

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Move Toward  
General Strike  
In Germany**

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER FIFTEEN (224)

DECEMBER 13, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

Push Nixon To Break Unions

# BIG BUSINESSES DEMAND BLOOD

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What  
we  
think

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Fine, a man with considerable organizational talent though always thin when it came to questions of theory, joined the Socialist Workers Party in the difficult period of the late '40s or early '50s. He soon rose to Branch Organizer for the important Los Angeles Branch. In that post he developed a close association with James P. Cannon, who had recently moved to Los Angeles away from the political center.

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# German Auto Barons Lock Out Strikers



Striking German metal workers study strike newspaper in Stuttgart.

BY DAVID GREEN

West German capitalists are in full battle formation as they attempt an all-out effort to smash the first major strike in Germany since 1963. Their response to the strike of more than 100,000 metal workers in the state of Baden Wurttemberg has been a lockout of 360,000 workers from 544 plants.

The giants of the West German auto industry—Daimler-Benz, Volkswagen, Audi, and BMW—have brought production to a virtual standstill rather than meet the 11% wage increase sought by the workers of IG Metall, the largest union in the Federal Republic. The employers have refused to budge from their offer of a paltry 4% increase. The annual rate of inflation is above

5%.

With the new economic measures of the United States wrecking havoc on West German export industries and with the post-war economic "miracle" nothing more than a memory, the fattest bourgeoisie in Europe is demanding class solidarity against the working class. The employers' Metal Industry Association is threatening to take disciplinary action against member organizations that do not participate in the lockout.

In order to underscore the determination of Germany's ruling class to beat back the workers, Dr. Hanns Martin Schleyer, board director of Daimler-Benz, declared that the Federal Republic must avoid the "English illness" of labor unrest.

Across the entire length of Germany, from Hamburg to Munich, workers are demonstrating their determination to defend the gains they have won since 1945. As the lock-out tactic of the capitalists now threatens the very existence of

unions in Germany, a powerful movement in the direction of a general strike is developing within the working class. The bureaucracy of IG Metall is confronting demands that it call out all four million workers belonging to the union.

## SOLIDARITY

The reputation of the German proletariat for conservatism is being discredited as a social-democratic myth. Placards in the city of Stuttgart read: "Only a slave cannot strike—Only a tyrant can lock us out!" Throughout the country there has been a tremendous display of class solidarity and internationalism. Thousands of foreign workers carrying placards in Greek, Spanish, or Italian have stood on picket lines alongside their German brothers.

The capitalists prepared for this strike

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# Chilean Right Organizes To Topple Allende

BY ED SMITH

In the past several days, even as Cuban Premier Fidel Castro was winding up his Chilean tour, the situation facing the Chilean workers and peasants has taken a sharp new turn.

Herbert Klein, President Nixon's press director, stated after returning from a Latin American trip that he had gained the impression that "the days of the Allende Government are numbered." Even as he spoke the Chilean right wing had been emboldened to enter upon its first open confrontation with the Popular Unity government.

After the bloody military suppression of the Bolivian workers and peasants, after the heavy defeat suffered in last week's Uruguayan elections by the left-wing "broad front" endorsed by Fidel Castro and the Tupamaro urban guerillas, the imperialists now are building up an attempt to settle accounts with the Chilean working class. This is the meaning of Klein's threat and the open emergence of the right in the past few days.

Five thousand women, mostly from the wealthy and middle classes, were organized by the right wing Christian Democratic and National Parties in a march on the Presidential Palace to protest food shortages and Castro's visit.

Castro interpreted the events as "fascism in action," while Luis Corvalan Lepe, secretary general of the Communist Party, stated that "the working class is not prepared to permit the fascist bands to control the streets again." All work centers and farms controlled by the CP were urged to "assume a position of combat" and mobilize forces "to take the offensive."

But as the *New York Times* commented, "The form this 'offensive' may take is unclear because this capital is now under a 'state of emergency' that has put maintenance of public order under the control of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, commander of the Santiago army garrison. He has prohibited all street demonstrations and set a curfew from 1 a.m.

to 6 a.m.

In this situation, when the imperialists are forced, as reflected in Klein's "accidental" remark, to prepare to take on and push back the Latin American workers and peasants if their system is to survive, the grave dangers that popular frontism, the "peaceful road to socialism," the whole counterrevolutionary line of Stalinism hold for the working people are underlined in the gravest possible way.

## CLASHES

The right wing mobilization followed weeks of clashes at the University of Chile. Right wing forces have rallied behind the University Rector, Edgardo Boeninger, who has tried to defy the majority of the students and the University Council to turn the school into a right wing bastion. Right wing forces have occupied several of the schools and have provoked violent clashes with supporters of the Popular Unity government and the left movements.

But even more symptomatic of the growing right danger were several ominous incidents on the Dec. 1st women's demonstration. When a group of members of the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) appeared near the demonstration, a large number of young toughs organized by the right wing parties, armed with steel helmets and heavy wooden clubs, attacked and drove them away.

Riot police finally decided to break up the demonstration with tear gas grenades but having done so they turned and launched a similar attack on supporters of Allende who had gathered nearby, including members of the Communist Party youth.

Allende's whole perspective of "constitutional roads to socialism," endorsed by the Stalinists and Castroites, refraining from

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Pakistani troops in war with India carry off victim, but face defeat.

# Indian And Liberation Armies Drive Khan Out Of Bangla Desh

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Saturday, December 4th, after weeks of border fighting, full scale war broke out between India and West Pakistan.

After Indian airfields on the border with West Pakistan were bombed Friday by Pakistani planes, Indira Gandhi, Premier of India accused Pakistan of declaring all out war and stated that India would defend its national integrity and the "cause of human freedom." She accused Khan of systematic genocide against the Bengali people.

In only two days of fighting Indian troops together with the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Army of East Bengal) have pushed into East Bengal, decimating Yahya Khan's troops and forcing them into retreat.

Indian officials now declare that they have won complete control over the air. Indian pilots have destroyed all but four West Pakistani fighter bomber jets and the Indian Navy sank two of West Pakistan's five destroyers.

Khan's occupying troops in East Bengal are now in a completely hopeless position. With no air cover they cannot possibly fly their transport supply planes from West Pakistan all the way across India into East Bengal.

The Pakistani troops are completely isolated in East Bengal. Any attempt to move supplies by road would be defeated by the Liberation Army which now con-

trols large areas in North Bangla Desh.

Heavy fighting is continuing around Jessore where the Bangla Desh Army plans to set up its provisional headquarters.

India has 980,000 armed men and 625 combat aircraft while Khan can only deploy 392,000 troops and 285 aircraft.

## ROUT

It is now absolutely clear that the Indian Army and the Liberation forces have the power to rout and drive the Pakistani troops completely out of Bangla Desh.

In every village, along every road where the Indian troops are advancing, the Bengali people pour out to cheer their victory shouting: "Joi Bangla!" ("Victory for Bangla!")

This is the real power, the tremendous movement of the masses of Bengal and India that has forced Ghandi into a war that she sought to avoid for months through a political settlement.

The people of East Bengal who were divided from the masses of West Bengal by the imperialist partition in 1947 have been dominated by the United States-backed military dictatorship of Yahya Khan in West Pakistan.

After the Awami League won a crushing victory in the elections to West Pakistan's parliament, Khan dissolved the Parliament, arrested its leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman, and launched a brutal war of extermination against the Bengali masses.

Khan's troops conducted "pacification drives" by burning whole villages and massacring all the men, women and children.

Ghandi could no longer hold back the tremendous pressure of the Bengalis and the Indian masses to avenge these murders and win their independence.

The war is a class war of the oppressed masses of the sub-continent against all the imperialist slavery and exploitation that has plunged them into the most abject conditions of poverty and starvation.

Ghandi fears the outcome of the present war because she knows that it must inevitably lead to a revolutionary conflagration that threatens the whole existence of capitalism in each country.

Khan seeks to conceal the real character of the struggle from Pakistani workers by whipping up religious fanaticism and calling it a "holy war" against the Hindus.

We support the military struggle against Yahya Khan. But we



Chicago teachers and nurses demonstrate against school closings.

# Shippers Step Up Attacks On ILA

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—The preliminary 10 day injunction issued against striking longshoremen in New York and other east and gulf coast ports was extended by a Federal judge for another 70 days last week.

The extension would keep the men working until Feb. 16, while the west coast Taft Hartley expires just after Christmas. The ILWU ranks expected to go out once again on the west coast.

Dockworkers in New York have been angered not only by the breaking of their strike at the strongest point, but are becoming even more incensed by the ILA leadership's allowing the employers to run rampant over the provisions of the old contract supposedly carried over under provisions of Taft Hartley.

The bureaucracy, under Scotto and Gleason, are preparing a fundamental retreat over the contract itself. They have made certain agreements together with the shipowners. First of all they retreated on their previously announced intention of contesting the extension of the Taft-Hartley. This change in plans came as a result of a reported "progress" at the bargaining table.

But what "progress" can there possibly be, except on the bosses' terms of tearing up the agreement on the 40 hour guarantee at this point?

The only thing that can bring real progress—progress for the workers who keep the nation's ports going is the resumption of the strike in all ports on the basis of a fight for the full 40 hour guarantee for all men in all ports and the extension of the strike to the west coast. This is the kind of power that can make some "progress."

The speculation is increasing that Nixon may propose "emergency legislation," according to Newsweek magazine, to deal with the dock strikes on both coasts if there is no settlement by Christmas. This would involve some form of compulsory arbitration which the shipowners have been pushing for.

In the meantime, the ILA leadership is faced with an explosion on the New York docks. There is more talk every day among the rank and file in New York of "walking out." The ILA local leader Anthony Scotto, goons and all, was out at the Columbia Street hiring hall on Monday, in an apparent attempt to intimidate the men.

The latest "agreement" of

men fear that under the "prior day order" procedure, they will call up and be told that they are assigned to all parts of the port. A man registered in Manhattan, for example, may be told he is to report to Staten Island or Port Newark, and if he does he does not even get travel time.

Men going to these different parts of the port may have to do work at a job below their usual skill and will be pitted against men with lower seniority who are not on the guarantee. In this way the shipowners try to create divisions within the ranks and actually begin to implement the kind of agreement they want under the new contract.

The shipowners and Waterfront Commission are trying to write their own rules, in effect make up their own contracts day by day during this cooling off period.

On Monday, Dec. 6th they made an agreement with the union leadership in Manhattan to allow "inverse" seniority whereby the men with the least seniority are offered jobs first. This represents a complete breakdown of the seniority system and an attempt to pit the older against the younger workers under conditions where everyone wants to work.

## Rome Meeting Shows Capitalism On Brink Of World Depression

BY FRED MUELLER

Before and after the meeting of the Group of Ten leading capitalist nations in Rome in the beginning of December, the capitalist press and leading government spokesmen claimed that progress was being made in solving the crisis brought forward sharply by Nixon's August 15 measures.

According to Newsweek magazine, "the world could have peace on the international monetary front by Christmas."

The New York Times explained, "The political will to reach a settlement exists on both sides of the Atlantic and Tokyo. One reason is that the crisis has damaged world business confidence and, if prolonged, could throw Japan, the countries of Western Europe and even the United States

into a new depression."

And U.S. Treasury Secretary Connally tried to characterize the results of the Rome meeting as follows: "It was not so much a failure as really an inability to reach agreement on an enormous number of problems within the time span available."

All the predictions of "peace" are a complete fraud. It is not a technical question of the realignment of currency parities, but jockeying for position by each capitalist class in the face of a growing world economic slump.

It is not a matter of a possible depression, but the unmistakable signs of recession, the contraction of world trade and international trade war. All the maneuvers for a so-called settlement of the crisis are nothing but the posing of the crisis on a new and sharper level. They represent preparation for the holocaust, for depression and all-out war on the working class all over the world.

APOLOGISTS

It is this which all the apologists and bourgeois commentators absolutely refuse to see and deliberately obscure. The

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## Workers Reject Frigidaire Deal

DAYTON—The drive of the bosses in Dayton is reaching new levels of brazenness. Thursday, December 2nd, Dayton's working class was greeted by a full page ad headlined: DAYTON, YOU MAKE US PROUD AND HAPPY!

It then itemized these reasons: the passage of two tax levies adding to the workers' cut in buying power, the sellout agreement of the Frigidaire Local leaders giving in to a wage cut and loss of 2 years of cost of living allowances, and the agreement of the McCall unions (Flymen and Inkmen Local 616 and Printing Pressmen Local 54) to go on a 30-hour work week for 30 hours pay.

But the workers of Dayton are fighting back against these sellouts and taking the offensive. The 8,500 NCR workers (UAW Local 1616) have been on strike since October 11th to smash the speed-up piecework system called the Standard Hourly Plan.

Sunday the capitalist press screamed "NO STAMPS FOR STRIKERS" and called for the end of food stamps for the determined NCR workers. The UAW workers state, "They have shoved us around too long," and are not about to be turned around by food stamp blackmail. Meanwhile the strike wave is growing with the unanimous vote of 2,400 Dayton Power and Light workers to empower their union to strike for higher wages.

Frigidaire workers shook the newly elected and lame duck union officers by repudiating the fraudulent stand-up vote of two weeks ago. This fake vote engineered by the union misleaders split the union in half and broke all economic provisions of the contract for those working in the Appliance section. Moreover, the sellout was designed to split high seniority workers from low seniority workers. The low seniority workers in the Automotive section will be bumped and sent to work in the contract-busted Appliance section. In a voice vote this last Sunday the workers voted 575 to 25 to reject the minutes of the sellout meeting a week ago.

This I.U.E. contract busting has been given nationwide publicity by the capitalist press. The right wing Cincinnati Enquirer headlined it: LOCAL 801's PRECEDENT and brazenly concluded:

"We hope that this decision is a precedent. We hope that the example set by Local 801 will be emulated everywhere in the nation whenever the need arises."

These "hopes" of monopoly capital are being shattered by the workers of Local 801 as well as the NCR and DP&L workers.

But the treachery of the labor bureaucrats knows no limits. Despite the open repudiation by their members Sunday, the executives of Local 801 I.U.E. announced the sellout agreement has been signed Monday and that it has the signature of the International representative.

## Dr. Pepper Strike Hits Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Steelworkers and Teamsters in the St. Louis area have struck here for higher wages. Over 800 members of Local 1022 of the United Steelworkers union struck the General Steel Industries plant in Granite City, Illinois.

The union contract had expired on November 1st but was extended until November 19th in a fruitless attempt to avert the action. The company has made no other offer than the 5.5% wage increase set

down by the Federal Pay Board in a one year contract. A large majority of the Local 1022 membership voted for the strike action.

Members of the Teamsters union, Local 688, went on strike against the Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. in support of their claim for wage parity. The workers are calling for increases in commissions in line with those now in effect with the other major soft drink distributors as well as a reduction in the work load required before helpers are assigned to the drivers. Here again management has restricted its offer to the 5.5%

guideline, claiming anything higher would be breaking the law.

Only 28 Teamsters are involved at the moment in this struggle against not only the bosses but the whole of Nixon's new economic plans. It will be criminal if the union leadership of this powerful local, headed by Harold Gibbons, does not mobilize the whole of the membership to their support. These workers are extremely vulnerable as Dr. Pepper products can be distributed in this area from East St. Louis.

ANGRY

The striking workers are an-

gry with the wage freeze and the decisions of the Pay Board and are proud to be one of the first to take industrial action against them. The discrimination of the wage freeze noted by the workers is particularly evident in this case as the company increased its prices by 6% just prior to the August 15th announcements.

Another sore point with the workers is the financial and political support given by the unions for the election of the Democratic politicians who now use their positions against the working class.





Gary teachers meet on dispute with School Board over pay.

## Corporation Orders Hospital Cutbacks

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Last Wednesday Dr. Joseph T. English, President of the City's Health and Hospitals Corporation, coldly and calmly ordered all the city hospitals to make a 5% cutback in their services.

The Corporation claimed that it needs a budget of \$793 million and was only granted \$689 million by the City. English has already drawn up an attrition plan that will eliminate 5,000 jobs. Now in addition to this there will be a further straight 5% cutback.

On Friday, just two days later, Knickerbocker Hospital a private institution in Harlem announced that it would shut down for good within a month unless they received one million dollars to continue operations.

The Director of Knickerbocker declared that many of the old patients who are not actually sick but have no means of caring for themselves will simply be thrown into the streets.

Knickerbocker, one of the oldest, most decrepit, rat-infested hospitals in New York is one of the few hospitals in the Harlem area. If it closes its patients will be forced to go to Harlem or Sydenham Hospital which are already overburdened.

None of this is of any concern to English and his highly paid staff of efficiency experts. They are making these attacks in a completely calculated way and with no regrets about the consequences. It would be a mistake to think they are bluffing.

The Hospital Corporation is

fulfilling the task that it was set up for to begin with—to take the state and city funds for health care and send it right back into the pockets of the Rockefellers and big bankers.

Just recently, a scandal was revealed by which the executives of the Hospital Corporation used funds paid by movie companies to take a lavish vacation for themselves at Bear Mountain.

### FREEZE

The two year old job freeze is no longer sufficient to the bosses to save money. The latest cutbacks and the threat to close Knickerbocker can only mean that massive layoffs of hospital workers are ahead. It means that the government is preparing the complete liquidation of state and city financing health care to replace it with business run hospitals geared to making profits.

In a move that will deepen the plight of workers and unemployed, the Price Commission announced Monday that it would allow the hospitals to raise their rates 5% to 6% and doctors fees to go up at least 2%. Last year hospital rates went up 15%. This decision was motivated by what the Commission calls low "productivity" in the hospitals and it squarely placed the blame for the

financial crisis of hospitals on workers wages.

Already in the private hospitals administrators are busy drawing up reorganization and centralization schemes to reduce the work force and are making detailed studies of each department that will pave the way for drastic cutbacks and layoffs.

The leadership of Local 1199, the major union representing workers in both private and city hospitals has allowed this crisis to build up to the explosion point by refusing to do anything about the job freeze or reorganization.

When the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199 demanded that the leadership take action against the job freeze when it first began, and that layoffs would follow, the leadership replied that they could have no say over working conditions.

Local 1199 has gone on record for immediate citywide strike action against layoffs. It must mobilize its members together with other hospital unions in a citywide demonstration to halt the cutbacks and closure threats. Any shutdown, any layoffs must be answered with strike action. The future of every hospital worker's job is at stake.

The attacks on health care and hospital workers is an essential part of Nixon's plan to impose his wage controls, to restore profits.

Nixon is giving the bosses the signal to make ruthless attacks on jobs and working conditions as well as driving down the hard won wage increases of hospital workers.

This is why the trade union leaders must abandon their talk about the "right" of the hospitals to control working conditions. To accept the right of Nixon and the bosses to run society means to accept mass unemployment and the destruction of all the social services that workers have.

The fight against Nixon and the hospital bosses can only go forward with a program to use the wealth not for private profit but for the needs of the working class. The major industries must be nationalized through the construction of a labor party that will socialize medicine under the control of the working class.

This is the program that must be fought for in the struggle to defend hospital workers and patients against these vicious attacks.

## Rebel Forces Smash Cambodian Army

BY DAVID NICHOLS

Last week, Cambodian Government troops crumbled along a thirty mile front under the steady pressure of liberation forces as more than 20,000 troops broke and ran from two key towns just sixty miles northeast of Pnompenh.

The retreat after weeks of fierce fighting has left whole battalions of Cambodian soldiers decimated with the rest of the troops cut off in isolated pockets along the thirty mile front. Cambodian generals who call the situation "very serious but not yet alarming" have pleaded with the U.S. for greater air support. It is the hope of these generals that air power can halt the deepening crisis facing Pnompenh.

It is doubtful whether anything short of a major infantry assault operation or saturation bombing can halt the advancement of liberation forces.

But it is clear that South Vietnamese generals, obviously seeking to avoid another Laos, will have no part in such a concerted drive. Instead they have launched two operations under the guise of relieving pressure off of the battered Cambodians. One is in the central highlands, where everything is seemingly calm and

no major encounter with the liberation army can be expected. The other operation just launched a week ago is centered around Krec, about 100 miles from the heavy fighting. Neither operation has been successful in relieving the pressure off of the Cambodian troops.

Nor has the increased air support been successful in aiding the Cambodians, since liberation troops have reached back into their history and have begun using concealed trenches dug close to the enemy, a tactic used successfully by liberation forces at Dien Bien Phu.

It is this situation which completely exposes Nixon's "less infantry, more bombs" policy. Since saturation bombing began in Cambodia in 1970, over two million Cambodians have been driven from their homes all for the purpose of keeping the pressure off of Pnompenh but the bombing has failed.

Clearly the only alternative left open to Nixon lies in his impending visit to Mao in hopes that the Chinese leadership will play the same treacherous role it played in Geneva in 1954 in selling out the Vietnamese struggle.

The victory of the workers and peasants in Indochina can now be aided and assured by the struggles of the American workers against the government and its attacks at home and abroad.

## Maoist Bureaucrats Set To Welcome Nixon

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

With Nixon's whirlwind tour of China set definitely for February 21 and all sorts of preliminary arrangements underway, another preliminary was being carried out within China itself by the bureaucracy in preparation for Nixon's visit.

Joint editorials in leading Peking dailys on Dec. 1st attacked "chieftains of opportunist lines," "splitters," and "pseudo-Marxists," quoting a 1964 injunction against "intriguers and plotters" by Mao himself. References in the context of these attacks indicate that the "plotters" referred to are numerous armed forces men who have disappeared in recent months, the most prominent being Defense Minister and former second in command in the Chinese hierarchy, Lin-Piao and his wife.

This is the second apparent purge to take place inside the bureaucracy in recent months. Earlier the Number Four man in the Chinese Communist Party hierarchy, Chen Po-ta, who had iden-

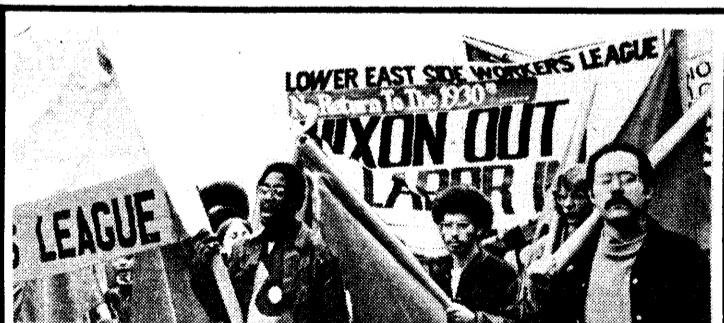
tified himself with the upsurge of the Chinese youth in the Cultural Revolution, dropped from view after being attacked for "ultra-leftism," reflecting the rightward consolidation of the bureaucracy after the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Now Lin, who had gathered up most of the strands of power after the containment of the Cultural Revolution from his base in the People's Liberation Army, is apparently on the chopping block. When we consider that the new No. 2 man is listed as being Chou En-lai, who is closely identified with the bureaucracy's new overtures to imperialism, we may say that this new governmental shakeup reflects a struggle against currents still at least partially unreconciled to China's "new face" to the capitalist world.

The Chinese bureaucracy wants to assure Nixon and the capitalists he represents of the sincerity and security of their new line of accommodation with imperialism. Thus the purging of any forces that may reflect even indirectly resistance to this accommodation, another "preparation" of the bureaucracy's for Nixon's welcome in Peking.

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Workers League

Dec. 18, 1971

CONFERENCE OF  
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

\$1.50

LABOR HALL 135 W. 14th St. NYC 924-0852

DISCUSSION FILMS DANCE





(left) Dennis O'Casey speaks in support of Workers League motion. (above) A section of the Workers League workshop attended by more than 200. (right) Pat Connolly speaks at plenary session for Workers League motion.

# NPAC Split Reflects Middle Class Crisis

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

CLEVELAND, OHIO—Meeting under conditions of a rising movement of the working class and a deepening crisis of the middle class, the National Peace Action Coalition split wide open at its conference here December 4th and 5th. Four of the five Coordinators of NPAC—Jerry Gordon, Jim Lafferty, John T. Williams and Ruth Gage Colby—refused to run again for these posts in a dispute with the Socialist Workers Party.

The Conference, with a claimed 1400 registered but no more than 1,000 actually attending sessions, was the smallest conference in the history of NPAC and follows the dismal November 6th demonstrations. A mood of pessimism dominated the leadership of both factions of NPAC with references over and over again to the "rough sledding" ahead and the "difficult period" the peace movement was facing.

At the opening session Saturday morning some 18 proposals were put forward as major ones around which NPAC should conduct its activity in the coming period. Among these were two from the leadership of NPAC. The Gordon-Lafferty group proposed that the next mass demonstration be held in Washington in April. Politically the proposal in no way differed from previous ones from the NPAC leadership. It saw the demonstrations as being "nonpartisan" by which was meant that Democratic Party politicians were to be welcome on the platform.

Counterposed to this was the Halstead-Bustin proposal, which

while agreeing on basics with Gordon-Lafferty, proposed that the April demonstration be held in New York. After making some inconsequential technical arguments for New York the proposal gets to the political point:

"Given the importance of maintaining NPAC's position of non-partisanship, we believe a demonstration in Washington, right at the peak of the Presidential campaign, could be easily misconstrued, by the press and some sections of the movement, as a partisan, pro-Democratic Party activity."

## WORKERS LEAGUE

Speaking for the Workers League was Dennis O'Casey who motivated the following proposal:

"In the light of Nixon's August 15th decisions to attack the American and international working class, be it resolved that NPAC take the fight for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam into the struggle for American labor to:

"1. Force Meany, Woodcock, and other labor representatives from Pay Board;

"2. Defy Pay Board through

general strike of labor;

"3. Construct a labor party for 1972 elections."

O'Casey emphasized the centrality of the crisis of capitalism. He stated that the fundamental question before the conference was the change in the situation since August 15th.

"We are rapidly heading towards a new period like the 1930s. This calls forward the most intense class struggle internationally and in America."

O'Casey noted that as the working class moves forward the middle class radical movement is thrown into the deepest crisis.

"This is the meaning of the small turn-out on November 6th and the abortion of an abortion march on November 20th. This stands behind the break-up of NPAC posed by this division between Gordon and the SWP.

"What is required now is to take up the struggle for the Transitional Program of Trotsky. This is the meaning of the fight for the general strike jeered at by the SWP in the past but now taken up by important sections of labor. This is the importance of the fight for the labor party."

O'Casey announced that the Workers League would hold a workshop that afternoon dedicated to constructing a revolutionary youth movement based on Trotskyism and the bitterest struggle against Stalinism and reformism.

Various other proposals were also presented on the floor which largely amounted to posing a

"turn to the working class" by forces still wedded to middle class politics. The Labor Committees spoke of "pro-working class politics" on the part of students; the International Socialists (IS) called for trade union action of a syndicalist character without raising the fight for a labor party; Spartacist criticized everyone else for "legitimizing NPAC" by making proposals to it and then proceeded to make their own proposals to it.

All these groups shared a hostility to constructing a revolutionary party based in the history of the Fourth International. They all at one point or another broke away from the Trotskyist movement without making any assessment of their own past.

The largest workshop was that held by the Workers League where more than 175 people crammed into a room Saturday afternoon, taking up every available seat and most of the floor space. The workshop was chaired by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. He began with an assessment of the conference.

## ASSESSMENT

"We have to understand this conference within the framework of the August developments. These mean a break-up of the relationships of the boom period and therefore must throw the middle class into a crisis. This, in turn, means the death of the middle class protest movement, but

not of reformism itself.

"We have here an international phenomena. In Germany the SDS of Rudi Deutschke has completely disappeared while one million workers go out in a bitter strike struggle. Of course not only does the old Social Democratic movement survive but the Communist Party has experienced a certain revival on the basis of rank and file worker movements.

"Here in the United States what the SWP had called the "new radicalization" is dead but the dangers of reformist political movements is very great in the 1972 elections and the Stalinists can play a very pernicious role.

"This is the meaning of the split now developing in NPAC. The Lafferty-Gordon position is the open admission that the peace movement is and can be nothing more than a prop for the Democratic Party. The middle class protesters can no longer even maintain the cover of independence. The SWP recoils from the conclusions of its own politics but is unable to offer any alternative. They pull back from what they have built.

"Thus they cannot even fight it through and will not see Gordon and Lafferty as representing an open turn to Stalinism and reformism. It is only the Workers League which points this out.

"The old centrism of the SWP is finished. It is being ripped apart by the class movement.

(Continued On Page 14)



(left) Juan Farinas speaks at press conference called by Farinas Defense Committee at NPAC Conference. (right) A section of Workers League contingent at plenary session.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Big Business Demands Blood

The big corporations and businessmen are opening an offensive against the American labor movement, crying for blood to preserve their profits. They are far from satisfied with the situation as it presently exists under Phase II with the big decisions about wages still hanging in the air. Their message to Nixon is to get tough now, go after the unions with permanent and harsher controls.

The relations between capital and labor are not what may appear on the surface. Behind the stalemate on the Pay Board stand the battle cries of the bankers and big corporations. They are setting the tone for Nixon's next moves. Only two weeks after the President of the Allied Chemical Bank demanded that the government take stronger action to break the back of the wage offensive, the National Association of Manufacturers met in New York. The President of this Association of the big corporations said that their slogan must now be "Union Power Threatens America." The theme of the conference was that the unions must be broken.

The President of General Motors brazenly stated that the unions are threatening the most precious possession of America—profits. "Fortunately," he said, "President Nixon and his associates know the importance of profits." This is their strategy—destroy the unions so profits can be preserved.

What upset these men most of all was the behavior of the labor leaders at the Bal Harbour AFL-CIO Convention, particularly the threat by some that labor would replace Nixon with its "own man." "To do this," said the President of the Association, "they are prepared to threaten destruction to our economy—to scuttle Phase II and let labor caused inflation run free in the country again."

This conference must serve as a sharp warning to American workers of what the bosses and the government are preparing. Nixon will use the war howls of the employers to first get the labor bureaucracy to stop its resistance to the Pay Board. But this is but the first step to bringing the unions under the direct control of the state, destroying them as independent organizations to defend the interests of the working people. Clearly, the employers will not rest until the unions are smashed.

What worries the big businessmen most of all is the independent movement of the working class which "threatens" the very existence of the system. This is really the question raised at Bal Harbour when some said the only alternative to Nixon is Meany. The labor movement cannot go a step further without confronting the government. The only alternative to Nixon is the independent political mobilization of the American working class. This is what the capitalist class fears above all else.

This is the question of the construction of a labor party, a labor party for '72. Unless this party is constructed now the big corporations will have their way.

This is the question that was skirted at Bal Harbour and is being skirted now by the trade union bureaucracy to avoid an all out confrontation with the state. The days of "no politics in the unions" is over. And when we say politics we do not mean what the trade union bureaucracy and its supporters in the Communist Party have in mind—support to the Democratic Party, to "Nixon's associates," or to coalition with a section of the capitalist class.

The lesson from Bal Harbour and from the NAM conference is that the only way forward for the American working class is through the construction of a labor party to destroy the capitalist system.

This is why we do not accept for a moment the arrogant statement made by the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness at the recent peace conference that the only alternative for those who want to oppose Nixon and the Democrats is her reformist middle class campaign. Jenness' contention only reveals the SWP's contempt for the working class.

The labor party can and must be built for '72.



'I can't shut the damn thing off.'

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

In that period a sharp factional situation had developed inside the Twin Cities branch between V.R. Dunne and Henry Schultz. The struggle was not over principle but itself a reflection of the turn of the SWP as a whole away from questions of theory. Fine was sent to the Twin Cities by Cannon with Dobbs' consent to mediate the situation. He became organizer of the branch and utilized that position to drive the Schultz group out of the party.

In the course of this work Fine recruited a young student from Carleton College by the name of Jack Barnes. Barnes, trained carefully by Fine, rose quickly within the SWP resting on Fine's influence with Cannon. Just as Fine could operate independently of Weiss so Barnes in time learned the liabilities of association with either Fine or Cannon. For Barnes, Fine was a stepping stone to the important position he now holds with Dobbs' blessing in the SWP apparatus.

Next in Fine's travels was a trip to New York. This time he was imported to do a job on the minority tendency which was later to become the Workers League. His task was a rather tricky one. He had to remove the majority of the youth leadership which supported the opposition without handing the youth leadership over to the minority which was made up of supporters of Weiss within the party.

To accomplish this delicate task he was made organizer of the New York Branch replacing Dobbs' supporter Dick Garza and at the same time special Political

Committee representative of the SWP to the YSA. Barry Sheppard and Peter Camejo were imported from Boston and the job was accomplished relatively easily. Fine did not for a moment wince at having to do in not only the opposition but his old personal friends and collaborators of the Weiss group.

Having done his dirty work he was no longer of use to Dobbs though of considerable use to Cannon in keeping his finger in things right in the center of New York. Fine had to go as organizer. And who was to replace him? Why not his own protege, Jack Barnes? So it was arranged. Soon thereafter, having outfoxed himself, and really no longer having any purpose in remaining in the party, Fine dropped out—and for the moment out of active politics as well.

Now Fine turns up once again this time as a member of the International Socialists! The IS group are the present day followers of Max Shachtman. They hold, along with Shachtman, to the theory that the workers states are a new form of class society and should not be defended under any circumstances against imperialism.

James P. Cannon, to his everlasting credit, fought every moment of his life for the defense of the workers states. Cannon knew Shachtmanism and he rightly hated and despised it. Cannon joined the Communist Party in 1919 to defend the Soviet Union and he left it in 1928 to defend the Soviet Union against Stalinism. He fought along side Trotsky

in 1940 against the Shachtman minority. Today his protege joins the Shachtmanites!

We must also note that Carl Fine poured slander after slander over the heads of the minority tendency inside the SWP at the time stating that this tendency was giving in to class pressures like Shachtman because of its refusal to support the liquidation of Trotskyism under the banner of Castroism. Now it is Fine who ends up with the Shachtmanites while the Workers League takes forward its principled fight for the defense of the October Revolution, its conquests in the new property forms of the workers states, and its program which Stalinism today seeks to destroy.

Fine joined the SWP in its difficult years. He was trained only on the basis of its worse features of clique maneuvers and petty politicking. He politically reflected Cannon's backside just as Barnes today reflects Fine's backside. His evolution must stand as a bitter lesson to all those youth in the YSA and SWP today who find their lives taken up in petty maneuvers and second rate organizational matters.

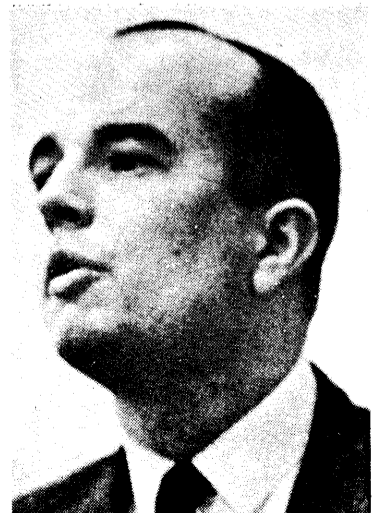
We urge that these youth pause for a moment and pick up a work of Lenin and Trotsky, read it through and think about it in the light of the struggle to construct the party today. We are speaking to those youth who at least listened to the Workers League last weekend. To those who laughed when Pat Connolly spoke of dialectical materialism, there is nothing to say. Trotsky said it all in In Defense of Marxism.



Farrell Dobbs



Max Shachtman



Jack Barnes



THE DEATH OF Leon Trotsky in 1940 was a tremendous blow to the Fourth International. The Fourth International was not just the individual Trotsky but a living movement in which Trotsky struggled against all those forces who sought to abandon Marxism. But this process had only just begun and the assembling in this process of a cadre educated in Marxism and experienced in the class struggle was still at a very preliminary stage.

Most important in this regard was Trotsky's struggle with the Socialist Workers Party. This was actually Trotsky's major preoccupation the last year of his life. The struggle against the petty-bourgeois opposition, led by Shachtman, Burnham and Abern, marked a turning point in the whole history of Marxism because it was an open struggle over the question of Marxist philosophy itself. It was therefore to chart the course the Fourth International would have to follow if it was to be prepared for a new period of revolution.

Following the 1940 fight Trotsky turned his attention to the political and theoretical development of the remaining SWP leadership around James P. Cannon (See: *The Struggle For Marxism in the United States* by Tim Wohlforth). But this process had barely begun when he was killed. Trotsky recognized that he had little time left and he also recognized that the American

Paris arrested a French woman comrade, and then as a result three other comrades, among them Comrade Widelin, who was at the time living illegally in Paris. The fate of these four comrades was among the most fantastic of that period.

"One of the comrades, arrested and transferred to the central headquarters of the Gestapo in Paris, was able, by jumping out of a second-storey window, to escape. Two others, two women comrades, were sent to a concentration camp in Germany. One of them had the good fortune to survive, and is now living in England, married to an English comrade. The other, after an ill-omened escape in Germany in the winter of 1944, was recaptured, tortured, and driven insane; she died in deportation. As for the fourth comrade, Comrade Widelin, he was taken to the Bois de Vincennes in Paris and shot.

"Yet he did not die. Left for dead in the woods, he was found still alive by a person who transported him to the Rothschild Hospital in Paris. From there we received a message from him, and we decided on and organized an attempt to carry him off. But at the last minute a member of the hospital staff warned the Gestapo, which was able to transfer him to its own headquarters before we could intervene. The Gestapo then finished off Comrade Widelin a second time, and definitively.

"I shall also quote the case of the Greek Comrade Pouliopoulos, former secretary of the Greek Communist Party, who, before being executed by the fascists in 1943, addressed the execution squad in its own

international movement and its various bodies. We fought the opportunist and sectarian effects of Haston's anti-internationalism right up until February 1950 when he deserted the Trotskyist movement and applied to join the Labour Party.

"Haston undoubtedly reflected the insular nationalism of the working class. He openly advocated and defended empirical thinking as a means for building the revolutionary party.

"In the end he went to the right wing and broke for all time from Marxism.

"It was a fitting end, but it may well not have happened in this way had it not been for the struggle which the present leadership of the SLL carried out against him in defence of the programme and policies of the Fourth International.

"Having corrected the mistake made in 1938 we have always insisted and defended the principle that it is impossible to build a revolutionary party in Britain except through the clearest understanding of the role of the Fourth International. We subordinate always building of this party to our international obligations. Any other course would be a return to the barren nationalist course of Haston and company." (2)

The real development of British Trotskyism came through those who rooted themselves in the British working class while throwing themselves into the construction of the Fourth International confronting all the difficult problems which the international movement faced in that period. In fact out of the greatest difficulties of struggling against a petty bourgeois and



## 2 The Fourth International Under Michel Pablo

# TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



by  
Lucy St. John  
& Tim Wohlforth

party would have to play an important role in continuing the work of the Fourth International after his death. Thus the attention he gave to the SWP in that period.

### THE WAR PERIOD

It was therefore a very weak movement, only beginning to develop an understanding of Marxism, largely isolated through no fault of its own from the mainstream of the mass movement, which had to face up to all the difficulties of the war. The war made it impossible for the Fourth International to actually function in any sort of organized international way. In addition, the Trotskyists were to face special repression not only from the Nazis but also from the "democratic" camp and especially from the Stalinists.

Michel Pablo describes the role of the European Trotskyists of that period:

"We lost during the war a large number of the leading cadres of our movement, long-time revolutionary militants well-known in their respective countries, such as Comrade Marcel Hic, general secretary of our French organization, dead in a concentration camp in Germany, the Belgian comrades Lesoil and Leon, who suffered the same fate, the Italian comrade Blasco, victim of Stalinist repression at the moment of the 'liberation,' the Greek comrade Pouliopoulos, executed by the fascists in Greece in 1943, the German comrade Widelin, and so many others.

"The only public trials that the Nazis dared to hold in continental Europe were in Holland and Austria, against Trotskyist or pro-Trotskyist militants. As a result of these trials, several of them were executed. In the United States, Britain, Ceylon and India, countries on the 'democratic' side, only Trotskyist leaders were imprisoned for their consistent struggle against the war and against imperialism.

"The attitude of several Trotskyist militants during this period, among humanity's blackest, was truly heroic and in every way worthy of that taken, according to the reports of most objective observers, by their Russian comrades, victims of Stalinist repression.

"I shall permit myself to quote some examples. "The German comrade Widelin was the editor-in-chief of the only printed periodical published during the occupation of Europe which preached a policy of international fraternization with the German workers in uniform. This paper was called *Arbeiter und Soldat*, and was distributed in France, Belgium, and elsewhere among the German soldiers. One day the Gestapo in

tongue, producing a real mutiny among them. The soldiers refused to fire on him and his companions, and it was the officers who had to execute them with their revolvers."-(1)

The important point is that despite its own confusion, despite the death of Trotsky, despite the tremendous weight of repression from the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, Trotskyism survived the war period. Its record during the war was far, far from that of the Second International during World War I. It was on the whole a record to be proud of—a small hounded force which maintained the banner of internationalism while all other tendencies were wrapping themselves in the flags of their own countries.

### THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE

Some additional understanding of the strengths of Trotskyism in this period and that which immediately followed the war can come from a look at the experience of the British section. Gerry Healy, the present General Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, described this period:

"Shortly before the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938 the Workers' International League opposed the unification of British Trotskyists on the tactical grounds that it was necessary to discuss our attitude towards entry into the Labour Party before unification could be achieved. This was a serious mistake which certainly had at its roots a rejection of international responsibilities in favour of a nationalist approach.

"But it was corrected in 1943 when some of the present leaders of the Socialist Labour League re-analysed their mistake and explained its origin within the movement.

"The correction was made at the second National Congress of the Workers' International League in September 1943 and it was bitterly opposed by the overwhelming majority of those present, led by Jock Haston, now educational director for the right-wing Electrical Trades Union.

"Despite this it brought the movement back to a political understanding of internationalism so much so that by March 1944 reunification had been achieved and the Revolutionary Communist Party was founded.

"Haston and his majority continued to oppose the policies of the Fourth International, especially towards work inside the Labour Party. During this period, from 1943 onwards, we collaborated closely with the

unprincipled majority leadership came the understanding to tackle the more fundamental challenge to Trotskyism which was to develop in the next stage of the history of the Fourth International under Pablo. In this period Cannon in particular and Pablo as well were able to play a progressive role in the development of the British movement by bringing to it the experience and theoretical understanding developed in an earlier period under Trotsky.

### THE BIRTH OF PABLOISM

Gerry Healy wrote in his *Problems of the Fourth International* the following assessment of the experience of the movement in the postwar period:

"Once a Marxist departs from a continuous study of the workers' movement from the standpoint of the struggle to build the revolutionary party, he departs from the science of Marxism and becomes an impressionist." (3)

The immediate postwar period was characterized by an upsurge of the working class in all countries. In many countries—most of Europe and Asia—this meant a pre-revolutionary situation in which the conditions were being created for actual socialist revolution. The greatest danger was the role of Stalinism which sought to break this class movement by tying the workers parties to capitalist coalition governments. Only this treacherous role of Stalinism allowed the bourgeoisie time to begin its restabilization.

The bourgeoisie laid its plans for restabilization of capitalism at Bretton Woods in 1944. The decision to accept the dollar as equivalent of gold laid the basis for an inflationary boom which would allow the bourgeoisie to postpone for a period the confrontation with the working class in the advanced countries. On the same basis capital was pumped into Europe to bring about a certain temporary growth there.

It is important to understand that the political basis which allowed the capitalists the time to institute these measures was the role of Stalinism in sabotaging the postwar revolutionary class movement. At the same time the measures instituted to revive capitalism for a period were in themselves explosive and would lay the basis for a renewal of the capitalist crisis on a deeper level than before the war. This is, of course, what we are experiencing today.

Conditions, thus, right after the war were very favorable for the development of the Fourth International and at the same time that development was an extremely urgent task because of the treachery of Stalin-



ism. These conditions would soon turn into their opposite creating the very difficult conditions of the '50s for the revolutionary movement.

It must also be kept in mind that the Trotskyist movement emerged from the war period very much weakened particularly in Europe because of the repressions of the war. It had passed through some five years since the death of Trotsky without it being possible for the Fourth International itself to have a really fully developed life. Thus it had had little time to prepare itself for a period of class struggle which was to be relatively brief in duration. No sooner would it begin to mature than unfavorable conditions would again engulf it.

Above all these were conditions very trying to a new leadership and absolutely disastrous for those who stood aside from the life of the working class spinning theoretical webs on the basis of their impressions.

Key to the development of the Fourth International was the relationship of Pablo and the group around him in Europe to the Socialist Workers Party and its leadership. Clearly the SWP leadership was more experienced, more prepared, for the leadership of the Fourth International than the European intellectuals who, through no fault of their own, had little or no experience in the workers movement and little or no roots in the old pre-war Trotskyist or even Communist movement.

As we have discussed elsewhere (See: **The Struggle For Marxism in the United States** by Tim Wohlforth) the SWP refused to take up an international lead. Instead it simply offered its support to Pablo hoping that Pablo would in turn produce the necessary manifestoes and general instructions for conducting the Fourth International. The SWP turned sharply in a nationalist direction developing the theory that despite the restabilization of capitalism in Europe there could be a revolution in America. Cannon reacted in an impressionistic manner to the class movement in the United States at the time leaving his movement unprepared theoretically for the cold war McCarthyite period to come.

Michel Pablo was a man with no real credentials. He had played an active role in the organizational work of the Fourth International in Europe during the war but this experience could not be real experience in constructing parties on a day to day basis confronting all the difficulties raised in developing these parties as part of the movement of the working class. At the same time he was not of the generation of Communists of Lenin's and Trotsky's day nor even out of the period of the founding of the Fourth International. In that period the strongest reflections from both periods was in the SWP which played a very distant role in the day to day life of the European leadership.

Pablo was, of course, not an "evil" man and even had played a role of some heroism during the war and in assisting the comrades in war torn Europe immediately after the war. But he was not theoretically prepared to give leadership to the international movement for such preparation comes first of all from confronting all the day to day problems in constructing the party with theory.

The postwar history of the Fourth International was marked by a tremendous confusion as various intellectuals sought to grapple with new developments but with a formal method. No one really saw the theoretical development of the Fourth International as rooted in Trotsky's struggle in 1940 over the Marxist method. No one understood the vital importance of that struggle in that unless these issues of philosophy were confronted the **Transitional Program** itself could not be carried forward into this new period.

It was the period of restabilization of capitalism—which started in 1947-1948 particularly with the Marshall Plan in Europe—which threw the Fourth International into a complete state of theoretical crisis. However, the discussion which was to dominate the Fourth International in this period did not deal with this capitalist restabilization at all. In fact it denied it was taking place concentrating on an essentially secondary aspect of the restabilization—the consolidation of control over the East European countries by the Stalinists and the establishment of workers states there as a buffer against imperialism.

The central international discussion—initiated at the Second Congress of the Fourth International in 1948—was over the nature of the Buffer Countries. This issue was abstracted from the overall capitalist restabilization made possible by the treacherous role of Stalinism in every country of the world. The discussion was thus distorted from the beginning, a diversion from the central questions of theory facing the Fourth International, and distant from the actual work and life of the sections.

This is why the SWP was to look back upon this discussion as the very model of a "literary discussion" free of factional organization and heat. After all it was all seen very far removed from the actual life of the SWP. Leading members like Hansen would line up with Murry Weiss and Bert Cochran against Morris Stein and Cannon on issues of the class nature of states seen as very far away. Later the factional lines would cut across in very different ways.

The issues involved, were, of course, very important theoretically but these issues were abstracted out of the central question of the assessment of the whole world situation of capitalism and the tasks now con-

fronting the sections. The buffer discussion was thus used, as was the Cuban discussion in 1961, to divert the movement from its real theoretical tasks, to confuse the movement in preparation for the open overthrow of every principle upon which the Fourth International was built. This in turn would lead to the actual liquidation of its cadres.

#### PABLO'S THEORETICAL OUTLOOK

It was in the very course of the buffer discussion that Pablo developed his revisionist theories. These theories find their most complete expression in the article "Where Are We Going?" Here are the central points in Pablo's outlook:

"1. Since the end of the last war we have entered a period essentially different from everything we have known in the past, with tempo of this period speeding up.

"2. In the face of this new period of rapid and abrupt change, it is vital, it is imperative for a real Marxist-revolutionary movement such as ours to overcome the unavoidable discrepancy between its way of thinking, between its theory and the new developments in objective reality." (4)

Here we have the theory of the "new reality." It holds that conditions after the war are unrelated to the conditions before the war. The power of the Soviet Union and its extension into East Europe and the Chinese Revolution altered the world basis of forces in favor of socialism. This outlook meant that the whole **Transitional Program** and strategy upon which the Fourth International was founded had to be thrown out as this program and strategy was rooted in the understanding of the centrality of the struggles of the working class under objective conditions determined by the decay and crisis of capitalism. Since the objective conditions were now seen as drastically altered the program could no longer hold—a new program needed to be developed.

Next comes the prediction of immediate global war which in turn would take on a new character:

"Such a war would take on, from the very beginning, the character of an international civil war, especially in Europe and in Asia. These continents would rapidly pass over under the control of the Soviet Bureaucracy, of the Communist Parties, or of the revolutionary mass.

"War under these conditions, with the existing relationship of forces on the international arena, would essentially be Revolution. Thus the advance of anti-capitalist revolution in the world at one and the same time postpones and brings nearer the danger of general war.

Conversely, war this time means the Revolution. "These two conceptions of Revolution and War, far from being in opposition or being differentiated as two significantly different stages of development, are approaching each other more closely and becoming so interlinked as to be almost indistinguishable under certain circumstances and at certain times. In their stead it is the conception of Revolution-War, or War-Revolution which is emerging and upon which the perspectives and orientation of revolutionary Marxists in our epoch should rest." (5)

War-Revolution becomes the specific expression of the new reality and in turn wipes out all distinctions, programs and past history in the approach to building a Marxist cadre and preparing for the socialist revolution. What this leads to becomes clear as Pablo enunciates his theory of the changing character of Stalinism:

"The Yugoslav affair as well as the march and the victory of the Chinese revolution, also the other unfolding colonial revolutions (Korea, Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines) have demonstrated that the Communist Parties retain the possibility, in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation, that is to say, of finding themselves compelled to engage in a struggle for power." (6)

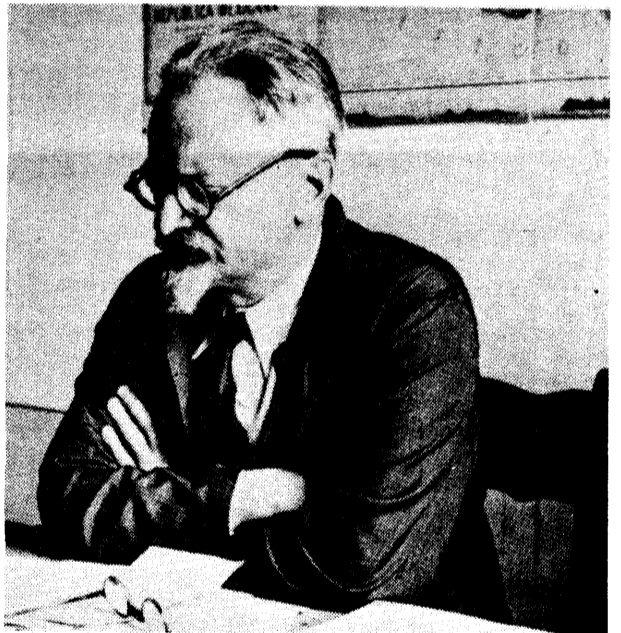
Stalinism is transformed from the counterrevolutionary agent primarily responsible for the restabilization of capitalism which postponed the socialist revolution in advanced countries for decades into a force capable of "roughly" outlining a revolutionary orientation!

And finally no doubt Pablo's most fantastic and liquidationist theory of them all—the theory of centuries of deformed workers states!

"People who despair of the fate of humanity because Stalinism still endures and even achieves victories, tailor History to their own personal measure. They really desire that the entire process of the transformation of capitalist society into socialism would be accomplished within the span of their brief lives so that they can be rewarded for their efforts on behalf of the Revolution. As for us we reaffirm what we wrote in the first article devoted to the Yugoslav affair: this transition will probably take an entire historical period of several centuries and will in the meantime be filled with forms and regimes transitional between capitalism and socialism and necessarily deviating from 'pure' forms and norms." (7)

What this all adds up to is the crassest abandonment of every element of Trotskyism. First the objective situation is seen as so altered by World War II that any of the theoretical conquests of the previous period can be thrown out as no longer applicable. Then added to this is the theory that an imminent world war threatens which will transform this new reality even further. Since the war is seen as a civil war and since on the one side will be imperialism and the other Stalinism, there is no room for Trotskyism except as part of the Stalinist camp.

Then it is openly declared that under these altered conditions Stalinism is no longer counterrevolutionary but "roughly" revolutionary. Finally we are told that the transformation from capitalism to socialism will take centuries and that during these centuries "pure forms and norms" will be inapplicable. By this Pablo



Leon Trotsky during his days of exile in Mexico.



The SLL's fight for the revolutionary party included winning the leadership of the Labour Party's youth, the Young Socialists.



means revolutions like that in October, 1917, led by parties like Lenin's. Instead Stalinist and centrist forces will "roughly" make revolutions creating deformed workers states and even these deformations will not pass away for centuries.

The revisionism here is as drastic as that of Shachtman and its consequences for the Fourth International as fatal as if Shachtman had won in 1940 and become the head of the Fourth International. Pablo was to insist that this theoretical orientation be implemented **no matter what**. This led to the development of the theory of "entrism sui generis"—which means simply entry of a special or unique kind. Writing on this in early 1952 in an article "The Building of the Revolutionary Party," he states:

"...In the entry into the Labor Party the International embarked on the course of long-term work within these movements and organizations through which flow—and most probably will flow for another period—the fundamental current of the class." (8)

"The decision to enter the Labor Party and the conception of the work to be done there was the first new experience of the International and by far the most important in the domain of entrism work in general. It has been developing since then in a manner considerably different, I would say almost qualitatively different, from 'entrism' as it was practiced by our movement in the years 1934-38."

Pablo contrasts his entrism with that developed under Trotsky in the 1930's which he sees as qualitatively different. It is seen as long-term work based on the theory that the working class must "flow" through certain political forms for an extended period and that therefore we must bury ourselves within those forms for an extended period.

Next comes the theory of the construction of centrist tendencies:

"We are not entering these parties in order to come out of them soon. We are entering them in order to remain there for a long time banking on the great possibility which exists of seeing these parties, placed under new conditions, develop centrist tendencies which will lead a whole stage of the radicalization of the masses and of the objective revolutionary processes in their respective countries." (9)

Trotsky saw entry as a temporary but necessary tactic for strengthening the Trotskyist party, building its cadres. Pablo saw entry as a long term strategy whereby a centrist tendency would emerge and this tendency would then, no doubt roughly, develop a revolutionary orientation.

Finally we have the question of entry into the Stalinist parties. Trotsky rejected even short term entry into these parties because their monolithic character would make such entry the equivalent of the liquidation of the thin cadres of Trotskyism. But such considerations did not hold back Pablo. After all there was the new reality which made all kinds of feats possible!

"What is involved in a country like France is carrying through, further and further, a special kind of entrism policy in relation to the organizations and workers under Stalinist influence. This means that the nearer the war approaches, the larger and larger part of our forces must be established in the various political

and trade union organizations led or influenced by the Stalinists, including the French CP, and must remain and work there, with tactics adapted to the character of each of these organizations and governed by the principles of a long-term task." (10)

Since we have noted earlier that Pablo saw Stalinism as projecting a revolutionary orientation and since the general purpose we saw for entry work was to bring about centrist tendencies, needless to say the goal of work in the Stalinist movement was to encourage such centrist tendencies which in turn would roughly project a revolutionary orientation.

#### THE METHOD OF PABLO

In these and other articles Pablo describes the method he used to arrive at conclusions which threw out all the basic fundamentals of Trotskyism and to liquidate the movement to boot. He writes in "Where Are We Going?" of the need for a constant effort at:

"...Dialectically passing beyond every limited notion and discarding all schematism, all doctrinarism and every kind of thinking which is unable to encompass, analyze and comprehend the infinitely rich content of a new reality in full bloom.

"Some comrades have written that, on the eve of the last war, our theory, that is to say, the way in which our collective thinking (the thinking of our movement) grasped the reality of that time, appeared solid, without cracks and fissures. Now, say these comrades, everything seems out of joint..."

"So far as we are concerned, we have never conceded primacy to theory (no matter what the theory) over life since such an affirmation would be fundamentally contrary to the genuine, non-mystical, non-schematic, undogmatic outlook which is Marxism." (11)

In "The Building of the Revolutionary Party" Pablo writes:

"Every mental, intellectual approach to the objective reality is in principle a limited and incomplete approach. Thought seizes some aspects of reality, splits it up, immobilizes it and deprives it of its richer more complex content. Thought necessarily disfigures reality and, in order to be able to grasp it, breaks its unity, its movement. The thought of our movement despite its superiority over non-organized and individual thought (which consequently does not benefit from the discipline and the vigor of collective thought of an international movement having thousands of vantage points for observation and experience) is not exempt from these faults. It too falls constantly behind the objective processes and grasps them only with limitations." (12)

Theory is, of course, a reflection of reality and at best only a partial reflection of a reality which is infinite in its complexity and constantly changing. But what Pablo is really saying is more than this commonplace notion. He is saying that, that theory which is not schematism, not doctrinaire, which reflects the immediate "new reality" most accurately is the theory closest to life, is the greener rather than greyer theory.

This is nothing more than an open argument for empiricism and pragmatism the philosophy of the bourgeoisie. Marxist dialectics approaches this question differently. It recognizes that reality is both abstract and concrete. The real world encompasses the relationship between things as they change into their opposites, the underlying preparation for outward change, as well as the surface, the concrete, the imme-

diately appearance. Dialectics holds that it is changes in the essential relations which in turn bring about a change in appearance. But at any given moment the underlying development does not reflect itself in the surface. This is why Marxism proceeds from an historical point of view and approaches new phenomena with a body of theory accumulated from the past.

If we approach Pablo's theories with these methodological points in mind we can begin to see why he presented the theories that he did, and why these in turn led to the liquidation of the movement. Pablo reacted particularly to the restabilization of world capitalism in the 1947-50 period and the consolidation of Stalinism over the workers states in an empirical and impressionistic way. He abstracted these developments from the historical development of capitalism up to that point by asserting that a "new reality" existed. He looked at only the surface of developments at the time refusing to bring to bear the power of the theoretical capital accumulated by the Marxist movement of the past.

Thus he could not see Stalinism's consolidation over East Europe as a subordinate aspect of imperialism's resurgence in Europe which in turn was based in large part on Stalinism's earlier betrayals. Thus he actually denied that any stabilization or reversals were taking place. And he, of course, could not therefore proceed to an understanding of how the capitalist boom, which dominated the surface of Europe and America, was based on certain inflationary measures and compromises with a powerful and undefeated working class which would have to give way in the next period to a resurgence of the class struggle in these countries.

Pablo saw the world revolution as an abstraction which was moving ever onward. But he could not help but be aware that the actual independent struggles of the working class were receding in this period. Thus he saw revolution developing quite independently of the working class' own actions through the action of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the bourgeois nationalists in the colonial countries, the social democratic and trade union bureaucracies, etc.

Pablo was an empiricist of a very special kind. He was the impressionist par excellence. That is he developed theories on the basis of immediate appearance and then projected that appearance into the indefinite future. What he thought was happening he insisted would continue to happen and develop further and further. Therefore, the development of the Cold War and the Korean War is simply projected into the future indefinitely absorbing all political questions, being conducted under conditions of the "new reality," subordinating everything else to it. Therefore, the social transformations in the buffer areas become projected ahead for centuries as the model for the transformation from capitalism to socialism.

Today Pablo's impressions seem wild and absurd. They did not appear that way at the time. Today his impressions can be easily dismissed by--an empiricist and impressionist. After all anyone who observes the surface can see that instead of centuries of Stalinist states we have mounting revolution against Stalinism and instead of War-Revolution we have a growing movement against war which can go over to revolutionary action. But if Pablo's views are dismissed in this surface way, they can simply be replaced with new impressions which will in time lead to equally disastrous results. This is how the modern day Pabloites of the Mandel-Hansen United Secretariat act today.

The development of Pabloism in the post war period has made all the sharper the lessons of Trotsky's struggle against the pragmatic Burnham-Shachtman-Abern tendency just before the war. If the Marxist method is abandoned then the whole historical development of Marxism within the Marxist movement, its programmatic achievements which are summed up in the **Transitional Program**, are broken away from their connection with the new period. The new period viewed isolated from this past development and this theoretical capital itself can go through no development isolated from new developments.

The bringing of past lessons of program into the new situation is itself a dialectical process. Human thought, no matter how immediate, is past, abstract, dead, the moment it is conceived and therefore is negated by the actual developments taking place at the moment. If this process is viewed in an active sense, then we get to the heart of how knowledge develops. It is only by taking the past into the present and through the collision which results that knowledge grows. But this is an active process of the conscious Marxist fighting as part of a party to change the actual material world, the actual consciousness and activities of the working class.

This is why Marxism can only be developed in a party and a party develop as a leadership of the class if it strives at every point to be conscious. Pablo turned his back on the day to day life of the party in the class, scoffed at the historical development of Marxism embodied in the past analysis, programmatic positions and experience of the party, and proceeded on the basis of his impressions alone. This was a petty bourgeois method which, as with Shachtman, reflected the bourgeoisie.

One cannot build a movement against the bourgeoisie on the basis of its method of thinking. This elementary point, which Trotsky emphasized a hundred times during the fight with Shachtman, is again the central lesson of



Pabloite meeting in 1966 where SLL speaker (left) was prevented from speaking because the SLL attacked Stalinism.



Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL.



the experience with Pablo. It would be necessary to struggle for another decade before the Trotskyist movement began to absorb this lesson.

#### AN ASSESSMENT OF ENTRISM

In the whole postwar period there has been only one Trotskyist party which has been able to conduct any serious and successful entry work—the Socialist Labour League. It is not accidental that this party has been in the forefront of the struggle against Pabloism. The SLL was able to win the leadership of the Labour Party youth the Young Socialists, hold this leadership for two consecutive years, and then bring the entire youth out forming an independent working class youth movement. Throughout this whole struggle it faced the most bitter opposition from the supporters of Pablo who lined up with the right wing leadership.

The SLL proceeded from the strategy of constructing the revolutionary party seeing entry work as a tactical matter. The Pabloites proceeded from the strategy of entrism seeing its aim as constructing a "broad centrist tendency." So in the end it was the SLL which was able to win forces to the movement while the Pabloites remained a very weak force which time and time again lined up with the Labour Party bureaucracy.

Gerry Healy summed up the entry experience in his *Problems of the Fourth International*:

"In order to liquidate the Fourth International Pablo insisted in practice that entry was a principle. He then went on to adapt his weak forces to the prevailing centrist currents within the social-democracy.

"Gradually they completely lost their political bearings and became centrists themselves...

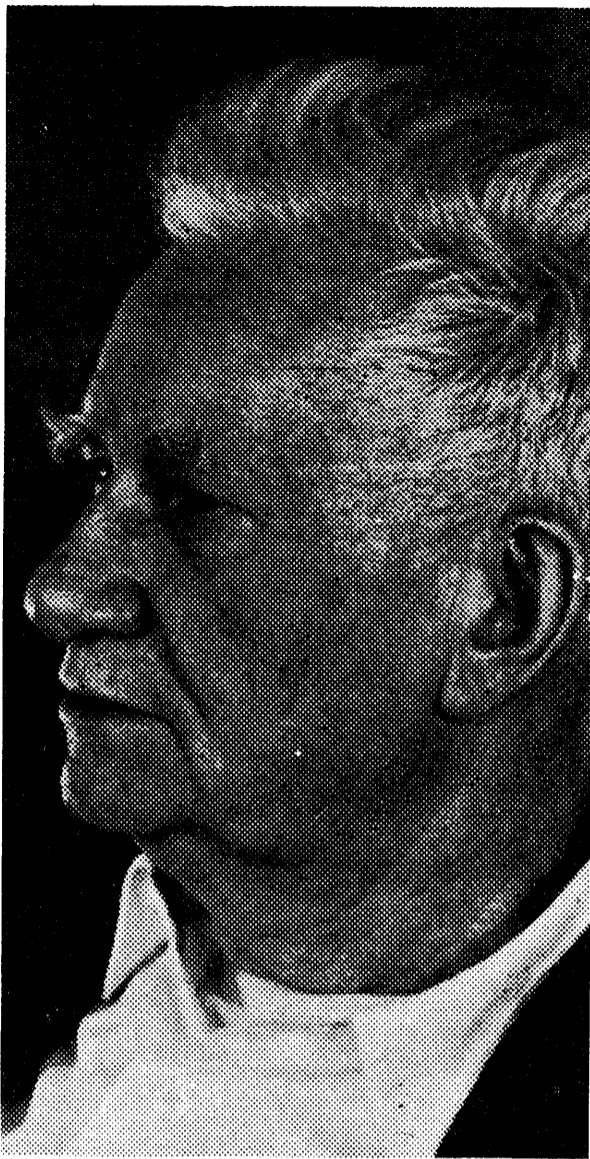
"Entry cannot be successfully carried out unless there is a strong independent revolutionary party functioning actively in the daily experiences of the working class.

"Only under exceptional circumstances can total entry of a section of the Fourth International be contemplated, and even then it will be absolutely essential for those who enter to be actively engaged in the struggle of the class so that they can bring their experiences into the fight against the right wing of the apparatus.

"The essence of the entry tactic is that the revolutionary party and its leadership must constantly function within the working class independent of entry whilst at the same time utilizing its experiences to fight the right wing.

"Pablo, Germain and company turned their backs on the struggle of the working class and concentrated instead on a verbal centrist argument against the bureaucratic right wing." (13)

The modern day Pabloites have also had some time to look back and make some sort of assessment of entrism. In actual fact these groups have abandoned entry work in the current period because they have been adapting to the movement of the students which has taken place largely outside the traditional mass working class parties. In fact these youth have been extremely hostile to any kind of relationship with the working class and therefore to confronting in any way the mass social democratic and Stalinist parties.



James P. Cannon would not take up the political leadership of the Fourth International.

Faced with opposition within their own ranks to their former entrism, the United Secretariat was forced to make some sort of assessment. This appeared as "Draft Resolution On Our Tactics In Europe" and was submitted by the United Secretariat to the "Third World Congress Since Reunification" which was held in 1969. The "Congress" took no stand on it.

First, the document assesses the mistakes in assessment of the period—an assessment which played such an important role in motivating the special or unique entry:

"The citing of conjunctural factors proved some time later to have been in error, the economic perspective turning out to be completely the reverse and giving way to a prolonged favorable cycle, the danger of war was

postponed." (14)

One would think that at this point the document would probe the reasons for such drastic errors in conjunctural perspectives. Nothing of the kind takes place in the document. At least one would think that the entrism which was based on this erroneous perspective would now be re-evaluated. Quite the contrary:

"Taking everything into account, despite the error committed with respect to the conjuncture in 1952-53, it was not possible at the time to project any other tactic than entrism." (15)

Then it is pointed out that without entrism:

"...The road is opened wider to sectarianism toward the labor movement as it is. This danger threatened our movement for a long time owing to the conditions under which it was formed. It developed to a high degree in organizations like the OCI and the SLL as has been seen during the period of political upsurge." (16)

Under all conditions, the modern day Pabloites urge, fight the danger of "sectarianism" which has actually carried through principled entrism and built independently the forces for a daily Trotskyist paper! Perhaps there has been at least an assessment of the way entrism was carried through in that earlier period—the way which led to the splitting and liquidation of large sections of the Trotskyist movement. After all Pablo's impressionism and entrism did more to demoralize and disperse the Trotskyist cadres all over the world than the repression of Hitler and Stalin combined! But no, the very centrist outlook of entrism is reaffirmed:

"Being based on the development of leftward moving currents inside the old organizations, the entryist tactic was viewed essentially as a long-term action. From this standpoint, our members sought to avoid being too much in the forefront, to avoid being expelled prematurely, and distinguished themselves relatively little from the more critical elements who genuinely belonged to these formations." (17)

At the very same time as the United Secretariat was reaffirming this liquidationist approach toward work inside social democratic parties, it was preaching guerilla warfare in the colonial countries and adapting to every variety of adventurism of the petty bourgeois radicals. How absurd it is for Joseph Hansen of the SWP to isolate out the adventurist side of the United Secretariat from its reformism and opportunism!

The Pabloites today are incapable of making any assessment of their own history. The reason for this is that they maintain the same empirical and impressionist method and continue their links with the petty bourgeoisie. They can "see" the collision between their faulty impressions of yesterday and the current reality but they refuse to probe this question to its methodological roots. Thus they must persist in playing the same essential role in the new appearance. Thus they can make no contribution to the construction of a Marxist movement. In fact a Marxist movement can only be built in the most implacable struggle against them.

That struggle began with the Open Letter that the SWP issued in 1953 and the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is to the history of the International Committee that we next turn.

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# BOOKS

ED SMITH

**THE FAMILY. The Story of Charles Manson's Dune Buggy Assault Battalion. By Ed Sanders. Dutton, N.Y. 1971.**

The West Coast of the United States has reflected the capitalist crisis in a particularly explosive and contradictory manner. On the one hand we have seen the Watts rebellion, the development of the Black Panthers, the rock-throwing demonstrations of unemployed workers and youth against Nixon in San Jose. But on the other, we see the rise of the drug culture, occultism, the Haight-Ashbury, Jesus Freaks—the development of every middle class mania in response to the exacerbation of the class struggle.

Because of California's contradictory and explosive position in American capitalism, all of these trends are forced to express their logic here much sooner and more clearly than many other parts of the country. Here is the value of Ed Sanders' chronicle of the commune "family" of Charles Manson, responsible for the notorious murders of Sharon Tate and others during the summer of 1969. Through Sanders' painstaking search we are able to unravel the whole "counterculture" thread of psychedelism, mysticism, hippieism, and all the rest to its reactionary conclusion.

Manson came into the counterculture from the lumpenproletariat. He was a small-time thief, hustler, pimp, and jailbird attracted to bohemianism precisely for the lure of its self-indulgence. Quickly orientating himself in the Haight, he set himself up as a guru with his own line of mystical claptrap, and soon found himself with a coterie of devoted followers.

Some were fellow lumpens, but most were from demoralized sections of the middle class that Engels once put under the heading of "the frenzied petty-bourgeoisie," driven to distraction by a crisis none of them could understand. Some of Manson's periphery were quite well placed in the cultural framework, like Beach Boys member, Dennis Wilson. Others were offscourings of the student radicalism of the sixties.

## LOGIC

What makes Manson's evolution notable was that he and his group followed out the logic of this class trend sooner than most. Under the pressure of the crisis refracted into his sordid milieu, Manson discarded the earlier peace-and-love formulae he had picked up in 1967 for predictions of imminent apocalypse (so popular today among the middle class) and the end of the world.

There was a strong admixture of racism (Manson thought apocalypse would arrive through an impending race war), religion (besides leading his devotees to believe in his own divinity, Manson was a great student of the Bible), and pure myth and irrationality. The "family" believed in a hole in the earth leading to an inner world under the earth's surface to which they would repair to escape the apocalypse.

Manson was not an original thinker. He obtained and developed these themes from various groups crazed by idealism that always float like scum to the surface in a period like this. There were the motorcycle gangs, particularly the "S.S." variety (Straight Satans, Satan's Slaves), whom Manson hoped to make into a paramilitary arm, who in turn maintained relations with the Ku Klux Klan. There were the Satanists, the sado-masochistic religious cults, the rabid offspring and split-offs from the Scientology cult, like the Process Church of Final Judgment (another protofascist group of apocalyptic Hitler-admirers), the Nichiren Shoshu Buddhist clerical fascists, Esalen Institute, Transactional

Analysis—the whole middle class hysteria in the period of the breakup of the middle class. By the end there were the devotees of videotaped animal and human sacrifice, and Manson at his trial carving a swastika on his forehead.

This milieu out of which the Manson commune arose and in which sections of the middle class immerse themselves today, Sanders puts in the class of "psychedelic fascism."

In this connection it is interesting to examine an account by the French writer Daniel Guerin published in the thirties on the "Wild-frei" bands or communes of youth in pre-Hitler Germany.

## REBELS

"One Sunday out in the suburbs of Berlin we met a strange troop by chance on the road...They had the most bizarre headgear: black or grey derby hats of the sort Charlie Chaplin wore, old ladies' hats with the sides decorated by little bunches of feathers and medals...half-nude torsos emerging from t-shirts frayed away into tatters, arms marked with fantastic or obscene tattoos, ears loaded with earrings and rings, and leather shorts topped by big triangular belts, also made of leather, covered with mystical figures, human profiles, inscriptions like 'wild and free' and 'bandits'..."

"But what he said was enough for us to learn we had before us a wild clique, a savage band, a gang of disoriented and asocial adolescents, a commune of kids rejected by the community....To escape the temptation of suicide, they create their own fantasy world, a world based on precepts that are entirely different from those accepted by the usual morality, a world given over to the most unbridled instincts, a world filled with hate for the society that has abandoned them....What is the significance of their motto, 'wild and free'? 'Wild-free' means savage and free, rebels against all authority, rebels and not revolutionaries."

Two years after he had met this band,

Guerin's journalist informant on these groups told him of another encounter with the gang's leader:

"After Hitler had come to power, she met in the streets of Berlin a powerful and sinister Brown Shirt, the member of a Sturmabteilung. She was surprised when the Nazi spoke to her familiarly, even with affection. Finally she recognized him. It was the guru of the clique she had made friends with..."

Guerin's account makes clear why this book and the events it describes must be taken as a serious warning to the working class movement, and the minorities.

Finally we must take up the role of author Sanders himself in all this. Starting out in the late fifties as one of the "Beat" group of writers, Sanders was very much involved in the whole wave of middle class radical protest and "countercultural" bohemianism.

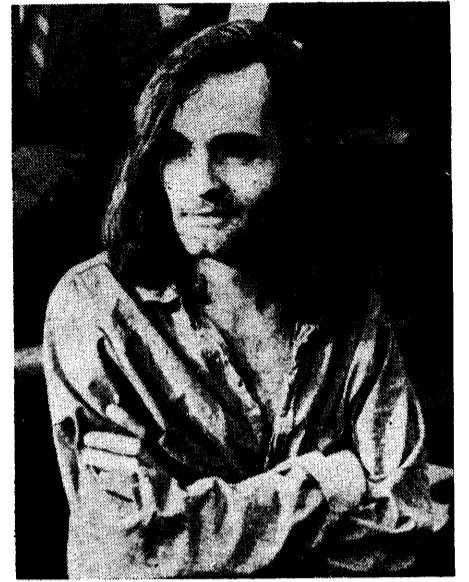
With such luminaries as Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin he was an organizer of the Yippies and a sponsor of the demonstrations at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention. By 1969, as Manson was moving toward the murderous culmination of his career, Sanders was writing in the "underground" press urging formation of "sex-dope-magic collectives" that would "snuff pigs" in exemplary actions in an "apocalypse" of human culture. In this he only anticipated such middle class radicals merging into reaction as the Weathermen, who after the Tate murder promptly issued a bumper sticker proclaiming "Manson Power—Year of the Fork!"

Now that his perspective has been taken in earnest, Sanders recoils in horror. He ends his book thus:

"Without a doubt the trials will continue. For justice demands it. And only when all these evil affairs are known and exposed can the curse of ritual sacrifice, Helter Skelter and satanism be removed from the coasts and mountains and deserts of California."

From an all-out countercultural revolutionary, Sanders finds himself tur-

# The Family



Charles Manson.

ning for salvation to—the Los Angeles County Police. From super-rebel to partisan of "the forces of order." We can be certain he will be far from the last such.

Despite Sanders' antipathy for Manson's deeds both of them shared and continue to share a refusal to probe the material basis of society's crisis—class contradictions. Instead they preferred to stick with the traditional American ideology of idealism. Now while Sanders condemns the Mansons he has no way to deal with the society that spawns them.

Above all we must view Sanders' book as a confirmation in every respect of the fight of the Marxist movement against the bourgeois ideology and middle class frenzy that produces phenomena like Manson, while the revisionists stampede in pursuit after them. By struggling on the basis of Marxism we will be able to build a movement that can put an end to capitalism and its "Mansons" of every variety for good.

# FILMS

LOU BELKIN

# Carnal Knowledge

**CARNAL KNOWLEDGE. Written by Jules Feiffer. Directed by Mike Nichols. Starring Arthur Garfunkel, Jack Nicholson, Candice Bergen, Ann-Margaret.**

In the mid-fifties, television witnessed its most creative period in comedy. Groucho Marx, George Burns, and Gracie Allen put out television comedy week after week. New talent came upon the scene as well—Lenny Bruce, Ernie Kovacs, Gleason, Mike Nichols and Elaine May.

Nichols and May exploded like a bomb. The couple sought to depict and define boy-girl relationships but on a highly sophisticated level. Mike Nichols generally played the faltering, muttering, stuttering suitor. Elaine May played the "heavy." Sometimes it was quite profound, sometimes coy, sometimes caricaturishly simple. But always the circuitous sexual repartee.

Nichols and May split up. Nichols sought to utilize the improvisational pattern established with Elaine May and integrate himself into the new Hollywood scene. Thus came the unlimited portrayal of sexual attitudes, free use of four-letter words and explicit presentations of nudity. This reflected not so much a permissiveness as an attempt to bolster up an industry in collapse.

"Easy Rider," "The Graduate," "Little Big Man," "Midnight Cowboy" and other full-blown productions sought to express

the liberal, permissive, seemingly intellectual approach to films and to the real world. In actual fact they reflected the very breakdown in society.

With "Carnal Knowledge" the old Nichols-May relationship is revived, but on the grossest, one-dimensional plane. This film purports to treat nothing but sex—the discussion of sex, the fantasizing about sex, the pursuit of sex, the ups and downs of sex, the hang-ups about sex, the sexual distortions and finally the sexual transformations and sexual breakdowns.

## MYOPIC

This myopic piece of cinema seeks to examine twenty years in the lives of Sandy (Arthur Garfunkel) and Jonathan (Jack Nicholson) college pals and roommates in the late forties, wearing saddle shoes, floppy pants and Amherst fraternity sweaters. Jonathan comes from a poor working class home and his father may have been "a Communist." Sandy is a middle-class kid who studies hard, is absolutely naive and sexually thirsty. Jonathan is more sophisticated. He too pursues and thinks of hardly anything else, save of course becoming something and "never being poor again."

Both fall for the same girl (Candice Bergen) in the first part of the film. The scene then dissolves snowy-white and incandescent to an ice-skating rink and an attractively dressed from head to toe in white blonde, eyed by both Sandy and Jonathan. Ten years have passed. Jonathan is a lawyer, Sandy is a doctor. Both are successful but still hungry for "carnal

knowledge."

The second ten year dissolve brings us to the present period. Sandy who has not aged at all, now sports a red moustache and hippie garb. He is still a doctor and has taken up with what looks like a fourteen year old hippie-guru. Jonathan contents himself with looking at pictures of former conquests and sweethearts, most of whom have given him a hard time.

He is losing his sexual prowess, but not his desires. The sexual cravings have by this time twisted him entirely. His subjectivity borders on outright solipsism. The final sequence expresses this twistedness by showing Jonathan and a prostitute (Rita Moreno in an obviously wasted role) who arouses our protagonist by appealing at once to his masculinity and the power of men over women. This symbol is used rather unsubtly throughout the film.

The cartoonist Jules Feiffer who wrote the screenplay and Nichols, the director, while purporting to spoof the exaggerated obsession with sex, both in the cinema and throughout contemporary American history, cannot really go beyond the superficialities of Feiffer's comic strips. The attempt to castigate both sections of the middle class who either enforce full censorship of sexual and moral material or who argue for uninhibited depictions of sex and pornography backfires.

The film nevertheless is a commercial matter and is exploited for its own purposes. That does not bother Nichols at all.



## Center-Left Coalition

# The Communist Party And The Trade

BY DAN FRIED

At a time when the American working class is entering the stormiest period of its history, when the labor bureaucracy is threatened by tremendous struggles of the rank and file against Nixon's attacks, the Communist Party steps up its intervention in the unions in order to divert the struggle of the rank and file, to subordinate it to "progressive" sections of this bureaucracy.

The policy of the Stalinists, while speaking in terms of the "rank and file," is to seek to become the cement, the key element in an alliance of a section of the bureaucracy with the "non-monopoly" capitalists, on a CAPITALIST program of "curbing" the monopolies. The Stalinists do not see the fight for leadership of the working class on a program which will bring that class to power, nationalize basic industry and establish socialism, as the ONLY solution for the working class.

The policy of the Communist Party in the unions has been developed more fully in recent articles in the *Daily World*, especially the reports on the CP National Committee meeting given by National Labor Secretary George Meyers, and in the November issue of *Political Affairs* entitled "The Class Struggle and the Trade Union Movement in the U.S."

### ANTI-MONOPOLY

In his article in *Political Affairs*, Daniel Rubin presents what he calls the CP aim of working "to bring labor forward as an independent class force, heading a great alliance of anti-monopoly sections of society fighting for a common program." We have already shown (see *Bulletin*, Dec. 6) how the Stalinists see this "alliance" or "anti-monopoly coalition" as taking form through capitalist politicians such as Shirley Chisholm both "inside" and "outside" the Democratic Party. We need only add that the *Daily World* has continued to play up the "Dump Nixon Campaign" being pushed by the entire labor bureaucracy. Judging from their reports on the presentation by Senator George McGovern to the AFL-CIO convention, it appears that the Senator is another one of the CP's favored candidates to head the "Dump Nixon," "anti-monopoly coalition" in '72.

In order to understand concretely what Rubin and the other Stalinist writers on the unions are actually proposing and DOING, it is necessary to wade through a good deal of murky Stalinist rhetoric. What Rubin says is that there must be "united action" of "the Left and Center political tendencies among workers...with the aim of becoming the dominant force in labor." This means an alliance of "an organized left which...begins (our emphasis, D.F.) to see socialism as the answer," together with the "Center," on a "common program" which, of course is acceptable to the "Center."

What Rubin means is that rank and file workers influenced or led by the Communist Party must ally with those who are led or influenced by the labor bureaucracy. What Rubin is driving at is an alliance of the CP with the labor bureaucracy or a section of it.

This is revealed in Rubin's boast that, "In the past two years Communists have been quite active in helping Communist and non-Communist workers in the big struggles against G.E., G.M., the steel monopolies and the shipping companies." As the *Bulletin* has also shown over the past two years and as we will show again, what Rubin means is that the CP has covered up for the betrayals of all the bureaucrats involved in these struggles: Fitzgerald of the U.E., Jennings of the I.U.E., Woodcock, Abel and Bridges.

### UNITED FRONT

Rubin spells out the "Marxist" rationale for this policy in his discussion of

the "mistakes" of the CP over the years: "At times we have been anti-leadership on principle, not understanding that while the united front from below is basic, united-front relations with some leaders both reflects the rank and file development and at particular moments can give it an important assist. At times we did not understand that, especially in the presence of a mass upsurge, even some top labor leaders who held Center and even somewhat Right positions may respond to pressure. The rigid pigeon-holing of individuals can unnecessarily eliminate such positive possibilities."

According to Rubin, we should not make a "principle" of the struggle against "some" labor "leaders" (bureaucrats). The Marxist movement under Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, on the contrary saw as a fundamental principle, based on a theoretical understanding of the labor bureaucracy as the "labor lieutenants of capital," the need to defeat these "leaders" within the labor movement, in order to take power. That is the strategy, based on over 130 years of the communist movement which Rubin and the CP call "pigeonholing of individuals."

The tactic of the United Front was



1199 rank and file demonstrate against wage freeze as Stalinists and union leadership seek to divert this militancy.

developed by Lenin and Trotsky at the third and fourth Congresses of the Communist International in the early 1920's, as a means of winning over workers from the grip of the reformist Social Democrats in countries where both the Communists and Social Democrats were mass parties.

At all times this tactic was seen as subordinate to the strategy of leading the working class to power.

### POPULAR FRONT

In his article in *Political Affairs*, "Rank and File in Motion," James West tries to further develop the Center-Left alliance conception. He sees this as flowing from the Stalinist distortion of the united front as an alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie. This conception was developed and named the "popular front" in 1934 by the "theoretical" prostitutes of Stalin-Dimitrov, Manuisky and Kuusinen, who wrote that "A united workers front had now to be raised on a broader scale than before and that the accent in this front's program should not be on the end goal of the Communists but on the most pressing demands of all the workers, chiefly their anti-fascist demands."

According to West:

"In the period of the anti-fascist strug-

gle, the united workers front...objectively targeted in against fascism, and became the rock of granite around which the popular front against fascism was erected." He goes on: "So today, when the united workers front (and, in our country, the rank and file movements can be considered as a basic expression, from below, of this concept) is objectively targeted in on the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggles."

It is important to reiterate that the "popular front" is a class opposite of the "united front," not a development on a higher level. The "popular front" is an alliance between the working class and a section of the capitalist class on the program of the liberal capitalists, ostensibly against fascism, or against "monopoly." Under this banner, the Stalinists subordinated the working class to the bourgeois Loyalist government in Spain. The fascist Franco was allowed to come to power because the Stalinists physically and politically disarmed the only force that could have stopped Franco—the workers.

In the United States, the Stalinists campaigned for Roosevelt before the war in the name of the "popular front," and during the war went into a patriotic frenzy of support for Roosevelt, denouncing the Trotskyists as "agents of Hitler," etc.

With this understanding, we can see that the C.P.'s "united workers front" based on the developing "rank and file movements" in the unions, is an alliance of Communists with non-communist workers and leaders, on a capitalist "minimum" program.

the labor bureaucracy as a whole and working in an alliance with a section of this bureaucracy toward that end. West sees this movement as a "shadow cabinet," much like in England, the "shadow cabinet" of the "Out Party" puts pressure on the cabinet of the ruling "In Party."

According to West:

"It sets the pace for the labor movement; it challenges wrong policies and projects new, class struggle solutions to new and old problems. It compels the labor movement to move by its work inside the trade unions, central labor councils and by its independent initiatives in leading mass action outside the labor movement."

The C.P.'s orientation to a section of the labor bureaucracy in order to pressure Meany is made clear in their reports on the recent AFL-CIO Convention in the *Daily World*. In his report in the Nov. 20 *Daily World*, S.W. Gerson sees an alliance developing of "rank and filers, local leaders and some at higher echelons" who are "going to organize strike movements and political action to defend their contracts and some will go further..."

"Not everybody at the Hotel Americana is a pot-bellied, cigar chomping labor skate. There are a lot of earnest men and women from various regions around the country who are beginning to hear the message of the rank and file. They will applaud Meany—he is an earthy fellow and far smarter than a lot of people think—but they know the realities back home... They'll participate in the 1972 election campaign to dump Nixon in a qualitatively new way."

Despite their lip service to a "one day work stoppage" against Phase II the CP basically accepts the framework of Meany's resolution passed at the AFL-CIO Convention, which according to George Morris in the December 2 *Daily World*, "is not a Meany decision but a position forced by the pressure of millions of workers."

It must be made clear that this "position," this AFL-CIO resolution expresses all the cowardice and vacillation of the bureaucracy as well as an attempt to appease the mass sentiment for withdrawal from the Pay Board. So Meany and the others say they will refuse to cooperate with the Board, but still accept seats on the Board and refuse to break with the Board, refuse to organize a mass mobilization for a general strike against the Board and against Nixon.

But Morris sees that this position of Meany can be made "significant," it can be worked within, not overthrown. That is what Morris means when he writes:

"If the position adopted by the AFL-CIO Convention on the freeze policy is to mean anything, it is the strongest unions, whether they have a validated contract or not, that must provide the basic force to give the resolution substance."

### WAGE FREEZE

At the same time it is clear that the CP accepts the framework of the wage freeze, the entire machinery of Nixon's Phase II, Pay Board and all. This is shown in the *Daily World's* editorial of Dec. 2, which sees the decision of the Pay Board to open the door for certain retroactive payments as the reaction of Nixon to the position taken by the AFL-CIO Convention and above all, to the rumblings among the millions of rank and file unionists." The editorial then proposes—NOT a stepped up fight to smash entirely this Phase II set-up as a trap which is the first step to fascism, but instead proposes more action to put PRES-SURE on Nixon:

"If the workers are to get the increases that are due them during Phase I by contract, they will have to give Nixon more of the same—more protests, more stoppages, more militancy."

What this statement reflects is the pragmatic thinking of the labor bureaucrats that



# Unions

they can somehow get a "better deal" from Nixon. But as Marxists we understand that the actions of the Congress, White House and the vacillation of the Pay Board, all aimed at avoiding a head-on confrontation with the working class, are only designed to give Nixon and ruling class more time to prepare for the kind of union-busting showdown with the trade unions that the capitalists are driven toward in order to maintain their rate of profit. With this understanding we wage a principled fight for the complete independence of the unions from any sort of government regulation, fighting for a general strike and the formation of a labor party.

There is no middle ground, no reformist solution as put forward by the bureaucrats and the Stalinists. To take each case as it comes up and apply pressure as Woodcock so clearly proposed at the UAW Convention is, as we said in November 29's Bulletin: "To subordinate the interests of the workers to the dictates of the capitalist state. ... This is why the central question today is the construction of a conscious leadership in the unions, a Trotskyist leadership based on the principles developed by the Marxist movement which embody the interests of the working class."

The Stalinists proceed from an entirely different standpoint—from the opportunist attempt to relate to the labor bureaucrats, while putting up a "militant," "left" cover. Thus, they engage in campaigns to reach militant rank and file workers on the very real and legitimate issues they face such as racism, speed-up and so forth. But at every point the Stalinists depend on an alliance with a section of the bureaucracy to take up these "issues." Above all, they do not link up the fight against racism, against speedup, against unemployment, with a struggle for SOCIALIST politics, through the demand for nationalization, the fight for a labor party and the building of a Marxist leadership against the bureaucracy.

The history of the CP's relation with the UAW bureaucracy under Woodcock in the last two years will make this clearer. Even though Woodcock at the UAW Convention played the most right wing role of anyone in the entire labor bureaucracy including Meany, and the Daily World was forced to make a certain "criticism" of Woodcock—they still insist that Woodcock is qualitatively different, somehow to the left of the other labor members of the Pay Board. According to George Meyers, in the Nov. 19 DW, Meany, Abel and Fitzsimmons are "class collaborationists" while Woodcock is a "reformist." While Meyers admits that all of them "have utterly failed to provide the workers with any leadership," he is unable to explain why the Communist Party has spent the last two years covering up for this "reformist." (Isn't Woodcock every bit as much a "class collaborationist" scoundrel as the others?)

Even after Nixon's August 15 speech and the start of the wage freeze, they gave Woodcock a big build-up in the Sept. 2 Daily World's report of Woodcock's speech at the Convention of the "left led" United Electrical Workers (UE).

The writer suggested that Woodcock was making a real turn to the left, after having gone along with Nixon's freeze. The report quotes Woodcock as spelling out the very same line the CP is pushing: "The creation of a new progressive political coalition to turn this country around and labor, all labor, must be a leading part of this coalition." What delighted the Daily World reporter is that Woodcock was welcoming the UE, and through them, the CP into this coalition as partners.

"In another unexpected development," reported the Daily World, "Woodcock talked briefly about the split in the labor movement 20 years ago when the CIO, succumbing to a red baiting drive in the nation,

drove out the UE, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, and the other militant and progressive unions from its ranks. 'We should never have split asunder... We in our union helped in the splitting of the labor movement.' However, he emphasized, labor's need today is unity."

A few months earlier George Morris, in the April 22, 1971 Daily World had viciously denounced the Workers League for taking up a fight against Woodcock at a Labor-University Alliance meeting at which he spoke in St. Louis. What was the issue over which Morris takes up the cudgels for Woodcock against Trotskyism? The general strike!

Scarcely more than six months before the adoption of the call for a general strike by many union locals and trade unionists, Morris was defending Woodcock's position at the conference that a general strike in the U.S. is a "romantic illusion." As opposed to our raising of a general strike against the war, Morris counterposed Woodcock's perspective "that efforts be concentrated on getting members of Congress to vote denial of funds for the war in Vietnam." Morris rationalized his capitulation to Woodcock's attack on the general strike (Woodcock also strongly attacked our demand for a labor party) as follows:

"The shop worker and union activist is given the impression that young people believe it takes only some high sounding

rhetoric to bring out a general strike; that they ignore entirely the level of class consciousness, degree of rank and file activity and influence in the unions, and the still considerable influence and organized power of the top labor bureaucracy on the workers."

Morris then went on to imply that any one who called for the general strike at that time were "some sort of 'nuts,' blind to reality."

One thing we must say for Morris. He is not a "nut." He knows that if you propose NOT to fight for a general strike, but instead, capitulate to the "considerable influence and organized power of the top labor bureaucracy," then you must come to the aid of that bureaucracy against the "ultra-left" Trotskyists. This is precisely the role of Stalinism. But today, more and more "nuts" in the labor movement among the rank and file are responding to the fight for a general strike against the freeze and for the building of an independent labor party against Nixon in '72.

Only after sections of the labor movement raised the call for a general strike did the Stalinists attempt to get on the bandwagon, but then they supported this fight mainly in the form of a "one day protest work stoppage" and not as a means to bring the working class up against the ruling class and the capitalist state in preparation for the taking of power.

In his November 20 report on the CP National Committee meeting, Labor Secretary George Meyers wrote: "The corner-

stone of our Party's policy is building united front movements in the rank and file." We can now see a little more clearly that the Stalinist version of this "united front" means sacrificing the interests of the workers to the alliance with the labor bureaucracy and the "liberal" capitalist in accordance with the foreign policy needs of the Moscow bureaucrats. The policy of the Stalinist parties in every country therefore flow not from a principled defense of the working class, but from the opportunist attempts of the Soviet bureaucrats to defend their own privileges through a deal with imperialism, the conscious betrayal of the world revolutionary movement. The lesson for American workers is that these policies have laid the basis for the bloody defeat of the workers under fascism in the 1930's through to the victory of the colonels in Greece, the betrayal of the French general strike in May-June 1968 and the butchery earlier this year in places such as the Sudan and Ceylon.

The Stalinists rely on the hope that the working class has too short a memory and is kept uninformed of the betrayals and the twists and turns that they try to cover up. It is on the basis of a relentless exposure of the history and practice of Stalinism within the labor movement that the Workers League now takes forward the fight for Marxist leadership in the unions under the most favorable conditions for the development of this leadership that have existed since the post war period.

## GERMANY . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

by allowing the Duce of the Italian fascists to tour Germany and address the non-unionized Italian workers. Count Almirante's attempt to drive a wedge within the class showed few signs of success. However, the German workers must guard against such dangers by demanding that the Social-Democratic Government immediately repeal all laws that prevent foreign workers from having full union rights.

### CRISIS

The Social-Democrats, who rule in coalition with the bourgeois Free Democrats, have been thrown into deep crisis by this strike. The bourgeoisie is hurling abuse at Brandt for his "Marxist" orientation while the workers expect the support of their party leadership. But the SPD has already made it quite clear where it stands on the question of capitalism's crisis.

SPD Finance Minister Karl Schiller has unashamedly declared his intention to pursue an economic policy that will serve the interests of the employers. "We are standing directly in front of a recession," stated Schiller last week. "The new revaluation of the mark has hurt the competitive position of our world trade. Our country needs an economic policy that gives our entrepreneurs a firm foundation."

It is this perspective that has won Schiller the admiration of German businessmen. An article in a capitalist newspaper recently remarked that Schiller "never permits the emotion of the class struggle to blur his vision of economic stability."

### "BRAKES"

Like the leaders of the SPD, the trade union bureaucrats are astounded and troubled by the militancy of German workers. The President of IG Metall, Otto Brenner, has called the strike "a national catastrophe." Another trade union leader spoke of the need "to supply brakes" to the movement of the working class.

The desperate tone of the Social-Democrats and trade union bureaucracy reflects their growing awareness that reformism is finished. Chancellor Willy Brandt has still avoided discussion of the strike because

he realizes that his party is in danger of complete exposure before the working class. The SPD and the leadership of the IG Metall union are still searching for a way of hiding their treachery within the framework of an "acceptable" compromise.

### DETERMINED

The industrialists are determined to smash the strike, dismantle IG Metall, and proceed with massive layoffs. At the same time, a quarter century of relative class harmony has not diminished the fighting capacity of the German working class. It has not forgotten the horrors of the Third Reich nor is it entirely unaware of the role played by the SPD in the years before the triumph of Hitlerism.

On the picket line, there has been a marked unwillingness to place complete confidence in the policies of the Government. "Why should we have consideration?" asked one worker, "Schiller hasn't stopped inflation." Another worker, referring to the picket line, merely said, "There's no mercy here."

But as long as there is only a general skepticism about the intentions of the Brandt Government, the workers will not be able to prevent the betrayal that their leadership is preparing. A fight must be taken up within the German working class to force the Brandt Government to support the strike by nationalizing all the industries affected by the strike and lockout under workers' control without compensation. Unless the Social Democrats are exposed once and for all, they will use their influences upon the working class only to lead it to defeat.

### CP

The fight for the construction of a Trotskyist party to lead the German workers is critical at this point. Already, the Stalinists—working through the newly legalized German Communist Party (DKP)—are serving as Brandt's left cover. The DKP claims to have learned from the mistakes of the 1930s, and so instead of the adventurist "social fascist" policy, the Stalinists are pushing for the more

tolerant bloc with the SPD.

### FRAUD

This apology of the DKP for its past mistakes is a total fraud. The German communists have never confronted their past history. Immediately after the surrender of Germany in 1945, the surviving remnants of the DKP reemerged to blame the German working class for the victory of Hitler in 1933. The DKP never examined the roots of the "social fascist" policy that allowed Hitler to come to power without firing a shot. But today the German Stalinists claim that they have learned from their errors.

What the DKP now proposes is a bloc with Brandt in order to head off the revolutionary development of the German working class. In a letter to the Frankfurt Allgemeine, a representative of the DKP wrote that his party answers "ultra-left" students who criticize the SPD and trade union bureaucracy by asking: "Would it not be better if there existed a minimum program of action upon which we all—especially the trade unionists oriented toward social democracy—could struggle?"

### REIMAN

At the Party Conference of the DKP held two weekends ago, the Stalinists reaffirmed their essential support for the "left-moving" Social Democrats. "Every true communist," declared honorary DKP President Reiman, "attempts to maintain a comradely relationship with social democratic comrades and functionaries."

Stalinism is the crutch upon which Brandt will now lean as he moves to break the metal workers' strike. In his dependence upon Stalinism the meaning of the "Ostpolitik" becomes clear. He has invested a great deal of effort in his policy of rapprochement with the East European Stalinists, and now is the time he expects the first payoff. The Kremlin sent a special emissary to the DKP convention, 72 year-old Janovich Pelsche, to urge support and "friendship" toward the Brandt Government.



# INDIA . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

warn that Gandhi is a member of the capitalist class and she will try to contain the mass movement to prevent it from developing into a revolutionary situation.

## DANGER

The danger is that just when victory is in the grasp of the Bengalis, Gandhi will move in with a political settlement that grants "autonomy" but not real independence for Bangla Desh.

At the same time Gandhi has openly declared that India will use the war to pursue its own nationalist interests by capturing whatever parts of Kashmir it can win.

Up until now, Gandhi and her supporters in the Kremlin bureaucracy have refused to take a clear stand on independence.

Indian officials have repeatedly stated that their aim is to es-

tablish a "friendly government" in East Bengal. The Chief of the Eastern Command said: "My aim is to get Bangla Desh to have their own type of government."

The Indian government knows very well that the overwhelming desire of the Bengalis are for independence. Anything short of this will mean a complete betrayal.

The Soviet Union, while forced to militarily support the war, is doing everything in its power within the United Nations to bring the fighting to an end. At a Security Council session it submitted a draft resolution that called for "a political settlement in East Pakistan that would inevitably result in a cessation of hostilities."

The Soviet Union's representatives refused to even allow a delegation from Bangla Desh to speak before the United Nations.

The Stalinists do not recognize Bangla Desh as an independent nation and with their policies seek to prop up the rotting regime of Khan.

The Awami League, rapidly moving to the right as the Bengali masses take their own independent action, is thought to be opposed to intensification of Indian troops.

China has completely lined up with United States imperialism which has cut off all aid to India and throws all the blame on India. It seeks a political deal that will end the revolutionary upsurge of the masses of the subcontinent.

No political deal can secure victory for the Bengal masses. The tremendous forces unleashed in this war will not be easily stamped out. Khan's troops must be defeated and the Bengali masses must fight to establish an independent and socialist Bangla Desh.

# CHILE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

any principled action to strike at the roots of imperialist domination by establishing the real power of the working class (in order not to "antagonize" the bourgeoisie) is opening the road to reaction.

If a break is not made with this policy of betrayal in time then the Chilean workers face a repetition in their own country of the disasters brought on in Europe in the 1930's by the Popular Front. They face a repetition, but on a much broader, much more bloody scale, of the defeat suffered by the Bolivian workers, led by the revisionists and Stalinists into the trap of dependence on the "progressive" military who would be forced by "objective circumstances" to "defend the revolutionary process."

Now Allende proposes to repeat this experience. He turns over the battle against reaction to the Chilean Army. He throws out the window the struggle of the Marxist movement, summarized in Lenin's *State and Revolution*, for the understanding that capitalism's "bodies of armed men," its state, is bound by a thousand threads to the bourgeoisie. It cannot be reformed, it must be smashed.

In a significant incident reported by one correspondent, a woman was stopped by a policeman and asked if she had participated in the right wing demonstration earlier in the day. When she replied she had, the policeman urged her "Keep on marching. We (the police) are with you." And in a report by Christian Science Monitor correspondent James Goodsell on Nov. 29, it is reported that "There is a school of thought here (in Chile) that holds the Army will move against Dr. Allende if it feels

the situation is getting too bad... If Dr. Allende and his supporters move into areas of life affecting traditional freedoms (sic), then the Army might feel justified in acting." Meanwhile Nixon's press agent claims "the Allende Government's days are numbered."

If the Chilean workers follow Allende and Castro and hail the "revolutionary and progressive" spirit of the Chilean military as having more weight than their bourgeois, counterrevolutionary position in capitalist society, then the way will be wide open for imperialism to realize its bloody plans.

The days following the opening of the anti-working class offensive have brought new clashes between the MIR and right-wing thugs, a call for a "plebiscite" on Dec. 21 by the University of Chile's Rector to drive the Po-

# NPAC . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

But underneath it Stalinism can definitely grow and strengthen itself unless we, the revolutionary alternative, take up the struggle for Marxism, for Trotskyism and on this basis construct a movement among working class youth and in the trade unions.

"There is only one class that can make the socialist revolution and it is the class which the SWP has abandoned, the working class. There is only one force which can lead that class, and that is the Trotskyism which the SWP has abandoned. This can only be done in a bitter fight against centrism, reformism and Stalinism."

Gil Gonzalez and Abby Rodriguez then spoke on the importance

of constructing the youth movement and the preparation now being made for the December 18th youth conference. Gil Gonzalez explained how the Attica rebels had lost because of isolation from the working class. He showed how George Jackson had turned in the last days of his life to Marxist theory for a way forward to reach the working class.

"It is this theoretical struggle which the Workers League now takes up among youth." Abby Rodriguez went into the attacks on youth brought about by the crisis: "Youth are being hit hard. There are no opportunities for jobs. Programs to get kids into college are being cut back. There is no way forward except to fight. The old leaderships just get our heads busted and leave us with nothing. It is important that this movement be built on the basis of the strength of the working class and the Transitional Program to fight back. "We are going to build for this labor party, and build this youth movement. And we're going to build it now, because we know now that we have to in order to survive."

The workshop then saw the Workers Press Ulster film and a full ranging discussion was held.

In the evening there was con-

# DEPRESSION . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

long inflationary boom is over. It is time to pay the piper. The monetary crisis is not a technical matter. It cannot be solved by the old methods, by Keynesian measures. It represents the reassertion of the law of value after decades of inflation.

The balance of payments "surplus" countries cannot give up some of their trade advantage without plunging into a slump which then rebounds onto the other nations. West Germany and Japan are being told to make huge revaluations in relation to the dollar in a situation where recessionary tendencies in these countries have deepened enormously in the last few months. Even the relatively small upward revaluations which have followed the floating of these currencies and the suspension of the convertibility of the dollar into gold, have led to massive unemployment.

This is the nub of the question. A "settlement" of the monetary crisis is so elusive precisely because this crisis expresses all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism in its imperialist stage. A settlement involves asking one or another group of capitalists to go to the wall. It means not a way out of the crisis for the capitalists, but a basis upon which the international trade war and enormous class struggle in all countries will be fought out.

Every capitalist country is plagued by signs of recession, by continuing low levels of investment and a growing crisis of confidence. This is not a psychological question. The strength of the working class is the most decisive factor. Without an all out attack on the working class and the trade unions none of the individual capitalist nations can begin to find their way out of the crisis.

In the West German state of Baden-Wurttemberg 500,000 are now idled by the metalworkers strike, and Volkswagen has just announced the layoff of 100,000 workers. Unemployment is up to one million in Britain and once again over 6% in the U.S. All the monetary maneuvers cannot put the boom back together again, nor are they designed to.

When the U.S. now suggests a 10% devaluation of the dollar in relation to gold, Britain, France and Italy know it will be intolerable. They will have to follow it with their own devaluations. If the West Germans and Japanese revalue sharply upwards in relation to the dollar it will mean a deeper recession in these countries, spreading internationally beyond their borders. If the French refuse to revalue without a comparable U.S. devaluation, the monetary chaos and slide into protectionism and recession must deepen rapidly.

But regardless of whatever scheme is put forward, the economic crisis means that intense class struggle which poses before the working class in the major capitalist countries the need for power is now on the immediate agenda.

Nixon's apparent concessions on retroactive pay as well as certain contractual increases are expressions of fear, and are designed to gain at most a few months time before all out battle.

That is why no time can be lost in responding to all of the attacks internationally, including Nixon's wage freeze in the U.S. The fight to smash wage controls is more urgent than ever in the light of the deepening economic crisis. The fight for a labor party, for a complete break with the capitalist parties in 1972 is likewise the most urgent question.



tinuing discussion and the major resolutions were pruned down through a straw vote to five: (1) Gordon-Lafferty; (2) Halstead-Bustin; (3) Workers League (4) IS; (5) Labor Committee.

In the morning the vote was taken to prune the five to two. In this vote the Workers League proposal received the second largest voting bloc with over 125 votes. Labor Committee and IS each had around 30 votes. The SWP-YSA voting bloc of about 500-600 voted for both the Gordon-Lafferty and the Halstead-Bustin proposals. When the two were pitted against each other the Gordon-Lafferty one received only around 10 votes.

In the course of the conference a minor incident occurred as a pale reflection of the events of the July NPAC Conference. At that time a group of around 60-100 SDS-PLers sought to disrupt the conference and were physically removed.

At this conference two SDSers were barred from the conference

as they had physically assaulted SMCers at Kent State where they were seeking to build the conference. The Workers League voted for the exclusion of these Stalinists who seek to revive the old hooligan tactics of the Communist Party of the 1930s. Spartacist as usual voted with the Stalinists. SDS had less than 30 at the Conference.

## FUTURE

The Conference ended Sunday afternoon with the announcement that four of the five NPAC coordinators had declined renomination. They were unceremoniously replaced with SWP supporters.

The question now is not what will happen in April but whether NPAC will even survive to that date. In the interim the sharp situation facing the working class requires that the struggle to construct the revolutionary party be taken up with a new urgency armed with the lessons to be drawn from this conference. This is exactly what the Workers League intends to do on December 18th.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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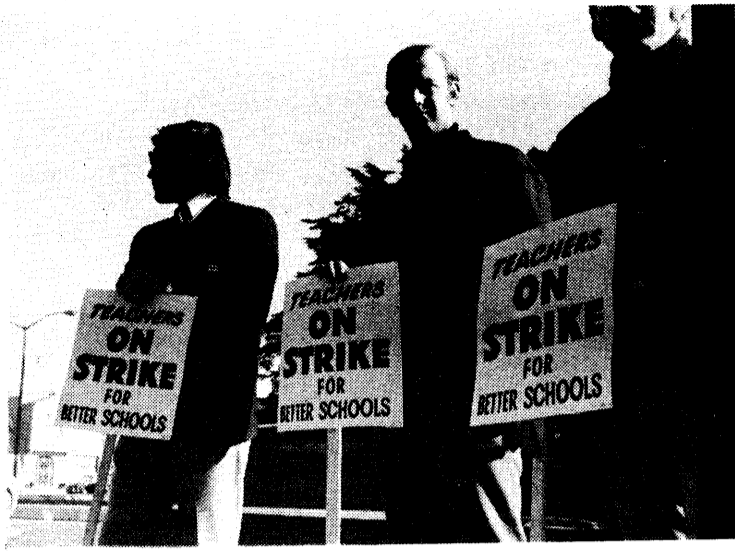
In the evening there was con-

# Bay Area Striking Teachers Arrested

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON  
SAN FRANCISCO—Nineteen secondary teachers were arrested Friday when they refused to leave the offices of their employer, the Archdiocese of San Francisco. The striking teachers from the Bay Area's Roman Catholic High Schools demanded that the Archdiocese return to negotiate with the union.

Talks were broken off when the Archdiocese refused to budge from their original offer, an insulating 4% a year. The teachers are fighting for a 6% yearly increase in wages with a written contract, and union recognition. As it is, secondary teachers do not receive comparable wages to public teachers.

This attack on the union follows the argument that it cannot grant these wage increases without a midterm tuition hike, which the Archdiocese refuses to do. The union has demanded the Archdiocese prove its claim by opening the books to union officials. There is little doubt that the church will at all costs



Catholic school teachers picketing Archdiocese in Bay Area.

keep their ledgers closed to the union.

The union leadership has stated clearly its capitulation in that if the Archdiocese really is in financial trouble, the union will withdraw its demands for wage increases.

In this first strike of secondary teachers in the Bay Area the church means to be tougher than the other employers. It has refused to even talk with the teachers, and the Federal Mediator, Eugene Barry, has of course been unable to stop this. When the union tried to get Mayor Alioto to mediate the dispute, all he would do was to attempt to get the teachers to go back to their classrooms and discuss peacefully the questions with the Archdiocese at some future date. At the heart of Alioto's intervention is his hope to stop this strike from spreading to other sections of teachers and city workers, along with his hope

of saving the church from prying eyes.

The most important aspect of this strike is the overwhelming support of the students. Tuesday over one third of the students at one high school walked out of their classes when scabs were brought in to break the strike. Students attempted to enter other schools to organize demonstrations in support of the teachers.

Over 100 student youth picketed City Hall, carrying signs such as "Jesus isn't smiling at scabs." The students were there to get Mayor Alioto to intervene again in the teachers' behalf.

Demonstrations were held at various schools around the Bay Area in an attempt to force the Archdiocese to begin negotiating with the teachers. Student body leaders are calling for binding arbitration between the two sides.

## Teamsters Shut Construction Sites

BY A CORRESPONDENT  
LOS ANGELES—A strike begun last Tuesday by the Teamsters has shut down 80% of construction projects in Southern California. The Teamster-manned picket lines, honored by other unions, have halted delivery of building materials to project sites and have stopped work at most of the cement plants in the area.

The main issue of the strike is the employment of "owner-

operator" truckers who own their own trucks and hire out to contractors. The contractors say that these truckers are individual businessmen and therefore should not be represented by the Teamsters. The Teamsters do not buy that. They say these truckers are scabs, and in the face of a nationwide attempt to the capitalists to break the trade unions and divide the working class they have decided to fight.

The issue of "owner-operator" truckers was set aside as "an unnegotiated issue" when the basic contract was agreed upon a year ago. Last spring the issue

came up again, still unresolved. Now there are scabs hauling material to a multi-million dollar construction industry in Southern California.

This situation is not accidental. It is the reality of Nixon's declaration of war on the working class on behalf of the capitalists. At a time when Nixon uses the Taft-Hartley Act against the East Coast longshoremen there can be no talk of unnegotiated issues.

The only way Teamsters can respond to these attacks is to rally all construction unions to the fight to smash the scab movement.

that after her campaign "the Democratic Party will never be the same again." But it will still be there, more reactionary than ever.

This is the real perspective of Stalinism and it exposes as a complete fraud all their pretenses of conducting an independent working class campaign for president. They are totally committed to the fight to tie the working class and the youth to the Democratic Party.

One of the most dangerous aspects of the Stalinist policy is that around these perspectives they will use the Angela Davis campaign to demoralize and betray the youth.

Thus, basing themselves on the Democrats, the liberals and the church they have sabotaged even a mass demonstration at the courthouse where Angela has been transferred. The latest gimmick is to bring the youth into a fight to demand that the Palo Alto City Council refuse to appropriate the money for security measures at the courthouse.

The fight to construct a labor party in 1972 and to build a working class youth movement will only go forward in an all out struggle to expose reformism and every treacherous twist and turn of the Stalinists as they seek to prop it up.

# West Coast News CP Sabotages Davis Defense

BY BARRY ZVERTOV

PALO ALTO—In the early morning hours of Thursday, December 2, Angela Davis, wearing handcuffs, was taken from the Marin County Jail to the North County courthouse-jail in Palo Alto.

All indications are that she will be tried at the Palo Alto courthouse. The Santa Clara County authorities are appropriating some \$18,500 to turn the courtroom into a police court, with television monitors, metal detectors, and a beefed-up police force.

The transfer of Davis to Santa Clara County raises most sharply the connection between the government's vicious political repression and its all-out war on the labor movement.

This area, the center of a tremendously strong trade union movement, has felt most immediately the full brunt of the economic crisis.

It is precisely this potential which the Stalinists of the Communist Party, who control the Angela Davis Defense Committee, fear and consciously seek to strangle.

Their legal maneuvers to remove Davis from Santa Clara County on the grounds that this area has a relatively small Black population and is prejudiced against her case is an expression of the utmost hostility toward the working class and an attempt to separate the Black youth from the working class by playing upon nationalist sentiment.

### EXPOSED

At a meeting held at Stanford University the evening of Davis' transfer to Palo Alto, the Stalinists exposed their strategy to use the Davis case to construct a rotten popular front coalition. A representative from the San Jose Defense Committee urged the youth in attendance to solicit support for "reasonable" bail and a "fair trial" from churches, Democratic Party organizations, and trade

unions. He called for a protest at the Board of Supervisors meeting against allocating money to secure the courthouse. And finally, he announced plans for a rally in San Jose on January 12 where the featured speaker would be Shirley Chisholm.

In all of this there was not a mention of Ruchell Magee, whom the Stalinists have dropped like a hot potato. Magee cannot be defended as "a credit to the community," as the speaker at one point referred to Angela Davis, but only as a revolutionary and victim of the entire capitalist class.

## CP Fronts For Bridges Sellout

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—As Nixon moves to break the longshoremen's strike and take on the unions no tendency is more determined to keep Marxism out of the unions than the Communist Party.

In the face of Nixon's strike-breaking the campaign of Stalinist dockers, Archie Brown, for caucus and convention posts in the ILWU elections is an example of completely unprincipled opportunism.

Brown's entire program can be reduced to opposition to the "steady men" and opposition to the rotten final offer of the PMA which has already been rejected by the entire ILWU bureaucracy. Indeed, Brown completely accepts Nixon's Pay Board and refuses to even call for its destruction. On the "steady men" issue contained in clause 9.43 of the contract he says, "Even the phony wage board can't claim that the elimination of 9.43 will cause inflation. So there should be no trouble there."

The most militant thing he has to say is that the ILWU should get a wage exception like the miners from the Board, because the employers can afford it.

Brown commits himself to help mobilize labor and "all our friends in support of our just cause."

The essence of this Stalinist campaign is to prop up the Bridges bureaucracy all the way refusing to offer the slightest alternative.

Not a word that the dockers are involved in a life and death political struggle. Not so much as a mention of the need for a fighting unity with the ILA.

Brown goes all out to spread illusions about trade union militancy and does everything in his power to see to it that there will be no real fight against Phase II.

This is the real face of Stalinism on the waterfront.

## EDITORIAL . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

on the crisis of Stalinism.

Every reformist scoundrel is put forward as offering the hopes of political independence meaning the preservation of a middle class coalition with the perspective of putting pressure on the Democratic Party.

Thus a ridiculous conference in Dallas representing nobody is hailed for nominating Doctor Spock for president who will stand as an "independent" to reach out to those interested in third party action "if neither the Democrats or the Republicans nominate a responsible candidate."

Raza Unida, supported uncritically by the SWP as well, is now trumpeted for its racial campaign for Assemblyman in Los Angeles that denied victory to the Democratic candidate. The Stalinists hope that this will shock the Democrats into giving a little bit more representation to the Chicanos.

The People's World even has a good word to say for the "fighting liberals" of the California Democratic Council and some pious hopes that this rotting corpse can "spark the Democratic Party into taking more advanced political positions."

But the greatest praise is reserved for the presidential campaign of Shirley Chisholm. Mrs. Chisholm claims



# West Coast News

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

## Editorial

### Stalinists Prop Up Democrats To Divert Labor Party Struggle

On August 15th when Nixon froze wages and effectively devalued the dollar all the relationships of compromise between classes based on the capitalist boom were broken up at a single stroke.

The ruling class prepares for dictatorship and civil war, an end to all compromise and reform. The absolute bankruptcy of middle class protest and reformism becomes clearer day by day.

Those who speak of prison reform and justice must now confront the trial of the Soledad Brothers. The courtroom itself is turned into a replica of the maximum security section of San Quentin.

The way is being prepared to declare that behind every militant is the threat of violence. In the interests of security trials will have to be held in secrecy in dungeons with the prisoners in chains guarded by troops with machine guns.

No sooner does Nixon postpone the clash with the longshoremen than he faces the struggle of 150,000 aerospace workers determined to break the freeze. Already ROHR expresses its determination to break the strike with scabs.

In the middle of all this the reformists and trade union bureaucrats propose the most absurd circus, a weekend conference called "Guns to Butter." Backed by numerous labor councils and the UAW's Paul Schrade this conference was to bring together labor, management, government and the universities. Everything from full employment to health care and the urban crisis was on the agenda.

No sooner is this conference called than it falls apart. Not a single speaker had anything to propose to confront the crisis of capitalism. At the last minute Senators Cranston and Tunney discovered previous commitments and Paul Schrade faced with the reality of the aerospace explosion was suddenly unable to attend.

After a week of frenzied build up in the capitalist press and the labor journals 150 demoralized souls turned out to hear platitudes from the Assistant Secretary of Commerce while reformists like Schrade scurried for cover.

This is truly the death agony of the middle class protest movement following on the heels of the November 6th and 20th peace and abortion debacles.

The Stalinists are running as fast as they can to try to salvage something from this shambles. The December 4th issue of the People's World is virtually a textbook

(Continued On Page 15)



November 27 Chicano Moratorium march against police brutality.

## IAM Workers Strike At ROHR

BY RICHARD RIVERA

SAN DIEGO—IAM members at the ROHR Corporation voted 2-to-1 to close the ROHR facilities at Riverside and San Diego, the first strike in ROHR's history.

The huge aerospace industry is in its death agony and threatens millions of workers with starvation through layoffs and closures. It was born with the boom and nursed on credit created by the printing of paper money, as per the Bretton Woods agreement. When Nixon tore up the Bretton Woods agreement he destroyed the very economic

foundation upon which aerospace grew.

As the crisis deepens, the major airlines are unable to fill the planes they now have, hence reducing commercial orders. Military orders are falling off due to cuts in defense spending. All of this means, in a period of declining profits, that aero-

space workers' jobs are subject to attack in several forms as this section of the capitalist class seeks desperately to prop up its sagging profit rate.

Speedup and automation are being put to full use, intensifying the work and throwing many into the streets. Wage hikes are fought against with the power of the state, and in some cases of small shops, the companies are actually demanding wage cuts in the new contracts, a foretaste of what is in store for workers in even the biggest factories. The final blow is the threat of companies declaring bankruptcy and closing their gates permanently.

The strike at ROHR, already weakened by the government's intervention to seriously limit picketing to the point of being no more than a token, will be won only when all aerospace plants are shut down.

ROHR's plants must be closed tight, as they were on the first day. The company has already issued the call for scabs to break the strike. There have been several arrests of strikers. This strike is the lead to all aerospace workers in their fight to protect their jobs and as such cannot be allowed to be broken.

What is necessary is a movement among the rank and file to close ROHR, and all other aerospace plants. The ranks at ROHR must put out the call for the following program to be taken into every local of the IAM and UAW:

1. Immediate general strike of all aerospace.
2. No local settles and returns to work until all have settled.
3. One year contracts with common expiration date.
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5. Nationalization under workers' control of the whole aerospace industry.
6. Call for a nationwide general strike against Phase II, and construction of a labor party to fight for workers' political interests.

## Gestapo Terror Set Up For Soledad Brothers

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—The speed at which the capitalist state moves closer and closer to fascism is today revealed in the trial of the two remaining Soledad Brothers, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette.

Their trial is held today with security measures that would rate well with those of the Gestapo. The entire building for the trial is completely locked off except for one entrance. In order to get into the building a full search is required with a metal detector, hand search and identification.

This is only the beginning, however. A special permit is now required that will allow you to go to the third floor of the building where the trial is taking place.

Complete identification is required for the permit with your name and address taken down. Upon arriving on the third floor you are confronted by 20 heavily armed police with 5 foot wooden swords.

A special police photographer then demands that you station yourself along the wall so he can take a full length picture and

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It is only after the second search that you are finally led into the court-jail room by two police. Now through a cage of bullet proof glass and metal bars it is possible to observe the defendants, jury and judge.

It is within this kangaroo court spectacle that the government intends to give "justice" to Drumgo and Clutchette.

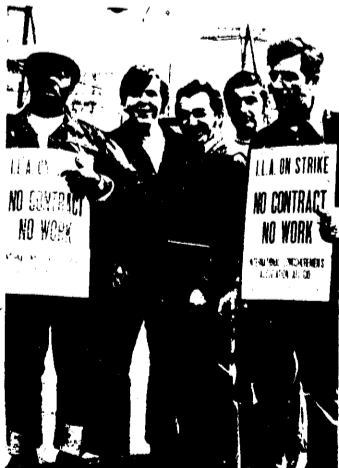
The judge, Spiro Vavuris, has called the courtroom "a bastion of democracy" and in the questioning of the prospective jurors is incessantly whining about the need for impartial and unbiased jurors.

The only defense that can stop the trial and its Nazi tactics is one that rests on the struggle for power of the working class. These courts are not only aimed at those immediately on trial like Drumgo and Clutchette, but against tens of thousands of trade unionists and youth.

George Jackson, the missing defendant who was murdered by the police before the trial, was fighting to understand the history of the working class in order to grasp its movement today.

It is that struggle that the Workers League is consciously fighting to take up.

25c



**SHOWDOWN ON THE DOCKS**  
BY DAN FRIED

From  
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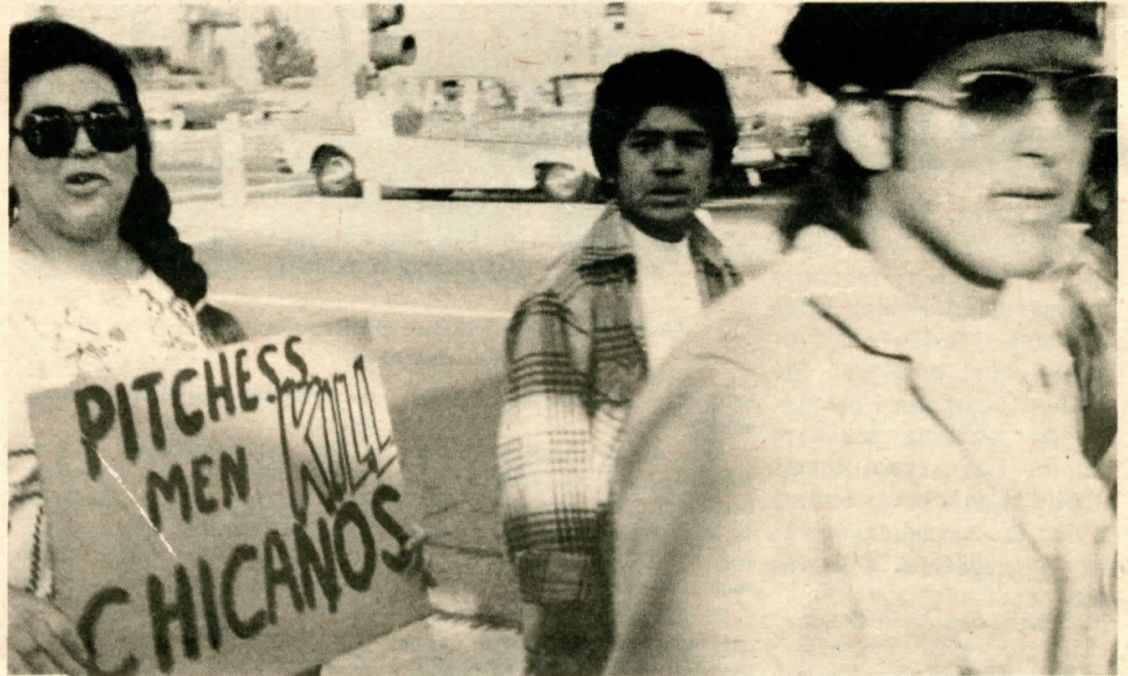
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