

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY FOUR 233

FEBRUARY 21, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS



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BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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(Continued On Page 18)

Rebellion Threatens GM Empire

BY DAN FRIED

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Following the vote at Flint, Local 699 president said: "If the corporation is as sincere as they say about resolving the problems, we can work them out without asking the international for strike sanctions. It will take about three weeks to clear things up."

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(Continued On Page 15)

Cab Drivers Wildcat Shuts Garages

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

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INSIDE
Crisis of
Revisionism
Deepens Page 9

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(Continued On Page 18)

What
we
think

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(Continued On Page 18)

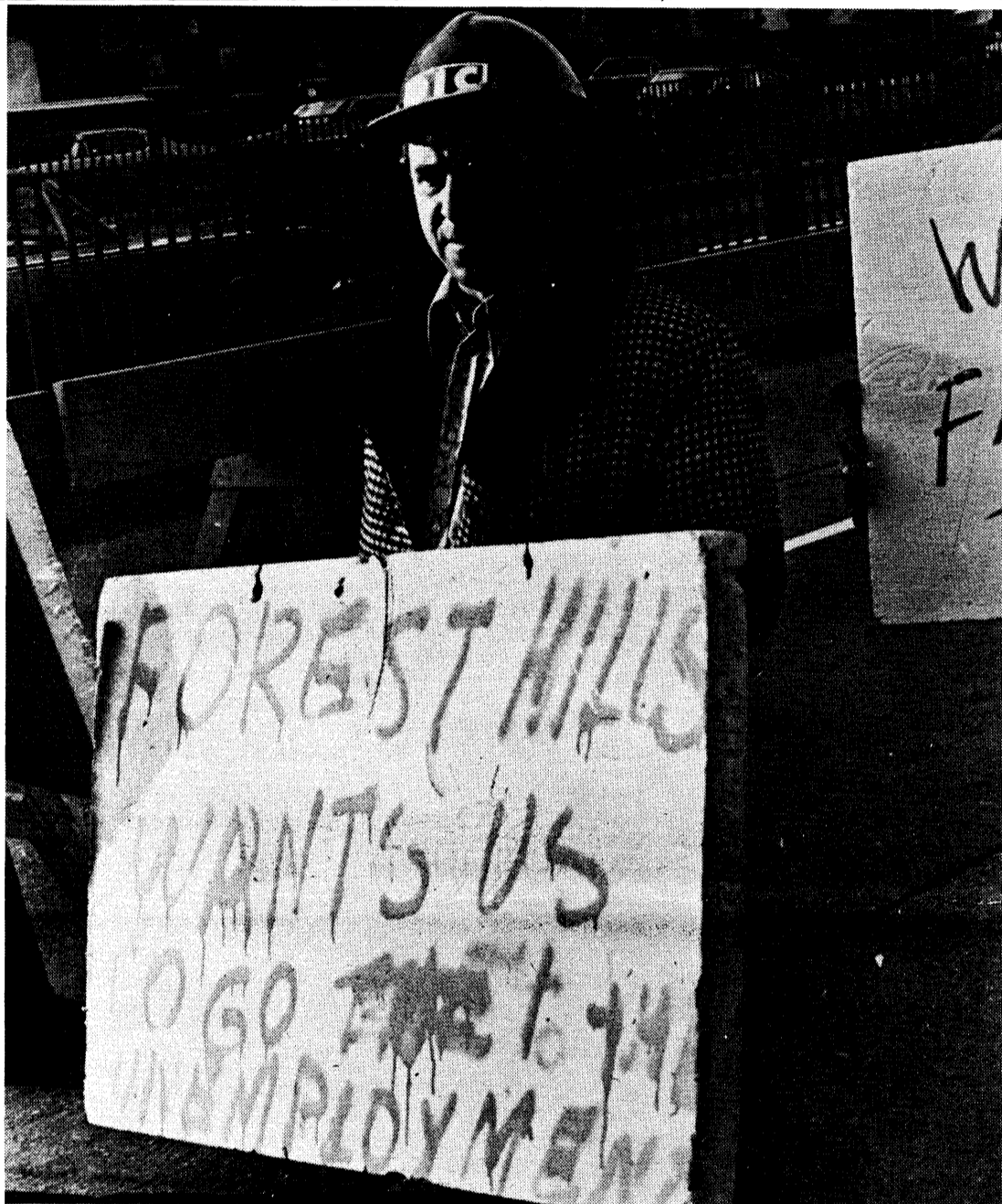
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(Continued On Page 18)

Strikes Shake Bhutto Regime

BY ED SMITH

Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has made it plain that he is out to stop his country's resurgent working class by any means including smashing it by force.

From now on, Bhutto stated in a nationwide TV-radio address, "the strength of the street will be met by the strength of the state." The leader of the People's Party went on to outline a new labor policy that would "guarantee to workers their fundamental rights consistent with the industrial development of the state." This turned out to be "worker participation in management" and job bonuses tied to productivity and speedup.

Behind Bhutto's tough new stance lies the enormous wave of strikes and agitation that has swept Pakistan since Bhutto assumed the Pakistani leadership in the wake of the India-Pakistan war and the independence of Bangla Desh.

Bhutto is the man the Chinese Stalinists have wined and dined in Peking, the man whom they have given full support to and to whom they are sending tremendous shipments of arms free. The first to feel the effect of this criminal largesse of the Maoists may very well be the working class of Pakistan itself.



East New York Young Socialists meet to discuss the building of the March 29th demonstration against unemployment.

Italy Heads For New General Election

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

A new general election in Italy now seems the only alternative to the weeks of futile wrangling to produce a new "center-left" parliamentary coalition. An elec-

tion would take place in the middle of an ever deepening economic and social crisis, the greatest Italy has experienced since the end of World War II.

This crisis, manifested today in yet another wave of factory walkouts, occupations, and general protest strikes, has its origin in the basic breakdown of capitalist production that drove the United States at the Group of Ten meeting to attempt to throw the burden of the crisis onto the backs of its weaker European capitalist brethren. And among the weakest of these is Italy.

The parliamentary crisis

Nixon Launches Mass Bombings Over Vietnam

BY DAVID NORTH

While a number of capitalist politicians spent the last week discussing the merits of President Nixon's new "peace" plan, the United States launched the heaviest air offensive against Vietnam since 1970.

Hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs were dropped on Vietnam as the U.S. Air Force ran around-the-clock missions. On Saturday, there were 172 air strikes, the highest number for a twenty-four period since September 1970.

As if to underscore the fact that the bombings are not to be exceptional events, Nixon ordered the shipment of eighty B-52's from the United States to Guam and Thailand, where the principal American air bases are located. It is likely that these bombers will be used against Hanoi and Haiphong as the offensive is expanded.

It now appears quite obvious that the U.S. military reports about the imminence of a new Tet offensive, as well as the Nixon peace plan, were poorly camouflaged hoaxes to disguise

the resumption of all-out war against the Vietnamese people.

That Nixon has absolutely no intention of arriving at any agreement with Hanoi short of one that guarantees continued imperialist domination of South Vietnam is demonstrated not only by the bombing raids. Nixon has all but disbanded the Paris Peace Talks; at this point another session is not scheduled.

Another proof that the peace plan is a total fraud is the fact that South Vietnamese President Thieu has already rejected it. He recently reiterated his famous "Four Noes:" no territorial concessions, no communist political parties, no neutrality, and no coalition.

Thieu then berated Secretary of State Rogers for suggesting that Nixon might be flexible in

(Continued On Page 18)

Italy Heads For New General Election

was precipitated in the first place by the resignation of the Republicans. This party stated correctly that the coalition by its very nature was unable to attack the Italian working class head-on in order to resolve the crisis at the expense of the workers. This is why a parliamentary government has been unobtainable for weeks and why the parliamentary process itself has been brought into a state of disintegration.

FASCISM

This crisis cannot be solved by hewing to parliamentary principles. This is why the fascists of the Italian Social

Movement (MSI) have been in the forefront of those demanding a confrontation at the new elections. And on the other side, the Italian Communist Party, under tremendous pressure from its ranks who are fed up with the indecisive parliamentary wrangling, has told its followers to prepare for new elections.

The confrontation on the electoral field is merely the forerunner of the inevitable fundamental social confrontation. It is that confrontation that lies behind the rapid growth of the fascists on the one hand and the bankruptcy of the Stalinists on the other.

Young Socialists Call

MASS DEMONSTRATION OF YOUTH!

JOBS FOR ALL! NO BUDGET CUTS!

THE TRADE UNIONS MUST ACT to put an end to unemployment and to protect and expand the education of the youth. With unemployment growing among older workers, what chance do youth have for jobs? The trade unions have the power to mobilize millions on Washington. The trade unions have the power to insist on a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to protect the jobs of older workers and open up new jobs for youth. The trade unions have the power to stop the attacks on the education of working class youth, to end the reactionary war in Vietnam, to stop the repressions of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers and Juan Farinas. The trade unions have the power to build a labor party to replace the Democrats and Republicans who encourage unemployment to split and weaken the working class.

WE, THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH AND STUDENTS ARE DEMONSTRATING TO AWAKEN THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO THESE TASKS!

March on the Federal Building

FOLEY SQUARE NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, For Information
MARCH 29 Call: 924-0852
4-6PM

Bukovsky And The Soldiers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The development of a deepening political crisis in the Soviet Union is reflected in the recent wave of persecutions of leading political and cultural dissenters. At the heart of the bureaucracy's suppression of underground journals and the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky is its fear that opposition groups are gaining a foothold within the working class.

The transcript of the Bukovsky trial, which was held January 5th and resulted in a twelve year term for the defendant, shows that the Kremlin was particularly disturbed by an encounter Bukovsky had with two Russian soldiers last March in a Moscow cafe. He acknowledged that the discussion had revolved around the suppression of the Polish riots in December 1970.

Bukovsky described his discussion with the soldiers: "I told them on this point that the armed suppression of the actions of representatives of the people struggling for economic and political rights is an unacceptable measure and that our army exists not to suppress a popular

movement but to defend the country from external threats."

The kangaroo court was horrified by Bukovsky's attempt to persuade Soviet soldiers that a workers' rebellion should not be drowned in blood. His actions threw the prosecutor, Aza Bobrushko, into a rage not only against Bukovsky, but also against any oppositionist she could think of, especially Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Miss Aza Bobrushko, a spiritual child of Stalin's favorite prosecutor Vishinski, declared: "A Solzhenitsyn's lampoons on the Soviet people, blackening the exploits and achievements of our homeland and the dignity of the Soviet people, were suitable

material for the routine, anti-Soviet campaign blown up in the West." She went on to call Bukovsky and Solzhenitsyn "vicious anti-Soviet elements."

Solzhenitsyn, whom the bureaucracy has not yet dared to prosecute, has written a new prose poem that bitterly condemns the Stalinist persecutions that caused the early death of Aleksandr Tvardovsky, the former editor of *Novy Mir* who had defended the writings of oppositionists.

The short piece ends with a warning to the bureaucracy that its days are numbered:

"Madmen! When the voices of the young resound, keenedged, how you will miss this patient critic, whose gentle admonitory voice was heeded by all. Then you will be set to tear the earth with your hands for the stake of returning Trifonovich. But then it will be too late."

Big "No" Vote Due In ILA Ballot

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has set March 8th as the day for voting on the national contract with the East and Gulf Coast shipping associations. ILA President Thomas (Teddy) Gleason hopes to come to terms with the shippers over "local" issues in most of the ports by then.

But it is precisely the "local" issues, particularly the question of the Guaranteed Annual Income provisions of these contracts, that Gleason is having the most trouble shoving down the throats of the ranks.

In the Port of New York, there has been an overwhelming sentiment, estimated as 80-90%, in opposition to the contract, not only because of the inadequacy of the wage and fringe benefits, but because the men know that the changes in the GAI which Gleason

agreed to in order to "correct abuses" will be used to drive thousands of men off the docks and destroy working conditions for those who remain.

Although copies of the contract still have not been mailed out, the latest information is that under the new contract, longshoremen will have to be available for weekend work and debited for refusal or failure to show up.

Everyone knows that Gleason made the unilateral decision, without the agreement of the membership, to extend the old

contract 30 days, until March 15th, because he feared that there would be a massive "no" vote. He also knew that because the vote would be conducted by the Honest Ballot Association and not under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, many men would abstain out of a belief that the vote would be rigged.

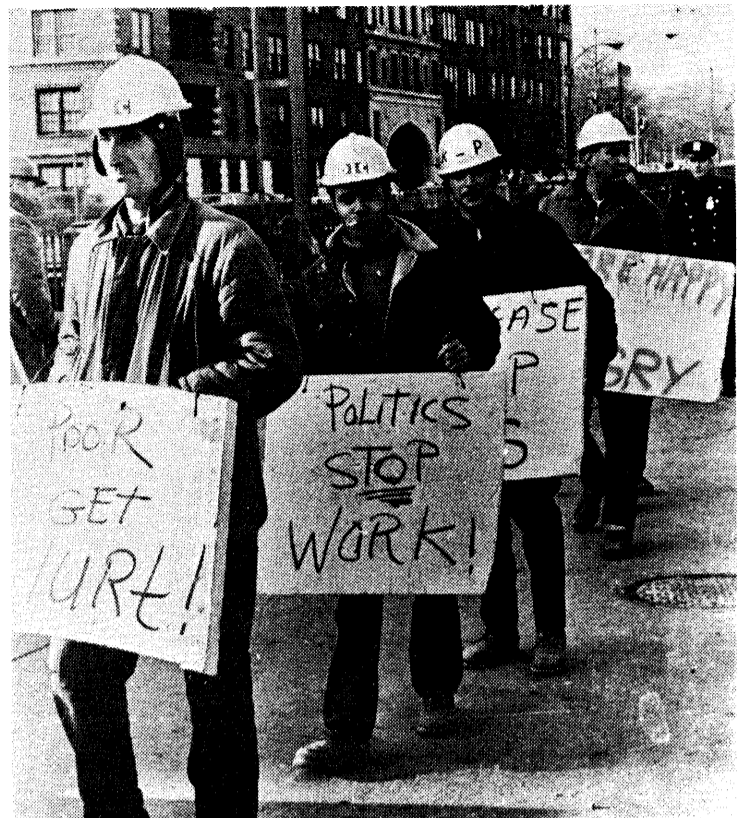
However, Gleason has some surprises coming. Even though the widespread support for "going out" on February 14th did not materialize into a wildcat shutdown, the fight is being carried forward for the biggest "no" vote in the history of the ILA on March 8th.

Another reason that Gleason, with the obvious complicity of the White House, extended the contract and postponed the vote was that he believed that the West Coast dockworkers should be forced back to work by then.

Once again, Mr. Gleason may be disappointed. As we go to press, there is unprecedented opposition to the West Coast contract and every likelihood that it will be rejected by the rank and file who are ready to defy federal strikebreaking legislation as well.

The leaders of rank and file militants who led the walkout at the Greenwich hiring hall last month have retreated into legal maneuvering and are now taking Gleason to court.

On the morning of February 14th, when there was widespread sentiment for wildcat action, one of these leaders spent his time soliciting money from the men in order to hire a lawyer rather than fighting to take the men out.



Middle and upper class racists hurled spit and abuses at construction workers who rallied for jobs against Lindsay's attacks.

Treason Charge Step Toward Bonapartism

BY MELODY FARROW

Last week, H.R. Haldeman, Nixon's Chief of Staff went on T.V. and accused Democratic Party critics of Nixon's so-called "peace plan" of treason and collusion with the "Communists."

Claiming to present only his own personal views, Haldeman accused the Democratic liberals of "consciously aiding and abetting the enemy" and stated "the only conclusion you can draw now is that the President's critics are in favor of putting a Communist government in South Vietnam and insisting that it be done too."

At the same time Secretary of State Rogers lashed out at Edmund Muskie for his rejection of the peace plan and Kissinger said that George McGovern's proposal to end recognition of the Thieu regime would mean that the United States should "join its opponents and destroy its friends."

The next day Nixon, trying to appear very innocent and impartial, assured the liberals that he did not doubt their sincerity or patriotism but proceeded shortly after to say that "the responsibility for the enemy's failing to negotiate may have to be borne by those who encourage the enemy to wait until after the election."

Nixon knows perfectly well that the Democratic liberals are anything but sympathetic to Communism. This is not what he is afraid of.

It is part of a conscious plan to whip up a hysteria about alleged "Communist plots" in order to justify the establishment of a dictatorship in which all democratic liberties would be abolished.

The fact that Nixon must label the feeble and opportunist criticisms of the liberals as "aiding and abetting the enemy" exposes the desperate crisis that his government is in.

Faced with the continued resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and unable to reach a compromise settlement, Nixon is preparing, behind all the phony peace plans, to launch a major offensive in North Vietnam.

Nixon finds himself bogged down in Vietnam while the economic crisis gets worse and at the very moment when he faces a powerful working class which is determined to defend its living standards and unions.



H.R. Haldeman

Nixon must now proceed to take on the working class in a head-on battle, to destroy all its gains, organizations and leadership. Any forms of bourgeois democracy, such as the Congress, jury trials, or freedom of speech which now stand in his way, must be wiped out.

The attack on the liberals is a smokescreen for these plans and a means of justifying them. Any opposition, even if it is within the framework of capitalism, becomes intolerable to the capitalists. This is the way a Bonapartist dictatorship develops.

The government uses every pretext to launch a witchhunt against youth and radical organizations, and to impose a repression that would throw countless numbers in jail at a time when the courts are being stacked with right wingers and the most basic rights of political prisoners are under attack.

At the same time Nixon seeks to bind the unions closer and closer to the state. He seeks not merely wage controls but total and absolute power to impose settlements such as in the West Coast dock strike and bills to outlaw all strikes.

WALLACE

The program of Wallace is now openly being adopted by Nixon himself. Wallace's recent attack on Edward Kennedy for taking a skiing weekend in Switzerland is dressed up as an attack on rich phony liberals who ignore the working man. Wallace's real aim is to use the hostility of workers towards

(Continued On Page 18)

Construction Workers Fight Forest Hills Racists For Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

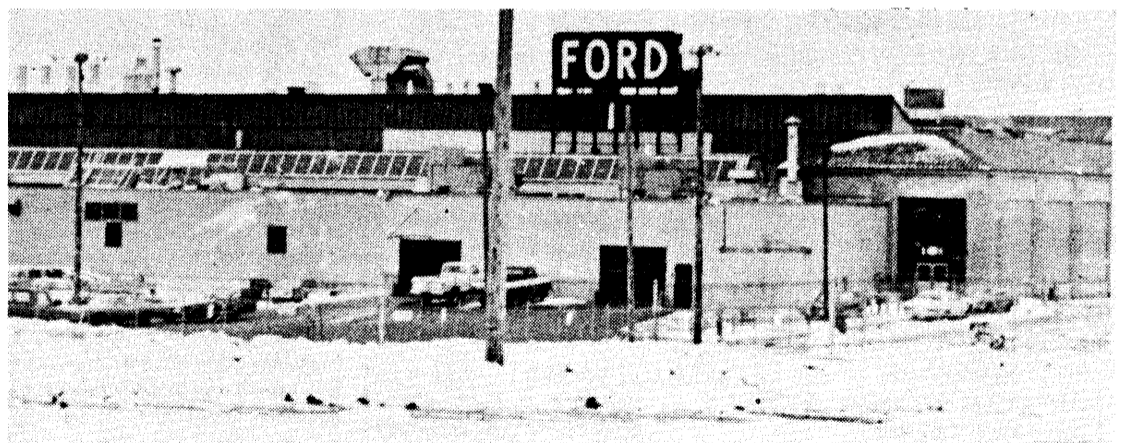
QUEENS, N.Y.—Mayor Lindsay's decision to halt construction on two high rise apartments here, one mile away from the embattled 108th St. project, has been met with week-long picketing by more than 100 construction workers now threatened with unemployment.

Angered by the capitulation of the Mayor to the hysteria of the wealthy and middle class residents of Forest Hills who waged an unprecedented campaign to block construction, the workers have vowed to continue picketing until Lindsay changes his mind or the

courts order a resumption of building.

Demonstrating at the building site in orderly fashion carrying signs that read "Lindsay favors the rich" and "No work—no food," the workers told the Bulletin that they faced constant harassment from the community residents. It has become a

(Continued On Page 18)



Ford Motor Company is forcing workers to take two-week vacations at one time at their assembly plant in St. Paul, Minnesota so that the company will not have to pay men the SUB.

Shutdown, Layoffs Hit Ford Plant

ST. PAUL—Workers at the Ford Motor Company's Assembly Plant are up in arms over a new and vicious attack on them by Ford in the form of forced vacations.

In the past, vacations have been scheduled according to seniority and job classification.

Now Ford has announced that they plan to shut the plant down for two weeks in July and that the men have to use this time for vacations. Only the few workers

in the plant with less than two weeks vacation time due will be eligible to apply for unemployment benefits. It is unlikely that they will collect any because of the short time involved.

One worker at Ford told the Bulletin: "I have worked here for 20 years and have never seen anything like this. In the past when the plant is shut down for model changeover we collected unemployment. Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) and unemployment are really

part of our fringe benefits. Ford doesn't plan any changeover in July! Obviously we are building cars that are not being sold. So they are shutting it down for two weeks and we can't collect any unemployment! It means less money for us."

This comes at a time of big layoffs at Ford. Over 200 men have been laid off since the first of the year and another 300 are expected to be laid off shortly.

The line speed, which has

(Continued On Page 18)

Yugoslav Stalinists Back Tory Massacre

BY A REPORTER

The Yugoslav Stalinists in the Tito bureaucracy, wed to the conceptions of "socialism in one country," have blatantly embraced its inevitable complement—the maintenance of imperialism everywhere else.

"It is an indisputable fact that hardly anywhere else in the world do the army and police show such a degree of patience, constraint and self-discipline as the British Isles. Perhaps it was true that fire was opened on the demonstrators in Londonderry, but perhaps again it is not true...if 13 innocent and peaceful demonstrators were killed on the streets of Londonderry on Sunday, these people were only partially or only technically victims of the British army.

"Essentially they were victims of religious narrow mindedness and national fanaticism, victims of political provocation and propaganda of hatred, victims of manipulation by dark forces."

This lying, cynical statement was carried not in the New York Times, not in the Tory press, but over the Home Service of Radio Belgrade!

The Yugoslav Stalinists put the blame not on Toryism and its troops, but on the IRA ("degenerated into a purely terrorist formation") and the just struggle of the Irish working class itself.



Thousands of Irish workers march in funeral of 13 comrades slain by British troops. Stalinist leader Tito of Yugoslavia does not blame British imperialism for the murders, but the IRA, for provoking the troops and police.

Cleveland Mayor Cuts Pay 10%

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Cleveland Mayor Ralph J. Perk has ordered all city employees to take a 10 per cent wage cut. Effective immediately, city workers including firemen and policemen will be on the job only nine out of 10 days in each two week period. They will receive no compensatory overtime for the work reduction.

Perk threatened city workers with as many as 1,400 layoffs if they did not go along with the cuts. In any case, Perk admitted that at least 175 employees would have to be dismissed within the next

four weeks.

During the past two years the administrations of former Mayor Stokes and Mayor Perk have laid off 2,000 city employees.

Although Perk is a Republican, he had the full support

of the Democrat-controlled City Council. George L. Forbes, the Council's majority leader and a close crony of Stokes, gave Perk strong support.

Representatives of both the police and firemen indicated that they planned court action against the wage cut. The police declared that it was in violation of the City Charter.

However, Hubert Bryant, president of District Council 78 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, told the Bulletin that the city workers' union planned no action at this point.

Bryant said that strike action was not contemplated, even though he could not recall "anything like this since the 1930's." Asked if he thought that city employees were going to accept the pay cut, Bryant said no "because wage cuts are against our

philosophy." But he stated that the AFSCME was not planning any action.

Bryant asserted that Mayor Perk should have raised the income tax rather than cut wages.

Asked if he would support the building of a labor party in the light of the role played by both the Democrats and the Republicans in planning this wage cut, Bryant replied: "No, I'm a Democrat."

CHICAGO WORKERS WIN BACK PAY

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—On February 10th city workers here won their battle for retroactive payments for longevity and promotion increases. Daley was responding to the strength of a coalition formed two weeks ago by 14 unions and organizations representing 40,000 city workers.

The victory is a tremendous step forward for the entire labor movement in understanding the necessity to unite against the government.

But this is just a beginning. Daley has already stated there will be no promotions or wage increases throughout 1972.

Layoffs Hit Workers At Sparrows Point

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SPARROWS POINT, Md., Feb. 4—"Sure they've been laying off. I have twenty years seniority and now there's only one man in my department with less seniority than me. We've gone from fifteen men to five since the settlement. And let me tell you, I've got to look over my shoulder now."

This steelworker is not the only man who has to "look over his shoulder" as management at the 33,000 man Sparrows Point Bethlehem Steel installations begins to implement their program to reduce the workforce by 45%—a move which will throw nearly 17,000 men out of work.

trying to break us. You see, a man who gives fifteen, twenty years to the company has a right to expect a little better than a pay cut and a dirty job after layoff. If they did it to me I don't know that I'd take the job."

Rather than take up the fight

for a shorter workweek at full pay—30 for 40—to save jobs and create new ones, the bureaucracy of the USWA is attempting to make a deal with the steel bosses through the setting up of joint union-management committees to increase productivity and, according to the story, save jobs. The ranks are now being forced to pay the price of the union bureaucracy's treachery as they lose their jobs or are forced into lower paying job classifications.



Bulletin sales at Sparrows Point during contract fight last year.

ILA Bureaucrats Extend Contract In Baltimore

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, February 14—The local ILA bureaucracy has called off a port-wide meeting scheduled for tonight rather than have an open discussion on ILA President Gleason's decision to continue working for one month after today's Taft-Hartley expiration.

This has followed a week of intense activity at the Baltimore port. Realizing that a shut down was still possible following the 14th, shippers have been getting their vessels in and out of the port as quickly as possible.

This led last week to what one port administration official called "the greatest concentration of cars in the world" at Baltimore's Dundalk Marine

Terminal. An estimated 50,000 cars and trucks jammed the depot which normally handles a maximum of 30,000 to 35,000 vehicles.

Yet at the same time as auto imports clog the terminal, over half the younger longshoremen are unable to collect any sort of guaranteed annual income. For that matter, the starving out of the younger longshoremen is only

the beginning.

Samuel J. Caulfield, President of the Steamship Trade Association (STA) recently informed Baltimore's Sun papers that the STA wants to phase out the guarantee by attrition and "not to give out a dole."

The situation is probably best summed up by an older dockworker who said, "I don't think I'm going to enjoy living for the next few years. I lived through the Depression and fed myself and my wife mostly on rotten fruit and vegetables that I stole from the produce market. It looks like there's another one

coming. But I'll tell you one thing: I'm not going to live that way again. If I have to tear down everything to stop it I'll do it."

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DIFFERENT

"Layoffs never used to bother me," said another steelworker. "Now it's different. Before I was a bachelor and if I was laid off I could always squeeze by. But a family can't just squeeze by anymore. There are too many expenses and no decent jobs. They are laying off men with hiring dates in '57, '56, even '53. About half of them management calls back and says, 'You can take a dirty job with lower pay if you want to work for us.' Well, about half the men called back won't take these jobs so the company gets to put them out of work for good."

Several other steelworkers corroborated this: "They are



CWA Ranks Storm Local To Denounce Contract

BY DAVE NORTH

NEW YORK, FEB. 10—Chanting "Vote No" and "Sell-Out," over 50 striking phone workers stormed into the headquarters of the Communication Workers of America, and staged a two-hour sit-in in the International's fifth floor offices.

The sit-in was preceded by a demonstration of 100 members of Local 1101 outside the headquarters, denouncing the open betrayal by CWA President Joseph Beirne of the seven month old strike of the New York locals.

The demonstration had been planned Wednesday, during a membership meeting at which the latest Bell contract offer, supported by Beirne and other leading CWA bureaucrats, was unanimously rejected by the 400 workers who attended the meeting. On the same day, the Queens, Staten Island, and Nassau locals also rejected the new contract unanimously.

However, the official vote on the contract will be held by mail ballot this week; and it is common knowledge among the rank-and-file that Beirne may try to arrange a fixed vote.

The sit-in developed spontaneously from the hatred against the Beirne regime that has accumulated within the ranks over the last half-year.

The phone workers started to enter the CWA offices at 1:00p.m., demanding to meet Morton Bahr, CWA vice president who is urging ratification of the contract negotiated by Beirne.

They wanted to discuss not only the betrayal of the union's wage demands, but also the acceptance by Beirne of an amnesty clause that would allow "Ma Bell" to fire any trade unionist charged with a felony or misdemeanor. The exact wording of the contract is:

"It is in the spirit of this agreement that there shall be no reprisals by the company or the union against any employee except that the company reserves the right to dismiss any employee charged with a felony, misdemeanor, criminal violation or offense."

"TRUST"

This means that every militant will be faced with summary firing while scabs will be fully protected. It is reported that Beirne accepted this death sen-

tence with the crack: "Sometimes you have to trust people."

After making their way to the fifth floor, the workers were met not by Morton Bahr—who mysteriously disappeared, but by a bureaucratic functionary named Gene Mays. He sat at a long table as men pressed around him at all sides.

"Do you urge acceptance of this contract?" he was asked.

"I recommend acceptance," Mays replied. "I believe it was a good agreement."

A wave of anger and scorn swept through the room. "You must really think we are complete fools," declared one worker. "You negotiate a contract that will allow Bell to lay off 300 workers, and you expect us to consider you heroes! Who on earth do you think you're kidding?"

Another worker added: "The contract that you signed is a repudiation of everything that this strike is about."

Members from outside continued to pour in to the room. A rough estimate of the average age of the phone workers in the room would be 23 years. Beirne has lorded over the CWA for 33 years.

Question after question was thrown at Mays. "Why doesn't the CWA go all out to support out-of-state picketing?" Mays refused to answer that one. "I am not going to go into that garbage," he said. What Mays referred to as "garbage" was the tremendous success of New York phone workers in pulling out their brothers in other states. It was clear that Mays was in no position to give any answers.

A worker who was charged with a misdemeanor and acquitted, informed Mays that under the terms of the contract, he could be fired by Bell. "I was acquitted but I could get fired. What is the International going to do if I get fired?"

"I don't know," answered Mays.

"If you can tell me that and still say you are for this contract," declared the worker, "then you are on the same side as



Electrical workers (top left) join CWA strikers in march on City Hall. Last week CWA ranks took over 5th floor of International HQ (above) to demand an end to Beirne's betrayals. Below, CWA Brooklyn meeting last week at which ranks rejected Beirne's sellout contract.

the scabs!"

The amnesty clause has become to the rank and file the living proof that Beirne has not the slightest concern for the fate of men who have given seven months of their lives to the strike. There were nods of agreement when one rank and filer asserted: "I firmly believe that Beirne would like to see New York Telephone defeat this strike, if our winning it means that he would have to lose control of the New York local."

IMPEACHMENT

Finally, Mays was asked about the procedures for impeaching union officers. According to the CWA constitution, 20% of the locals in a district can recall any official. The addresses of the 73 locals in the district were demanded. The impeachment of Bahr was immediately agreed to. "We'll get Beirne and the rest of them as soon as we can," said a worker.

A round of applause broke out. "It's about time the men tell the leadership what they want rather than the leadership inform the union what it will fight for. That's why we have a union."

The workers decided unanimously to sit in until Mays de-

cidated to give the men the addresses of the 73 locals, which he was refusing to do. "We are not going to have a sit-in here demanding some lists," Mays said.

COPS

On instructions that went out from another bureaucrat on the fifth floor, three policemen were called to the rescue of Mays. The men demanded that Mays tell the cops to leave. "We have enough trouble being locked up by the company. We don't want to get locked up by the union." After some hesitation, Mays asked the cops to leave.

The sit-in continued until the Brooklyn local's Executive Steward, Tom Shaeffer, told the men that he had a copy of the important addresses.

There is no denying that the telephone workers have decided that this strike cannot be won with the present leadership. They are coming to the understanding that all that stands between them and victory is their leadership.

The strike of the CWA is of crucial importance. The members of the New York locals are standing on the front line of the American labor movement.

The sit-in that occurred Thurs-

day is no isolated development. Mr. Mays will not be the last bureaucrat to hear the fists of young workers pounding at his door and upsetting his appointments schedule. As at Lordstown, the young workers are putting Nixon on notice that they will not accept wage cuts, speed up or unemployment.

In the CWA, the workers are beginning to understand that their own strength is just part of the full force of labor. At the Local 1101 meeting in Brooklyn one day before the sit-in, a worker declared the time had come for the ranks to take their unions over and mobilize for a real fight: "I think that other workers all over the country are starting to feel the way we do. We in 1101 are the vanguard."

'30s

Another worker, whose trade union experience dates back to the founding days of the CWA, said with pride: "The young guys in this local aren't taking it. They have all the fire we had back in the 30's, but now they're stronger and more confident. Now they just have to learn one thing: that this fight is a class fight—workers against bosses. It's a class war."

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Anti-JDL Slate Win Two Seats In BC Vote

BY A BROOKLYN COLLEGE STUDENT

BROOKLYN—The recent Student Government elections at Brooklyn College dealt a sharp blow to fascism. They were a tremendous victory for all students who want to take up the fight against the cutbacks, the threat to free education and the danger posed by fascist groups like the Jewish Defense League. They also indicated the growing strength of the Young Socialists on the BC campus.

Despite distortions and confusion spread by the campus newspapers and the active hindrance by the administration, two students running with critical support from the Young Socialists gained seats. Paul Massas and Bernice Hyman, representing lower classmen were elected on the basis of a campaign against the budget cuts and the fascist Jewish Defense League.

Brooklyn College, as part of the City University of New York (CUNY) is faced with a barrage of cuts. Free tuition at CUNY, a century old policy, is all over. Governor Rockefeller's new budget will not just eliminate Open Admissions, which for over a year had allowed some minority youth into school, but will require tuition of between \$500 and \$1500 per term. At the same time, cuts have been made in financial aid and the construction of new facilities. These cuts will result in the elimination of thousands of students.

The JDL, while dominating Student Government, has tried to whip up a racist hysteria, campaigned to expel socialist organizations and stop funding of the Black students' newspaper and has launched physical attacks on minority students.

The Workers League and Young Socialists ran six candidates for Student Government with the understanding that a victory would deepen our campaign against the cuts, while at the same time strike a tremendous blow against the reactionaries.

As well as raising our

program, that is, to mobilize students with the trade union movement in a fight for strike action and a labor party, we gave critical support to candidates running on a program against the cuts and the fascists. Students running under the Revolutionary Slate, accepted.

The Young Socialist Alliance refused. Their refusal reflected their opportunist and liberal approach to the elections. Rather than take up the sharp fight necessary to smash the fascists, they sought to construct a liberal compromising campaign, not even mentioning the JDL. They even resorted to turning to the Elections Commission to prohibit us from distributing literature giving them support.

The results showed that the Workers League Slate was only about 50 votes behind the two conservative parties, the Mugwumps and Alignment, having gained about 190 votes per candidate. In addition, two candidates from the Revolutionary Slate won.

The campaign was a tremendous blow against the JDL. It was also a repudiation of the liberal and compromising campaign of the YSA. Basing themselves on an appeal to every diversionary and liberal policy, they could only muster about 135 votes per candidate—including the votes the YS had campaigned for!

The elections demonstrated that through a sharp fight against fascism, based on the theoretical understanding of Trotskyism, youth can smash such movements.



Shop steward at City College leads wildcat strike of cafeteria workers of Local 302, Hotel, Bar & Restaurant Workers.

Firings Spark CCNY Wildcat

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—The South Campus cafeteria workers of City College have gone on a wildcat strike against the layoff of four workers. The management has instituted reductions in the work hours to twenty with a starting salary of \$2.00 an hour. This means that the workers' take home pay is less than \$40.00 a week.

The union bureaucracy of Local 302 has capitulated to the management by its acceptance of the layoffs and the under-employment. They have justified their position with the management's threat to replace all workers with machines if they do not accept the layoffs. The leadership of the union has played a treacherous role by bringing workers from the North Campus to scab on the boycott. Their plan is to pit the workers from the same union against each other, although both sections face the same future.

Progressive Labor, the Student Senate, and the Puerto Rican Student Union have tried to mediate a settlement between management and the cafeteria workers, where the hours would start at 25 hours a week and later expand to 30. This proposal is based on reformism, and accepts that the workers must take a wage decrease in order to preserve profits.

The Young Socialists at City College have sought to turn the wildcat strike into an all out strike with both campuses out. This can only be done on the basis

of a demand by the workers that the union leadership make the strike official. At the same time, the fight to build a new leadership within the union must be taken forward. The students must see that at the same time that workers are being attacked, the youth face the end of Open Admissions, the end of the no tuition policy, and the phasing out of the SEEK program.

The trade unions have the power to turn the fight against unemployment and the cuts against the government.

YSA Attempts Disruption At Bronx YS Meeting

BY A BRONX SCIENCE STUDENT

NEW YORK—On Monday, February 7, the Bronx Science Young Socialists held their second meeting. Juan Farinas, a young worker facing two years in prison for distributing a leaflet opposing the war in Vietnam and member of the Workers League, addressed a group of twenty-five interested students.

A member of the Bronx Science Young Socialists introduced Juan, and talked about the attacks of the capitalists on the working class and the youth: the massive unemployment, the cuts in education, and the war.

Juan then spoke on the critical need to build revolutionary leadership among the youth and in the working class. He said that the attack against him was part of the attempt by the government to behead the working class.

When the discussion began, one student raised the question, "Why do you call for a labor party?" Another youth answered that the fight for the labor party was central to changing the consciousness of the working

class. Many of the students said they knew very little about Marxist theory and were eager to begin classes in Marxism.

In the middle of the discussion a student from the Young Socialist Alliance began to speak on the Student Mobilization Committee's perspective for ending the war. As he was speaking, two more members of the YSA who do not attend Bronx Science, entered the room and proceeded to speak out of turn, to disrupt the meeting.

The YSA clearly came into the meeting to destroy the work of the Young Socialists. The YSA has a tremendous fear of these students who are now turning toward Marxist theory, asking questions about the building of a revolutionary youth movement, and of the Young Socialists which is building that movement.

The YSA actually chased several of the students out of the room with their disruptive tactics and their refusal to answer the questions put to them by the Young Socialists and other students at the meeting.

Bronx Science YS will build its club in a fight against the revisionism of the YSA, and will build the YS on the basis of Marxist theory.

Government Investigates YWLL

The recent witchhunt against the Young Workers Liberation League is a part of the drive by Nixon and the government to repress all youth who fight back. The YWLL has been under "investigation" by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

At the public hearings, which were anything but public, a federal marshal who had previously allowed a member of this organization into the hearings, attacked him for stepping out of the room for a moment and then re-entering. The youth was then charged with assaulting a federal marshal.

These open attacks and frame-ups against militants are attacks on the movement of the working class and the youth as a whole by the government and can only be defeated with class action.

MIDWEST CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

Saturday, March 18th
10 AM
Union Hall,
10 W. 25th St.
(at Nicollet and 25th)
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for information, call: (612)-336-9966
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evenings & Saturdays



BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS MARCH FOR JOBS

BY GIL GONZALEZ

The greatest march against unemployment in the history of the British labor movement began Saturday, February 5th in the Scottish city of Glasgow. Led by the British Young Socialists, this march for the "Right to Work" has already won tremendous support within the working class.

That support will continue to grow as the marchers make their way south to London carrying forward the fight to rouse the labor movement to make the hated Tory government resign.

Over one million workers are without jobs in England. The massive unemployment, the highest since the 1930s has been provoked consciously by the Tories. As Mike Banda, Central Committee member of the Socialist Labour League, explained to the 400 workers and youth who escorted the first contingent of the march out of Glasgow:

"Unemployment is the main weapon in the Tory arsenal....The treatment handed out to young wives and children is literally disgusting. They trail from one office to the next to collect a pittance to live. This is the aim of the ruling class—to

demoralize and eventually dehumanize workers and their families."

The march began just as the strike of 280,000 coal miners is entering into the most critical period. Prime Minister Heath has invoked "emergency powers" to deal with the miners, and there exists the likelihood that guns will be turned against English workers as they were against Irish workers.

Tory violence is aimed at workers fighting the unemployment that now affects every section of industry. It is not only in the basic industries like coal that the Tory Government has launched the attack. The presence of actor Corin Redgrave and actress Sandy Ratcliff at the head of the march underscored the economic crisis facing the film industry.

On February 9, the march went deep into the mining territory when it reached the town of Cum-

noch which is at the center of the Ayrshire coalfield. The miners showed support and solidarity with the young marchers, and provided provisions and sleeping accommodations.

A miner there stated that "unemployment is a key issue in the miners strike."

"The mining industry itself proves that mining is usually carried on in the high areas of unemployment. A man can't get out of the pits and get a decent job and wage, though thousands would like to, because there are no other jobs."

"Your march is political and our strike is political in the sense that the government is trying to tie us down with their wages norm."

"I would say that this government is no longer a democracy. They are trying to rule by the methods of fascism, I say that with all my knowledge as a Labour councillor."

Michael Miller, a miner from Scorn pit, said:

"It's disgraceful that youth today should have to protest for such a basic right—but what future is there for them under a Tory regime like this? Good luck to the march. I hope it achieves its objectives."

Financial support has also been given. Individual factory union branches as well as district bodies have passed resolutions pledging financial and political support. The unions, workers and working class youth know that they cannot allow Heath to use unemployment to smash trade unions.

The "Right to Work" march is

at the very center of the fight to construct a revolutionary party that will lead the fight of the British working class to force the Tories to resign and to elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. There is no other answer to the Tory attempts to destroy the fighting power of the British workers.

The Young Socialists in the U.S. are now fighting to build a massive demonstration of youth against unemployment on March 29th. Like the "Right to Work" march in England, this demonstration will be at the center of the fight to bring the labor movement into action against the government.



British Young Socialists pass from Scotland into England (top of page) as they head for London in their Right-to-Work march. March is part of Right-to-Work Campaign which YSA decided to undertake at their 1971 Keep Left Annual Meeting (above). Its aim is to replace reactionary Tories with Labour government.

Young Socialist

Unions Must Take Up Fight Against Unemployment

Unemployment among working class youth is rising at an alarming rate. Nationwide unemployment among youth is 13% and as high as 35% among minority youth. The government tries to shrug this off by saying that there are more jobs today than ever before.

According to George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, "We have got to create 30,000 new jobs a week just to break even."

30,000 new jobs a week to break even. This is just the opposite of Nixon's plan to eliminate that number every week. His roll up your sleeves and increase productivity policy means more layoffs while at the same time increased speedup. Workers who have been employed for 20 and 30 years now find themselves jobless with no hope in sight.

What does that leave for working class youth just coming out of the high schools and colleges? It leaves nothing, no future at all. It is precisely these conditions which Nixon is preparing for all workers.

The unions have got to take up this question of unemployment. Nixon is now beginning to pit the unemployed against the employed workers. The employers, with the help of the government, are forcing wage cuts and speed ups by threatening workers with layoffs. The very survival of the unions depends on whether or not labor takes up this fight.

The unions have the power to fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to protect the jobs of the older workers and provide the jobs for youth. The unions have the power to fight against unemployment, the budget cuts, the war and repression. The unions have the power to build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for these conditions.

The Young Socialists are organizing a mass demonstration of youth on March 29th to demand that the unions take action and organize the unemployed in a political fight with the government.

We call on all unions to support this demonstration and to bring out their members. We call on all trade unionists to raise this in their unions.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Attack On Wages

Nixon's Pay Board is cracking down. Last week it announced that it will put a stop to all deferred pay increases over 7% won by labor in the second and later years of their contracts.

The government's talk of a temporary restraint on wages is a complete lie. The government is now virtually ordering the unions to write the freeze into their future contracts—for years to come.

Judge Boldt, the labor-hating head of this Board, also made it clear that he did not care how powerful the dock unions are, the longshoremen would be held to the Board's "standard."

The top labor bureaucrats, meeting at the AFL-CIO Executive Council conference in Bal Harbor, could only answer this with pleas for more fairness towards lower paid workers. Meany made it clear that labor has no intention of resigning from the Board, because it would mean a "collapse" of the freeze.

Instead of marching off the Board and taking on those responsible for slashing wages, the Democrats and Republicans, the AFL-CIO leadership is bringing to the conference the host of Democratic presidential "hopefuls."

The central questions facing labor in '72 are the wage freeze and the soaring unemployment rolls. The Democrats have made it perfectly clear that they stand with Nixon against labor.

Meany, in a recent issue of *U.S. News and World Report*, was asked if he thought there would ever be a labor party in this country. Meany replied "No...if we set up our own political party, we'd be telling this country that we're ready to run the Government..."

But that is just the point. This is the only answer to the government's offensive against the unions.

The 20 Page Bulletin

With this issue the editorial board is proud to announce that the *Bulletin* will expand to twenty pages. This is required by the critical situation now facing the working class.

The *Bulletin* has continually warned that the employers and the government would use unemployment to break the tremendous power of the unions and to destroy the living standards of workers.

Today this is the conscious policy of every single capitalist government. In the U.S. the unemployment rate among workers with families has doubled. From Seattle, Washington to Bristol, Connecticut whole industrial towns have been closed down.

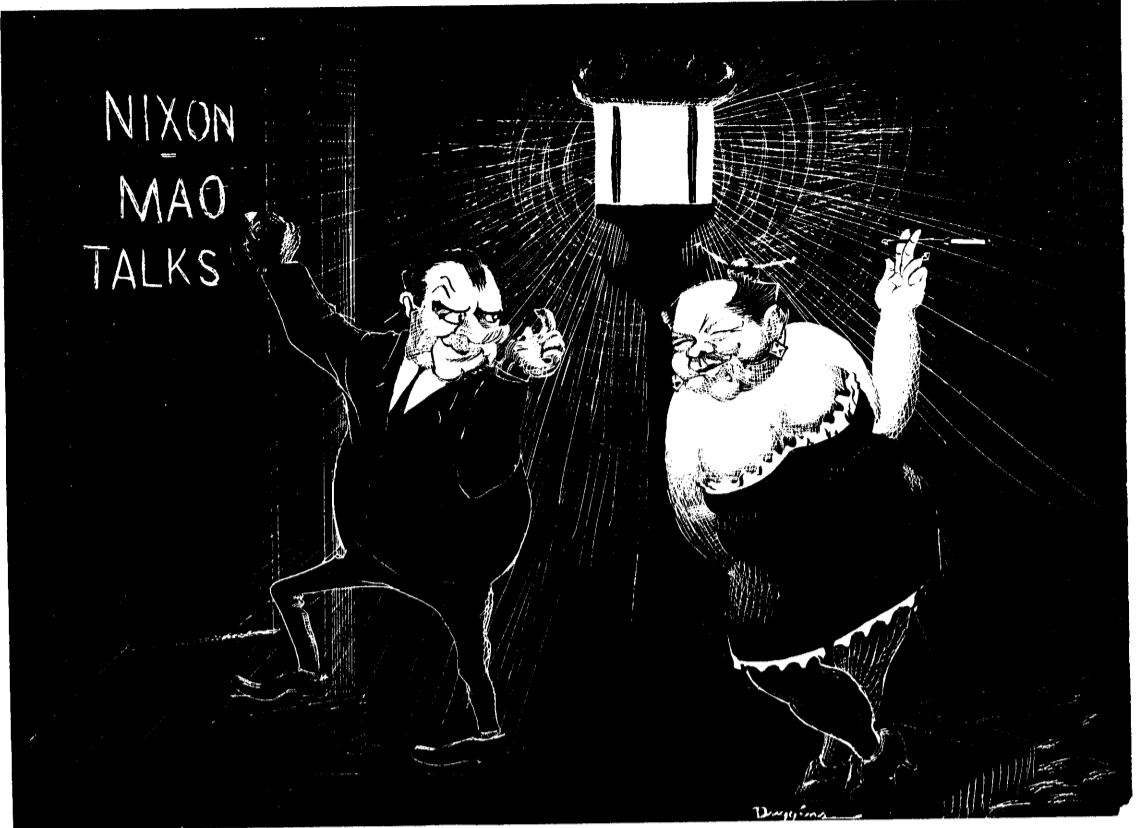
The corporations and their government are throwing millions of workers who produce everything in this country into the streets and then telling them if they do not work, they can starve.

The capitalist press spreads Nixon's lies that unemployment is going down at the same time that it whips up racism and hatred of the unions and encourages fascist tendencies. The press takes its stand with capitalism against the working class.

In the expanded *Bulletin* we will expose the real situation facing the working class and will lead the campaign for the labor movement to take up the fight against unemployment through a political fight against this government.

The building of this paper as a mass paper lies with our readers and supporters. We urge all our readers to sell the *Bulletin* in their schools, factories, and communities.

NIXON
-
MAO
TALKS



What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

tionalization of these industries under workers control.

Instead of demanding the setting of production standards by workers committees, the program calls for the "freezing of standards within 30 days of model change."

Instead of proposing a program of nationalization of the corporations without compensation, they call for "closing of tax loopholes for big business and the wealthy."

Rather than a fight for a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans, they call for an "American" popular front, that is: "Organization of a political vehicle which can genuinely base itself on this program and that overwhelming majority of Americans whose interests it reflects."

There is no mention of the wage freeze or the Pay Board at all in the program. At the conference itself, these people who will privately tell you they are "socialists"—the Stalinists, the IS, and the top leaders of the UNC, Pete Kelly and Art Fox—all opposed a motion calling for labor to leave the Pay Board immediately.

The report of the conference in the *Daily World* brings out even more sharply the nature of the United National Caucus as a left cover for Woodcock and the trade union bureaucracy. The report in the February 11 *Daily World* lumps together the opposition of a group of ultra-Stalinists, nationalist supporters of DRUM together with the Workers League, charging them with "making labor leaders the main target."

The report refers to the reply of UNC Chairman Pete Kelly as saying that the fight "to oust leaders would cut the rank and file movement off from many workers."

The *World* then quotes the contribution of Lee Cain from the Dodge Main plant, who stated the Stalinist popular front Trotsky-baiting line which Fox and Kelly should be all too familiar with, but with which they presumably now agree: "We know that socialism is superior to capitalism. I am for socialism, but what we need now is to build the broadest coalition of the people against rising fascism, against war, against racism, for jobs and security."

"I warn this conference we should watch for agents of the employers in the labor movement seeking to divert us from the real struggle at hand."

What the *Daily World* does not tell us about is the alliance with the "Shachtmanite" IS group both at this conference and in other unions such as the New York taxi union, Local 3036, and in Local 1101 of the CWA, the largest local of the striking telephone workers.

In taxi, the Stalinists and the IS banded together in the taxi drivers Rank and File Coalition to oppose the fight for a general strike against the Pay Board and for the labor party.

In the CWA, they have jointly adapted to the Carnivale leadership and now to the opposition to Carnivale but refuse to take up the key political demand—a fight against compulsory arbitration.

The Stalinphobic IS which considers the Soviet Union to be an exploitative society ruled by a "bureaucratic collectivist" ruling class unites on a program of capitalist reform. They unite with the CP in opposition to Marxist principles and in opposition to the fight for Marxist leadership in the unions.

This alliance in the United National Caucus is cemented together under the leadership of another element which has a somewhat different evolution than the IS. This is represented by the group around Art Fox.

Fox, the leading light behind the formation of the UNC ran for President of the UAW against Reuther at the 1970 convention. But the opposition role of the UNC within the UAW has been increasingly that of "loyal opposition." Fox and his supporters have spoken at these conventions as Reutherites, to the point where at the last convention Fox attempted to invoke the authority of Reuther in arguing against Woodcock.

The group around Fox has turned against the only strength they ever had—their attempt to fight for class struggle policies against Reuther which they carried on for many years as supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and its newspaper the *Militant*.

This group existed as a faction within the Socialist Workers Party basing themselves on the conception that the Soviet Union was a "state capitalist" society. When the struggle against the abandonment of Marxism by the SWP was taken up under the leadership of the British Socialist Labour League, they supported this fight in a common faction with those who later formed the Workers League.

But they drew back from a theoretical struggle to understand the philosophical roots of the degeneration of the SWP, refusing at the same time to confront the reactionary state capitalist theory. Instead they broke with the Workers League and International Committee, maintaining that they had to remain in the SWP "at all costs," counterposing this to a fight in defense of Marxist principles.

As a result they kept their mouths shut when the Ceylonese LSSP joined the bourgeois Bandaranaike government in 1964, in order to remain in the Socialist Workers Party.

They justified this perspective on the basis of the false "theory" that the Socialist Workers Party would return to the road of revolution under the impulse of the radicalization of the working class.

This was just the other side of the

coin of their conception that the fundamental cause of the degeneration of the SWP was not the result of their failure to develop Marxist theory based on dialectical materialism following the death of Trotsky.

On the contrary, they asserted that the SWP degenerated because of the relative prosperity of the working class and the isolation of the Trotskyist movement due to the cold war and the witchhunt in the 1950s.

This "theory" was nothing more than actual hostility to theory, the hallmark of syndicalism which today dominates Fox and his syndicalist co-thinkers in the UNC such as Pete Kelly.

Having turned their back on the struggle for internationalism, they sought to remain in the SWP as "American" trade union militants, rather than as Party fighters for working class principles.

They began with their own trade union operation and split with the SWP as soon as the Party attempted to bring their activity under Party discipline. Their split was thus in no way a move to the left but represented, despite all the left demagoguery, a revolt against democratic centralism and a deepening hostility toward Marxist theory.

This was clearly indicated as Fox and his supporters soon gave up any pretence of an independent fight for socialism. Fox considered socialism now to be a hindrance to the "successful" development of his trade union activity. He sneered disdainfully at the struggle of the Workers League to develop Marxist theory and to construct a revolutionary party. He claimed that he had more important, more "fruitful" work to do.

Fox claimed that the most essential of all struggles, the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism was beside the point. That is why he ends up in the arms of the Stalinists today, helping to provide a "left" cover for Woodcock.

It is no accident that Fox and the other syndicalist elements in the United National Caucus such as Chairman Pete Kelly, end up in alliance with Stalinism.

For the syndicalists, a "militant" struggle in the trade unions is sufficient to defend the interests of the working class within capitalism. Therefore, they oppose the necessary struggle for the construction of a Marxist leadership in the unions.

They dismiss the fight for Marxist theory against bourgeois ideology. On this basis of course they see no point in the struggle against Stalinism which is the expression of bourgeois ideology within the working class movement.

In this way they capitulate to the domination of the ruling class over the unions, a domination which is maintained only with the active aid of the Stalinist and trade union bureaucrats.

In 1969 we published a series of articles on the crisis within the United Secretariat. The following is an introduction to a new edition of this material which outlines the deepening of that crisis over the last two years.

FIRST OF TWO PARTS

Revisionism in Crisis

by Tim Wohlforth

The Crisis Deepens 1969-1972

In the Spring of 1969 a fundamental discussion broke forcibly to the surface within the United Secretariat, the international body supported by the Socialist Workers Party. The international congress held that year split into majority and minority factions. Over the last two years this division has only deepened.

In 1953 the world Trotskyist movement went through a fundamental split. A faction, led by Michel Pablo and including people like Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan, had broken with every fundamental of Trotskyism, of Marxism. This faction had abandoned the Marxist method for impressionism, saw Stalinism as capable of carrying through revolutions under pressure, and was actually engaged in liquidating the cadres of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinist and reformist organizations.

The International Committee was formed in opposition to Pablo's International Secretariat and was originally composed of the SWP (in political sympathy because of the reactionary Voorhis Act), the British Trotskyists led by Gerry Healy, and the French Trotskyists led by Pierre Lambert. Later groups in Canada, Argentina, Chile and one or two other places joined.

In 1961 the SWP proposed that the International Committee reunify with the International Secretariat on the grounds that over the years the political differences between the two international formations had narrowed. In actuality the SWP had gone over to the same method as Pablo and this had led the SWP to abandon its positions of 1953 for Pabloism in 1961. This move was opposed by the British, the French and an opposition in the SWP which later emerged as the Workers League.

In 1963 a rump faction of the In-

ternational Committee, led by the SWP, split away and reunified with the International Secretariat to form the United Secretariat. This unification took place on the basis of a Pabloite perspective and an agreement not to discuss the old differences, particularly the original split in 1953.

However, by 1969 it was no longer possible to avoid such a discussion. This time a majority emerged, made up of the old group that used to be around Pablo of Mandel-Frank-Maitan with some support from former IC people especially in Latin America, which through a position of support to guerilla warfare, were moving towards the same liquidationist conclusions that Pablo did in 1953. This is not only our opinion, but as this pamphlet points out, the opinion of the minority headed by the SWP.

This pamphlet analyzes the questions raised in this dispute, and most important, how it came about that open liquidationism once again is expressed in a movement calling itself Trotskyist particularly in a period when the prospects for constructing the Trotskyist movement are so bright. It further documents the responsibility of the SWP itself for the growth of the trend it now attacks as well as its refusal even at this late date to probe these questions to their historical and methodological roots.

THE DIVISION DEEPENS

Today the United Secretariat heads towards its first congress since the split developed in 1969. Not only have none of the questions which were in dispute been resolved, every indication is that they have deepened. Thus it is more important than ever to return to this dispute and grapple with the questions raised.

Joseph Hansen makes this assessment of the evolution of the dispute by March 19, 1971:

"One of the gains of the polemic is the clarification that has resulted as to the importance of the differences. It would have been preferable, of course, if these had turned out to be minor. It is now clear that underlying the opposing positions at the last world congress were deeper questions, especially concerning the axis of party building tasks for the Fourth International...Of course, the atmosphere can become heated, and this is not without danger. In fact, it must be said frankly that signs of undue factionalism have appeared in several areas..."

In line with the last assertion the Political Committee of the SWP wrote to the United Secretariat on the eve of the last

SWP convention accusing it of bringing about a "crystallization of international tendencies" and ended up making it clear it would now organize its own faction:

"In view of this it is now our opinion that the leaderships of sections and sympathizing organizations who feel concerned about these developments would do well to begin consulting directly with each other, particularly in considering what relationship these developments may have to the political differences that have arisen, and what is the wisest course to pursue. This should include the leaderships of declared tendencies in national sections, where they may exist, inasmuch as this is a period of discussion preparatory to a world congress."

As far as the latter question is concerned the SWP leadership made it clear at its August, 1971 convention that such faction organization was to be a one-way affair as it warned minority members that if they appealed to the United Secretariat they would be forthwith expelled.

LIVIO MAITAN'S POSITION

Now let us turn to the evolution of the political discussion within the United Secretariat since 1969. The first important contributions were two articles written in defense of the majority position and against that particularly of Joseph Hansen. These are "Once Again On The Revolutionary Perspectives in Latin America—Defense of An Orientation And A Method" by Livio Maitan, written September 30, 1970 and "The Strategic Orientation Of The Revolutionists In Latin America" by Ernest Germain and Martine Knoeller, written November, 1970. Both were published internally by the SWP in January, 1971. Both were dealt almost exclusively with the question of guerilla warfare in Latin America.

The Maitan article is of particular interest. In the first place the liquidationism of this tendency finds its sharpest expression in Maitan's writings. He writes:

"In speaking of 'classical' norms the reference is clearly most of all to the October Revolution. We do not doubt in the least that this 'model,' in principle, represents the most favorable variant, because the breadth of the mobilization of the workers and peasants produced a very clear situation of dual power, gave rise to the embryonic forms of a new revolutionary democratic state structure, and reduced to a minimum the armed confrontation, which was conducted by detachments arising from the masses and closely linked to the ascending mass

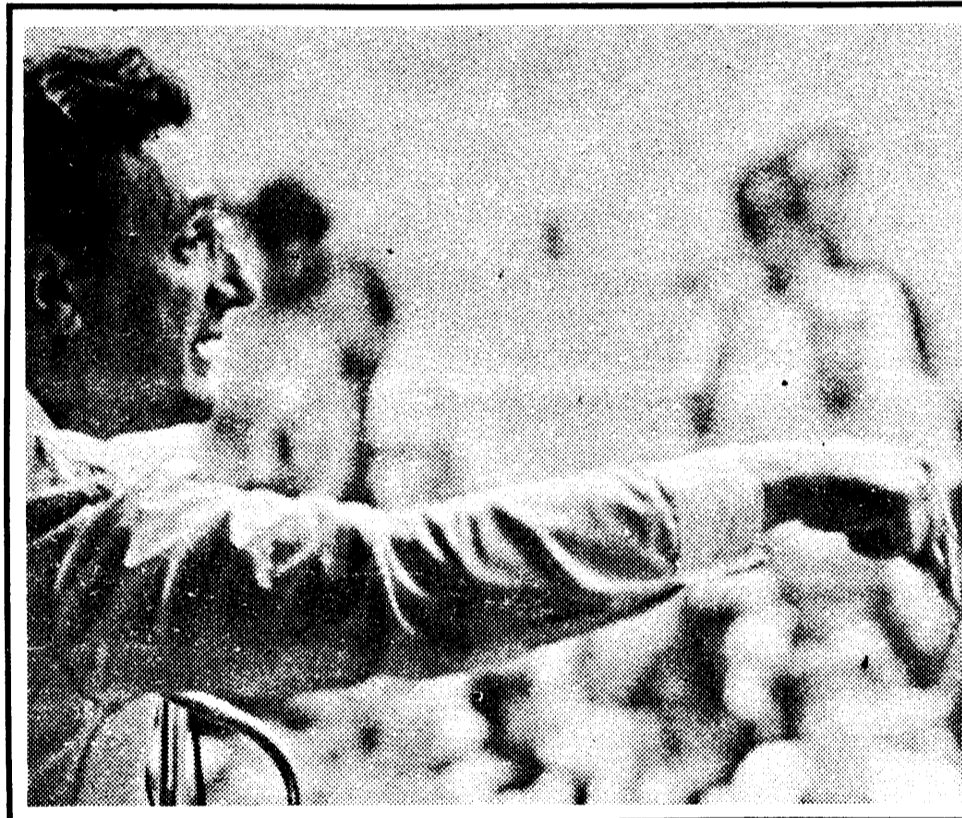
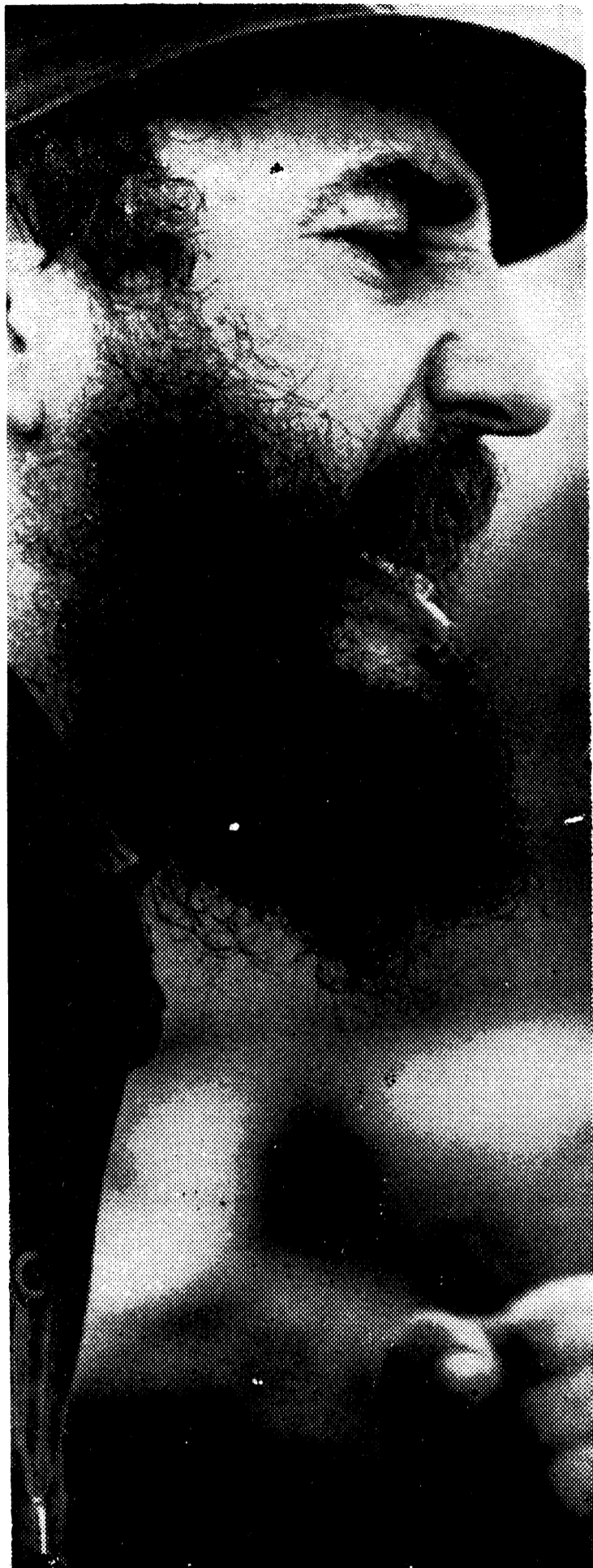
movement. But even leaving out the civil war that followed, it must not be forgotten for an instant that two conditions permitted such a development: the bourgeois army had been broken up by the war and the state apparatus more generally was in the midst of crisis; a revolutionary party existed, linked to the masses for fifteen years, which posed the question of armed struggle and the creation of a military apparatus from the start. Applying the schema of October to Latin America today, 'forgetting' these two essential elements, would really be a 'barren exercise!'"

The construction of the Leninist-type party, its struggle for leadership of the masses around transitional demands, its bitter battle against revisionist trends within the workers movement, and finally its coming to power through the construction of soviets—this for Maitan is a "model" of little relevance to at least Latin America today. Here Maitan bases himself on Pablo's theories of the early 1950's when the construction of the revolutionary party was no longer seen as an absolute precondition to the socialist revolution. Pablo, like Maitan, saw this as only "the most favorable variant" and, in fact, the least likely one to occur. There are, for Maitan, many other roads to socialism in addition to the Leninist road. No wonder Hansen is able to report that Maitan lost the bulk of his youth to the Maoists.

But let us see how Maitan further discusses Latin America in relation to the two criteria he sets up of the construction of the revolutionary party and the stability of the bourgeois army:

"At the same time, despite the spectacular episodes of these years, the relationship of forces within the exploited classes remains unfavorable to revolutionists in the sense that at the mass level the bureaucratic apparatuses retain the dominant influence as well as considerable room for maneuver. This is why, when the class struggle reaches the level of armed confrontation—which it does most often independently not only of the will of the traditional organizations but also of the concrete decisions of the revolutionists—this occurs in conditions where the conservative forces have the military advantage. As a result the tendency arises to adopt the method of guerilla warfare, which, let me repeat once more, is the most suitable form of armed struggle in the given context."

Maitan begins with the perspective that both the bureaucratic apparatuses of the Stalinists and reformists in the workers'



movement and the bourgeois army are unchangeable, immovable objects. He then states that despite this situation the class struggle advances to the stage of armed struggle requiring that we seek to bring about a workers' state **without** shattering the bureaucracies and constructing a party which leads the masses and **without** even shattering the army. Guerilla warfare then becomes a completely liquidationist shortcut replacing all the tasks Lenin saw for the conscious party.

Maitan obviously does not agree with the **Transitional Program** which states:

"The orientation of the masses is determined first by the objective conditions of decaying capitalism, and second, by the treacherous politics of the old workers' organizations. Of these factors, the first, of course, is the decisive one: the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus."

While Maitan talks of armed struggle and "pre-revolutionary situations" he does not discuss the crisis of capitalism and with it the movement of the working class, the dislocation of the bureaucratic apparatuses, and the break-up of the army. He actually proceeds from a perspective which denies any serious capitalist crisis, which sees no movement in the working class, seeing only the action of the petty bourgeoisie.

In 1950 Pablo saw "war-revolution" as imminent but the Trotskyist movement as

small and isolated. Thus he proposed as a "variant" that this difficulty be overcome through putting pressure on these bureaucratic apparatuses to carry through the revolution in a "rough way." In 1970 Maitan sees the same kind of situation in Latin America and proposes to go around the bureaucratic apparatuses through the organization of the petty bourgeoisie in guerilla bands. The method is the same. The questions in dispute within the United Secretariat have their roots in Pabloism and none of the participants in this dispute are willing to openly expose those roots.

We need add only one critical point at this juncture. The subjective factor, the role of consciousness, is one of the objective conditions. The bureaucracies will not crumble of their own weight. They can be destroyed only through the conscious struggle of the revolutionary party under conditions of the absolute conflict of classes brought about by the capitalist crisis.

The difficulties posed by the smallness of the vanguard are not to be gotten around but rather overcome through the conscious struggle of the party itself. If this party has the correct program and trains its cadres in the Marxist method, since this program expresses the interests of the class, it can construct a mass revolutionary party under these conditions. It is this essentially **philosophical**

question of the relation of consciousness to the objective situation which is always at the root of all revisionism including Pabloism.

MANDEL'S POSITION

Mandel's article adds little of theoretical interest to Maitan whose role it is to carry out the liquidationist logic of the whole United Secretariat's position. But he does make one interesting point:

"Likewise in seeking to counterpose party building to the strategy of armed struggle, Comrade Hansen is leading the discussion into a blind alley. In the same way, party building could be counterposed to any strategy, for example participating in mass demonstrations. This is the error Healy and other sectarians make who have reproached the SWP for participating in the antiwar movement, the Black nationalist movement, and the women's liberation movement rather than 'building the revolutionary party.' The SWP has replied correctly to these infantile objections that there is no other way to build a revolutionary party—as opposed to a sect or religious-type cult—than formulating a correct strategy corresponding to the concerns and needs of the masses themselves."

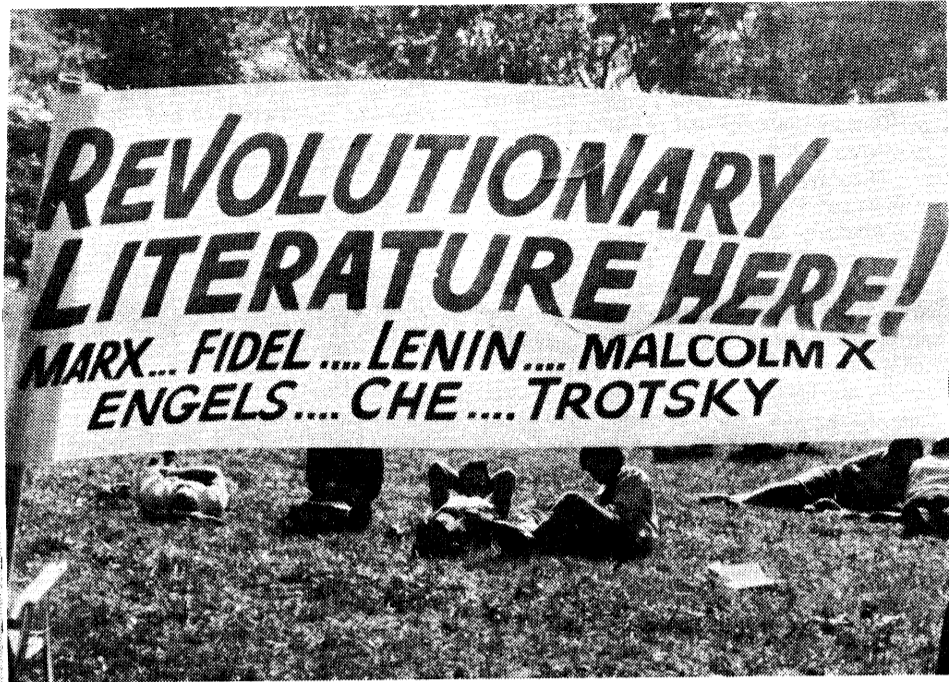
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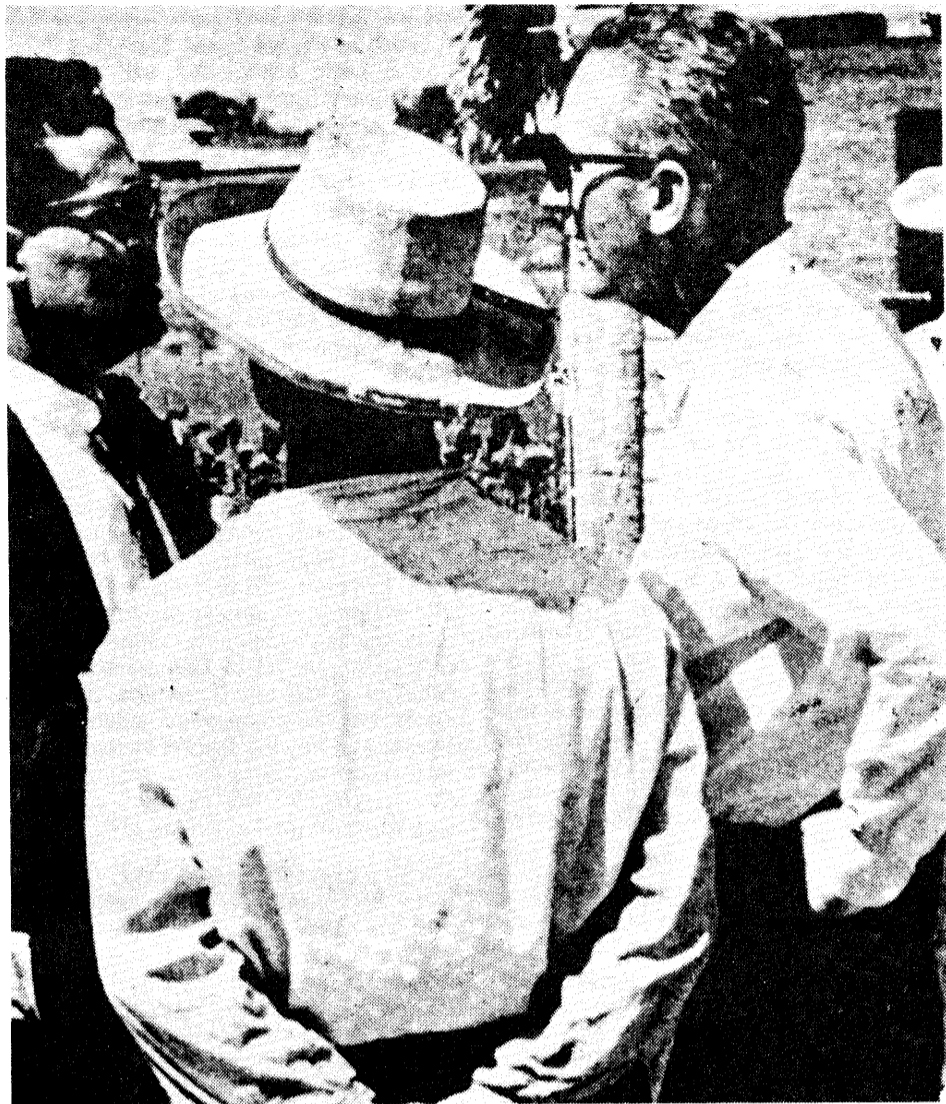
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The bulk of the material related to Latin America and guerilla warfare consists of



Ernest Mandel (center left) is one of the major leaders of the United Secretariat majority faction. Mandel supports guerillaism in Latin America as a means of liquidating Trotskyism. Fidel Castro (far left) inspired such guerillas as those in Guatemala (second from left). It was Che Guevara's death (third from left) which exposed for all to see the bankruptcy of guerillaism. Joseph Hansen (center right) is the main spokesman for the minority faction supported by the SWP which had no difficulty in an earlier period in promoting the guerillaist writings (above) and uncritically supporting the Cuban regime (Farrell Dobbs in Cuba above right). Today it blocks with Moreno who in the past liquidated his movement simultaneously into Peronism, a nationalist tendency which has strength in the unions and Castroism (picture of his newspaper below right).



ORGANO DEL PERONISMO
OBRERO
REVOLUCIONARIO

palabra obrera

BAJO LA DISCIPLINA DEL GRAJ. PERON
Y DEL CONSEJO SUPERIOR PERONISTA



quoting Engels, Lenin and Trotsky as to whether guerilla warfare is a tactic or a strategy. Hansen summarizes the SWP position in his report to the SWP NC Plenum:

"The main difference at the last world congress thus centered over the Latin American resolution, which elevated guerilla warfare from the status of a tactic to a 'strategy.'

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THE ARGENTINE QUESTION

The major new element brought into the Latin American part of the discussion was Argentina. In fact attention was consciously shifted from Bolivia, where Maitan had hoped for a "break-through" in 1969 and where while Hansen was writing very important revolutionary developments were taking place with the Popular Assembly, to the dispute between the two sections in Argentina. As this question became the center, or at least the excuse, for a very sharp situation around the time of the SWP convention in August, 1971 it would be best

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The SWP carried through its reunification in 1963 under the cover of the Cuban Revolution. The reunification was primarily based on agreement on Cuba as opening up a new road of guerilla warfare to socialism. In this pamphlet we go into the Cuban question in detail.

However, it must be noted here that the evolution of Cuba since 1969 adds new confirmation to our assessment. Particularly important has been the relations Cuba has developed with the Peruvian Junta and Allende's popular front government in Chile. Castro has uncritically supported both abandoning even his own supporters in both countries to diplomatic advantages coming from arrangements with these bourgeois governments. Hansen in this discussion, and since, makes no assessment of Cuba. He even at one point suggests that the Cubans are less for guerilla warfare than Maitan and Mandel.

In 1963 the International Committee had two major sections in Latin America while the Mandel forces were extremely weak having lost most of their forces to a split by Posados a year earlier. These were the groups around Luis Vitale in Chile and around Nahuel Moreno in Argentina. Both groups enthusiastically and uncritically rallied to Castro. It was with them in mind that the reunification document urged the liquidation of the Trot-

skyists into Castro's OLAS.

The Chilean group under Vitale had been formed in a split from the Pabloites. The Pabloites joined the Socialist Party of Allende and completely disappeared from the scene while the Vitale group developed some strength. By 1969 this group had completely liquidated itself into the guerillaist MIR and Vitale is referred to in the press as "one of the ideologues of the MIR." In that same year these people, who no longer have even a name not to mention a paper or an organization, contributed to the international discussion in the name of "our comrades of Chile."

Needless to say they supported the Mandel-Maitan majority enthusiastically particularly the point about "integration into the Castroist current."

Moreno's evolution was for a whole period little different. For a considerable period of time prior to reunification Moreno worked within the Peronist movement in Argentina completely adapting to this bourgeois nationalist trend.

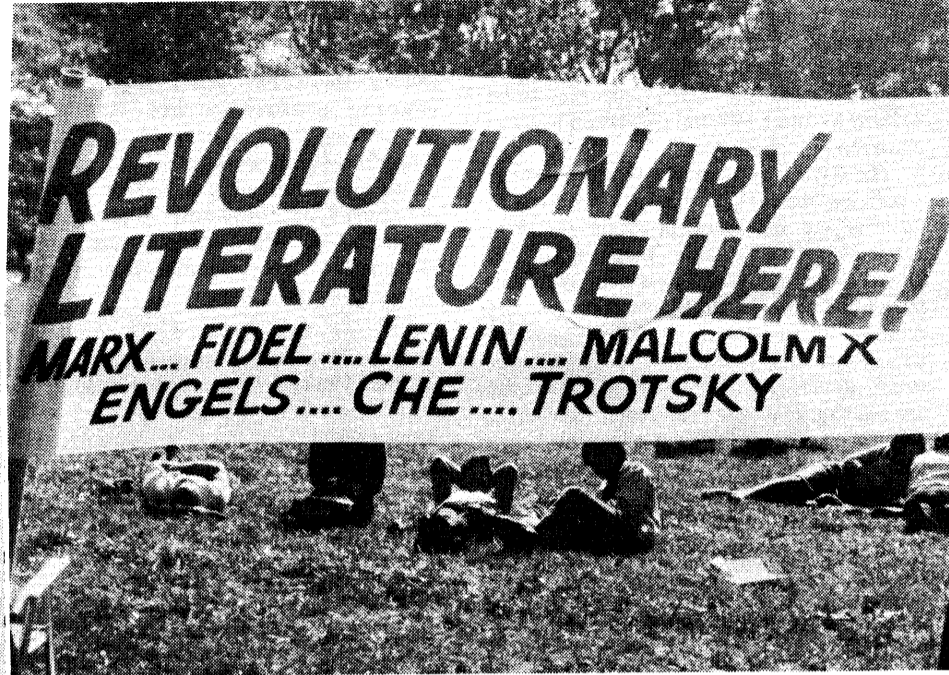
Hansen and the SWP were, of course, aware of this and had expressed to Moreno their disagreement with this line. Even when Castroism swept Latin America, Moreno did not break from Peron but sought to fuse Castroism with Peronism. He called his party Peronismo Obrero Revolucionario and stated that it functioned "under the discipline of Juan Peron."

His paper published a picture of Peron and Castro side by side in each issue for a whole period of time.

The SWP was more than happy to file its objections to Moreno's Peronism in return for support within the International Committee for its unprincipled split. Soon after reunification Moreno threw his forces uncritically into the Castroist movement. His position in 1967 is quoted by Maitan:

"Hence the number one task of all Latin American revolutionists at this time, of OLAS as the only organization capable of supporting the armed struggle, of our party as a component of this organization, and of a country bordering on Bolivia is first to save and then to consolidate the ELN and Inti as its unchallenged leader. There is no more urgent task than this..."

"OLAS, and most concretely its armed detachments, is the highest organizational expression of the Latin American mass movement for the struggle for power. Our entry into OLAS has much greater importance than our activity in the Peronist unions in its time, for the Peronist opposition slates, or our entry into the Peronist movement and the 62. But for our action to have this fundamental importance we must join its armed detachments, or help to create them where they do not exist. This means loyal and disciplined recognition of the leadership of



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OLAS, recognition of the disciplined and centralized character which the struggle and its Latin American organization must have and most of all the need to maintain direct contact with the Cuban leadership, which is the unchallenged leadership of the continental civil war and of OLAS. It also means our unconditional entry into its armed detachments..."¹²

This statement is as bad or worse than anything the United Secretariat has come up with in the current discussion. But Hansen cannot take a principled position on it. He writes:

"It is quite true that Comrade Moreno was strongly of the opinion at the time that OLAS was a most hopeful development and that the Trotskyists should participate in it and strive to help move it from within toward adoption of a program of democratic and transitional demands. Although I do not share some of Comrade Moreno's formulations, I think his basic political reaction was correct. As part of the process of testing out what might develop, it was necessary to assume the sincerity of the delegates in adopting the aims declared at the OLAS conference. Comrade Moreno, of course, was also a strong partisan of a continental strategy of armed struggle under the leadership of the Cubans."¹³

It is more than a matter of Hansen's agreement with the very policies he now attacks in the United Secretariat's majority. To put it truthfully, the SWP initiated these policies and was the main advocate for a whole period. Why now, then, this sharp attack on Mandel-Maitan for continuing them?

In Moreno's case his empirical turn is easy enough to understand. The Moreno quotes are from 1967, the year that Castro confirmed the death of Guevara. By 1968 guerillism had had its day and was in decline while the working class was surging

forward in France in the May-June days and in Latin America as well. Moreno, who earlier supported Peron and worked lately in the labor movement, was quick to sense the changing winds and to move against guerillism without making any assessment of his past positions.

In this movement he was not alone. It was in 1968 that Guillermo Lora first united with Moscoso and then broke off relations with him to start an evolution in the direction of the International Committee. However, the evolution of the SWP on this question will require a little more discussion at a later point but suffice it to say here that they, too, had a sensitivity to the shifting political winds as well as an aversion to any principled evaluation.

In any event by the 1969 United Secretariat congress the Argentine movement had split into two separate groups. The majority group was the PRT, which publishes *El Combatiente*, and whose military arm is the ERP. This group was recognized as the official section. The minority was the group which publishes *La Verdad* and which is headed by Moreno. It was recognized only as a sympathizing section. The SWP has emerged as strong supporters of the *La Verdad* group.

It is important to realize that this majority PRT group was led by people from the original Moreno International Committee formation. The SWP's own creation turned against them. This means the bulk of the Latin American forces which the SWP brought into the reunification have either been completely liquidated or now support Mandel and Maitan against the SWP. This means, that according to the SWP's own political assessment, these forces have gone over to liquidationist positions. Such are just some of the fruits of an unprincipled reunification which refused to confront questions of history

and theory.

Hansen prints the following description of the PRT and the ERP, purported to be written by the ERP and published in *Cristianismo y Revolucion*:

"The ERP was born as a consequence of a political decision of the last congress of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) held last July. The fourth congress of the party, in 1968, initiated the process that culminated in the creation of the ERP by expelling the rightist faction of Nahuel Moreno. An intense stage of ideological struggle was then opened against the reformist and syndicalist tendencies of the party by those who sought to consolidate the proposal of 'organizing a combat party.'

"In an at times confused process, which we have defined as the 'class struggle' within the party, a battle was waged against (a) a reformist current that still exists in certain sectors of the organization, and (b) against a tendency that hid its centrism behind defense of the

classical concept of a 'Bolshevik party.'

During these two years the party advanced, confusedly but firmly—incorporating the experience of the continental revolution in the decade of the seventies, incorporating and discussing the principles of 'Maoism,' and the propositions of 'Marighelism' and of the 'Tupamaros' thus indicating its permanent radicalization."¹⁴

ERP is the group which kidnapped Stanley Sylvester of Swift and Co. in Rosario and has carried out almost daily "expropriations" of mimeo machine office supplies and what have you leading to the arrest of many of its members. Needless to say the SWP felt particularly uncomfortable when the question of guerilla warfare was no longer a matter of something to be "supported" from afar, a matter of a poster for the wall and books to be printed, but actually became the practice of a group with which it maintained political relations.

FOOTNOTES

- "In Defense of the Leninist Concept of Party Building" by Joseph Hansen, *International Information Bulletin*, Socialist Workers Party, pp. 61-62.
- "July 7, 1971 Letter from the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the United Secretariat," *International Information Bulletin*, No. 5, July 1971, Socialist Workers Party, p. 8.
- "Once Again on the Revolutionary Perspectives in Latin America—Defense of an Orientation and a Method" by Livio Maitan, *International Information Bulletin*, No. 2, January, 1971, Socialist Workers Party, p. 16.
- Hansen, Joseph, "In Defense..." *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.
- Maitan, Livio, "Once Again..." *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.
- Trotsky, Leon, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," *The Transitional Program*, Pathfinder Press, 1970, p. 6.
- "The Strategic Orientation of the Revolutionists in Latin America" by Ernest Germain and Martine Knoeller, *International Information Bulletin*, No. 2, January 1971, Socialist Workers Party, p. 29.
- "World Movement Report to SWP National Committee Plenum, March 13, 1971," by Joseph Hansen, *International Information Bulletin*, April, 1971, No. 2 in 1971, p. 16.
- See: "Allende, MIR and the SWP," *Bulletin*, January 24, 1972, Volume 8, Number 20, 229, p. 6.
- Ibid.*
- See: "Hansen Maneuvers Towards an International Split" by Tim Wohlforth, *Bulletin*, August 23, 1971, Volume 7, Number 48, 208, p. 12.
- Maitan, Livio, "Once Again..." *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.
- Hansen, "In Defense..." *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.
- Ibid.*, p. 31.

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FILMS

LOU BELKIN



GARDEN OF THE FINZI-CONTINIS. Directed by Vittorio DeSica. Edited by A. Novelli. Photography by E. Guarnieri. Starring H. Berger, L. Capolicchio, D. Sanda.

In 1938, Vittorio DeSica directed *Children Are Watching Us* which had a profound impact upon subsequent films, not only in Italy but throughout Europe. This film, along with *Bicycle Thief*, *Umberto D* and *Shoeshine* established DeSica as one of the great directors and brought the Italian "neo-realist" school to its peak. In fact, Rossellini, another of the neo-realists and DeSica dominated cinema during the period of and just after the Second World War.

DeSica's career since this period has been rather spotty. He directed *Two Women* in 1962, which established Sophia Loren as a gifted actress, and enabled DeSica once again to extract super performances from children. His forte was utilizing non-professional kids from the streets for his pictures, and Truffaut and others learned much about the use of amateurs from DeSica. But DeSica also made dismal movies. Not even his appearance in them could brighten things up. One sensed DeSica was way, way out of his medium, had made his peace with the world and with commercial Hollywood cinema, churning out soap opera stuff like *Frisky and Sunflower*.

Therefore it is essential to see his newest picture, *Garden of the Finzi-Continis* as a serious, if unsuccessful attempt, to bridge the two styles—neo-realism and poetic Hollywood-lush melodrama. The film concerns two Italian Jewish families in 1938, just as Mussolini was exterminating Ethiopians, Communists and political opponents, working class Jews and was preparing to eliminate the more prosperous Jewish population. On one level *Finzi-Continis* is a love story about Micol Finzi-Contini (Dominique Sanda), ruling class, aristocratic Jewess and Giorgio (Lino Capolicchio), whose father is a prosperous government bureaucrat and middle class Jewish supporter of Mussolini.

It is in DeSica's laying bare of the middle class and its relationship to fascism, that the film excels. It shines as well in the depiction of the very tender relationship between Giorgio and Micol which is tragically unconsummated because they have adored each other since childhood and cannot get away from the memories of the past. This dreaminess persists throughout the film and alternates with the barbaric harshness of fascist Italy.

FASCISM

But in his conception of the social and economic bases of fascism, DeSica completely retreats from the earlier *Children*

Are Watching Us, which was a serious class analysis of the Italian fascist movement with its murders of workers and their organizations, the appeals to the demoralized sections and particularly to the small shopkeepers and government lackeys. DeSica showed its support amongst all sections of the Catholic Church hierarchy and depicted the role of the Stalinists. *Finzi-Continis* is miles from that.

The Finzi-Contini family lives in a palace ensconced in the middle of Ferrara, a prosperous North Italian city. The working class does not exist in this film, save for asides about workers from the affluent friends of Micol and her brother Alfredo (Helmut Berger). Even the "socialist" Lorenzo, who despises the fascists, sees the workers in a paternalistic way. The senior Finzi-Contini is rather elderly and stoic, and his adoration of his children is conveyed solely through twinkling blue eyes.

He is ostensibly a former professor of literature, had great wealth but is now losing everything. The family's movements have been restricted to the confines of their sumptuous home and garden. Alfredo, the son, is febrile and sickly and the very duration and prognosis of his terminal illness (consumption) symbolizes the passing away of everything that was, the decay of society and the final decline in fortune and life of the family at one of the numerous concentration camps scattered throughout Europe.

Giorgio's family despises the Finzi-Continis. Giorgio's father distrusts even

their "Jewishness" remarking that it is "only a facade." This man of course, a petty coattail grabber in government circles, is incapable of understanding anything. He merely blinks and nods as he is told he cannot maintain "Aryan" servants, cannot belong to the tennis club, cannot frequent certain places, cannot send the children to school, cannot keep his job and cannot send Giorgio to the public library to research his doctoral thesis.

All of these privileges and rights are ripped away and the father mopes passively. Yet he supported Mussolini and the brownshirts, wore the tricolor in his lapel like some sort of fraternity pin. In due time he loses everything and he too meets up with the Finzi-Continis at a detention center.

DeSica seeks to convey a sense of historical perspective. The decline in the Finzi-Contini fortune, the shattering of their dream world is squarely rooted in the whole period. The fact that Giorgio's brother is sent to school in Grenoble and rides the train with troops readying for war reflects at once a sense of irony and historical truth. Jews, of course, were not allowed in the army. The outcast brother remains at school with other outcasts and political dissidents, and it is there that Giorgio learns about the concentration camps and the numbers branded on the forearms of prisoners.

But DeSica's camera dwells on the isolation, the sense of being outcast, being treated with contempt, in an idealist way. It is this parochialism which destroys the real unifying point of the film, the essence of fascism in its relation to all classes. Fascism is seen as almost an external force. But only reinforces the isolation, symbolized above all, by the great, big garden with its lush vegetation, tennis court and privacy. This garden is a paradise for the Finzi-Continis who are forbidden access to the rest of the city and of Italy.

Stalin is mentioned briefly in the film as well. Giorgio's father and other petty-bourgeois placed great faith in Stalin. They saw a Russian victory over the invading Germans as the only way out without understanding that not only did Stalin prepare the way for the arrival of the

German troops but allowed Hitler to come to power and Mussolini to sustain himself. Stalin completely disarmed and demoralized the Russian masses by slaughtering thousands of the very best general and officers and millions of the communist youth and workers. And although there was victory over Germany, this was achieved at enormous sacrifice and in spite of Stalin, who retreated at the first advances towards Moscow by the Nazi troops.

DeSica himself gravitated towards the Stalinists and flirted with them. Other artists and intellectuals did likewise but they were never developed and brought into the life of the movement. This was of course a conscious Stalinist policy. This is why DeSica and others retreated after the betrayals of 1946-47, in spite of the fact that he made superb films of the whole war period. But the post-war films were fraught with disillusion and despair. The ravages of war were always visited upon isolated individuals (*Two Women*) or were clownishly if sardonically portrayed (*Generale Della Rovere*). So it is also with *Finzi-Continis*. It is successful in conveying the sense of frustration and impotence of these layers, if unsuccessful in relating these to other class forces in society.

GLOWS

The cinematographer Guarnieri also worked with DeSica on *Bicycle Thief*, *Shoeshine* and the others. Those films were shot in stark, low-key black and white. This picture literally glows with beige and green filtered, airy Eastman-color.

The camerawork and editing are smooth and generally well-paced. DeSica utilizes zooms very effectively, enabling them to bridge the gap between the isolation of the Finzi-Contini garden and the rest of the city or to further enhance the isolation. But the SPES laboratories deserve special plaudits for the superb rendering of negatives and opticals to convey an almost impressionistic picture of the thirties which is livid, glowing, and alive. It conveys the quality of paint on celluloid and suggests the influence of Monet and Seurat-dots and dabs of color.

THEATRE

JEAN CAMERON

THE BLACK TERROR, by Richard Wesley; produced by Joseph Papp; directed by Nathan George; at: N.Y. Shakespeare Festival Public Theater.

This play is about Black nationalism. It is billed as an objective view of "the political, ideological and sociological courses the Black community is charting."

The 26 year old author of this play was born in Newark, New Jersey, where nationalism today plays one of its most reactionary roles under LeRoi Jones. Mr. Wesley spent the last four years since college graduation in New York City at various Black Theaters and Workshops and has been in close enough proximity to follow the developments of Black nationalism in Newark and in the rest of the world.

However he deigns not to comment on the role of Black nationalism or to defend it, but instead uses it as a vehicle for his own cynicism and hostility against the movement of youth seeking revolutionary means by which to solve the problems con-

fronting them under capitalism.

The play deals with the African Liberation Front (ALF) whose goal it is to rid the Black community of its oppressors through individual acts of terrorism and murder. It "serves the will of the People." Its entire perspective is one of survival in a system that offers nothing to its working class and poor.

When protagonist Keusi, trained killer, returns from Vietnam and offers his talents to the ALF he is chosen to rip off the Police Commissioner who has plagued the ghetto with his special Mad Dog Company.

In the course of executing his mission, Keusi falls in love with his assistant assassin, M'Bahlia, and calls into question all the goals, strategy and principles of the organization. M'Bahlia tries to return him to the revolutionary road that is her life, but he sees it all as revolutionary martyrdom, dead-end and adventuristic.

By now it has been established that our protagonist represents the voice of reason, that is, the author's voice.

CONTEMPT

When a terrorist branch is raided by the cops and all but one revolutionary fighter is wiped out, Keusi decides the ALF is all wrong. He brings us up to the limit of adventurism and even to the bankruptcy of Blacks organizing as Blacks, but refuses to carry us further. Lest anyone in the audience jump to the conclusion that the answer is to organize the working class, Black and white, against the common op-

The Black Terror

pressor, the capitalists, our author quickly interjects all his poisonous contempt of Marxism. Keusi now lashes out at the attempts of the leadership to grasp theory. He says it is all wrong, including the "crazy ideology of some Europeans" and those "revolutionary slogans some nihilistic white boys wrote ninety years ago."

All the theoretical capital of Lenin he discards with, "the f-ing Bolsheviks unleashed Stalin on the world."

The author tries to make his ALF with distortion parallel the early development of the Panther Party up to the point Huey Newton first turned to questions of revolutionary theory, to dialectical materialism. Here the author says no that's not the way forward—there's no way forward—you're all fools to fight a battle you cannot win.

In the end Keusi is expelled from the party, M'Bahlia replaces him as executioner of victim number two, an Uncle Tom deemed a danger to his people. While she is eliminating her target, her own father, the stage darkens, police sirens wail, red lights flash, and an on-the-spot radio reporter's voice is heard relating the final shoot-out of the ALF and the government.

He heatedly reports that innocent men, women and children are being killed as the police and national guard shoot their way in. It is he who gives the author's final pronouncement, over and over, until it fades off. "it's all so senseless...it's all so senseless..."

On The Eve Of CPUSA Convention

Stalinism And Black Nationalism

BY FRED MUELLER

The movement of the working class internationally is throwing the Stalinist bureaucracy into tremendous crisis. This crisis is expressed not only in the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union but in all the Communist Parties which rest upon it. The U.S. Communist Party is no exception, as it goes into its 20th National Convention to be held from February 18-21 in New York City.

The delegates to this Convention meet at a time of enormously deepening class conflict internationally. In the U.S. the movement of the working class reaches an explosive pitch with the efforts of the government to defeat the longshoremen on both coasts, the tremendous movement of workers against the Pay Bord, the struggles of workers and youth against Nixon at a time when the international monetary crisis has not been and cannot be solved.

This is a time of acute crisis for Stalinism because the temporary equilibrium of class forces on which it is based is now breaking up. Political questions which were ignored in the past now are pushed to the fore within the Stalinist movement.

The CP journal, *Political Affairs*, has printed a long series of articles in the last few months which only hint at the grave problems facing the Stalinists today. These include CP work in the trade unions, among Black workers and youth, and in the 1972 elections.

The Stalinists are forced to explain or attempt to explain their relationship to the trade union bureaucracy, to the Democratic Party, to the Black nationalists. At the same time they continue to face serious difficulties in maintaining the circulation of their press and in financing it as well.

CHAUVINISM

According to Ted Bassett, writing in the February 1972 issue of *Political Affairs* on "The Communist Party's Fight Against White Chauvinism," "Even in the ranks of the Young Workers Liberation League, an underestimation of the pioneer role of the Communist Party in the fight against white chauvinism was expressed in a recent outline entitled 'The Struggle Against Chauvinism,' which observed: 'We have no historical experience of our own (i.e., within the U.S. Communist movement) to draw upon for an answer to this question.' Hence it becomes a matter of practical importance to publicize the history of the pioneer role of the Communist Party in the fight against white chauvinism and its relationship to the struggle for full Black citizenship rights and to the democratic advance of labor and the entire American people."

This admission of friction within the Stalinist-led youth organization is only a pale sign of the crisis bearing down on the CP. But a truthful historical accounting of the "role of the Communist Party" is not going to be forthcoming from Bassett or anyone else in the pages of *Political Affairs*.

DIFFERENCES

Differences within the CP over the question of nationalism are behind the spate of articles in *Political Affairs* in the last three months. The December 1971 issue contains articles by veteran Stalinist Claude Lightfoot on "The Roots and History of Racism" and by Herbert Aptheker on "Black Studies and U.S. History."

The January 1972 issue contains the first of a two part article on "Black Workers and the Class Struggle" by Roscoe Proctor, as well as "From the Anti-Slavery to the Anti-Monopoly Strategy" by Henry Winston. And the February issue contains in addition to the concluding section of Proctor's article the above mentioned article by Bassett as well as several other

articles on the subject of racism and the struggle against it.

The fight against racism is central to the struggles of the American and international working class. We can be sure, however, that this is not the reason for the numerous articles in *Political Affairs*. The Stalinists proceed not from the needs of the working class but with the defense of the privileges and the whole political record of the Soviet bureaucracy.

These articles are designed to prove that the CP is attentive to the fight against racism and to the defense of the role and the history of the Stalinists on this question. Obviously, then, this question is being raised within the Communist Party or the Young Workers Liberation League, or both. The party leadership faces serious questioning on its own history and on its present position.

BLACK CAUCUS

The article by Roscoe Proctor is particularly important. Proctor concedes everything to nationalism while taking issue with some of the conclusions of the nationalists.

Writing about "the growing number of all-Black formations," Proctor says that "these have come into existence primarily to deal with and give leadership on the problem of racism and on finding the path to eradicating our special oppression."

In writing about "our special oppression" and at every other point in the article, Proctor makes clear that he is writing for Blacks, not for Black and white revolutionary workers. Thus he begins on the same level as the nationalists.

For Proctor and the CP this question is a national question. He writes about Black caucuses in the unions, "The proliferation of these caucuses is directly linked to the unique character and new quality of the militancy of Black workers today, which stems from the three-fold nature of Black oppression—as workers, as a racial group, and as a nationally oppressed people."

Flowing from this, the development of Black caucuses in the unions is, for Proctor, "a positive development." Only within this framework of capitulation to nationalism does Proctor argue against what he calls "some erroneous ideas" on Black workers and the class struggle.

What are these ideas? Although Proctor refers to them as having developed within the various Black caucus movements, these same views are undoubtedly reflected within the Stalinist movement itself. Otherwise the *Political Affairs* editors would not be nearly as interested in the subject as they so obviously are.

Proctor takes issue with "the idea that Black and white workers should not be members of the same rank-and-file caucus (or revolutionary organization) but should develop 'parallel forms.'" According to Proctor, "it is desirable for Black workers (including those who belong to Black caucuses) to simultaneously work with white workers in a common organization of Black and white."

Proctor further criticizes the conception "that unions can never play a revolutionary role, and that they should be abandoned entirely in favor of more revolutionary forms." He opposes any tendency toward dual unionism, or the idea of forming all-Black unions in an industry or shop where there are also white workers. He further criticizes the idea that "Black workers alone" constitute the proletariat, and the idea of a "Black Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the working class."

Anyone looking for a principled Leninist opposition to nationalism will not find it in the pages of *Political Affairs*. What Proc-



Representative Shirley Chisholm, Democrat from New York City.



Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana

tor writes has absolutely nothing in common with Lenin's views. Lenin insisted on a ruthless struggle against nationalism in order to unite the working class for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Stalinists begin from the opposite perspective, that of propping up capitalism at all costs. Whatever criticisms they have of the nationalists and separatists are subordinate to their own perspective of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and class collaboration in every country.

LENINISM

Leninism combats nationalism in order to unite the working class against the bourgeoisie. When the Stalinists criticize the separatists it is only because they seek to unite workers of different races and nationalities behind the bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists use nationalism along with their conceptions of the parliamentary road to socialism and the popular front against reaction and fascism in order to tie the working class to the capitalist system. Black caucuses and Black parties such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party are seen by them as means of channeling the struggles of Black workers and youth along reformist lines.

This is the meaning of the enthusiastic support by the Stalinists of Shirley Chisholm's entry into the contest for the Democratic Presidential nomination, and their support for Black Democratic Mayors Hatcher and Gibson. The Stalinists seek to use these developments as vehicles for linking up nationalism and class collaboration politics within the Democratic Party.

These candidates are presented as representatives of the Blacks, but also of the developing "people's anti-monopoly coalition." What they clearly are not are working class candidates, against the parties of the capitalists.

BLACK BELT

In his article Ted Bassett tries to defend the history of the CP. This is a complete fraud. According to Bassett, "On October 26, 1928 the Party adopted a resolution in which it recognized the national character of the Black question...This position of the Communist Party was directly related to the conclusions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, which rejected the theses of the Rights about the progressive role of imperialism in the colonial outpost of capitalism."

The Black Belt theory to which Bassett refers, was decreed by Stalin in 1928 as part of the ultra-left turn of the Comintern. (See *Bulletin*, February 14, 1972, "New Radicalization and National Question".) This represented a complete break with the previous position of the Comintern that the Blacks in America were not a nation. It was a break with the whole

fundamental strategy of Bolshevism which began from a scientific assessment of the crisis of capitalism and the fight to win the working class to revolutionary leadership in order to conquer power.

THE RECORD

Bassett openly defends the "Third Period." He defends the conclusions of the Sixth World Congress which were so completely hostile to Marxism and which led within a few years to the triumph of fascism in Germany without an organized struggle by the labor movement.

In the early period of the Communist Party, in the 1920s, there was a principled struggle against racism and for the unity of Black and white workers in the fight against capitalism. By the 1930s the struggle on behalf of the Black workers against racism and discrimination was almost totally destroyed by the Stalinist theory of the Black Belt and Negro self-determination.

At the same time the Stalinists combined this, after 1936, with slavish support to Roosevelt. During the Second World War Stalinist diplomacy led to the most open and vicious betrayals of the struggle, with the Stalinists minimizing the fight for equality and insisting that the Negroes wait patiently for any improvement in their conditions.

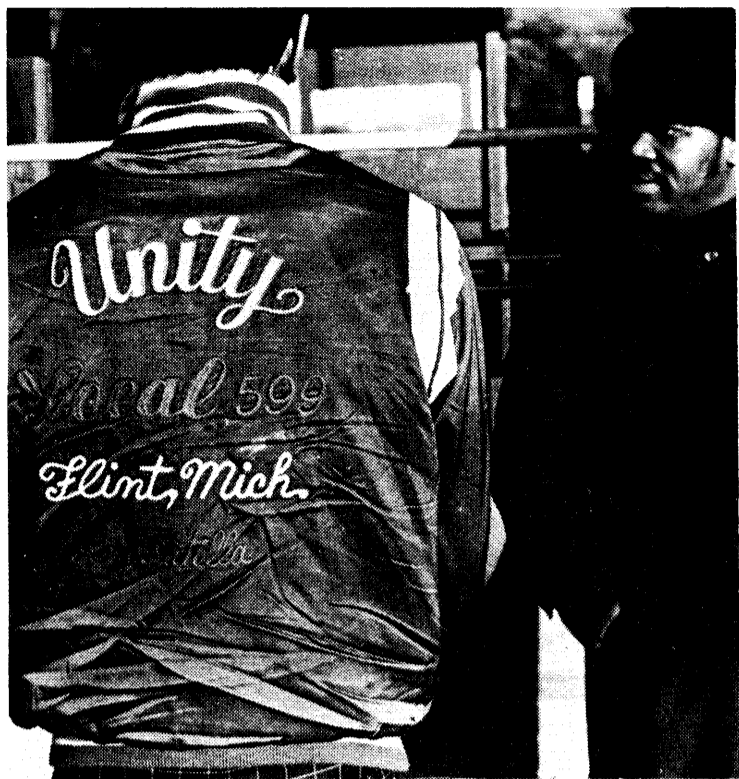
TROTSKYISM

By the 1960s, in the aftermath of the Hungarian Revolution and the crisis which wracked the Communist Party, the CP openly repudiated the Black Belt theory and Harry Haywood who was closely associated with it was expelled from the party. Now, without making any serious assessment, it appears that the Communist Party, or at least sections of it, are reviving this reactionary theory. No wonder Bassett links his support to the Black Belt theory with an attack on the "Trotskyites" who he seeks to amalgamate with the right wing Jay Lovestone group.

With the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy the struggle against racism was always subordinated to the interests of the bureaucracy. Black workers and youth have very good reasons to doubt the Stalinists' claim to have a principled record of struggle against chauvinism.

It is Trotskyism which has a history, which can assess the real positions of the Communist Party in the past, explain why they were taken and what they meant to the working class. It is therefore only Trotskyism today which can prepare the new American revolution.

In our next article we will deal with the differences which have developed on trade union work and the Jewish question, as well as the role of the Communist Party in relation to Stalinism's repression of intellectuals today.



(Continued From Page 1)

hour. The average for U.S. auto plants is around 55 per hour. Many workers at the plant are for a strike even though the speedup has not affected them yet in their own department.

"I think they're looking for a good old-fashioned strike," one worker told the *Bulletin*, "I'm all for it. It hasn't hit me so much but I support the balance of the men. On behalf of all of them that are being loaded down, I say, strike. General Motors is all production and nothing else. They don't care about the safety of the men or the quality of the product."

STRIKE

On February 9th, the first day of the voting, the gate at the entrance to Plant 4 was the center of activity. A young Black committeeman stood outside the gate where two balloting tables were set up. "Right on, right on," he would say, urging the workers to vote. "Right on," he repeated after workers told him, "Yes," in reply to his question, "How did you vote, brother?"

A young Black worker told the *Bulletin* that a strike was necessary. "Yes, I think it's very necessary. They're doubling up the work on my job. If all the people here don't get on this, none of their jobs are safe. If you miss a job, they're going to write you up. If you miss it too many times, they're going to put you

out—in the streets. The system they got set up at General Motors, it's wrong. It's too hard on a man. I got a cyst growing on my hand right now from working on that gas line. Overworking. Plus they increase the speed of the line. We need a strike."

DIVISION

A number of workers are opposed to a strike. One young worker said when voting: "Who can afford to go bankrupt? No. I'd vote no 50 times." The young committeeman standing next to him tried to argue with him: "What happens when they take your job away from you?"

Another worker reflected the feeling of some that this was the wrong time to strike.

"There's probably been an increase in speedup," he admitted, "but I don't think they can settle anything now because of model changeover. They've got quite a big model changeover this year and would probably rather have us out, drawing \$30 a week, and when we come back they'd have the new models ready to work. It would be better to strike towards fall."

CHANGEOVER

Others who felt this way said that management simply wanted the strike in order to save the money they would have to pay if they had to lay off the whole

Rebellion Threatens GM Empire

plant during model changeover.

In actuality, far more is involved than the company just wanting to save this money. In fact, a strike today against any large GM installation is explosive in its potential to spread to the rest of GM, despite the attitude of the UAW International which opposes any nationwide shutdown.

What GM is after everywhere—at Lordstown, Flint, Willow Run and at its Frigidaire Division—is speedup, "productivity" and wage cuts. It will try to beat back the union to attain this at every opportunity.

COMPLACENT

The Local 599 leadership is doing very little to counter the belief that Buick will be allowed to bring in the model changeover during a strike. Many workers at the plant believe that Buick can get away with this, even though the 599 leadership says it has told Buick this will not be allowed. Dan Sain told the *Bulletin*:

"In the past we've allowed subcontractors from other unions to come into the plant during a strike—but President Wagner notified them that this time we will not let any outside contractors in there to start preparing for a new model...so if it is their idea to hit us now, in order to

prepare an early model change, then it just is not going to work."

Many workers do not think that the leadership is serious about striking or has any perspective for really winning. This accounts for the uneasy feeling about the strike even among some workers who voted "yes." This was expressed by a young worker who said, "What did the International do to back the strike at Fisher Body (Flint) two years ago? They let it drag on for more than six months."

Almost all the workers strongly supported the idea of closing down ALL of General Motors if there is a strike. An older worker with 32 years at the plant expressed it: "Shut them down from coast to coast—that's what we have to do."

LORDSTOWN

That the International leadership of the UAW is following a "sit it out" policy, backing away from any strike over speedup, is becoming increasingly clear at Lordstown. The International sent its GM division leadership down to take over the negotiations following the strike vote

there.

One worker at the plant who works on the Vega line told the *Bulletin* that things had improved a little, that the company had done some rehiring, and that the dispute would probably be settled without any strike.

Many workers at the plant felt, however, that although both the local and the International leadership were making concessions in order to avoid a strike, nothing basic had changed.

One worker charged that the union was "horsetrading" with the company by agreeing to reinstate back pay for a number of men that had lost time due to disciplinary layoffs (DLO's). At the same time they had not agreed to reduce the speedup at least to the point before the GMAD "management team" took over at the plant.

Another young worker told the *Bulletin* that he did not think the leadership was willing to strike to eliminate the kind of situation he faces. He is forced to work a dangerous job by himself, a job which two men had formerly performed.

WILDCAT

There is a lot of talk about "wildcat" at Lordstown. The rank and file's suspicions about the leadership grow daily. One man said, "A wildcat—maybe that's what we need to wake up the leadership. Just shut it all down."

Another young worker felt it was absolutely essential to spread the strike, to shut down GM entirely. "We don't have any power by ourselves," he said.

He said that even at Lordstown there had been rumors that GM will close the plant, as they have done at Fisher 23 in Detroit and threatened at Frigidaire in Dayton. "I doubt if they want to give up a billion dollar investment," he said, "but if they shut it down, most of the guys here will say they don't give a damn. They might even end up burning the whole place down."

There is no doubt that General Motors is sitting on a powder keg at Lordstown. Neither Lordstown, nor Flint, nor any other plant where GM is on the offensive to smash the UAW can be settled peacefully through negotiations.



Pictures show auto workers of UAW Local 599 in Flint, Michigan voting for strike action against speedup. Top left, a local committeeman urges men to vote. Bottom left, vice president Dan Sain of Local 599 is interviewed by *Bulletin* reporter.

Tighter Security For Judge

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD—Supreme Court Justice John P. Cotter has asked the state legislature of Connecticut for a special appropriation of one million dollars to be used for strengthening security in all Connecticut courts.

What Cotter is demanding from the legislature is the same type of extra security which is now being used in California for the trial of Angela Davis and the Soledad Brothers. There over 700,000 dollars have been spent in isolating and enclosing Angela Davis from the masses supporting her.

What Cotter has asked for specifically includes the hiring of thirty extra guards, audio intrusion devices, electric metal detectors to find concealed weapons, special cloth linings for benches as protection against bombs, and a newer and wider alarm system. Beyond this Cotter is asking for the construction of high fences around the courthouses and the implementation of extensive floodlighting equipment.

Cotter explained the necessity for these additions in his official letter to the legislature in which he wrote: "We are cognizant of the explosive potential of our times and the danger to which public officials and institutions are exposed." Cotter knows that to successfully implement the government's strategy of war against the working class, the courts themselves must be transformed into actual concentration camps and execution chambers.

It is the deepening of the capitalist crisis which causes the bourgeoisie to abandon all semblance of old legality.

Dyna Truck Throws Out 550

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT—"They are leaving us out in the cold," was the response of one worker from Dyna Truck Corporation which announced it will shut down its entire operation by the end of this month.

The closure of Dyna Truck will affect 550 men in a city where unemployment has jumped to 11.9% from 10.3% in December.

Theodore Stewart, a vice-president of United Auto Workers' Local 505 stated that the reason behind the closure "was the failure by International Harvester to renew a contract for 3,000 vehicles." He said the only chance the men have depends on the plant being purchased by one of two manufacturers who are con-

sidering the acquisition of the facility which produces light weight delivery trucks.

A young worker said, "Maybe that's just wishful thinking because I have to think like this."

It was already clear last October during the contract negotiations that the company was on very shaky financial ground. Just previous to the contract expiration date the company laid off 375 men out of 550 for a "tentative" period in an attempt to

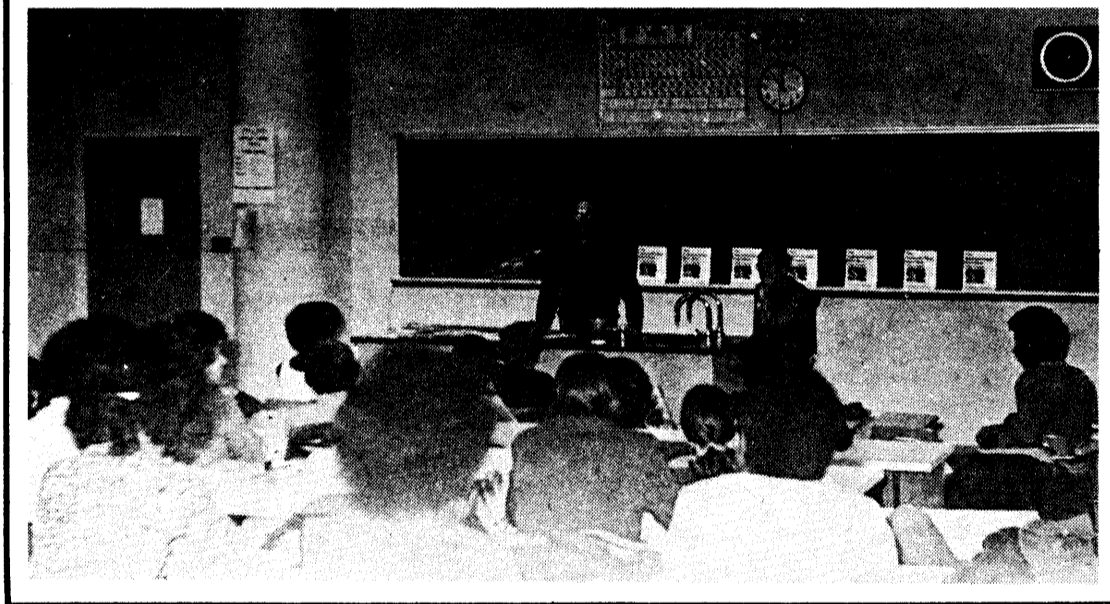
intimidate the union. The ranks showed their determination by voting 92% in favor of strike authorization.

LEADERSHIP

But the union leaders played a completely treacherous role. The UAW representative told the men that the layoffs were only temporary for 2 weeks and implied that they might be recalled even sooner. Now the meaning of these layoffs is clear.



Juan Farinas spoke in Philadelphia to over 50 students at Community College (below) and to a local chapter of 1199 Hospital Workers. He was also interviewed by WDAS (to be heard in March) and he spoke at Temple U., Penn State, Bethlehem (Lee High U. and Northampton Community College). Farinas is now touring the New York area and will be on the West Coast beginning Feb. 21 to rally support for the defense of himself and the working class. The Juan Farinas Defense Committee asks that all youth and trade unionists help win this support.



FBI Plots To Bust YLP With Arrests

BY HANK PADRO

NEW YORK—Benjy Cruz, Deputy Minister of Defense of the Young Lords Party, is now facing extradition to New York to face charges on three counts of draft evasion.

He was arrested in his home in San Juan, Puerto Rico, by F.B.I. agents a day after the conviction of Yoruba Guzman in New York on two counts of draft evasion. Eddy Diaz, a spokesman for the Young Lords Party, told the Bulletin that one of the arresting agents, a Mr. Clark, told Benjy that they had Yoruba, now they had him, and soon they would arrest the rest.

Cruz has been a leading figure in the party's organizing work in Puerto Rico and Yoruba is the Minister of Information of the Y.L.P. Clark's statement sharply underlines what is behind the two cases.

Diaz pointed out that the arrests are part of a new attempt by the government to physically bust up the Y.L.P. This had its precedent last spring when the Lords uncovered a plot to frame up the Central Committee on a conspiracy charge and Julio Roldan was murdered in the Tombs.

DEFENSE

On the question of the defense of political prisoners and the role of the working class in relation to this, Diaz denied that the working class can play a real role in defending Yoruba or Benjy. These cases, he said, have propaganda value in terms of raising the consciousness of poor and working people and youth in the army.

He went on to say that the case of Yoruba set a precedent in the line of his defense. Yoruba and Benjy refused induction on the basis that poor people should not serve in the army of their oppressors. In the trial the defense attempted to have the hearing time set at night so workers could attend.

Witnesses for the defense were to speak on the conditions in their communities but the judge declared that it was irrelevant to the case. The trial lasted only two days before the guilty verdict was handed down.

New Frame Up In Cop Plot

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The hysteria whipped up by the government and the press over the killing of two policemen in New York's East Village has taken a new and even more dangerous turn.

At an extraordinary news conference last week, New York Police Commissioner Murphy issued a nationwide bulletin for the apprehension of four men suspected of involvement in the murders and for four other men

and a woman for "questioning." All of the "suspects" are Black. Murphy used the occasion to try to put the blame for nearly every murder and attack on the police and even the killing of Black Panther paper circulation

manager Sam Napier last year on a band of "terrorists" in a so-called "Black Liberation Army."

EVIDENCE

At the conference Murphy openly acknowledged that he could offer no evidence whatsoever to link the "suspects" to the murder of the two policemen or for the existence of any "Black Liberation Army" for that matter. But for the apprehension of these "enemies of society," said Murphy, all means are justified.

JUSTICE

Even several of New York's District Attorneys could not stomach Murphy's flagrant violations of the "right to fair trial" and bourgeois "legal justice." But Murphy can take these things in his stride. What meaning do forms of law have in a situation where Angela Davis faces the gas chamber not for any crime but for being a militant, when 13 workers are shot down on the streets of Derry to the applause of the capitalists?

The only "proof" that there is

any such thing as the "Black Liberation Army" is a note the police say they received from such an organization which claimed responsibility for the murders and stated that the dead policemen had been involved in corruption in narcotics. That is the extent of their proof.

Moreover this flimsy "evidence" itself contradicts other "police evidence" alleging that the attacks were the responsibility of the "Afro Liberation Army."

If the murders of the two patrolmen is a matter of corruption and the narcotics trade then the police should do some looking in their own house first and into those who make their profits from this trade.

WITCHHUNT

There can be only one answer. The bosses and their "armed bodies of men," the police, are out to frame-up, terrorize, provoke and divide the working class using racist and "terrorist" propaganda and witchhunts.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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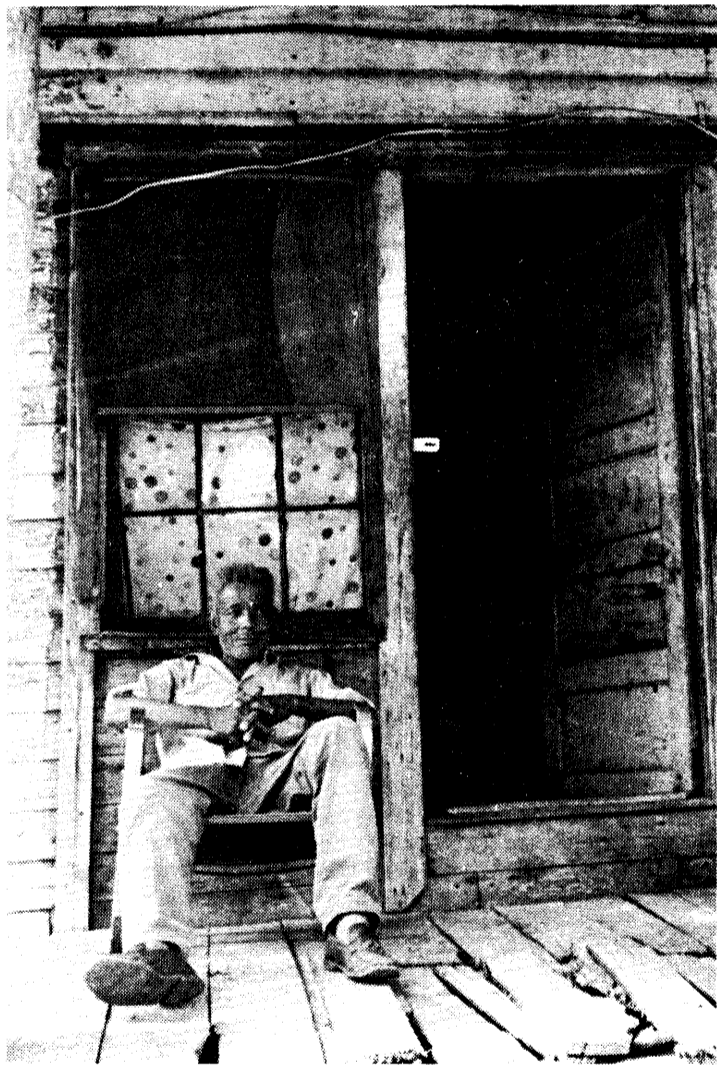
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“When there ain’t no work, you think about beggin’. After that, the only thing’s left is stealin’. That’s what they say. You got to steal or do something. Right now, I just beg. They don’t put you in jail for beggin’. A poor man don’t have no chance in this country.”



ORGANIZING FLORIDA'S CITRUS GROVES

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

AUBURNDALE, Fla.—The first farm union contract in this state is expected to be signed this month between Cesar Chavez’ United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) and Coca Cola’s Minute Maid groves.

This contract, which still leaves 99% of Florida’s migrant workers without a union, does little to alleviate the terrible living conditions of even the 1,200 workers it covers.

Farmworkers are particularly threatened by the economic crisis. Already most live under conditions which, in an industrial context, must have been familiar to Marx and Engels in 19th century England. The spread of agribusiness and the mechanization of agricultural work to increase productivity and the speed of harvesting have put literally hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers out of work.

This contract will cost Coke very little. But it is giving the company the chance to launch a publicity campaign about the “magnificent achievements” of Coke’s migrant labor program. The most publicity has been given to an 85-unit housing project near Frostproof in Central Florida.

Needless to say, 85 units is hardly putting a dent in the severe housing crisis faced by all seasonal farmworkers and migrants in particular. But it is good advertising for Coke.

INDUSTRIALIZE

Essentially what Coke is trying to do is industrialize its agricultural operation. The 85-unit development has been built for the press and a few privileged workers. But “labor dormitories” will be built for the rest of the 1,200 workers, for the purpose of discipline and regimentation, making these workers virtual slaves for the company.

“With respect to labor dormitories, it is our hope that stabilizing of a local labor force will eventually rule out the need for utilization of workers from out of state,” says William Kelly, Coca Cola Vice President.

Another statement by Kelly exposes Coke’s real aim: to exchange higher wages for a stable work force. He stated

that “There was a tendency within the system to expect and accept very low productivity standards. The workers were not accustomed to working a regular work week, and four day weekends were not uncommon.” Kelly does not mention the 12 hour days the now permanent grove workers still put in.

If agribusiness in Florida follows Coke’s lead in “stabilizing” the labor force, this will result in the loss of thousands of jobs and the worsening of an already desperate situation for seasonal workers.

Chavez has chosen to attack Coke first because it is supposedly highly vulnerable to boycott tactics. The same is true to a much lesser extent of the DiGiorgio Fruit Company (TreeSweet). This company, which is most likely to be Chavez’ next target, is owned by the DiGiorgios of the Bank of America-Bank of Italy.

Once Coke and DiGiorgio sign up, the other growers are not simply going to jump on the bandwagon. The battle will only be beginning. And Chavez faces not only citrus growers but sugar cane and vegetable growers as well.

PITFALLS

Taking the route of hitting growers individually or in small groups has enormous

pitfalls, not the least of which is that much of the agricultural labor used by growers is not hired directly but is contracted through individual labor contractors, or “crew leaders.” The contractors are paid. They then pay their workers. Often the same workers are hired by different crew leaders. They go where there is work.

STRIKE

The UFWOC must organize all agricultural workers, and it must reach the Jamaicans imported into this country for the sugar harvest. Only a strike of all farmworkers can win demands for all seasonal workers.

The farmworkers are coming under increasingly vicious attack and are particularly vulnerable, as the 1930s should illustrate.

The pacifist, reformist perspective of the UFWOC leadership is bankrupt. Boycott tactics will fail because they depend on the support of the middle class and not the mobilization of the labor movement.

The UFWOC and the hundreds of thousands of farmworkers not yet organized can be defended only by the power of the working class.

Letters to the Editor

Bro. Herbert X. Blyden
Minister of Information
Attica Liberation Faction
(Member: "Tombs Brothers 7")
Greetings Comrades at the Bulletin:

My sincere thanks to you for thinking of me in my time of need. The Bulletin is a Right On forum for what's going on!

Keep up the good labor reporting and when you get time send a reporter in for an interview, OK?

All you've got to do is send me a note stating that you are accredited and wish an interview, I'll handle the rest.

I thank you again and as always: Remember P.O.W.'s!

Remember Attica!!!
Bro. Herbert

Dear Editor:

In this period of wage freezes, layoffs, speedup and plant closings, the leadership of Teamsters Local 727 in Chicago joins hands with the employers against the workers. Local President James Colli and business agent Max Ruger have refused to represent 15 workers who desire the protection of organized labor. They stalled and led us on for three months only yesterday declaring they wanted nothing to do with us.

Almost three months ago officials of that union were approached by us. Both we and our company will remain nameless because our fight to organize continues. After one month of trying to arrange meetings with Ruger, we were finally given organizing cards. Ruger told the leader of the organizing drive that it was nearly impossible to form a union in that shop, and offered to get him a job driving limousines. This was so

the worker could get into the union himself, receive higher wages, shorter hours, and yet wouldn't have to bother with his co-workers.

From the very beginning, Ruger's policy was to separate us and keep us unorganized. Ignoring Ruger's grim predictions, we went ahead and got 14 out of 16 workers signed up for the union inside of three days. In the next week we sent to Ruger and Colli a list of demands around which we wanted a contract negotiated, as requested by Ruger.

These demands included a reduction of our average work week, from 84 hours to 55 hours and a wage increase which clearly violated the Pay Board's guidelines.

Ruger and Colli responded to our spirit and enthusiasm by stalling, waiting for the drive to lose its momentum, and peter out. Meanwhile, we elected a shop committee and shop steward to oversee the suc-

cessful completion of the organizing and to sit in on the negotiations. This was done without the assistance of the leadership of 727, which was perpetually unavailable or busy. Phoned nearly every day by our shop committee, Ruger was finally forced to say he would go on a certain day to see our boss. The day came and went and Ruger was nowhere to be found.

And now three weeks later Ruger announces to the shop steward that 727 does not want anything to do with us, the company or the organizing drive. Aptly the shop steward asked Ruger how much the boss paid him.

We are young and militant and for that reason the bureaucrats of 727 fear us. They've built a comfortable nest for themselves based on friendly relations with the bosses and workers alike. But that era is finished.

How can there be friendly relations when we work an average of 84 hours a week and take home an average of \$110. How can there be friendly relations when the government freezes the piddly wage increases our boss is willing to give us.

With their high salaries Colli and Ruger can afford to be patient. But we have no choice—we must fight now. Now that Colli and Ruger have sold out, there will be no friendly relations with them.

We will demonstrate at 727 headquarters against these traitors. We will get support for our organizing drive amongst the Teamster rank and file. We will build a committee in 727 to fight for the needs of the workers and throw Colli and Ruger out.

The Teamsters Joint Council 25 of Chicago has promised to investigate Colli's treason. The head of the council, Ray Schoessling must follow through and kick Colli and Ruger out.

We make it clear where we stand. We demand immediate admission to Local 727 so that collective bargaining might begin. We pledge an uncompromising fight against Colli, Ruger and all sellout bureaucrats. Our strength to win will come from unity among workers as we fight against government attacks on our standards of living and against the labor sellouts.

Eight workers from Chicago.

BRITISH TORIES...

(Continued From Page 1)
lock out virtually the entire British working class from the factories if the strike continues.

There is only one way English workers can answer the attacks of the most vicious government in modern British history. The Monday (Feb. 14) headline of the Workers Press, newspaper of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League, read: "Answer the TORY lockout—LABOR must FORCE A GENERAL ELECTION."

On Wednesday, February 9th, Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath declared a state of emergency which provides for the use of troops and vehicles to carry out "essential work" and to enforce "law and order" with prison sentences and fines.

Heath is now prepared to use the full power of the state in an attempt to crush the strike and inflict a defeat on the whole British labor movement.

The declaration of a state of emergency comes after all of Heath's attempts to break the strike with scabs and cops, and through the retreat of the union leadership, have totally failed.

Despite the refusal of the trade union leaders to bring out the whole labor movement in the miners' defense, the solidarity and aid of all rank and file workers in Britain has been overwhelming.

STRATEGY

Heath's strategy is now to whip up a propaganda campaign about a "national emergency" to divide the British working class and prepare the way for bringing in troops to move the stockpiled coal.

This is the aim behind Heath's announcement to put many factories on a three day week and to shut others down for the duration of the strike.

At a Liverpool rally Heath arrogantly accused leaders of the mineworkers of "preparing to put literally millions—yes, millions—of their fellow workers and fellow trade unionists out of work."

But at a rally organized by the Liverpool trade union officials angry workers answered Heath by throwing flaming torches at him and shouting, "Heath Out."

Every British trade unionist knows that it is the Tories, not the miners, who have consciously thrown millions out of work and have imposed what amounts to a mass lock-out in order to move in troops.

In the local areas the unity of different sections of trade union-

ionists has been critical in maintaining the strike.

On Monday, February 7th, 300 cops massed at the West Midlands Gas Board coal depot in Birmingham, where 100,000 tons of coke is stockpiled and allowed two scab trucks to go through a crowd of 500 miners. The miners together with many other workers surged forward and battled the cops. Fifteen were arrested. The next day the miners returned with greater forces and a riot nearly broke out when a scab truck severely injured a miner's legs.

At a South Wales colliery a force of 350 miners stopped police from escorting safety officials through the picket lines and miners' wives took over picketing at the West Wales Coal Board.

Fred Matthews, a miner for twenty years was knocked down and killed by a scab truck at the Keadby power station. Six thousand miners came out to the funeral and marched with the union banner up front to the cemetery.

The death and injury of miners in this strike is no accident. Heath is setting the stage for a Bloody Sunday massacre in Britain as consciously and ruthlessly as he did in North Ireland.

Heath's state of emergency and mass lock-out will only strengthen the determination and solidarity of British workers. The conditions exist now for a general strike to bring down the hated Heath government and return a Labour Party to power pledged to socialism.

ST. PAUL...

(Continued From Page 3)
always been between 45-50 is now running at 36 cars an hour, a UAW member said. "But the line speed is just the speed of the conveyors. Being down to 36 doesn't mean the work is lighter. I spent 7 and 1/2 years on the line and it was rough. With their time and motion studies Ford is really tyrannical.

"I'll tell you what it is. Big business and Nixon are out for more productivity, to get more work out of each man. And they don't care how they get it. They just don't care about the human element.

Another worker at Ford with 9 years in the plant added, "It doesn't make any difference between the Democrats and Republicans. We have to realize that we little guys are the key. If we don't function then the big wheels don't function. What we ought to do is what they did over there in France in 1968."

TAXI...

(Continued From Page 1)
was halted. As of Monday morning the shutdowns had apparently spread into Queens.

While the "42% for new drivers" was the issue sparking the walkout, drivers on the picket lines at Terminal spoke of throwing out the whole rotten agreement, including the "dime rakeoff."

The role of the Van Arsdale bureaucracy in these wildcats became very clear over the weekend. While unofficially encouraging the walkouts, it sought at every point to weaken and deny it full support, fearing that a citywide shutdown would not only bring up the question of "42%," but the entire contract as well.

Claiming that the gypsies would run wild in a citywide

shutdown, the Van Arsdale leadership has pushed "selective strikes" in an effort to break individual garages just over "42%."

But drivers at a meeting at the 55th Street Garage on Monday recalled that President Van Arsdale had promised, as head of the New York City Central Labor Council, to close the whole city if Taxi Commissioner Lazar used gypsies to bust up Local 3036.

Further, drivers protested that selective strikes were unfair to drivers on the picket lines. "We're earning blood money out there. If you're going to strike, everybody goes!" echoed one driver.

The Rank and File Coalition is playing a very dangerous role in this situation. While criticizing Harry Van Arsdale for allowing

this agreement to be enacted over the last year and four months, the Coalition provides a prop for him by openly endorsing selective strikes.

The Coalition does not see that Nixon and the Democrats, the City Council, and the Taxi Commission are preparing to smash up the trade unions. That is the meaning of Bill 730 currently before the City Council. That is the meaning of the increased fines and suspensions for hack violations.

What is required is an immediate shutdown of all garages to get the "dime" and "49%" for all drivers retroactively. Meetings must be held at all garages mandating chairmen to force a special general membership meeting to throw out the whole rotten agreement.

BONAPARTISM...

(Continued From Page 3)
people like Kennedy to attack any opposition to the government.

It is the liberals' spinelessness, their defensiveness and capitulation to Nixon's attacks which can only encourage Nixon to deepen this offensive.

Muskie humbly replies by stating that he has no intention of preempting Nixon's role as chief negotiator and Humphrey pleads that "the last thing I want to do is cause the President any difficulty in getting peace in Vietnam." Lindsay protests that "it is entirely inconsistent with what our country stands for—free

dissent and free expression."

When the American Civil Liberties Union is suddenly accused of being political and of taking sides in issues the liberals of the ACLU answer by denying they are political and by stating their only aim is to defend free speech and the Constitution.

They even boast, to prove their point, that they have defended the right of the Nazi Party to hold a rally in Shea Stadium and have refused to take a stand on the frame-up of Angela Davis because she is accused of a specific act, not just of expressing her views.

The liberals see it as a ques-

tion of free speech and not part of a class attack on not only the liberals but the whole working class. The last thing they want to be called is communist sympathizers because their hatred of the working class is far greater than their tactical disagreements with Nixon.

The liberals seek to prop up bourgeois rights at a time when the crisis of capitalism is forcing Nixon to dispense with them. They seek to disarm the youth and workers with illusions that pressure can be used to change the system without challenging the rule of the capitalist class and private property.

VIETNAM...

(Continued From Page 2)
negotiating the future of President Thieu with the NLF. "I think that Rogers does not understand thoroughly the relationship between Mr. Nixon and myself," declared Thieu.

He was simply reminding the world that his regime, as the direct agent of imperialism, will continue to have total support from the United States. Nixon reaffirmed this by stating shortly after Thieu criticized Rogers: "Under no circumstances are we going to make any further proposals without consultation with and agreement with the Government of South Vietnam."

There was another ominous indication that Nixon is planning drastic military action against North Vietnam. Discussing the POW issue, Nixon told newsmen that he will seek their release "either as part of an over-all settlement or through other means." This veiled threat opens the way for the actual landing of American forces in the North.

During the entire period of this new American offensive, the Chinese Stalinists have failed to raise even a mild protest. The Maoist regime is making every effort to a conciliatory atmosphere for the up-coming Nixon visit.

A possible reason for the muted Chinese tone was given by

Andre Malraux, the noted admirer of Charles De Gaulle and Joseph Stalin. Malraux, who knows Mao Tse-tung personally, said: "Mao will look at Nixon and ask the first question: 'Is the richest country in the world prepared to help one of the poorest countries in the world—namely China?'"

CONSTRUCTION...

(Continued From Page 3)
daily practice for housewives to leave their private homes, walk over to the picket line, and start insulting the men.

A worker described the behavior of one woman: "She comes over here and calls me a bigot and an Archie Bunker. She says 'You stink,' 'Drop dead.' Listen, these are supposed to be well-educated people in the upper class, but even people without a high school education wouldn't talk to you that way. She even spits at us. The working man is working for a living, and she is telling us to drop dead."

The workers were impatient with the arguments used by the residents against the apartments. One worker said:

"They're talking about overcrowding, pollution; someone even complained about the sun being blocked by tall buildings. They just want to keep Black people out.

"These people are against any progress. If they don't like the city, let them move to suburbia.

"The city needs housing, and we're building houses for people. We don't care what color they are. I'd live here myself next to any guy."



BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SUNNYVALE—The recent cut in the aerospace contract from 12% to 8.3% imposed by the government's Pay Board is just the beginning of what the employers and government plan to do in their attempt to rescue the industry at the expense of the workers.

The tremendous growth of the aerospace industry was the product of the post-war inflationary boom. Sixty per cent of its business comes from government defense contracts. With the end of the boom, the U.S. government was forced to cut defense spending. This immediately plunged giant defense contractors such as Lockheed, McDonnell, and North American into huge debt.

In the face of this imminent disaster the Tory government in England was forced to take over Rolls Royce and lay out an estimated \$5 million daily to keep the production of the TriStar engine going, while Nixon fought desperately for \$250 million in government backed loans from the banks to keep Lockheed above water.

These stop-gap measures worked out at the highest levels of government met with an all-out campaign by General Electric and McDonnell Douglas to throw Lockheed and Rolls to the wolves. G.E. campaigned against the Lockheed loan on the phony basis of "Buy American," meaning G.E. should build the TriStar engine and reap the profits. McDonnell Douglas fought the loan on the basis of the principles of "free enterprise," meaning it wanted to cut the competition DC-10 out of the market.

WAR

It was this internal war, reflecting in the sharpest way the crisis throughout the industry, and not any hostility to the employers or tender concern for the employees that split the Senate down the middle on the Lockheed vote, with Democrats and Republicans lining up according to the corporations they served rather

than on party lines. No one in Congress made a peep when Lockheed, after the failure of Rolls Royce, laid off half of the 18,000 work force in Burbank and Palmdale, California involved in the TriStar project.

But then neither did the bureaucrats of the IAM. Instead they launched a massive campaign financed and directed by Lockheed to "Save Lockheed." The company produced bumper stickers and buttons urging Congress to pass the loan guarantee and the labor bureaucrats duly distributed them to the ranks. Floyd Smith, head of the IAM, organized demonstrations at unemployment offices and actually raised \$36,000 from the workers' pockets to pay for "Save Lockheed" ads.

An indication of the employers' gratitude to the ranks was given by Board Chairman Haughton the night after the Senate voted approval for the \$250 million loan guarantee. Haughton said: "We must start from where we are today and increase our efficiency on every program and activity." In other words, layoffs, speedup, plant closures, wage cuts.

The strategy of Lockheed is to shave off all non-profitable operations, leaving a few defense projects, but basically putting all its marbles in the TriStar basket. Roy A. Anderson was recently promoted to senior-vice president for finance to oversee the operation. He told *Business Week* (January 29, 1971): "We are looking at all our operations to determine whether they are carrying their load."

As reported in the January 31 issue of the *Bulletin*, Lockheed recently closed down four plants in the South which were producing the C-5A jet, throwing 700 workers into the streets. That is just the beginning.

Scheme Is To Destroy Labor Save Lockheed

Aerospace workers demonstrate in San Francisco last week against the Pay Board and its decision to chop up the wage increase they won.



Since 1970, Lockheed's employment has declined from 97,700 to 74,000, a drop of 24%. A Lockheed worker at the Sunnyvale, California plant told us the work force there has dropped from the 1968 peak of 27,500 to 14,000, and layoffs are continuing.

BUMPED

Another worker at Sunnyvale who was laid off over the Christmas holidays told us men with up to five years seniority are being laid off. Others with higher seniority are being "bumped," that is, forced to take lower classifications at lower pay scales. He told us that if he gets called back, he'll have to take a pay cut.

"We got absolutely nothing," he told the *Bulletin*, "no SUB benefits, and they won't give me unemployment insurance because I got \$400 in retroactive pay when I was laid off. I never asked the union for anything, but when I got laid off, I called the leadership for advice on where there were jobs. They didn't even try to help. I don't have anything saved. I thought I would work myself up the pay scale, I started taking night courses to get an education to do this, and suddenly I'm out on the street. I don't have much faith in the union leaders. You know Benda (head of IAM Local 508) was endorsed in the last

election by Lockheed?"

The logic of the "Save Lockheed" campaign, of class collaboration, is to sit on Nixon's Pay Board, the only purpose of which is to destroy the trade unions, and not lift a finger when it rips up a contract.

But Lockheed cannot be saved. Haughton and company's expressed optimism is nothing but a phony show to hide their desperation and lull the workers while they sharpen the axe.

Clearly, there is no way Lockheed can stave off bankruptcy. The question is whether Lockheed's thousands of workers are to suffer starvation on the company's account, or whether a new leadership is going to be constructed in the IAM that will fight to mobilize the entire trade union movement in a political offensive against the government's union busting attacks.

POWER

There is no way out under capitalism. The fighting determination of the 1000 Sunnyvale Lockheed workers who shouted down Benda at the demonstration last month against the Pay Board, who demanded strike action against the government, must now be brought together with the struggles exploding throughout the labor movement and turned into a fight for power.



West Coast News

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

Dockers Stay Out On Coast

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 15—The official caucus of the ILWU representing 24 West Coast ports today enters the fourth day of discussions on the proposed settlement.

So far the caucus remains paralyzed. This reflects a tremendous fear of bringing in a recommendation for a settlement to the rank and file. On every question this proposed contract is a betrayal.

The wage guarantee of 36 hours to A men and 18 hours to B men is virtually worthless. The fund of 5.2 million dollars is inadequate to cover any serious unemployment and the strings in the guarantee will require 80% availability. This means that men will be required to be available at the hall as many as six days a week. Other strings in this guarantee can prevent many men otherwise eligible from even collecting a penny of it.

On the question of the container royalty there has been a complete capitulation to the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). As it is now proposed all money collected on containers will be used to finance the guarantee fund and no extra benefits or cash will go to longshoremen. On the question of steady men which threatens the existence of the hiring hall, the contract simply continues in the old form.

There has been a complete retreat on the question of pensions. The original demands for 25 and out and a cost of living escalator for the present pensioners have been abandoned. All that has been obtained is a reduction by one year of early retirement and absolutely nothing for the present pensioners.

All demands concerning holidays, benefits, have in effect been dropped, and there will be absolutely no paid holidays. In actuality, the PMA has obtained agreement from Bridges on a contract which really means the continuation of the old Mechanization and Manpower (M&M) for less money than they spent in the previous contract and under conditions in which it is estimated that automation can reduce approximately 50% of the work opportunities in the next few years.

The PMA has not conceded any of the questions. Even on the question of wages there is a tremendous danger. Nixon now stands armed with legislation which means that if the Pay Board turns down the wage agreement, he can intervene and force a return to work, prevent the strike and impose a compulsory settlement upon the ranks.

Meanwhile in the Bay Area there is tremendous support for

the struggle of the longshoremen. All the labor councils have passed resolutions denouncing the legislation and over thirty unions have individually passed resolutions standing with the longshoremen.

Furthermore, there is now tremendous opposition developing in the ranks, particularly to the continuation of steady men and the total abandonment of any real guarantee. It is understood that after a six month struggle the present offer differs very little from the original offer made by the PMA.

One docker told the Bulletin: "This contract stinks. We should vote it down. Stay out and call labor to our support." Many more agree and there is a very big possibility that this settlement can be defeated by a big No vote. A tremendously significant development is a leaflet signed by 15 dockers calling on the ranks for a No vote.

The only way forward is to reject it overwhelmingly, to call on the ILA to come out and shut down both coasts in a nationwide fight for the 40 hour guarantee and to defy any government intervention with preparation for a general strike of the entire labor movement.

State AFL Joins Reagan In Drive Against Chicanos

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—Not content with confining itself to flag waving campaigns to "buy American" and save Lockheed the leadership of the California state AFL-CIO has now joined Reagan in the vicious campaign against Chicano workers.

An all out drive has been launched to convince the working class that "illegal aliens" are taking billions in wages and taxes for welfare from American citizens.

The AFL-CIO leadership is sponsoring a bill to fine any employer found guilty of hiring an alien.

They are joining completely in the campaign to label Mexicans as burdens on the overtaxed American.

With unemployment running as high as 75% in some of the Mexican border towns workers have sought jobs in the U.S. in huge



Youth take part in rally against the frame-up trial of Angela Davis.

3,000 Workers Protest Halt In Construction

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, FEBRUARY 9—Three thousand workers representing the various construction trades in San Diego County met and demonstrated today outside City Hall. Carrying signs which ranged from "Don't take our Jobs" to "open Spaces are Fine, But Not in the Stomach" the object of their wrath was the City Council's move to initiate a two-year moratorium on home construction in the North County area by refusing to issue new building permits.

Sponsored by the union workers had only received notification of the demonstration earlier in the morning, or at best the day before, thousands turned out wearing hard hats and calling for an end to a whole series of attacks.

Although the union leaders attempted to use the ranks for a demonstration of "labor-contractor cooperation" by calling the demonstration on short notice, and providing signs with acceptable slogans, the feelings of many workers were quite different, and they openly declared that they were not going to have their jobs taken away by anybody.

That is what is at the very heart of this situation. It shows that the basis of any attempt to resolve the crisis of capitalism can only be through an attack on the livelihoods of workers.

No worker and no trade union is exempt or safe from the threat of unemployment that is created by the bosses as a matter of policy. This is being used as a lever against the power of the unions.

The answer to these attacks is not "labor-contractor cooperation," but an immediate and total strike to show that nobody is going to declare a two-year program of starvation for construction workers. This must be the beginning of a general strike movement to stop government attacks on the unions.

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numbers. These workers are employed in garment, food processing and services at minimum wage with absolutely no protection.

Rather than take up a political fight for jobs and the defense of the unions these bureaucrats join the reactionary movement to whip up extreme nationalism and racist sentiments.

One union official is quoted as saying, "Employers have no trouble spotting the illegals when it comes to intimidating them during a union organizing campaign, let them use the same detection techniques during hiring."

This law will be used to whip up racism against every Chicano worker.

In supporting this campaign the union bureaucracy is actively assisting the very forces that would destroy the labor movement. They must be repudiated by every trade unionist.

BAY AREA CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

February 26

YMCA 4080 Mission St.
San Francisco

For more information call 415-621-1310

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3,000 Workers Protest Halt In Construction

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO, FEBRUARY 9—Three thousand workers representing the various construction trades in San Diego County met and demonstrated today outside City Hall. Carrying signs which ranged from "Don't take our Jobs" to "open Spaces are Fine, But Not in the Stomach" the object of their wrath was the City Council's move to initiate a two-year moratorium on home construction in the North County area by refusing to issue new building permits.

Sponsored by the union workers had only received notification of the demonstration earlier in the morning, or at best the day before, thousands turned out wearing hard hats and calling for an end to a whole series of attacks.

Although the union leaders attempted to use the ranks for a demonstration of "labor-contractor cooperation" by calling the demonstration on short notice, and providing signs with acceptable slogans, the feelings of many workers were quite different, and they openly declared that they were not going to have their jobs taken away by anybody.

That is what is at the very heart of this situation. It shows that the basis of any attempt to resolve the crisis of capitalism can only be through an attack on the livelihoods of workers.

No worker and no trade union is exempt or safe from the threat of unemployment that is created by the bosses as a matter of policy. This is being used as a lever against the power of the unions.

The answer to these attacks is not "labor-contractor cooperation," but an immediate and total strike to show that nobody is going to declare a two-year program of starvation for construction workers. This must be the beginning of a general strike movement to stop government attacks on the unions.

numbers. These workers are employed in garment, food processing and services at minimum wage with absolutely no protection.

Rather than take up a political fight for jobs and the defense of the unions these bureaucrats join the reactionary movement to whip up extreme nationalism and racist sentiments.

One union official is quoted as saying, "Employers have no trouble spotting the illegals when it comes to intimidating them during a union organizing campaign, let them use the same detection techniques during hiring."

This law will be used to whip up racism against every Chicano worker.

In supporting this campaign the union bureaucracy is actively assisting the very forces that would destroy the labor movement. They must be repudiated by every trade unionist.

**BAY AREA
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February 26

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