spur Pakistani Crisis

BY ED SMITH

Imperialism and Stalinism have been put in a difficult situation by the liberation struggle of the Bengali people.

Liberation forces in Bangladesh have cut the main rail lines and roads and destroyed many of the power stations. Bengali frogmen have damaged or destroyed at least a dozen ships in "East Pakistan" harbors, forcing British lines to suspend operations there. Up to 100,000 Bengalis are reported to be under arms already. The number would be much greater had not India, on the advice of the Soviet Union, hamstrung aid under the cover of "not provoking Pakistan."

In West Pakistan itself the situation is reaching the boiling point. Opposition to the Yahya regime is growing rapidly. Unemployment as a result of the war has reached 40% in some industries. The "left" People's Party led by Zulfigar Bhutto has been forced to start moving into opposition to the Yahya Khan regime after enthusiastically participating in the chauvinist orgy earlier whipped up by dictator Yahya Khan against Bangladesh.

Meiraj Mohammed Khan, People's Party secretary in the city of Karachi, recently refused to join a junket to the West Pakistani-occupied areas of East Bengal, saying, "power in effect has now been transferred to those reactionary and anti-people parties defeated in the elections and rejected by the people."

## COMPROMISE

Yahya Khan and the imperialists are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. The Indian bourgeoisie, the American imperialists, the Stalinists, all want to arrange a "political accommodation," get the millions of Bengali refugees out of India and back under the domination of Khan and restore some sort of imperialist normalcy on the Indian subcontinent. They are pursuing the faint possibility of a compromise settlement with the bourgeois Awami League Leaders. But these attempts are continually broken by Yahya Khan's

desperate fight to retain the positions of the Pakistani bourgeoisie and the imperialist partition of India and the struggle of the Bengalis for independence, a struggle which can smash the partition and go over into a socialist revolution throughout that subcontinent.

The U.S. State Department urges Pakistan to "political reconciliation" based on the end of terror in Bengal, a "reasonably representative government," and a "more convincing effort" by the authorities to relieve the horrors wreaked in their genocidal efforts. But without the weapons of starvation, terror and dictatorship, Pakistani rule in the East could not last 24 hours. Promises by the Pakistani authorities to relieve the situation therefore must be worthless (an "amnesty" for political prisoners last month, for example, was followed by the arrest and execution of hundreds of Bengalis).

There is no way out of the situation except the struggle for the victory of the Bengali people and the spread of the revolu-

tion throughout the subcontinent. The only alternative is continued genocide by the imperialists, but now on a scale outstripping anything seen before in Bengal or anywhere else. The imperialists themselves see this clearly.

"There really is nothing anyone with any amount of money can do for East Pakistan. It seems to be an irredeemable land whose people are doomed from birth... My own feeling, and I know lots of us share it, is that the outside world might as well pull out now and let events here take their inevitable course." This is the remark of a Western "relief worker" quoted in the *New York Times*!

This vicious mystical and racist outlook is advanced as justification for genocidal slaughter. For the imperialists the colonial peoples are simply expendable, and mass murder is preordained. But the capitalist system which plunders these areas and condemns their inhabitants to poverty and misery is blameless.

Meanwhile the Stalinists continue their attempts to "solve" the Bengali problem. While Moscow calls for a "political settlement" the North Koreans have now joined Peking in support for butcher Khan. A North Korean ship recently docked in Karachi with a cargo of arms and ammunition for use by the Pakistani rulers against the Bengalis.

A Marxist leadership must be constructed in Bengal and throughout the world to destroy the decaying system of imperialism and all its puppets.

# Ferre And U.S. Witchhunt Militant

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

Humberto Pagan, a 20 year old student from the University of Puerto Rico, has been arrested in Ottawa, Canada, for "illegally entering the country." U.S. authorities are trying to have him extradited to Puerto Rico.

Pagan, an independentist activist, was arrested last March during a witchhunt campaign following the killing of two policemen and an ROTC cadet during a rebellion in the University. Before and after the arrest the government and police whipped up a hate and hysteria campaign aimed against the "subversives" who are

"out to destroy democracy and the country."

This campaign was carried out by every level of government including Governor Ferre, who congratulated the police upon the arrest of such a "dangerous criminal" as Pagan. The press and radio carries inflammatory reports about the activities of the "subversives" and even legislative representatives spoke out their venom.

Pagan was to be tried last September 21, in an atmosphere where in practice he had already been convicted by the press and Ferre's statements. He decided to leave the country and went to Canada. If he is extradited to

Puerto Rico he will face a certain conviction by the colonial courts in the island.

It is no accident that this occurs at this time. Ferre's government needs a scapegoat to whip up pro-U.S. and reactionary sentiments and to attack the growing independentist and working class movement in Puerto Rico. That's why Pagan was arrested and the demand made for his extradition.

The Committee to Defend Humberto Pagan has been formed in Puerto Rico and in New York. Inquires and statements of support should be sent to Resistencia Puertorriquena, Box 513, Triboro Station, New York, N.Y. 10035

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas  
THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

# Philly ILA Ranks Defy Injunction

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 18—The longshoremen turned out today for one of the largest and most explosive union meetings in the local's history.

The meeting was called by the leadership to "brief the men on how to return to work" in the face of a Philadelphia court injunction against the strike. But the ranks in a powerful display of determination to fight the injunction shouted the leadership down at every point.

One of the local bureaucrats got up and pleaded "We can't do anything but go back. This time we're not up against a brick wall but a steel wall."

### STAMPEDED

The men showed just how strong the steel wall was by actually dragging this flunky off the stage. The men made it so crystal clear that they would not return to work on the employers' terms that no vote even had to be taken. They just stampeded out of the room, leaving the leadership alone on the stage to adjourn the meeting.

What must now be undertaken is the construction of a new leadership in the ILA that far from being afraid to tackle the government, sets out consciously to do this.

### GLEASON

Nixon's use of the Taft-Hartley against the ILWU and now the injunction against the Philadelphia ILA—the first step towards invoking the Taft-Hartley against the East Coast strike—is not just a replay of the '50s and '60s but now more clearly than ever before it is a part of the government's whole strategy to freeze wages and bust the unions.

Behind the injunction is the complete capitulation of Meany, Gleason, Scotto and all the local bureaucrats to Nixon's wage freeze. The ranks stood up against this treachery by refusing to go back on the basis of this injunction.

This must now be taken forward by issuing a call to the entire trade union movement for a general strike demanding a complete and unconditional end to the wage freeze and strikebreaking. This will lay the foundation for building a labor party for '72.

## Lindsay, Rockefeller Juggle With 30¢ Fare

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On Friday, October 15th, another meeting was held by government officials and representatives of the Metropolitan Transit Authority to "see what could be done" to maintain New York's 30¢ fare.

Rockefeller has made it clear time and again that the transit fare is going to go up come what may. He arrogantly announced that he might be able to hold the increase down if voters approve his Transportation Bond Issue.

The Bond Issue is yet another giveaway to the big banks and construction companies. The state and city governments are now arguing over how large a share of the crumbs will be given to mass transit if the bond issue wins approval. This is being dressed up as a big struggle in the



Taxi drivers attend membership meeting (above) at Manhattan Center Oct. 13th.

## Taxi Election Drive Opens

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Campaigning opened up in all garages this week for the entire citywide election in Local 3036. The slate of the Rank and File Coalition is the only alterna-

tive to the current Van Arsdale leadership, and must be elected if the taxi drivers' fight for a decent contract is to be taken forward.

Van Arsdale has called for "renegotiation," but any deals under Van Arsdale will only lead the drivers into further betrayals. An entire housecleaning of the current 3036 leadership must occur before any renegotiation takes place.

At the same time, the Rank and File Coalition must face up to its political tasks. While running a slate on a strong platform of demands, it has refused to place the campaign in the political framework necessary to win these demands. Opposition to the wage freeze is not enough. Defiance of the freeze with a one day general strike on November 12 by the whole labor movement is the only answer to Nixon's union busting tactics.

### INDEPENDENT

Further, the Coalition must confront the independent mobilization of all workers in the face of Nixon's and the ruling class attack. A labor party is

now a necessity.

The defense of every union and every union contract now demands that all workers break once and for all from the very Republicans and Democrats who support this freeze. Inside workers already are facing the fact that they may not get a \$10/week increase negotiated in even the present bankrupt taxi agreement.

### COLLISION

At the October 13 General Meeting the Rank and File Coalition attempted to mobilize drivers behind constitutional reforms. What the Coalition was saying was that the drivers' struggle for a decent contract could be won by simply changing the structure of the union. This can only mislead the ranks who must now go into a head-on collision with Van Arsdale.

Only a few drivers came to the meeting. Van Arsdale's goons gained complete control.

The Coalition must face up to the responsibility of fighting for its program for the independent mobilization of the ranks on a political program which can defeat Van Arsdale, the employers and Nixon.

### HOAX

The debate and the maneuvers (Continued On Page 12)

# SUPREME COURT- NIXON ENCOURAGES APARTHEID

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's determination to nominate open right wing fascists to the Supreme Court is a sharp warning to the working class. Nixon's plans are to turn the Court into an instrument of political repression and to strip workers and minority people of any rights they have won over decades of struggle. The Supreme Court will now become Nixon's tool to foster racial divisions and outright separatism.

One of Nixon's favorite candidates is Senator Robert Byrd from West Virginia who has the distinction of being a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. Byrd now lamely states that this was a mistake. Let us quote a letter made public in Washington which Byrd wrote in 1946, three years after leaving the Klan to Sam Green, then Imperial Wizard of the KKK:

"I am a former Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan in Raleigh County... The Klan is needed today as never before and I am anxious to see its rebirth here in West Virginia... Will you please inform me of the possibilities of rebuilding the Klan realm in West Virginia?"

The New York Post quotes Byrd as having said: "We can take the people out of the slums but we cannot take the slums out of the people."

None other than the "liberal" George McGovern was the first to support Byrd's nomination, saying "There is no question that he is trying to redeem some of his earlier limitations in the field of civil rights. I think if he were given the nomination he would lend every effort to become a great justice."

According to McGovern, belonging to the Ku Klux Klan is a "limitation." Twenty four hours later McGovern decided to oppose Byrd, but nothing will erase this little "slip" which reveals the rotten alliance of these liberals with Southern racists.

### NO-KNOCK

Some of the other nominees to the Supreme Court are Herschel Friday, an Arkansas lawyer, whose law firm has spent the last twelve years fighting

school integration as the representative of the Little Rock School Board, Judge Charles Clark, who defended the Governor of Mississippi against contempt charges for trying to block James Meredith's enrollment in the University of Mississippi, and Sylvia Bacon, a District of Columbia judge who helped write the crime bill which provided for "no-knock" searches and preventive detention.

Just when Nixon is preparing vicious attacks on Blacks and is whipping up racism within the working class, the entire Black petty bourgeoisie is falling over itself to grab some crumbs from Nixon's table.

We have the disgusting spectacle of Jesse Jackson, head of the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference giving a "soul" shake to Mayor Daley, whose cops murdered Black Panther Fred Hampton in Chicago in 1969. They are indeed "soul brothers" in their common desire to help capitalism survive. Jackson's goal is to woo Nixon into granting more economic aid for Black businesses.

On October 13 Nixon requested a budget of \$106 million for the

Office of Minority Enterprise, and pledged to set up corporations which will help finance them. 100 such corporations were promised by the government for 1969 and only 16 were actually established.

This plan is a complete fraud. The crisis of capitalism that forces Nixon to make sharp attacks on the wages and jobs of all workers leaves very little for aspiring Black bosses and their ideological spokesmen like Jackson, LeRoi Jones and Thomas Matthew, head of NEGRO. These traitors seek a way out by securing their own privileges while millions of Black workers will continue to face poverty and unemployment.

Nixon knows it is a fraud! His strategy is to use the bourgeois strivings of the Black middle class to prevent Black workers from uniting with white workers in a common struggle against the bosses and their government. He hopes to tie Black workers to the system through the Black bourgeoisie.

### APARTHEID

The advocates of Black capitalism are saying that they will accept separatism and racial di-

vision as long as they can have a slice of the pie. They play right into Nixon's hands. It means the acceptance of an actual apartheid-like system in this country in which Black workers would be fed the illusion that they can have a separate economy immune from the crisis.

In reality it would pit Black workers against white for fewer and fewer jobs. Leaders like Jones and Jackson are the open enemies of all workers, Black as well as white.

The real enemy is capitalism. This is what the Black nationalists seek to obscure. The enemy is the capitalists, whether they are white or Black, who seek to preserve their profits at the expense of the working class. Black capitalism and Black Democrats are the logic of Black nationalism. It means uniting on the basis of color rather than on the basis of class.

Nixon's racist attacks can only be defeated through a program to end the wage freeze, for full employment, restoration of all cuts in social services and the fight to win these demands through a Labor Party which must nationalize all industries and expropriate the bosses' profits.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Youth Must Mobilize For Nov. 6 Contingent

The nationwide demonstrations against the war called for November 6th are taking place at a time when the American working class is now moving into a head on battle with the government.

Nixon has brought the war home against the workers and youth in the U.S. Every single Democratic and Republican politician agrees on one thing—that the working class must be driven back to conditions of the 1930s so that the profits of the employers can be preserved.

Phase Two of Nixon's wage freeze means that union contracts will be declared null and void, wages slashed while unemployment, the budget cuts, and repression continue. Attica made clear that the government is prepared to use the methods it has employed in Vietnam against the workers and youth who fight back.

From Philadelphia, to Pittsburgh, to Detroit the American working class is showing that it is going into battle. It is only through the independent mobilization of the working class and youth that Nixon and his friends can be defeated.

It is not only the employers and their parties that fear this movement but the trade union bureaucracy. They have completely capitulated to Nixon's wage freeze. They are now seeking to hold back this movement and to keep the struggles of the ranks of the labor movement isolated from the movement of the youth.

They cannot do this without the vital aid of the Stalinists and revisionists who are seeking on Nov. 6th to turn the struggles against the war and the wage freeze into middle class protest and into support for those like New York's Mayor Lindsay who are responsible for these attacks.

The youth have been in the forefront of the struggles against the government. They have a major role to play in mobilizing massive class action against Nixon's wage freeze and the war in Vietnam. They have a major role to play in exposing and fighting the trade union bureaucracy.

In the communities, the high schools and the campuses the youth must mobilize on November 6th in the thousands to demand that the labor movement call a general strike on November 12th. It is through the unity of the youth and the powerful organized working class that Nixon can be defeated. This is the fight we must bring forward on November 6th.

All out! March with the Workers League November 6th!

- Smash the wage freeze!
- No cooperation with control boards!
- Jobs for all—30 for 40!
- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina!

• Nationalization under workers control!

- Call a general strike for Nov. 12th!
- A Labor Party for '72!

## BUILD BULLETIN EXPANSION DRIVE

Oct. 15—The Bulletin has now reached its one-third point in its critically important Fall Fund and Circulation Expansion Drive. We are happy to announce that we are presently ahead of schedule.

As of October 15th, one third of the way through the drive, we have received \$9,755 on our \$25,000 Goal. This is almost 39% of the total. There is every indication that we will be able to exceed the \$25,000 figure by a substantial margin if the fight continues on the fund drive.

In the same span of time we have received 1,281 subs out of our 3,000 quota. This is 42% of the total and pushes the Bulletin's paid circulation over the 12,000 mark.

At this time we must ask each of our readers to help us broaden the financial base and the circulation of the Bulletin. With Nixon's wage freeze and other economic policies we enter a new and extremely serious stage in the struggle of the working class. A mass revolutionary party must be built and this new situation makes its construction possible.

What is now required is the rapid expansion of the Bulletin so that the Bulletin can be launched as a daily paper in the coming period. We can carry out this essential task if our readers will now help us through financial contributions—even if modest—as well as by soliciting subscriptions from friends, shopmates and fellow students.



The Shah's Celebration.

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

Pay Board scheme, his refusal to make taxation of profits a key plank in labor's program, is a betrayal of the class interests of the workers."

Asserting the obvious, that "The labor officialdom has given no evidence that it intends to fight for the workers interests," the editorial presents absolutely no program or campaign for mobilization of the power of labor against Nixon and the Board.

The "evidence" is that the Stalinists are prepared to accept the complicity of Meany, Woodcock and the labor officialdom.

The Stalinists are now thrown into a panic as the rank and file express growing resistance to the freeze. At the same time, the Workers League has begun a real fight against Phase Two around the demands for: a general strike to shut down the country on Nov. 12 and a fight for no cooperation with the Pay Board; substantial wage increases and escalators for all workers; nationalization of industry and the building of a labor party to dump Nixon and the Democrats in '72.

In fact, the only response of the Daily World to this program and campaign is to run a vicious attack on the Workers League and Trotskyism by their Labor Editor George Morris.

Morris, as we pointed out in last week's Bulletin, has been the Stalinists' specialist in slandering the Trotskyist movement since the 1930s. Morris has distinguished himself as the CP's foremost defender of Stalin's terror and the Moscow Trials and the patriotic popular front adulation of Roosevelt and the New Deal in the course of his attacks on Trotskyism.

Undoubtedly what has irked Morris in particular is the Workers League fight against the wage freeze brought into the Oct. 16 NPAC-PCPJ meeting in New York against the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

However, instead of dealing with this meeting, Morris refers to the "disgraceful exhibition" at a peace rally in New York's garment center at which the revisionist group, "Labor Committee," is alleged to have led a heckling attack on Mayor Lindsay, and distributed a leaflet denouncing various "progressive" labor leaders. Crime of all crimes!

Morris refers to the rally as a "labor rally for peace and against the wage freeze," which he happily informs us was ad-

dressed by such luminaries as Lindsay and UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, Leonard Woodcock's accomplice in capitulation to Meany and the Pay Board.

So much for the Daily World's "criticisms" of Woodcock and the UAW leadership.

As for Lindsay, the man who attacked Nixon for not bringing in the wage freeze soon enough and not going far enough with it, Morris can only say that the rally "was, as the Mayor observed, an advanced step because it brought together a substantial labor group in action for peace."

Morris continues, "the question was not whether there is ground for criticizing the Mayor on a number of issues. In this case he came a powerful voice for an end to the war and aligned himself with a peace movement that of necessity must be broad enough to include people like the Mayor."

This argument, almost identical to the line of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in defense of the popular front in the "peace movement," exposes the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism.

No, Lindsay is a "powerful voice" for one thing and one thing only—the continued oppression of the working class by the capitalist system and all that involves: imperialist war, wage freezing, union busting, racism and the like.

Even though Morris likes to maintain the fiction that the Socialist Workers Party is still Trotskyist, he is forced to acknowledge that the SWP is not really "so bad" and has come under attack by the Workers League "because it has been involved recently in pro-peace united fronts."

At the same time, Morris chooses to lump the Workers League in with Labor Committee, the anarchists and the Maoists and Progressive Labor in a deliberate effort to obscure the real fight for Trotskyism and for a mobilization of the rank and file against the freeze.

However, Morris refers to the Bulletin in connection with the "consistent policy to single out for attack only organizations or leading individuals on the Left, and others moving in a progressive direction. Their line is to attack their targets as not 'revolutionary enough.'" Could Mr. Morris include Mazey, Woodcock and Lindsay among those

"moving in a progressive direction"?

Morris is only repeating his slander from his book Rebellion in the Unions that the Workers League ONLY fights against "progressive" labor leaders such as Livingston of District 65, Leon Davis of 1199 and Hill of SSEU Local 371 who together with Lindsay and Mazey were involved in this rally.

Thus, Morris falsely claims that we are in a bloc with the Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy against the so-called progressives. Needless to say, Morris conveniently ignores the week in-week out struggle in the pages of the Bulletin against such Meany supporters as Curran of the NMU, Abel of the Steelworkers, Gleason of the ILA and Harry Van Arsdale in Taxi among others.

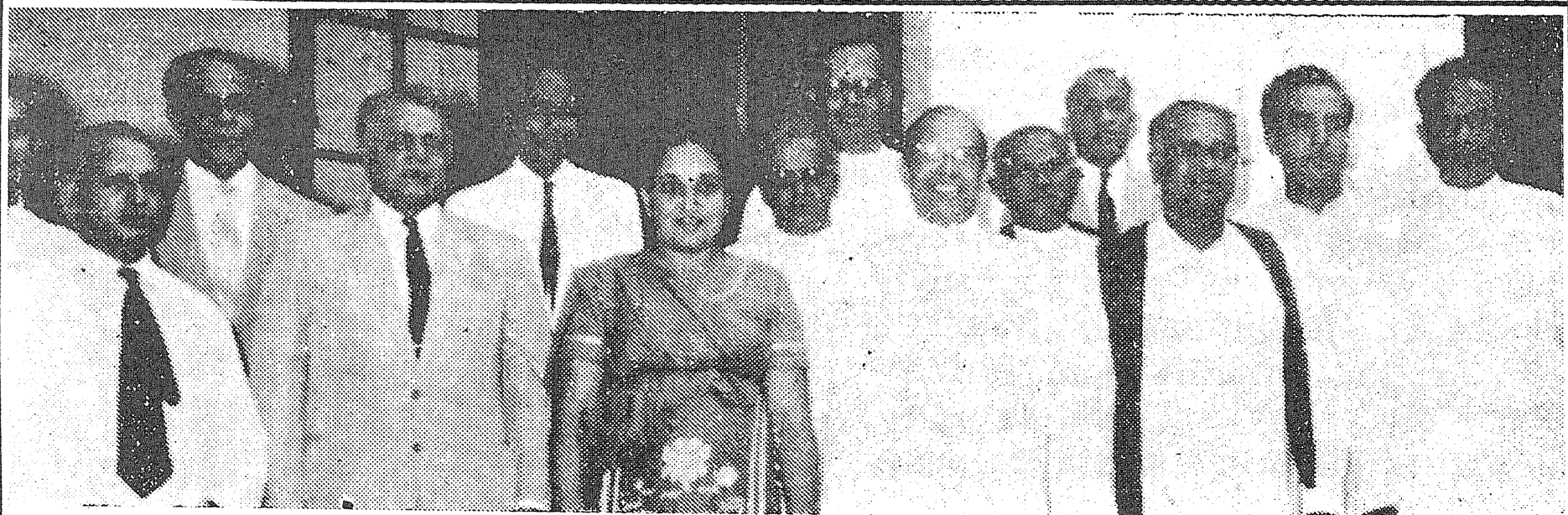
Morris then shows the desperation to which he and the CP are driven to by claiming that "the ringleaders of these sects are clearly getting encouragement from...employer agencies, police, FBI, or any of the other instruments for disruption and division in the progressive sectors of the working class movement."

Morris thus revives, as he did in his book, the notorious attack by Stalinism on Trotsky and the cadres of the Fourth International as agents of Hitler and the Mikado.

But is it not clear, that for all Morris' slander that the Trotskyists ally with Meany and the ruling class, it is really Morris and the CP who refuse to fight Meany, who cement the alliance of "progressives" like Mazey and Woodcock with Meany and the ruling class?

The Morris article shows what is becoming clearer every day as the class struggle deepens in the United States, the battle shapes up between the fundamental opposing forces for leadership of the working class: the Workers League on the Trotskyist program for the independent mobilization of the working class for power against the Communist Party on the Stalinist program which seeks to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie, paving the way for fascism as did the popular front in the 1930s.

It is on the basis of the most serious study and relentless exposure of the counter-revolutionary nature and history of Stalinism, that the Communist Party will be swept aside and a Marxist leadership built in the working class.



# The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

By Michael Ross

## PART TWO

### FROM THE GREAT HARTAL TO THE GREAT BETRAYAL

THE TERMINATION OF the Korean War in the middle of 1953 and the resulting slackening demand for Ceylonese tea, rubber and other commodities brought an end to the relative prosperity the island had been enjoying, and compelled the United National Party government of Dudley Senanayake to make new attacks on the living standards of the masses.

To begin with, the price of sugar was raised and the rice ration was cut. This the Lanka Sama Samaja Party leaders answered with a protest campaign, gathering 50,000 signatures on petitions to the UNP government.

This sort of impotent protest only emboldened the government, which in the middle of 1953 increased postal rates and rail fares, cut out free school lunches, and finally, increased at one stroke the price of a measure of rice from 25 to 70 cents. The UNP, having just won the 1952 elections with part of their program being the maintenance of rice at 25 cents a measure, had now aroused mass resentment to its rule.

#### THE GREAT HARTAL

Finally prodded into action, the LSSP organized mass meetings against the cutbacks up and down the island, and large numbers of union branches, as well as local government bodies, began passing resolutions demanding the restoration of the rice subsidy.

When these measures failed to evoke any response on the part of the UNP government, the LSSP leadership decided on a course of direct action. Stepping up its agitation against the cutbacks, the LSSP issued a call for a one day hartal, a general strike to force the government to repeal its anti-working class measures. The mass support for this call forced the Communist Party, as well as Philip Gunawardena's group of renegades from the LSSP and the Tamil nationalist Federal Party to support it. The leaders of the plantation workers unions, most of whose members had been deprived of citizenship and the vote by the UNP government treacherously refused to support this move.

August 12, 1953 was set as the date for the hartal. Despite every attempt at intimidation of the workers by the government, the Roman Catholic church and the press, the hartal was a far greater success than its organizers had ever anticipated.

For one day, the mass hatred of the UNP came forward and the economic life of most of the island was paralyzed, with strikes in the workshops and factories, transport disorganized, and in the rural areas large numbers of poor peasants disrupted telegraphic communications and set up road blocks. In the Southern and Western provinces, under LSSP leadership, the authority of the government temporarily ceased to exist, with trains being stopped, railway tracks torn up, and huge boulders rolled on the roads.

Panicking, the UNP government called out the police

with shoot to kill orders. Nine demonstrators were killed and hundreds more wounded and arrested. For several weeks, the CP and LSSP had their press sealed and many of their leaders detained.

The great hartal had completely shattered the myth of UNP invincibility. As the LSSP annual conference report of 1954 stated:

"The clash further reached in whole regions the level of actual rebellion...the masses were able to come out of this unprecedented direct action struggle with a sense of victory won and of a government rendered temporarily impotent."

This was underscored when, within weeks of the hartal, Prime Minister Senanayake resigned, and was replaced by Sir John Kotelawala, the UNP financial officer who had just the year before openly admitted UNP use of large sums of money to bribe electors and buy votes in the 1952 elections.

The hartal revealed just how dangerous and desperate the situation in Ceylon was becoming to this island's native ruling class and British imperialism. So if imperialism could not continue to dominate the island through the UNP, Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party would have to do the job.

At the same time that the strengths of the LSSP were shown during the hartal, so were its weaknesses. The hartal was never conceived as going beyond the one day stoppage, as the beginning of a movement to topple capitalism and imperialism on the island and throughout the Indian subcontinent.

#### THE 1953 INTERNATIONAL SPLIT

At this point, just as the LSSP showed some promise of development, a major split occurred in the Fourth International, with major repercussions in Ceylon. By the end of 1953, the effects of this international split had deprived the Ceylonese party of a third of its membership.

The roots of the international split lay in the abandonment of the entire method of Marxism by the leadership of the Fourth International in the 1946-53 period, and its replacement by the most blatant impressionism and empiricism.

In going over to ruling-class methods of thought, Pablo "discovered," among other things that:

1. Stalinism and Social Democracy could no longer betray the working class, but under "mass pressure," they could be turned into instruments of revolutionary action.

2. A third world war was imminent, between the imperialist powers and the workers' states, which would result in "centuries of deformed workers states."

3. There was no longer any unified world struggle of the working class, for the globe had now been broken up into three "sectors," the industrially advanced countries, the workers' states, and the "Third World," the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The "epicenter" of world revolution would shift between these

three sectors, and by 1951, it had moved to the colonial sector.

4. In this colonial sector, revolutionary parties were no longer necessary; middle-class nationalist formations, again under "mass pressure," could do the job of achieving socialism.

5. The task of the Trotskyist movement in these circumstances was for a policy of "unique entry" into the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties in the advanced countries, and into the middle-class nationalist formations in the colonial countries, thus helping to increase the pressure on the opportunist leaders of these organizations, which would somehow force them into a revolutionary direction.

Mandel objects:

"The theory of 'centuries of degenerated workers states' was never adopted by any official body of the Fourth International, nor written into any adopted resolution or document." (19)

But if the leading officer of the Fourth International publicly espouses such theories and the leading bodies and cadres of the International do not repudiate them? Not a word from Mandel and his followers.

Pablo's theories for the world Trotskyist movement meant the liquidation of the movement. Due to Pablo's wholesale disorientation of the movement, hundreds and thousands of cadres left the movement in the 1950s.

If liquidation was necessary, then Pablo took upon himself the role of chief liquidator.

In 1951, when his own national section, in France, decisively repudiated his theories, Pablo, aided by Mandel, Frank and Sal Santen, all members of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, placed the French section under control of a parity commission, and then expelled the majority of the section.

If there was any mistake made by the British and American sections of the movement at that time, it was in not recognizing this expulsion for what it was and opposing it. But there were reasons why they at first did not oppose it.

The British section, organized in the Labour Party around the journal *Socialist Outlook*, had just gone through two bitter factional fights. The first, some six years in duration against the opportunist leadership of the movement, had ended when Jock Haston led the opportunist section right out of the movement and into the right wing of the Labour Party.

The second had occurred in 1950, when a middle class section, led by Tony Cliff, adopted a "state capitalist" position in relation to the workers' states and refused to defend Korea and China against the imperialist attacks of the Korean War. They too left the movement.

In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party had retreated from giving leadership to the international movement ever since the death of Trotsky. It was under their influence that Pablo and Mandel assumed the leadership of the International, and they were re-

lucant to break up the fragile alliance they had with them.

The SWP leadership moved into action very quickly in 1951 and 1952 when they saw Pablo crystallizing a liquidationist faction in their own organization, led by Bert Cochran and George Clarke. This faction centered around a section of conservative trade unionists who were looking for a way out of the movement under the pressure of the Cold War witchhunt.

The treachery of the Cochran-Clarke grouping was revealed in November, 1953, when they and their supporters boycotted the 25th anniversary celebrations of the SWP. For this they were first suspended and then expelled. The SWP lost 18% of its membership in the process.

Finally, after having many warnings of the nature of the Pablo tendency, the SWP leadership struck back, issuing the "Open Letter" to all Trotskyist organizations at the end of November, 1953, a declaration of war on Pablo and Pabloism. Pablo was exposed as representing an adaptation to the pressures of Stalinism and the SWP called for a permanent break with his group.

Pablo responded by bureaucratically splitting the International, by suspending all sections who endorsed the open letter. The suspended sections, with SWP support, formed the International Committee of the Fourth International, and represented the continuity of the movement, while Pablo's International Secretariat moved further and further towards centrism and reformism.

But the SWP failed to go beyond the "Open Letter" and probe the origins of Pablo's revisionism in his abandonment of Marxist method and philosophy. Within ten years they were back in the same boat.

In Ceylon at this time, Pablo had organized a faction inside the LSSP led by William Silva, Henry Peiris and T.B. Subasinghe. They led a third of the membership out of the party in October, 1953, walking out of the annual party conference.

The SWP leadership at that time had a very good idea of what was behind this split:

"The group of Stalinist splitters in the LSSP were dragged along by the August movement (the hartal-MR). But they walked out of the national conference of the LSSP last month. They took with them a demoralized faction of disoriented pro-Stalinist elements. The splitters were given inspiration by the group of ex-Trotskyists led by Pablo in Paris. They covered themselves with quotations from Pablo and Clarke (another former Trotskyist), and refused to vote for a conference motion criticizing the Kremlin from a revolutionary socialist standpoint." (20)

Mandel is completely silent in his writings on Ceylon about this split, because he was lined up with Silva, Peiris and Subasinghe.

The deserters from the Ceylonese section moved fast and far, with some joining Philip Gunawardena's group, some joining Ceylonese Stalinism, and the bulk of them going over to Bandaranaike, with Subasinghe winding up as SLFP general secretary.

To carry through his split from the Fourth International, Pablo proceeded to use whatever provocations he found necessary. The SWP leaders in 1953 knew exactly what Pablo was doing:

"In England the agents of Pablo publicly attacked the Trotskyists in the mass movement and combine with Stalinist fellow travelers against them." (21)

Now the crucial question became, where would the LSSP stand? With Pablo or the International Committee?

This was answered very quickly. Early in 1954, the LSSP Central Committee met in Colombo and unanimously rejected Pablo's "Rise and Decline of Stalinism" resolution.

The Party's delegation to Pablo's rump Fourth World Congress in June, 1954, was headed by Goonewardene and DeSilva. But instead of opposing the entire resolution, Mandel explains that:

"During the discussions of the theses on the 'Rise and Decline of Stalinism,' the LSSP delegation suddenly came up with an amendment to change the demand for freedom for all working class parties, under the proletarian dictatorship after the conquest of power, to freedom for all parties. In arguing for this astonishing amendment, they contended that due to the exceptional conditions in Ceylon, the masses there would not understand any other position. They added that in their opinion 'the masses cannot be wrong.'" (22)

Mandel and Pablo at this congress then worked out a compromise. The LSSP delegates, contrary to the mandate of their central committee, would vote for Pablo's resolution, covering up for his actions in Europe, while the International Secretariat would remain blind to the LSSP's growing opportunism in Ceylon.

So the LSSP would support Pablo against all demands for discussion of the outstanding issues of the 1953 split demanded by the International Committee, while Pablo would cover up for the LSSP by praising them to the skies as the "only mass Trotskyist organization in the world."

THE PERIOD OF RESPONSIVE COOPERATION

In the 1954 local elections, the LSSP, based on the strength of the hartal movement, elected a large number of municipal councillors, taking control of seven villages, three urban districts and the city of Colombo, with N.M. Perera becoming mayor. But as in the 1930s these positions were never used except to implement more Fabian reform schemes.

Yet there was still a chance of revolutionary development. New sections of the workers looked on the LSSP as a revolutionary movement, as was indicated by the revival of the party's All-Ceylon Estate Workers Union, and by the big victory won by the party's Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) in the mercantile workers general strike of March, 1956. There was a big growth of the LSSP's youth leagues, penetrating many rural areas never before reached by the Trotskyist movement.

Time was definitely running out for the United National Party government.

With new general elections impending, the question of the class nature of Bandaranaike's SLFP became critical. This is where the revisionism of Pablo and Mandel began to play an extremely despicable role. If, as they had previously indicated, middle class nationalist formations could, under mass pressure, carry out certain revolutionary changes, then what need was there for a revolutionary workers party in any of the colonial and semi-colonial countries?

From such a revision of Marxism, it became impossible for the LSSP leaders to build a revolutionary party in Ceylon. Instead, they built a large centrist party which has today turned into an openly reformist and counterrevolutionary party.

Throughout the 1950s, the LSSP leaders vacillated in their evaluation of the SLFP, at times designating it as "centrist," at other times as "capitalist." Such vacillations had the effect of disorienting the party's ranks, and negating what little study of Marxism much of the members had made.

The political situation was being prepared for sharp changes in 1955-56. This was first indicated in January, 1955, when Philip Gunawardena's group took a major step towards leaving the labor movement entirely by adopting the racist demand of "Sinhala Only" (a move to destroy the Tamil language on the island and replace it with Sinhalese). Very shortly the UNP and SLFP had adopted this demand.

Kotelawala decided to put the "Sinhala Only" demand to a quick test, and set new elections for April, 1956, with the UNP running solely on this demand. Bandaranaike engineered an alliance between the SLFP, Philip Gunawardena's group and a number of Sinhalese communal organizations backed by the reactionary Buddhist priests. This alliance became the Mahamana Eksath Peramuna (MEP-Peoples United Front).

The LSSP's attitude showed how quickly, under Pablo's and Mandel's guidance, they had drifted towards Stalinist popular front perspectives. They said that the UNP government was moving towards fascism, and called for the return of an MEP government, formed with the assistance of the LSSP. (23)

The LSSP didn't even propose a workers and peasants government. Instead:

"Realizing that the principal task facing the country in the forthcoming elections was the defeat of the United National Party, the party quite early took the initiative in calling for talks with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, and in September 1955 a No-Contest Pact was signed between the LSSP and SLFP. In accordance with the situation prevailing in the country a majority of seats was assigned to the SLFP. (24) The pact was continued with the formation of the MEP."

"After this, the No-Contest Pact with the LSSP was partially broken by MEP candidates not belonging to the SLFP contesting the LSSP in several seats assigned to the party. The party, however, conscious that the task was to defeat the UNP, did not aggravate the situation by any attempt at reprisals." (25)

After waging a racist campaign against the Tamil minority, the MEP became the government, and with a substantial majority, much to the surprise of the LSSP.

"The Opposition was numerically and operationally impotent. The size of its bloc of 38 seats was deceptive, as a large section of it had pledged itself to cooperation with the Government. Originally, both the CP and the LSSP had aspired to positions in the cabinet, as they had not expected the MEP to be returned with a majority. When this ambition was frustrated, they decided to support the Government. (26)

Only over questions of race and language did the LSSP initially oppose the MEP government. As the largest opposition party, with 14 seats, Perera became leader of the Opposition. The LSSP's attitude towards the government was now defined as one of "responsive cooperation."

This was brought out in a very revealing but little known speech in Ceylon's House of Representatives on July 15, 1964. The speaker was Edmund Samarakody, a leader of the LSSP's left wing, and until very recently one of Mandel's closest collaborators. After the first coalition between the LSSP and SLFP was achieved in 1964, he went into its origins, starting in 1956:

"In 1956 when Mr. Bandaranaike formed a government with the MEP, the LSSP was in the Opposition. But the confusion within the party came out very sharply because the party attitude to the Government was defined as 'responsive co-operation.' The following year the Hon. Member for Kottawa and I wanted the party to accept the position that this attitude was wrong. I do not want to go into details, but that year—1957—was the crucial year." (27)

The 1956-57 period were indeed crucial years for the

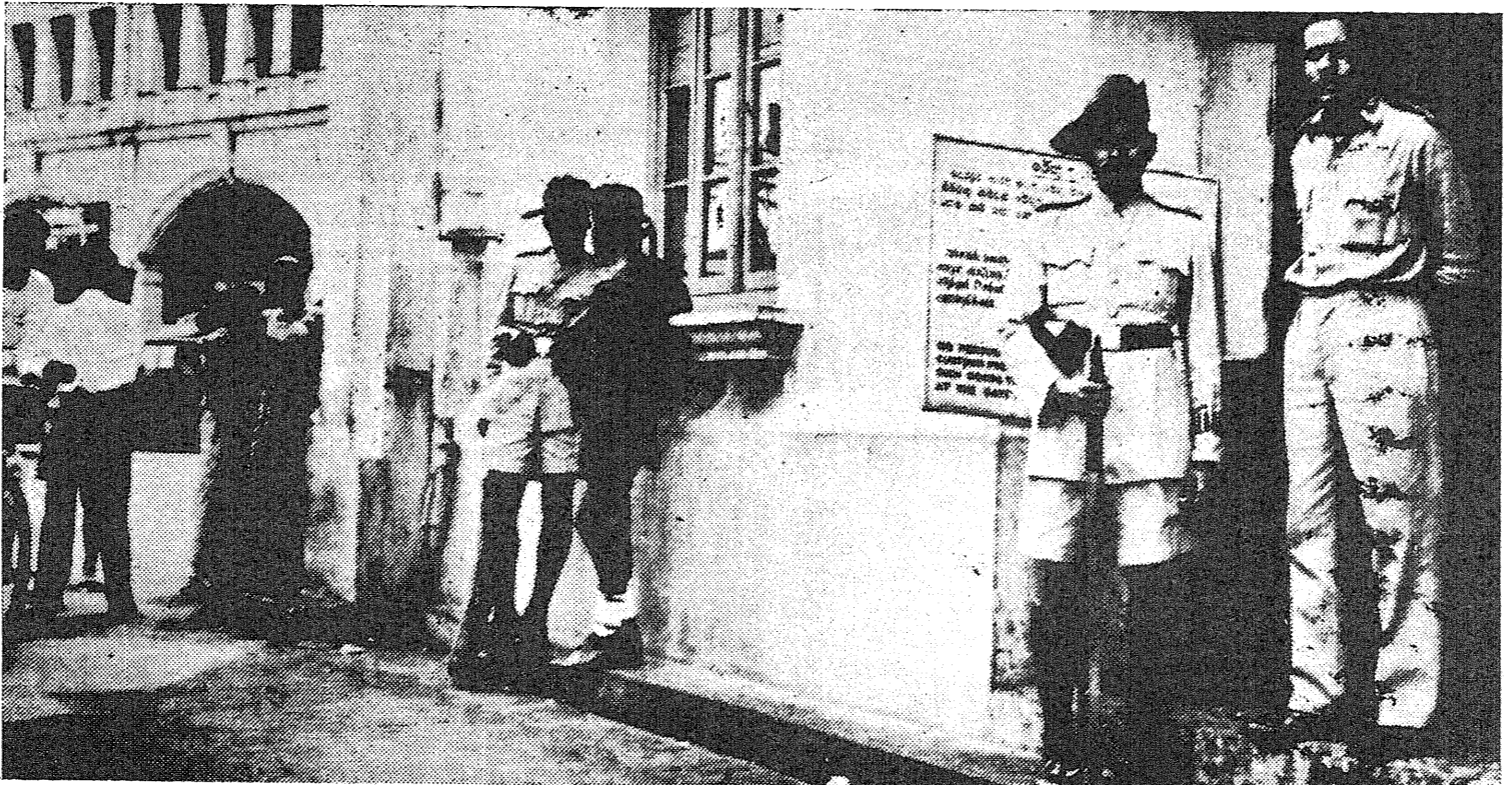
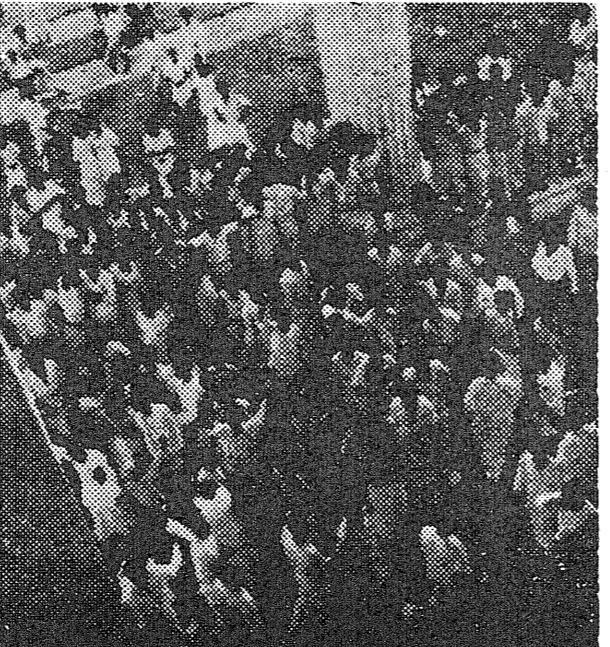
LSSP. A few other instances of the capitulation of the LSSP leaders to ruling class pressures in the 1956 elections should be remembered.

Sinhalese (but not Tamil) journals of the party gave prominence to speeches of Sinhala Only racists that appeared favorable to the LSSP. A Buddhist priest supporting the MEP was an honored guest at a LSSP election rally in which he called for support to the LSSP candidate at Kotte as part of the perspective of defeating the UNP. His statement was front-page news in the party's Sinhalese weekly. (28)

Not only was the LSSP in a no-contest pact with the MEP, but its youth leagues in several districts distributed pro-MEP pamphlets where there was no clash. In several districts where the MEP was contesting the UNP, Perera made speeches favoring the former.

It was further declared that:

"Even if the UNP were defeated by some means or other in this election, it will not be possible to form a Sama Samaja Government. The MEP will however form a government which will be beneficial to the common man. Since the LSSP does not com-



Top left: The 1953 split: delegates walk out of the LSSP Conference; Right: Plantation estate workers celebrate strike victory. Bottom: The army and police patrol Colombo harbor during dock strike 1961.

pletely agree with all the policies of the SLFP which is the chief element in the MEP, it is necessary to return at least 19-12 LSSP members to Parliament." (29) (my emphasis—MR)

Illusions as to the LSSP's role in relationship to an MEP government were consciously spread by the leadership, Perera stated that:

"The one man who will benefit from this election is Mr. Bandaranaike, but he will not be able to form a Government and maintain it unless we help him. With the SLFP, the LSSP will form a real democratic government. It is only the LSSP that can control Mr. Bandaranaike." (30)

By 1956, under the leadership of Pablo, Frank, Mandel, and Santen, the LSSP had come to adopt the perspectives of a "democratic government" espoused by Peiris, Silva, and Subasinghe as the basis for their 1953 split.

With this sort of perspective, one of Mandel's "genuine Trotskyists" could contest the Pandura seat with the slogan:

"Vote for Mr. Leslie Goonewardene (LSSP) to enable Mr. Bandaranaike to form a Government." (31)

Under these very shabby circumstances, it is not at all surprising that Mandel and the other United Secretariat leaders, in their various outpourings on the later betrayals of the LSSP, have little to say

about the 1956 elections, and absolutely nothing on the meanings of the 1950 merger or the 1952 elections.

At this time, the American Socialist Workers Party was undergoing a very pronounced move towards blurring the issues in the 1953 split, a move towards an unprincipled unification with Pablo's group. This was evidenced in the 1956-58 period when they took upon themselves to become exclusive U.S. distributors for LSSP pamphlets and books.

The policy of responsive cooperation had another effect—on the working class. Sections of them reasoned that if the MEP government deserved the support of the LSSP on many issues, then why even vote for the LSSP. The local government elections of 1956 showed this clearly, with the party losing most of its 1954 gains.

Despite the "progressive" color the LSSP leaders painted the Bandaranaike government, it was a capitalist government that could solve none of the real problems facing the working class and the rural poor. Widespread strikes resulted, ebbing only during the 1956 language riots and the 1958 emergency, in which the atmosphere of a pogrom was whipped up against the Tamil-speaking minorities.

To their surprise, the UNP wound up with 50 seats, the SLFP with 46, and the LSSP with—ten. This is where the mass disillusionment with "responsive cooperation" had led.

Unable to control a majority of the seats, the new Senanayake government was promptly defeated and forced to call new elections.

And once again: "...The LSSP, realizing the needs of the situation, entered into a No-Contest and mutual support pact with the SLFP and the CP, and, as in 1956 laid the basis firmly and truly for the defeat of the UNP in the General Election of July 1960." (33)

It was one thing for the workers and peasants to have illusions in the role and class nature of the SLFP—but the LSSP, with its no-contest pact and its election literature, did what it could to promote those illusions:

"The results of the March election had shown that the masses by and large had chosen the SLFP as their main weapon to defeat the UNP. The results also demonstrated that very large sections of the masses, especially in rural areas, considered the SLFP too, to be a leftist party capable of radical anti-capitalist measures. For them this had to be tested out in experience. Accordingly, under the electoral agreement, while the SLFP contested 98 seats, the LSSP contested only 21, thus paving the way for the formation of the SLFP Government after the defeat of the UNP." (34)

The central leadership of the party was now caving in to Perera, who had announced prior to the no-contest pact that he expected the SLFP to form a government with LSSP backing. (35) After the pact was signed De Silva said that both the CP and LSSP would help the SLFP into office. (36)

The confusion fostered by De Silva and Goonewardene about the class nature of the SLFP was coming out. In the second 1960 elections only the UNP was designated a party of the capitalist class and of imperialism. (37) Most surprised again about the election results were the leaders of the LSSP. They returned only 12 members, while their maneuvers with the liberals around Mrs. Bandaranaike had given the SLFP an absolute majority, 75 out of 145 elected seats, to be followed up by Mrs. Bandaranaike choosing the six appointed members. Once their surprise had subsided, the LSSP leaders began a policy of so-called critical support to the government, voting for the speech from the throne and on the appropriations bill.

Was the Sri Lanka Freedom Party a working class or a capitalist party? By the end of 1960, Leslie Goonewardene still supported the former position. He said that the LSSP was neither government nor opposition, but instead:

"...Adopts a position of general support of the Government, holding itself free to criticize the Government as well as vote against it where it disagrees. This support it will continue to give so long as the Government in line with its socialist professions, subserves the needs of the mass movement for socialism." (38)

The left wing of the party, led by Samarakkody and Bala Tampoe, opposed the direction it was heading into. At the party conference in May, 1960 a resolution of Perera's was pushed through favoring a coalition government. Despite this, the right wing around Perera retained only a minority on the Central Committee.

Four years later, Samarakkody elaborated on Perera's perspectives:

"Then came 1960. After the March elections in that year the disease that had grown over the years manifested itself in a big way. When you are weak in body the illness comes out. What happened then? The party leader—today the Minister of Finance—stated boldly and categorically what he has stated today. He wanted a Coalition government. I have got with me a document which he circulated in the party. It is a very important document. In this he outlines his case for a Coalition government quite frankly. He started by saying:

"Ceylon is unique in the history of the revolutionary movement..."

"He stated that there was no question of a revolution in this country. He said: 'The Ceylonese workers, except for a small minority of militant and class conscious elements are overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois...'

"He states that an extra-Parliamentary struggle is ruled out and that the only alternative is to link up with the SFLP (sic). He says:

"Concretely the party will have to take the following steps. First of all enter into a no-contest pact to fight the forthcoming elections. In the campaign itself declare our readiness to support the formation of an SLFP Government. This must not be hedged about with the conditions otherwise we will weaken the forces ready to rally round an alternative government."

"Secondly, steps must be taken to bring about a programmatic agreement with the SLFP with a view to forming a joint government. The pre-election resistance through fear of the disadvantages of a Marxist-SLFP alliance will no longer obtain after the election. We will not get most of what we stand for, but a broad progressive program should be possible, e.g.:"

- "This is what he wanted; that is all he wanted, (b) control of banks, but not nationalization, (c) go-

vernment import of all essential commodities, but not all imports and exports, (d) a ceiling on incomes, etc."

"The hon. Members for Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia, Pandura and Second Colombo South (De Silva, Goonewardene and Bernard Soysa-MR) what did they do? They denounced this position as being all wrong. Yes, they said that, but their actions today are different." (39)

But having helped the SLFP to attain an absolute majority in Parliament, that party, now headed by Bandaranaike's widow, had no use for the coalition proposed by Perera. But the groveling by the LSSP leadership before liberals like Bandaranaike was not yet finished:

"What did the LSSP do? We sent a letter asking for permission to attend meetings of the Government Parliamentary Group. There was a motion sponsored by the hon. Member for Gampaha, but the SLFP said: 'No, we do not want you.' Why? The need had not yet arisen. They are not fools, the SLFP are not fools." (40)

But though rejected on this request, the party leaders voted for the speech from the Throne in 1960. Mandel now virulently objects to our charge that Pablo's International Secretariat endorsed this line with reservations. He goes on to quote extensively from a resolution adopted at Pablo's Sixth World Congress in December 1960 opposing this vote explicitly and appealing to the LSSP for a "radical change in its political course." (41)

But the most this resolution did was to state Pablo's and Mandel's opposition to the vote on the Throne Speech and the July, 1960 No-Contest Pact. There was no opposition, however, to the LSSP conference proposal for a coalition government. Note is made of the fact that this is just a slap on the wrist, with the International Secretariat having no power to discipline its largest affiliate.

What happened at Pablo's Sixth World Congress is significant. The published report of the Australian delegate sheds some light on it.

Continued was the division of the world into the advanced, colonial and workers states sectors. The perspective for the workers states was for continued mass pressure on the Stalinist bureaucracy. Commenting on the claimed superiority of the workers states' economies over those of the capitalist powers, the Australian delegate notes that the Economic Perspective document, presented by Mandel:

"Sees no real possibility of the superiority in the rate of growth being reversed; rather, because of the pressure of the masses on the bureaucracy for efficiency and greater equality, together with the crisis of capitalism, it will become even more superior than that of capitalism." (42)

But the major document discussed at that Congress was Livio Maitan's on "The Colonial Revolution." It should be stressed that the sole emphasis of both the document and the report was on the fact that the Colonial Revolution is the real center of the World Revolution; is providing the motive force for the whole development throughout the capitalist world and within the workers states." (43)

While Mandel and Maitan had conveniently moved the center of the world revolution to the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a general strike had broken out in Belgium!

Mandel gave some reporting to the Congress on the reasons for the strike in his home country. But his and other Congress documents were prepared oblivious to the situation developing in Belgium. These documents never got beyond the level of surface impressions.

Following the Congress, Mandel returned home to provide a "left" cover to Belgian syndicalist leader Andre Renard, who helped the union bureaucracy betray the strike movement in January, 1961.

This Congress laid the basis for an unprincipled reunification between the International Secretariat and those parties supporting the SWP in the International Committee of the Fourth International. The Congress congratulated the SWP for the way in which they had carried out their election campaign in 1960.

The SWP was quick to take the hint, with the publication of their international resolution, "The Struggle for World Socialism." (44) Basic agreement with Pablo's group was expressed on several major points: that the balance of forces had changed in favor of socialism beginning with the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the validity of the three-sector theory, and agreement on Cuba under Castro being a workers state.

The SWP cannot claim that it did not know what was going on. At the time the LSSP MPs voted for the speech from the throne, they wrote in the Militant of October 3, 1960 the following:

"The support accorded the Bandaranaike party by the Ceylonese Trotskyists, and their entry into an electoral alliance with it, constituted a complete reversal of previous policy."

Spelling out that previous policy, and how the LSSP got 10% of the total vote in the March 1960 elections, the SWP went on to say:

"This new political course not only overturned the past position of the LSSP but is at variance with the traditional socialist principles of the Trotskyist movement, which has opposed collaboration with capitalist parties as injurious to working-class interests. It follows the pattern of 'Popular Front' combinations in





Tens of thousands of Ceylonese workers and youth who looked to the LSSP for leadership were betrayed by its turn to the bourgeoisie.

many countries whereby working-class parties have been lined up, with disastrous results, behind a section of the capitalist rulers."

The SWP leaders quoted a statement of Goonewardene on LSSP policy towards the new government, and condemned it as a continuation of earlier support given to the SLFP.

But what was significant here is that the LSSP is referred to as the "Ceylonese Trotskyists"—they are seen as revolutionaries who have made an error in judgement, and not as revisionists who are consistently carrying out the policies developed by Pablo and Mandel.

So instead of demanding that the International Secretariat take disciplinary action against the LSSP leaders for their actions, the SWP stepped up the moves to reunify with them.

One other action of the LSSP leadership in 1960 occurred which met with little disapproval from Mandel and Pablo. This was their retreat on the citizenship question affecting the Tamil Indian plantation workers. The LSSP amended its program stating that the issue was a matter for negotiation between the governments of India and Ceylon.

If there had been any positive features which showed the possibilities for the LSSP developing into a revolutionary party, it had been the party's growth on the plantations in the 1950s. Although the bulk of the plantation workers remained in the reformist organizations led by Aziz and Thondaman, the young organizers of the party's Lanka Estate Workers Union had gained ground steadily, until their union enrolled 80,000 members in 1960.

The retreat of the party on the citizenship issue threw this union into a severe crisis, and it virtually collapsed, barring any further growth in the countryside.

Having not even made the least study of the agrarian question outside of the plantations, the party was in no position to make any inroads among the poor peasants, Sinhalese or Tamil.

What comes out from all this is that the only reason any criticisms of LSSP policy were made by the International Secretariat was because it was becoming a source of acute embarrassment to them.

The condemnation of their parliamentary policy did not seem to be embarrassing the LSSP leaders initially:

"What happened then? The LSSP started its critical support; the critical part of it became less and the support part became more and more. But that could not be done, because the mass situation changed. As a result of the rising prices, the first Budget and the second Budget, the masses were moving away. Though it was impossible to give support openly, yet the support part was there very much." (45)

#### THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

But things were now getting very hot. A series of strikes racked the island in 1961-62, all of which were essentially political strikes against the government. A dock strike in Colombo in 1961 was called off when Mrs. Bandaranaike declared a state of emergency. A three month strike in 1962 of the bank clerks shook the government and inspired the most vicious attacks from Bandaranaike.

The LSSP's Political Bureau reported to the party's

central committee on the strike wave on March 31, 1962:

"Broadly speaking, the principal gains of the strikes can be said to be the following:

1. They have increased the consciousness of the working class in the strength that is created by its unity.

2. They have destroyed many of the illusions of the working class had in the SLFP government.

3. They have demonstrated to a wide layer of conscious workers that struggles on a trade union level cannot take them much further, and that the political struggles which involve the question of the political regime itself, have become necessary."

But they were looking both ways, as Samarakkody explains:

"Then the working class struggles took place. Strikes started, and when strikes take place leaders have to go there. (All but one Political Bureau member of the LSSP was a union leader—MR). That was an embarrassing situation. The position became much more embarrassing as time went on because the mass situation was going in favor of the working class movement. Whenever there was an escape situation they rushed into it." (46)

Now an attempt for an army coup against the government was uncovered and barely avoided. Yet Mandel now admits that his "mass Trotskyist party" had illusions about its support in the lower echelons of the same army. (47)

That same year, 1962, saw war break out between India and the People's Republic of China. Instead of calling for the defeat of the Indian government, the LSSP leaders issued an appeal to submit the dispute (over Indian-Chinese borders) to an international court of arbitration.

If this was bad enough, the actions of Pablo's followers in India itself were even worse. There Pablo's group, the Revolutionary Communist Party, split over the issue, with the internationalists being jailed by the Nehru government and the chauvinists, led by Sitaram B. Kolpe, backing the Nehru government. Kolpe is still a major leader of the Indian Pabloites.

Then came the Cuban missile showdown, with the American SWP, now on its way back to Pablo, endorsing Khrushchev's actions with Cannon's utterly pragmatic "What else could he have done under the given circumstances?"

In Ceylon, the strike wave continued unabated, with the island now entering into a state of extreme class tension.

But, as Samarakkody mentioned, all of the center and right wing LSSP leaders, were looking for an "escape situation."

This is where matters stood at the end of 1962, with a crisis developing in Ceylon that the LSSP leadership was in no way prepared for.

Mandel correctly sees that the real political leadership of the LSSP on the island at this time consisted of Goonewardene, DeSilva, Bernard Soysa, and Doric DeSouza, all of whom he classifies as "genuinely Trotskyist."

But Mandel and Pablo were an integral part of that leadership, providing it with the most sophisticated covers for the criticisms being made of its opportunism by the International Committee.

All of these gentlemen had indeed led the LSSP. They led it towards becoming a corrupt Social-Demo-

cratic party along the lines of such parties in Britain, Belgium and West Germany.

The revisionists around Mandel, Pablo, Goonewardene and DeSilva must take the responsibility for their actions. They politically prepared the LSSP for taking the final plunge into the cesspool of coalition politics.

With such revisionists in its leadership, as a party with the possibility of moving in a revolutionary direction, the LSSP now moved into its death agonies.

#### FOOTNOTES

19. Marxism and Ultra-Leftism, op. cit., p. 14.
20. The Militant, November 23, 1953, "LSSP in Ceylon Fights Stalinist Split Disrupters," p. 3.
21. Ibid., December 28, 1953, "Letter to an International Comrade" by James P. Cannon.
22. "From Wavering," p. 106. (emphasis in original).
23. Ceylon Observer, February 20, 1956; Sama Samajaya (Sinhalese), January 13, 1956, January 20, 1956; Sama Samajist (English), January 19, 1956.
24. Short History, pp. 54-55.
25. Ibid., p. 55.
26. The Growth of a Party System in Ceylon, by Calvin A. Woodward, Brown University Press, Providence, Rhode Island, 1969, p. 124.
27. World Outlook, Vol. II, No. 30, September 11, 1964, p. 39.
28. Sama Samajaya, March 20, 1956.
29. Sama Samajist, March 15, 1956.
30. Ceylon Observer, March 22, 1956.
31. Quoted in "Ceylon General Election, 1956," by I.D.S. Weerawardana, M.D. Gunasena and Co. Ltd., Colombo, 1960, p. 160.
32. Ceylon Daily News, May 5, 1957.
33. Short History, p. 64.
34. Ibid., pp. 64-65.
35. op. cit., May 3, 1960.
36. Ibid., June 14, 1960.
37. Ibid.,
38. Short History, p. 65.
39. World Outlook, op. cit., pp. 39-40.
40. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
41. Marxism and Ultra-Leftism, op. cit., p. 23.
42. International, #10, February 15, 1961, Balmain, New South Wales, pp. 4-5.
43. Ibid., p. 8.
44. International Socialist Review, Summer, 1961, New York, pp. 89-99.
45. World Outlook, op. cit., p. 41.
46. Ibid.
47. "From Wavering..." p. 107.

## Bulletin Pamphlet Series

Ernest Mandel:

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

LABOR PUBLICATIONS, INC. 6th FLOOR  
N.Y.C., N.Y. 10011

# BOOKS

DAVE GREEN

**Under the Axe of Fascism**, by Gaetano Salvemini (Citadel Press, 1971), 392 pages.

Shortly after the Government imposed the wage freeze upon the American working class, George Meany accused Nixon of paving the way for fascism. Mr. Meany was absolutely correct in pointing out that the attempt to crush trade union independence beneath the weight of government controls is a decisive step toward rendering workers politically impotent. But having made this observation, Mr. Meany has not seen fit to mobilize the working class against the wage freeze. As a privileged bureaucrat, he has basked in the sun of the post-war boom and dined at the table of many presidents. Meany has been around long enough to be able to recognize the symptoms of fascism, but he has forgotten that the illness is deadly.

## BLOWS

Fascism—the unrestrained dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—inflicts the most terrible blows upon the working class. Established in order to defend ruthlessly the capitalist system, fascism tramples upon every right workers won within the framework of bourgeois democracy. The manner in which fascism strips the working class of its most fundamental rights is described with great detail in Gaetano Salvemini's *Under the Axe of Fascism*. The importance of this book, published originally in 1936 and reprinted for the first time in paperback, is drawn from the author's skillful gathering of the claims which the Italian fascists made about their own system of rule. The contemporary editorials, interviews, and speeches quoted by Salvemini constitute a horrifying compendium of fascism's final solution for the working class. The author allows the bourgeoisie to speak for itself; and, drunk with power, it makes no attempt to hide its "accomplishments."

## CORPORATE STATE

The "Corporate State" was erected by Mussolini upon the wreck of the Italian trade unions. Misled by reformist leaders, the Italian working class was unable to prevent the infamous "March on Rome." Systematically, Mussolini's black shirts employed terror against workers. A boastful fascist left behind a record of his party's exploits:

"We passed through towns and villages in the province of Forli and the province of Ravenna, destroying and burning all the centres of the Socialist and Communist organizations. It was a terrible night. Our passing was marked by mounting columns of fire and smoke. The whole plain of Romagna up to the hills was subjected to the reprisals of the outraged Fascists, determined to put an end to the red terror. Innumerable episodes. Encounters with the Bolshevik rabble, in open resistance, none. All their leaders were in flight. The headquarters of the organizations, Socialist clubs, co-operatives—these were practically deserted."

Once he had succeeded in destroying the traditional political organizations of the Italian working class, Mussolini assembled fascist "trade unions." These organizations, functioning under the supervision of the State, imposed upon the proletariat the discipline of the sweat shop. Mussolini defined the limits of the trade unions:

"The economic organizations are recognized, guaranteed, protected within the Corporate State and live within the orbit of Fascism. They accept the Fascist doctrine and practice. They are directed by leaders who are invariably enrolled in the Fascist Party. It could not be otherwise."

While the fascists tirelessly proclaimed that the Corporate State stood above classes, the regime exercised its terror

in the interests of capitalism. Strikes, boycotts, and all other forms of labor protest were outlawed. The fascists explicitly labeled "class self-defense" as a criminal act. But the bourgeoisie had nothing to worry when it came to defending its own class interests, for Mussolini proclaimed:

"The corporate economy respects the principle of private property. Private property completes the human personality. It is a right. But it is also a duty. We think that property ought to be regarded as a social function; we wish therefore to encourage, not passive property, but active property, which does not confine itself to enjoying wealth, but develops it and increases it."

## CULT

With the encouragement of a government interested in developing "active property," Italian capitalists sought to increase their profits by driving down wages and lengthening the working day. As the rate of exploitation was raised even beyond the limits of human stamina, the fascists introduced a "cult of labor" that extolled the glory of underpaid work. The bourgeoisie had nothing but the highest praise for the self-sacrifice they legislated for the working class. By slashing wages, the fascists declared that:

"The principle of collaboration, of class solidarity, of devotion to the paramount interests of the nations, proclaimed by Fascism, has found its realization."

In 1927, after the Government endorsed the decision of shipowners to cut the wages of sailors, the following communique was issued:

"Sailors, the Labour Court has done you justice. Long live the Regime! Long live the Duce! And now, sailors, to work, for the

prosperity of the Italian merchant marine! Keep your spirits up!"

## WORK

Lately, President Nixon has taken to praising the virtue of hard work performed in the "national interest." In the mouth of Nixon, such phrases mean exactly what they did when spoken by the Italian fascists. As far as Nixon is concerned, "hard work in the national interests" means "super-exploitation in behalf of super-profits."

The misery of the working class under the rule of fascism cannot be measured only by referring to the longer hours and lower wages. Salvemini—using primarily the sources provided by Mussolini's government—reveals that the living conditions of the Italian proletariat deteriorated to the level of the nineteenth century. Health standards were dragged down by the massive poverty enforced by fascism. Malaria and tuberculosis struck the working class with a frequency that made the diseases almost common. The miserable housing added to the general health problem.

As one would expect in a country where children are sent into factories at the age of six years, the illiteracy rate climbed wildly.

Begging became commonplace in Italy. The fascist police dealt with this problem. The authorities were not disturbed by the misery of the impoverished but by the bad impression the evidence of begging would have on tourists. So beggars were just rounded up and thrown into the back streets of Italian cities. One fascist newspaper, offended by the sight of beggars, asked its upper class readers:

"Is it possible in the Year VII of Italian Redemption to tolerate these pseudo-pau-

pers, astute professional beggars, and most vulgar trouble-makers?"

A tourist who took the trouble to investigate the unadvertised sections of Naples was stunned by the conditions she discovered:

"...miserable old men crunching bread, young toughs sitting outside, puny children, odor of dirt, odors of sickness and congestion everywhere...The whole walk was a prolonged nightmare. It was unreal, like a dream. And the street was so silent. Nowhere was there conversation or the noise that one associates with Italians. It was an utterly silent quarter and yet filled with human life."

## FASCISM

Fascism ruled over the Italian working class for more than twenty years. The expression of capitalism's utter bankruptcy, this system of naked terror could conquer state power only after the proletariat had lost the revolutionary opportunities that existed following the First World War. The lessons of the 1920's and 1930's are important for workers today. The present death agony of capitalism must resolve itself in either the construction of the socialist order or the destruction of the rights of the working class. In Italy, an emerging fascist movement is already fighting for its "solution" to the deepening capitalist crisis. The Stalinist Communist Party, which commands the allegiance of millions of Italian workers, bases its policies upon a miserable reformist perspective. As the triumph of Mussolini demonstrated, neither the size of the working class nor the collaboration of communists in municipal governments can assure the defeat of fascism. Reformism can only lead the working class to a dead end.

# FILMS

JEANNIE COOPER

## From Czar To Lenin



**FROM CZAR TO LENIN**, the documentary film of Russia through Revolution, compiled by Herman Axelbank, recently played at the Carnegie Hall Cinema in New York.

The film footage, taken from the clippings of over two hundred directors and film makers, including Czar Nicholas himself, took Mr. Axelbank fifteen years to edit. This footage is the only existing documentary of Russia from the turn of the century in the days of the czar through the rise of Stalin. The films were smuggled out of the Soviet Union in the late nineteen-twenties. The bureaucracy destroyed all films it could find showing the Bolsheviks' struggle for power, all films exposing the lies created by the bureaucracy to slander the original Bolsheviks and to depict Stalin as Lenin's collaborator.

## POWER

**FROM CZAR TO LENIN** shows Lenin and Trotsky leading the struggle for power, and shows Trotsky's fight against Stalin, including a speech in English on the formation of the Dewey Commission to expose

the Moscow Trials. But it is more than that. The film shows the life of the Czar and the nobility, the frivolous life of the rich among the poverty of millions of poor peasants and workers in the early years of Russian capitalism.

The film shows, although fragmentedly, the changing situation in Russia, particularly between 1905 and 1917. Unfortunately the film does not show the development and the struggle to build the Bolshevik party. The party, Lenin and Trotsky are seen as arriving on the scene just in time to take power. The history of the party is not shown in the years before 1917. We do see the founding conference of the 3rd International, as well as leading figures of the party and what later became the Left Opposition.

A documentary film can only show what is actually existing, it cannot lie in that sense, but it can be and generally is manipulated for the purposes of those showing the films. This version of **FROM CZAR TO LENIN** is probably the most glaring example of this kind of manipulation, particularly of a political documentary. The editing is straight-forward, Mr. Axelbank has tried to make the fullest

film possible out of the footage available. However, the new soundtrack that has been added by the bourgeois distributor (originally shown on WPIX television) is used to completely distort the meaning and the impact not only of this important film but of the Revolution itself.

Lenin is described as the ruthless dictator who arrives from Switzerland with the collaboration of the Kaiser in Germany. The narrator tries to prove that the Bolsheviks and the Kaiser were working together to overthrow the Czar.

Trotsky is termed the "fiery spirit" of the Revolution. We are told that it was not the struggle of the Soviets, of the workers and poor peasants against the foreign invasions between 1919 and 1921, it wasn't the struggle to retain the victory of the October Revolution, it was simply Trotsky's optimism and vitality on the front that "kept spirits high."

The meaning and purpose of this narration is very clear at this time. The original soundtrack was not allowed to be shown in commercial theaters. Mr. Axelbank saw the importance of this film being distributed, but the bourgeoisie turned it into a propaganda weapon against the Revolution and against socialism. The run of the film was almost extended because of the packed houses and overwhelming interest in the film. Students and youth in particular are looking toward the Russian revolution and towards Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik party as capitalism's crisis deepens, and as the middle class and nationalist movements reflect that crisis and break apart. The absolutely reactionary narration in this film is used to turn these youth against revolution, to twist the images on the screen into their opposite.

The tremendous historical importance of this film, however, should not be missed. There is great potential for use of the footage for the revolutionary movement.

# Editor's Notebook

## Nixon's Own Jesus Freak

While the employers' chief spokesman, Richard Nixon, has been leading the attack on workers' rights and standards, the job of the various religious leaders has been to convince the working class that this is all for the best.

One of the best-known religious leaders and a particular friend and advisor to Nixon himself is evangelist Billy Graham. Nixon has often arranged public meetings with Graham, including religious services at the White House.

While Nixon mobilizes the extreme right wing politically Graham talks about spiritual values. But this pattern was reversed at the recent "Billy Graham Day" held to honor the evangelist in

his home town of Charlotte, North Carolina.

This time Nixon was on hand to provide the high moral fervor. He suggested that civilizations have declined not when they become "weak and poor," but when they become "wealthy and soft, without spiritual and moral strength." No doubt the wage freeze is intended to restore some of the spiritual and moral strength derived from poverty!

This time it was left to Graham to get to the heart of the matter. "In our day we also wrestled with poverty, by today's standards, except that we did not know we were poor. We did not have sociologists, educators and newscasters constantly reminding us of how poor we were."

## An Ancient Rite

Kings, queens, sheiks, sultans, princes, emperors, vice president Agnew and Stalinist bureaucrats fetted at a Byzantine blast on the ruins of Persepolis.

The Shah of Iran invited 500 guests representing the world bourgeoisie and its Stalinist agents to celebrate the founding of the Persian Empire. Eleven million dollars was spent to house and feed these corrupt rulers who have made their billions and held their power by exploiting the masses.

Only a few miles from where they gorged themselves, the workers and peasants live in starvation and poverty. The Shah had conveniently built a wall along the road these "dignitaries" travelled so they wouldn't have to see the slums.

President Podgorny of the Soviet Union munched caviar with Yahya Khan, the butcher of the Bangla Desh. Tito drank champagne with Ethiopia's emperor and the King of Greece.

But all wasn't peaceful among

If the President has torn up your contract, if your wages buy less, just relax. Take it from Billy and Dick—these things are all in the mind.

The remarks of Nixon and Graham are of course no joke. Behind the attack on "sociologists, educators and newscasters" is anti-intellectual demagoguery akin to that of the Fascists. Behind the suggestion that "outside agitators" are to blame for the hue and cry about slums and poverty is the most vicious hatred of the working class and its organized power. All of Nixon's talk about patriotism, hard work, religion and the spirit of sacrifice is preparation for the most brutal attacks on all workers.

this den of thieves. Mao's representatives got hot under the collar because they did not like the seating arrangement at table. The Pope's envoy threw a fit because he was not given one of the 50 air conditioned tents that were assembled for this orgy.

These rulers only expose their contempt for the masses as they ask the working class to starve while they flaunt their diamonds and feed their fat bellies. But for many it may be their last debacle.

## 1199 . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

action all the time.

When a delegate demanded that the resolution be put to a vote Davis quickly asked who was in favor and only a handful of delegates voted yes. The vote was a complete farce. In the atmosphere of intimidation and witchhunt a real vote at that point was impossible.

This attack was deliberately staged to divert any discussion away from the fight against the wage freeze and to cover Davis' complete retreat from this fight. He used the second part of the

motion for a one day strike to avoid taking a stand on the first demand for non-cooperation with the Board.

### PRESSURE

The 1199 leaders consciously use the illusions among many workers that the controls can be fought with pressure or that Meany and Woodcock will be able to influence the Board's decisions. The bankruptcy of the so-called progressive 1199 leadership is revealed in its complete reliance on these illusions and on hostility to serious political discussion and struggle.

Any who think that threats and intimidation can stop discussion and struggle at the very time when Nixon is making it absolutely impossible to avoid a fight are in for a rude awakening. The union ranks have big surprises in for their timid leaders. Hospital workers can prepare for the battles ahead by demanding that their union refuse to cooperate with Nixon's Pay Board, and by joining the 1199 Rank and File Committee contingent in the November 6th anti-war demonstration, where we will fight to make the struggle against the wage freeze the center of the fight against the war.

## Wage Freeze . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

city after the Pirates won the World Series.

When the police came into what was a traffic jam, rocks were thrown at them, banks and stores were broken into, police cars stoned. The cops could not control the situation and moved in arresting hundreds and beating others.

The capitalist press has called this an "orgy" in order to hide

the class character of it, the anger and hatred that was expressed against the government. Pittsburgh is a reflection of the explosive situation developing in the working class and among the youth against Nixon and his attacks.

What is now critical is the question of leadership to bring this fight politically against the government.

Nixon has only been encouraged

by the labor bureaucracy's capitulation and is driving the knife further into the back of the labor movement. Nixon is now going to Congress to get the legal machinery to implement Phase II. Fines of from \$2,500 to \$5,000 will be imposed for defiance. The Attorney General will have the power to get injunctions. The temporary emergency court which Nixon is setting to review the decisions of the Pay Board will be appointed by Nixon's man Warren E. Burger from the Supreme Court.

### CONTROLS

The ranks must now take their determination to defy Nixon's freeze into a fight for strike action against the controls and to remove the labor leaders from the board. Nixon must be told that the labor movement will not stand for this freeze through a one day general strike on November 12th.

Nixon, the Democrats and Republicans must be defeated in their plans to destroy the trade unions by building a labor party for '72 to throw out these servants of the employers.

## N.Y. Times . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

countries, keeping them in the most backward, poverty-stricken state. It isn't because native capitalism is utterly unable to industrialize the underdeveloped countries and break them from the grip of imperialist exploitation.

Everything would be fine, you see, if everyone stayed at home and pulled themselves up by their bootstraps for the benefit of the American corporations who have been impoverishing these countries for the past hundred years!

The New York Times prints many heart-rending stories in this article on how bosses, landlords, lawyers and various other scoundrels take full advantage of this capitalist-imposed "illegality" to exploit these workers in the cruelest manner. One Mexican worker left his family's three room shack to work at \$14.75 a day as a dishwasher at the Chicago-Sheraton Hotel and sent back \$700 to keep his family alive during the winter before he was caught and deported back to Mexico. An immigrant from the Azores paid \$800 to a lawyer to obtain American citizenship, which of course he never got.

Bosses can superexploit workers, pay substandard wages and keep out unions, landlords can rent-gouge, without fear of re-

## NPAC . . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

As the meeting progressed the Stalinists and revisionists resorted to more and more crude moves to prevent political discussion. When the point on speakers and program was finally reached they proposed a one minute time limit on speakers. Again only a fight from the floor succeeded in gaining three minutes for the Workers League to present its basic position and its programmatic motion for the November 6th demonstration.

The Workers League spokesman at this point showed how the entire meeting was completely hostile to the only forces which could stop the war, the working class and the youth. The NPAC and PCPJ were not interested in reaching these forces. They were reaching out to the liberals and not to the ranks of labor but only to the top officials.

There was much talk of unity, the Workers League speaker pointed out. The SWP in particular was pushing more than ever before for what it termed the unity of the anti-war movement. But

## 30¢ FARE . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

are leading up to the January contract deadline with the city's subway workers. All sides are seeking to perpetrate a cynical hoax on the entire working class.

While the liberals criticize the bond issue they claim they will support it if Rockefeller promises that the fare will be held down. Lindsay's ally and fellow Democrat Vanden Heuvel claims he will be satisfied with a promise to hold the fare to 35c.

A gigantic portion of the city's budget for mass transit already goes for interest to the transit bondholders, including the top banks. All the capitalist politicians are agreed on one thing: money for transit must be taken out of the pockets of the working people. Their only way to build or maintain facilities is to tax the workers and borrow more billions at high interest rates from the banks and bondholders. The argument is over whether the bond issue is going to be a 98 or 99%

tialiation.

No, the attacks of these pious hacks of the capitalist press have nothing to do with their screen of "protecting the American worker" from "foreign" competition.

### WRING

For capitalism to survive, all workers in the coming period must be placed in the position of "illegal aliens," their standard of living crushed down to the very bone. This is the reality behind the bosses' words of "defending American labor." They wring out the last penny of profits from these workers at the same time they hypocritically seek to put the blame for their bankrupt system on their most cruelly used employees.

### SCHEME

We say the American workers must have none of this rotten business. We must have none of the capitalist scheme to divide one section of the working class against the other in order to break both.

Every worker has the right to a job, and this right does not stop at national borders. The real issue is throwing out the rotten capitalist system that humiliates and exploits workers trying to exercise this basic right.

this was a unity of forces against the working class, it was a unity of the Stalinists and revisionists to cover up for the Stalinists internationally who have invited Nixon to Moscow and Peking and thus given him aid at a very critical moment. It was unity to cover up for the union leaders who had capitulated to Nixon's wage freeze and Phase II. NPAC and PCPJ were running away from the working class and the youth just at the moment when the fight against Nixon had to be sharpened.

### DEMANDS

The Workers League insisted that the only way to end the war was to fight to mobilize the working class around the demands: Smash the wage freeze! No cooperation with the Pay Board! For a one day general strike November 12! Substantial wage increases and escalator clauses in all contracts! End unemployment—30 hour week at 40 hours pay! Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina! Nationalization of industry under workers' control! Build a labor party for 1972!

bonanza for the banks and construction interests. That is all.

### SMOKE

When the smoke has cleared Lindsay will inform the workers that he did his best to "save" the 30c fare but that the cruel and heartless Rockefeller is to blame. And of course the demands of the transport workers will be blamed for a higher fare.

The transit "debate" is just the latest example of the disgusting shell game of the capitalist politicians designed to hide the true nature of their attacks and prevent an independent working class fight against them.

This game will end only when the working class breaks free of the Democrats and Republicans and builds a labor party that nationalizes the banks and major industry in order to serve the interests of all workers, including the need for free and efficient mass transit.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

\$1.00 FOR SIX MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB  \$3.00 FOR A FULL YEAR  
135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011.

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTING TEAM

MADISON, WISC.—Some 100 youth and trade unionists attended the Workers League's Second Annual Midwest Educational Conference held here October 16-17. Represented were sizable contingents from Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Northfield, Minnesota as well as Madison.

The conference was one of three regional Conferences the Workers League is holding around the theme of "A History of the Fourth International." The first was held in the Catskills on September 25-26 and the last will be held in the California Redwoods on November 6-7.

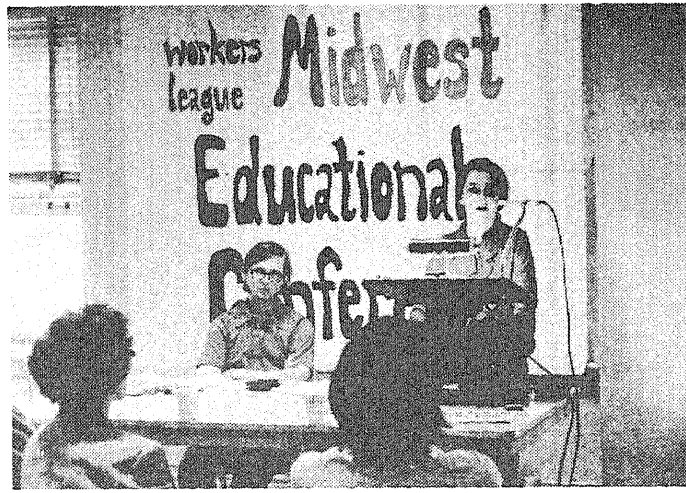
There was a strong representation at the conference from the universities reflecting particularly fresh layers of youth who are entering politics after the student protest period and quite separately from the old campus radical circles. The youth expressed a deep interest in theory and a strong desire to break out of a university existence and actually construct a movement of working class youth and trade unionists.

In the course of the discussion of the evolution of the Fourth International an important question was raised on the relationship of pragmatism to the development of Trotskyism. Several of the participants expressed the position that Cannon was from his origins a pragmatist and because of this his break in 1928 with Stalinism and support to Trotsky was of an unprincipled character. It was also held that his break with Pablo in 1953 was also pragmatic and therefore not principled.

This position was sharply disputed in particular by Lucy St. John and Tim Wohlforth who were the main lecturers. They held that such a position simplified the whole question and saw the development of Trotskyism and revisionism in a linear and idealist way.

IDEALIST

It would, in effect, wipe out the whole history of Trotskyism in the United States and pose the struggle for Marxism in an idealist fashion separated from material struggle. Cannon took a fundamental stand on the basis of principles when he broke with Stalin in 1928 and this act was a



## Midwest Conference Fights For History Of Fourth International

Marxist act. The movement formed on the basis of this action was formed around a Marxist program. It was a movement as much Trotsky's creation as it was Cannon's. It was a movement within which an important struggle for Marxism took place.

Cannon was correct to the extent that he began with the needs of the party and fought to do what was necessary to construct the party. This is not pragmatism—in fact only out of such a struggle can dialectical materialism develop. To say otherwise is to pose the struggle against pragmatism as an idealist university exercise arising out of a study of philosophical questions separated from constructing the party. The study of philosophy is essential for the construction of the party but it can only proceed as part of this construction. Otherwise all we would have to do is retire to a study, master dialectics and then construct out of this mastery the party. This is rationalism.

Cannon betrayed Marxism by turning from the necessary tasks which the construction of the Fourth International posed to him, not by incorrectly and incompletely carrying these tasks out. Cannon's greatest betrayal was his refusal in 1946 to assume the theoretical and political leadership for the Fourth International. Because of this refusal he could not develop

as a Marxist.

When in 1953 he did, for a brief period, assume this leadership he started on a road which would in time have compelled him to meet the needs of this international movement to conduct a bitter fight against his own pragmatic methods and to develop as a Marxist leader. Cannon's crime was not to split empirically in 1953 but to refuse to take up the consequences of his correct and principled split.

DANGERS

The Conference was the occasion for the first American showing of the new Workers Press film "Ulster." The film played an important role in bringing up sharply to the participants in the conference the dangers posed of fascism based on divisions among the working class and the burning necessity to construct the revolutionary movement here in the United States and right now.

It was because of this understanding that some 20 participants decided to join the Workers League, over \$200 was raised towards the Bulletin Fund Drive, and close to \$100 literature sold. The Conference marked an important step in strengthening the work of the Workers League throughout the Midwest region and a number of decisions were made to develop strong branches in Minnesota, Madison, Detroit, Chicago and St. Louis.



## FILMS

MARTY JONAS

## Ulster



Scene from new Workers Press film Ulster shows worker in shipyard.

The new Workers Press film, *Ulster*, is a tremendous step forward for the world Trotskyist movement.

The Socialist Labour League has produced a tool for mass propaganda to be used side by side with its daily paper, the Workers Press. Using the most advanced cinematic technique, the Workers Press has assembled a series of powerful images and sounds that lay bare the real class conflict in Northern Ireland.

The film shows the conditions of poverty

and unemployment that ravage the working class—both Catholic and Protestant—in Ulster. The camera takes a long tour atop a car through the Derry slums. It is liked a bombed out city after the war. The workers are shown hopelessly standing around the unemployment offices.

We see the miserable sweatshop working conditions of the workers. For less than subsistence wages, women go about their monotonous tasks in the linen mills and men do the arduous work of building ships in the Belfast yards. These shots, with the Union Jack as a backdrop hanging on the walls of the factories makes it

clear what is the nature of the exploitation in Ulster.

On the other side we see the clean, scrubbed, smug members of the ruling class as they attend the functions of their comfortable world—the christening of a ship which the workers built, a meeting of the Presbyterian Women's Association in church.

We hear the upper classes and the generals discussing very-matter-of-factly during army maneuvers tactical details to be used against the working class in the cities. The casualness of their conversation on matters of oppression reveals the acceptance by the ruling class of the need to go all the way in smashing the working class.

Bernadette Devlin is shown feebly addressing a small crowd on the need for a "socialist 32 counties."

Ian Paisley heads a huge parade of the Orange Society, whose men sit in the government at Stormont. This fascist demagogue is shown haranguing a Protestant crowd with a speech about atrocities by the Catholic workers. The film freezes as Paisley's hand is raised and the narrator asks, "Who is Ian Paisley?" and answers that Paisley was nothing in 1966, but now he is an important servant for the ruling class.

INTERNATIONAL

It is above all the international character of the struggle in Ulster that makes

this film so powerful and important. When the British Army helicopters are shown landing on the outskirts of Belfast and the armed troops walking through the slums of that city—that could be a city like Newark, New Jersey, very soon.

Newark has wretched slums and extremely high unemployment. The youth both white and Black, are in a very explosive mood over the question of jobs. Into this situation the racist Anthony Imperiale and the Black nationalist Le-Roi Jones step in and divert the struggle along racial lines, to pit Black against white.

RELIGIOUS

In Ulster it is along religious lines that the working class is divided. Into that situation, with rising unemployment and rotten conditions in the factories, the British ruling class thrusts Ian Paisley to sharpen those divisions. As the film says, "There are no religious divisions in the boardrooms and the banks..."

The real issues are the class issues, and these are what the SLL and the Workers Press have fought for day after day. As the film says, it was only the Workers Press that called immediately for the withdrawal of troops from Ulster.

This film which will be shown nationally by the Workers League will be an important tool in the fight against capitalism internationally and the construction of the revolutionary party.

## Stalinist Diplomacy

# Kosygin Invites Nixon To Moscow

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON announced last Wednesday that he has accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union next May. This development highlighted a week of treacherous diplomacy which found Stalinism working overtime to find an accommodation with Kings and capitalists.

### IDENTICAL

While the Soviet Premier sunned himself in Morocco, the scene of bloody repressions against left-wing elements, and assured CIA-supported King Hassan that "we have many identical views," Stalinists throughout the world were either the hosts or guests of the working class' greatest enemies.

Egyptian President Sadat spent a few days in Moscow, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie paid a call on Mao Tse-tung, Yugoslav Marshall Tito flew into Iran to celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of Shahdom's autocratic terror, and representatives of North Korea fraternized with South Korean officials at a beer-guzzling party in Panmunjom.

### DISARM

The theme of "Socialism in One Country" is what unites Nixon's upcoming trips to Moscow and Peking and the disgusting display of solidarity in Panmunjom. The Stalinists are unable to cope with the new international situation produced by the crisis of capitalism. They seek to head off a collision with the bourgeoisie through flattery and compromise, and attempt to disarm an insurgent working class through betrayals.

The Nixon trip to the Soviet Union comes at a very crucial time. Max Frankel of the *New York Times* wrote of the circumstances underlying the diplomatic developments:

"It is thought here now that the Polish uprisings brought home to the Soviet leaders the need for East-West stability



Marshal Tito (left) of Yugoslavia flew to join Shah of Iran (right) at celebration.

in all Europe if Communists were to retain secure control over Eastern Europe. They are thought to have concluded that such stability required a reduction of tensions with all Western countries, notably the United States."

### POLICING

It was Stalinism—not Communism—that was threatened by the uprising of the Polish working class. But Mr. Frankel is quite correct in making the connection between the challenge of the working class and the turn of the Stalinists toward alliance with the bourgeoisie. In inviting Nixon to Moscow, the Kremlin Stalinists have enlisted the support of the bourgeoisie in policing the workers of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Nixon, of course, has no objection to preparing the way for the penetration of capitalism into the lost markets of Eastern Europe. But Nixon also needs the political support of the Stalinists for the attacks which he is making against the workers in the United States. As Frankel emphasized in his article, the Stalinists "must know that they are doing their part to keep him (Nixon) very much alive."

Another effect of the Nixon visit will be to deepen the antagonisms that exist between the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China. Far from destroying the nationalist divisions that must exist under capitalism, the Stalinists of both countries are fiercely competing for whatever crumbs Nixon is prepared to offer.

The international diplomacy of the Stalinist bureaucracies threaten a repeat of the disasters of the 1930's and 1940's. The *New York Times* noted that "The few Russians who had heard of the (Nixon) visit over radio and television by early evening seemed curious but not greatly enthusiastic." This lack of enthusiasm among Russian workers is quite understandable. They have not forgotten that the price of class collaboration is counted in millions of lives. Few Russian workers are fooled by Tass' (the Soviet news agency) assertion that Nixon's visit will strengthen "the prospects of universal peace."

### CYNICAL

The dishonesty and cynicism employed by the Stalinists is revealed in the text of the official communique on Anwar Sadat's trip to Moscow. Moscow and

Cairo agreed that "attempts to spread anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism are designed exclusively to split the ranks of Arab revolutionary fighters...Therefore the two sides strongly condemn anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism as prejudicing the people's urge for liberation and their national interests and as serving the interests of the national imperialist forces."

### CHAMPION

It is precisely this sort of communique that Brezhnev and Kosygin issued after their talks last year with the Sudanese butcher, General Numeiry. And Sadat, like Numeiry, is a blatant champion of imperialism currently engaged in a fierce struggle against the "people's urge for liberation" that is sweeping the Middle East. As for his anti-Sovietism, Sadat has made no secret of the fact that he will turn against the Kremlin unless it supplies weapons and financial aid for the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

### DUTIFUL

It should be noted that the *Daily World* of the American Communist Party remained true to its 40 year history of uncritical support for Stalinist treachery. The *Daily World* dutifully published the Kremlin's account of the Nixon announcement and the Sadat negotiations.

In Panmunjom, an exuberant atmosphere of handshaking, backslapping, beer, soda, cider and cookies attended discussions between North and South Korea of "humanitarian problems" caused by the imperialist United Nations war twenty years ago. A beaming Polish bureaucrat observed the unrestrained festivities, and told all who would listen, "A positive thing, a positive thing."

The fast and furious pace of diplomacy reflects the crisis of the Stalinists and imperialists, not their strength. It is their fear of the working class of both East and West that drives them together. The working class under revolutionary leadership can defeat the diplomatic conspiracy of the imperialists and their Stalinist allies.

## Greece

# A Dictatorship In Crisis

GREEK PREMIER GEORGE Papadopoulos' recent meeting with pre-junta "oppositionists" created a number of rumors about political developments in the country.

Were there to be elections? Was there to be a rebirth of bourgeois parliamentarism?

In fact many bourgeois politicians inside Greece have promoted these ideas deliberately to divert the working class from the struggle to overthrow the junta.

Many other "fighters" outside Greece—from sheer opportunism, or because they have stopped believing in the workers' revolution—have bolstered the myth that a peaceful transformation of the established order is possible.

These same people have seen the bankruptcy of "pressure" campaigns on capitalist and pseudo-socialist governments as an economic and political boycott of the junta.

They witnessed abortive "interventions" by the Council of Europe, Civil Rights Committees, etc.

Now they expect the junta to democratize itself!

These political forces are destined never to understand the Greek situation because they do not view the junta dialectically.

The dictatorship was imposed on Greece for many reasons. U.S. imperialism, the major instigator, always wanted a stable base in the Balkans against the northern neighbors of Greece—especially the USSR.

Placed in a very strategic point in the Mediterranean the country had to play an

important role in an explosive period.

The Arab-Israeli clash developed into a nucleus of international developments—the Soviet Union and U.S. were involved in a diplomatic and military competition to gain positions in the Mediterranean.

### TENSE

The situation is no less tense today and there certainly will not be any American retreat from the Greek dictatorship.

In Italy, for example, social crisis and political instability pose the question of power. The Central Intelligence Agency—the U.S. arm in the Greek coup—has tried, but failed, to encourage a dictatorship there to reduce the threat of revolution.

Equally in Turkey, the depression and cut in living standards have brought the masses to the brink of a giant explosion. The suppression of anti-NATO, anti-capitalist feelings, plus American aid, has given the Turkish military junta the chance to develop further its iron rule.

In Cyprus the CIA—with the help of its agents inside the United Nations security force, General Grivas' pro-fascist ENOSIS tendency—and the junta planned a conspiracy against British influence and for the overthrow of Archbishop Makarios.

This attempt failed too. But the battle for influence in the Eastern Mediterranean goes on, and the prospects for Cyprus are more gloomy.

On the other side of the Mediterranean, in the Arab countries, the movements, the counterrevolutionary coups and the conspiracies succeed one another with tremendous speed.

But can one argue that the antagonism developing between the European nations and U.S. capitalism over trade and the dollar injures the junta?

Are we seeing, in fact, a retreat of the dictators favored by the CIA, and the rise of another clique favored by European capital?

Socially, Greece has never stopped moving within the framework of the capitalist crisis.

Despite industrial growth—thanks to continuous loans and foreign investments—there has been a polarization of forces.

The financial oligarchy, highly favored by the junta, has gained tremendous profits off the backs of the workers.

Hence the increasing hardship for the middle classes and the starvation of the working class.

The crisis is reflected most in the rising cost of living (inflation, corruption, falling wages, starvation). The masses emigrate and those left behind are filled with hate for the junta and the high exploitation.

The dictatorship pushed the working class back without a battle, but realizes it cannot hold power without terror.

Over the past four years, the junta has been able to triumph over its rivals. The economic boycott failed completely. Eastern Europe has opened its doors to

"mutual aid and friendship."

The individual terrorists failed, the bourgeois democrats have split, as have the Stalinists. Patriotic and popular fronts have gone bankrupt.

### DIVERSION

But the dictatorship has still not been able to create a popular image. Neither will it.

Without a big public meeting in the towns to its credit, the junta now looks for support to the old bankrupt politicians. In exchange it offers government positions.

Under these conditions, expecting an election is sheer illusion—and a very dangerous one because it diverts workers from the class struggle.

Meetings with "democrats" do not fool anybody. The dictatorship has never stopped assuring: "We are not going to endanger the ends of the revolution by rushing to the election." (August 31, 1968) "At present we should think about everything but the election." (To the French news agency, July 7, 1969) "No developments in 1971." (In the budget in 1970 and 1971)

The limits of the dictatorship and opportunism are being reached. The dictatorship lays traps, but it faces its deepest crisis.

The key to the situation is the building of a new leadership, a Trotskyist leadership, in order to lead the working class to a victory and socialism.

## West Coast News

# Stanford Plans Force Of Armed Campus Cops

BY ANN CORE

STANFORD—As the ruling class prepares for open civil war against the working class and youth, a Presidential Commission at Stanford University has made recommendations for a campus police force with full powers.

The present Stanford police are not "peace officers" and are therefore limited to making citizens arrests. They have to rely on an outside police force from Santa Clara County for law enforcement matters on the campus.

The Commission finds this present system "inefficient." "A local police force will have an understanding of its community clearly superior to that of an outside force including...about the role and characteristics of particular individuals in it."

It is all too clear what "particular individuals" are the subject of this report and how this police force will be used. Stanford has already moved towards silencing

all opposition in its present hearing against tenured professor Bruce Franklin. Now they want the police power to back these attacks against anyone struggling against capitalism.

This police force will be financed totally by the University trustees who will then have complete control over all activities of the officers, including hiring and firing. All possibilities of a contractual agreement with an outside agency have been rejected. There is currently no legal precedent in California for this situation, where reserve deputies are paid and directed by a private authority but authorized by the Sheriff. But clearly it is the intention of the state for universities to have these broader, autonomous powers, unencumbered by the present "inefficiencies," and are preparing legislation to grant university presidents power to bar people from campus who they feel may possibly constitute a threat. This will be done without the present niceties of court injunctions or other court pro-

ceedings.

Every move by the capitalists today exposes the role of the Stalinists who are caught desperately trying to divert the youth into "battles" for reforms in prisons and among police forces. They attempt to smother the rage of youth through a strategy for pressuring the government. Meanwhile, the enemy arms himself in preparation for the real battles ahead. The capitalists know what lies ahead even if the Stalinists do not. All of the recent events of Attica, the murder of George Jackson, the murders by police in San Jose and San Francisco show that the capitalist class is preparing to level its guns at the working class and youth if they dare to fight back.

A fight must be begun at Stanford now to stop this police force from entering onto the campus. But this will only be won by building a mass revolutionary youth movement, turned to the working class, capable of leading the offensive against these imminent attacks.



Self styled "Jesus Freaks" peddle mysticism and religion.

## School Blesses Jesus Revival

BY CHERYL AVERY

SAN JOSE—At the same time as hordes of middle class youth are seeking to avoid the real conflict by turning to religion, the ruling class and its administrative agents on the campuses support this turn enthusiastically. Last week, a "Jesus rally" was held at Branham High School.

The rally was centered around folk singer Barry McGuire who sang and preached to the youth about the "Eve of Destruction" that mankind is facing and that "Christians" have warned about for centuries.

He told the youth not to "blame God for America's sins" and that "this country has fallen from the ways of the Lord." McGuire went on to explain that this is the reason that the world is in a crisis such as has never been known before. "Mankind has fallen from the ways of the Lord" and "God's plans are being fulfilled" are expected to rationalize away the Vietnam war, corruption and injustice in the government and incidents such as the massacre at Attica prison and the murder of John Smith by policemen in San Jose.

Mr. McGuire is correct in stating that mankind is potentially facing an "Eve of Destruction," but the catalyst of this crisis has nothing to do with God or

religion. The deepening crisis that capitalism is in today has forced the ruling class to wage a vicious war against all sections of the working class, particularly the youth.

President Nixon and the capitalist class he represents will use any means necessary to smash the offensive of the working class, which is the only way they can salvage their crumbling system. And this is the real meaning of the wage freeze, the increasing massive unemployment, and the murders at Attica prison and other prisons all over the country. And this is also the essence of the role that Mr. McGuire and many others like him play.

Through the building of a massive "Christian youth corps" all over the U.S., the ruling class and its agents in the schools seek to liquidate the massive sentiment of youth to change this rotten system into bands of hysterical fascists whose role will be to physically destroy the working class movement.

Several days after this rally was held, supporters of the Workers League at Branham called on Principal Wagon in order to request permission to hold a Workers League meeting at this campus.

They were told that this was impossible because the Workers League was listed on an official government list of "subversive organizations." The Workers League held several meetings at Branham HS last year. Supporters were suddenly informed that no more meetings would be allowed because of this supposed listing on a "subversive list." When the youth inquired as to why this religious organization was allowed to hold a rally, Principal Wagon denied any knowledge of the "Jesus Rally" until the day preceding it, and that had he known he would have prevented it. This is obviously a complete fraud and lie, for a dozen posters advertising the event were placed around the campus as long as a week beforehand.

These events drive home the urgency of proceeding with the construction of a revolutionary youth movement that can take up the fight to smash these fascist developments.

## Automation Cuts Carpenter Jobs

BY A CARPENTERS LOCAL 1296 MEMBER

SAN DIEGO—Carpenters here, indeed all across the nation, face very serious struggles to preserve their jobs in the press for automation by the bosses.

The most immediate manifestation of this is proposed introduction of a \$100,000 framing ma-

## GIs Refuse Viet Duty

BY A REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, Oct. 14—The nine sailors who refused to report for duty when the aircraft carrier Constellation left San Diego for Vietnam on October 1st have been convicted of AWOL and "shirking important service" in a shipboard "trial" at sea.

They were sentenced to forfeiture of half pay for two months, busted in rank, and sent to the brig for 30 days "correctional custody."

These sailors, who declared themselves against the war, left the ship nine days before its scheduled departure and took sanctuary in a local church. After the ship left San Diego, with heavy military guard, instead of a ticker-tape parade, the FBI raided the church and returned the sailors to ship where they could be dealt with with less worries that the situation would get out of hand.

If the military brass wants to make it clear that the brig or worse is the price of disobedience, then the example falls on deaf ears. The action of these sailors is no isolated incident. It is part of the growing rebellion by GI's against the military machine of the same capitalist class that attacks workers in Vietnam and the working class in America.

chine into this area by Solana Beach Lumber Company.

Five years ago the prototypes of this machine had yet to reach the points of commercial feasibility. Today there is one in Fresno, Phoenix and Philadelphia, under the Teamsters, Carpenters, and Laborers, respectively; and there are three in the South, one under the Operating Engineers, and two scab. The six, all told, are reaping tremendous profits for their owners.

The reasons for this are clear. The machine, as presently set up, can frame the exterior and interior walls for an average tract house in an hour, cutting out for doors, windows, and let-in braces. The only actual hand labor left to be done is minor nailing.

The proposed 2-shift day will mean 16 hours a day, the machine, operated by 6 men per shift, will frame 16 houses.

The impact of such automation in the course of the developing worldwide depression is clear. On one hand there is the move of the capitalists to buoy up lagging profits by cutting labor, on the

other hand spiralling unemployment and misery for the workers. Such is the trend in steel, longshore, auto, and whole sections of basic industry.

Union officials, even those who publicly state we have entered a period of economic crisis, are not willing to take a stand against such "progress." Instead, the solution posed is a mad scramble for remaining jobs as a matter of jurisdictional dispute over who is going to operate the machine. What is necessary is not competition between the trades for a seat on the last train to the slaughter house, but unity against such attacks by the employers.

Within the year the Supreme Court reversed itself and ruled that under the notorious Landrum-Griffith Act, union carpenters face legal compulsion to hang non-union pre-hung doors, rendering illegal any form of product boycott. Any serious form of job defense must therefore face the inevitability of conflict with the same state that froze wages and has virtually declared strikes illegal.

## Morton Sobell Calls For Prison Reform At CP Forum

BY DAVID SAXON

SAN FRANCISCO—Warning that the government intends to "set up Alcatrazes for everybody who steps out of line," Morton Sobell made one of his first public appearances after being released from prison.

Sobell was sentenced to 20 years after being convicted with the Rosenbergs for spying. The trials were conducted at the height of the anti-communist campaign whipped up by McCarthy and a fearful capitalist class.

The trials came after the greatest strike wave in the history of the world. In the United States during 1946 and 1947, millions of workers shut down entire in-

dustries in the demand for a higher living standard and better working conditions.

Sobell who was a victim of these attacks spent over 18 years in jail for his refusal to turn states evidence when many in the middle class were joining with the bosses.

The lessons unfortunately for Sobell and most of his audience at the CP Peoples World benefit have not been grasped.

The jailing and murders of militants today is precisely because of the offensive of the working class internationally. During his talk Sobell called for the "opening up of the prisons and their complete reconstitution" without raising the role of a Marxist leadership in the unions.

Franklin Alexander, National head of the Angela Davis Defense Committee who also spoke gave the CP's perspective away when he declared that "Signatures (for the release of Angela Davis on bail) are not coming in at a pace that will beat back the conspirators who framed her."

### DEFENSE

The central fight for the defense of political prisoners must start with the movement of the working class against this government.

The political fight to bring out the unions in general strike action against Nixon's attacks is the only strategy that can not only gain the release of political prisoners but bring down this government.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3094 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

## San Jose Youth Demand Fight On Smith Case

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The murder of Black research chemist John Henry Smith over a minor traffic incident here has touched off an explosive confrontation between hundreds of East San Jose youth and the city government.

Seeking to ride out the storm the San Jose City Council has censured the police chief for statements defending the police murder and claiming that Smith was drunk or under the influence of drugs. An autopsy has shown that his condition was absolutely normal.

The bitter anger of the youth has been expressed at two City Council meetings in which overflow crowds have demanded action from the council. These meetings have been marked by hatred for the police and utter contempt for the City Council.

In this situation a coalition led by the Stalinist Communist Party and leaders of black and Chicano nationalist groups has been working day and night to contain the class hatred of the youth within the bounds of protest to the city fathers.

This coalition of the Community Alert Patrol and the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens has the perspective of mobilizing hundreds of youth to appear before the council meetings and petition the board for a few reforms of the police department.

The main program has included demands for the firing of the police chief, the suspension of the police officers without pay and a citizens investigation of the murder.

The council of course has remained absolutely determined to do nothing in the hopes that the bankruptcy of the opposition will demoralize the youth and allow the crisis to blow over.

Behind this protest movement is the perspective of the Communist Party blocking with all varieties of nationalism to build up a police reform struggle and lay the basis for a "people's coalition" which will repeat the experience of the Berkeley elections.

It is very significant that the latest issue of the *People's World* gives a big indication of the Stalinist's real perspective. An article on the campaign for sheriff in S.F. all but gives support to Richard Hongisto, a "liberal" and a former member of the Police Community Relations Unit, a police science instructor and a former KQED police reporter. Hongisto is shown with Willie Brown, a CP favorite and pious hopes are advanced that his campaign might catch fire.

The PW hails in its latest issue the decision of the San Jose City Council to create an investigation committee on community relations, to place the police murderer's on leave of absence with pay and to create a police psychological test to screen applicants as concessions.

At the last City Council meeting supporters of the Workers League attempted to speak exposing this bankrupt program that has already led to the sellout of the revolt at Attica and the murder of George Jackson being answered with liberal protest and respectable investigations.

The nationalists and Stalinists blocked with each other to make it impossible for our comrades to speak.

Nevertheless many youth present could not help but understand the bankrupt nature of the Stalinist proposals. It is extremely important that the Stalinists and nationalists went out of their way to allow the most despicable elements including a member of the grand jury to speak against the protests of the youth. What could not be tolerated was the "splitters" of the Workers League exposing the blind alley of reformism and Stalinism. Any doubts as to the class nature of this fight were dispelled by the ultra-right wing *San Jose Mercury* which complimented the San Jose City Council and the audience (they mean the Stalinists and nationalists) for uniting to fight those who wished to bring Marxism and the labor movement into this fight.



Fascist elements are being whipped up by the crisis and by Nixon's overtures. Here members of the American Nazi Party attack YAWF members at Seattle demonstration.

## Laney Students Fight Cutbacks

BY TED STUART

OAKLAND—For the last week Laney College here has been the scene of a militant student strike. At issue is the right to a free education and the deteriorating conditions of education at Laney.

The strike began Monday at a meeting called by student leaders and the school's administration to explain why the cafeteria and the bookstore had been shut down. Instead of accepting President Stein's justifications (he claims they were closed because of thefts) students turned the tables. Beginning by questioning recent cuts the meeting ended in a strike demanding a free lunch program, a book loan program and expansion of present inadequate child care facilities.

In addition to these demands the student leaders who had set up the meeting in the first place, set up a strike committee which came up with additional demands, from the distribution of profits from work revenue programs to student services to student control of the parking lot.

The recent failure of the Peralta district to pass a bond election, and the high unemployment among Laney students, and in Oakland in general, are the immediate basis for the deteriorating conditions at Laney and the urgent need for Laney students to

change this.

The significance of the strike is that despite the ideas of student power on the surface of the strike, the youth are openly fighting against the conditions which they face. Beneath the icing of "Laney family" and the talk of this community and that, lies the struggle of the working class, and in fact even the leadership of the strike spends a great deal of time emphasizing the unity of the strike, that it is not a question of race or nationality.

Throughout the strike it is this question which has been covered over and obscured by everyone from the bourgeois press to the leaders of the strike, to every radical tendency at Laney. The bourgeois press, in particular the *Oakland Tribune* spends much effort to slander every action of the working class.

The Panthers pursue the dangerous line of interpreting the strike as a simple matter of the struggle for Huey Newton's survival program. This leaves a big

opening to the reformists to turn this struggle over to the "radicals" of the Berkeley Council and other such frauds.

The strike committee's policy of the "Laney family," and PLSDS's line of militant mass student strikes, both serve to do the same thing: obscure the fact that despite the urgency of this strike, the questions which face the youth, unemployment, education, the wage freeze, cannot be answered on the basis of either Laney students, or students as a whole. That to keep this struggle in the schools, or the communities, will strangle the working class as the government more and more openly attacks the class.

What is needed is for this fight to go beyond these narrow limits to unite the struggle of youth and the organized working class. This is the fight to build a revolutionary youth movement to bring an end to unemployment, to build a labor party to answer the political attacks of the government and their cutbacks.

## Dockers Walk Off Job To Protest Conditions

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The determination of West Coast dockers to continue the fight against Nixon's strikebreaking has found enormous expression in a week of resistance to the back to work order.

In the Northwest employers are taking action against the ILWU complaining that productivity has been cut by as much as 75%. In Long Beach and Los Angeles dockers refused to return to work under conditions where the employers were insisting on their right to call workers by name rather than go through the dispatch hall.

A similar dispute kept operations shut at the huge Sealand container terminal in Oakland. A safety dispute in S.F. saw 400 longshoremen walk off the job.

Clearly the employers are de-

termined to test out every weakness on the docks and the government arbitrators have been backing them all the way. The ILWU leadership true to form is doing everything in its power to insure a general return to work.

In a recent issue of the *Dispatcher*, Harry Bridges rationalized the capitulation of the leadership to the Taft-Hartley and the pressure from the government on the grounds that the ILWU did not have the support of the labor movement to stand firm.

It can very well be asked what this leadership intends to do to build up that support at this critical juncture. At the moment the position of the Bridges leadership is to do little more than pose a verbal opposition to Phase II of Nixon's economic program.

The formation of a rank and file caucus committed to a battle to bring about a united struggle with the ILA to shut down all ports until the guarantee is granted to all categories of dockers is of the utmost urgency.

### Workers League Educational in the Redwoods A History of the Fourth International

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN THE DAYS OF LEON TROTSKY: Lucy St. John

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL UNDER MICHEL PABLO: Tim Wohlforth

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL:  
Tim Wohlforth

For information:

San Francisco: 621-1310 Berkeley: 653-3675 San Mateo-Palo Alto: 493-2854

San Jose: 269-3460 Portland: 775-9476 San Diego: 298-4068 Los Angeles: 581-4855

Nov. 5-7