

# Bulletin

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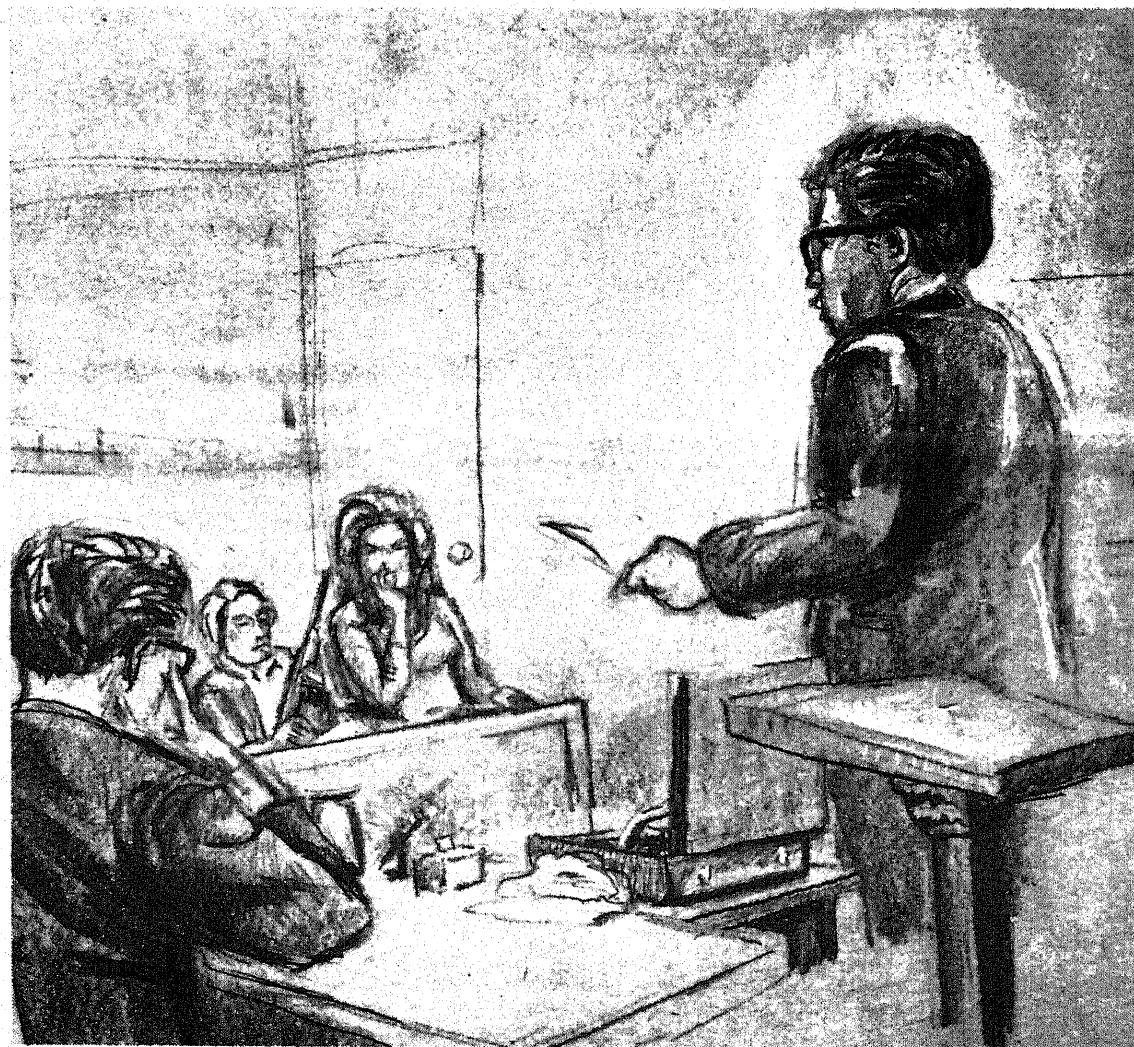
MAY 29, 1972

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## As Bombs Fall In Vietnam MOSCOW EMBRACES NIXON



Prosecution Attorney Harris is shown in Bulletin drawing passing out evidence for examination by jury during the Angela Davis trial in California. On the right, a jurist is examining one of the guns.

BY MELODY FARROW

Nixon's visit to Moscow, now underway as scheduled, is the sharpest warning that the Stalinist bureaucracy is preparing a deal to take away the victories of the Vietnamese liberation fighters and to come to terms with U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucrats have shown decisively that faced with the open threat of war by the United States and the most brutal escalation of the bombing of the North in the history of the war, they are willing to sacrifice the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to preserve "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism.

Only a week before the visit, massive bombing raids were carried out throughout Vietnam and the dikes of the Red River were hit, posing a critical flood threat to the entire area.

On Monday, it was revealed that the inland rivers of North Vietnam had also been mined and on Tuesday U.S. bombers cut the main fuel pipeline from the North to Quang Tri province.

### SUPPRESSED

Despite this, the Stalinist bureaucracy has done everything to give an impression of calm in preparation for Nixon's visit, and has consciously suppressed news that would anger the Soviet working class.

The report of the North Vietnamese information agency that a Russian sailor was killed after a raid on a port near China was never mentioned by the Soviet press. A Soviet freighter, Grisha-Akopyan, was severely damaged by a fragmentation bomb in one of these raids.

In the midst of these attacks, Nixon and the Soviet bureaucracy were already smoothing the road for the trip to Moscow.

The New York Times published a report May 14th quoting reliable Washington sources that the mines in the North Vietnam harbors were to be de-activated the day of Nixon's arrival. The mines, of the magnetic type, were specifically chosen because they turn themselves off permanently after so many days, thus leaving the door open for the Stalinists to back down.

The New York Times also reported that ships were now moving into Haiphong harbor and that North Vietnam was clearing the mines away.

An unnamed Soviet official also revealed that the Soviet

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## Where Wallace Really Stands

### Direct From Alabama

"I'm sick of attacks on the free enterprise system." These are the words of George C. Wallace, whose campaign in the presidential primaries poses one of the greatest dangers ever faced by the American working class.

At a time when the crisis of international capitalism has brought class relations to the breaking point and has created the conditions for a decisive confrontation between employers and workers in this country, the most rabid reactionary

Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay recently travelled to Alabama, the state which George Wallace has governed for eight of the last 10 years. Their research uncovered the real Wallace record which the self-styled "friend of the working man" has attempted to hide. The following article is the first of a series which will expose where George Wallace really stands on the issues confronting the working class.

forces are gathering around Wallace to spearhead the attacks on the trade unions and to deprive the working class of its hard-won rights.

In the primaries that have been held this year, George Wallace has received the votes of thousands of workers. Using the one basic speech that he has delivered across the country since 1968, he regularly denounces big business, high taxes, inflation and unemployment.

Wallace has sought to build his movement by capitalizing on the frustrations of the middle class and the hatred of the working class for the two bankrupt parties of American capitalism—the Democrats and the Republicans—responsible for the assault on its standard of living.

The trade union bureaucracy collapsed before the Wallace tide. In the state of Michigan, practically the home of the United Auto Workers, the Woodcock leadership conceded the primary to Wallace weeks before the voting took place.

Except for flailing its arms now and then for Humphrey or McGovern, the bureaucracy shrugged its shoulders at the "inevitable" Wallace victory.

But Wallace could have been stopped in Michigan as well as in every other state where he has campaigned. The heavy burden of blame for the success of the Wallaceite movement must rest with the trade union bureaucracy which has attempted to defeat it by backing the reformist wing of the Democratic Party with whom the working class is

(Continued On Page 5)



Engineering workers sit-in at plant in Britain. Thousands of engineers in other areas have sat-in already for wage increase. This is the first time in London and expresses growth of militant movement.

## Tory Court Demands Unions Oust Militants

BY MELODY FARROW

With the bureaucracy of the British Trades Union Congress retreating all down the line, the Tory government of Edward Heath is hitting the British working class with every vicious provision of the Industrial Relations Act. Every single blow is a provocation to bring the conflict between the government and the unions to a head.

The National Industrial Relations Court, after a farcical hearing on the rail unions appeal, proceeded to set up a compulsory ballot of the rank and file to determine whether or not they support further action for their wage demands.

In another decision, the Court has ordered the Transport and General Workers Union to discipline the dock union shop stewards who have refused to call off a boycott of container ships. This deadline will coincide with the target date for a national dock strike.

The National Industrial Relations Act is not just any anti-union bill. It goes way beyond laws such as the Taft-Hartley in the United States by ripping up and destroying every basic trade union right British workers have won. It is the instrument to destroy trade unions and assimilate them into a corporate state in which they would be transformed into impotent appendages of the capitalist state.

The Tories know that these actions will provoke a general strike and a showdown with the working class. They are forced to do this not out of strength but because British capitalism is now faced with collapse.

The crisis of world capitalism finds its sharpest expression in

Britain today. Up until World War I, it was the leading capitalist power in the world with vast colonial empires. Today, the frantic drive of all capitalist countries for increased markets and profits has placed the outmoded industries of Britain in the weakest position.

Nixon is determined to foist the burden of this crisis as much as possible on the backs of the European capitalists by demanding concessions that will worsen the position of the British economy.

The decision of Nixon and Connally to hold off a return to gold convertibility of the dollar requested by leading international bankers is an attempt to save time before a direct confrontation with the American working class, even at the expense of the threat of monetary collapse.

Nixon's actions have forced the British ruling class to take on an immediate war against the working class. The National Industrial Relations Act is the weapon with which they seek to reorganize industry in preparation for Common Market entry and international trade war.

The attack facing the British working class today is what the American workers will face in the near future.

The kind of partial concessions to the working class that were made in the miners' strike are no longer possible as the

Tories face a worsening economic situation. They must now make a sharp and sudden attack on the working class in order to deal it a decisive defeat.

Industrial production continues to fall and the balance of payments is still declining. The price of exports went up while the volume of exports went down. The British press is openly predicting another devaluation of the pound.

The conditions that the Tories want to impose on the working class can be seen by the precedent which they have invoked in establishing the Industrial Relations Act.

The action against the rebellious shop stewards is based on the Taff Vale Act of 1901.

This act, named for the defeat of a rail strike in South Wales by the Taff Vale Railway Company, established restrictions on the right to picket and sanctioned government action against the trade unions.

This action spurred the development of the British Labour Party in 1906 and in that year, the Liberal government passed the Trades Dispute Act which dissolved all the vicious statutes of the Taff Vale.

Thus, today the Tories seek not just a general strike situation like 1926 when the issue was a wage cut, but a return to a period

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## Israeli Labor Rejects Controls

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Following a meeting on May 16 with the President of Israel, the head of Histadrut, Israel's dominant labor organization, announced the withdrawal of his resignation as the union's secretary general. The resignation, announced two days before as a protest against governmental intervention against the unions, provoked an angry reaction from the working class.

Itzhak Ben Aharon, the Histadrut leader, received thousands of telegrams from shop stewards, workers' committees

and labor leaders supporting him. Several sympathy strikes were called and the threat of massive industrial action which the government was ill-prepared to meet at the moment, led it to seek a conciliation with the Histadrut leader.

The conflict began over contract negotiations in private agriculture. The Histadrut had authorized a strike when the government stepped in with a "compromise" settlement.

The purpose of this was to preserve the "anti-inflation" guidelines of no wage increases over six percent to the end of 1973 agreed to by the government, industry and the Histadrut itself.

Behind the working class eruption sparked by the resignation is

growing dissatisfaction with the Labor Party (Mapam) inside the working class. The government has said it would rather face labor unrest than risk a continued erosion of the country's economic position.

For the second successive quarter, the amount of money in circulation has risen 15 percent, opening the prospect of runaway inflation. The widening split between the working class and its leadership in Mapam has opened the possibility of big defections to the left of Mapam in the next year's elections.

The country's rulers now face the prospect of economic disaster or a dangerous showdown with Israel's own working class.

# Youth Massacre Triggers Revolt In Madagascar

BY ED SMITH

The President of Madagascar, Philibert Tsiranana, has handed over full powers to the army chief of staff, Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa, asking him to form a new government. Tsiranana's action came after brutal governmental repression failed to stem an upsurge of the island's workers and students.

Following the announcement, a huge crowd of workers and students gathered in Tanaanarive, Madagascar's capital, and demanded Tsiranana's resignation.

Brigadier General Gilles Andriamahazo, who had been appointed military governor of the capital in the President's attempt to suppress the revolt, tried to buy time by telling the crowd that the President could only be removed by referendum and that regions outside the capital area would have to be consulted. The crowd jeered at this maneuver and leaders stated they would be back later for a definite answer to their demands.

The revolt started May 12 when students, who had been on strike several weeks demanding anti-imperialist reforms at the university, were fired on during a demonstration. Thirty-four were killed and over 400 wounded. The students were joined by workers, led by the Federation des Syndicats Malagaches (FISEMA), demanding satisfaction of economic grievances and an end to attacks on the working class movement.

President Tsiranana has ruled the Republic since "independence" was granted in 1960. His regime has been characterized by close ties and economic subservience to France, the former colonial master. He has also been in the forefront of those urging "understanding" of South Africa's apartheid regime.

One of the main slogans of the anti-government movement has been "Cooperation agreements are slave agreements." This refers to the agreement with France, which provides for 3500 French troops to be stationed on the island. They have not so far intervened against the rebellion.



General Ramanantsoa of Madagascar

## CP Enters Government In Iraq

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The pro-Moscow Communist Party of Iraq has been invited to send two ministers into the Cabinet of the ruling Baathist (Arab nationalist) regime. Amer Abdullah, CP deputy general secretary, was named Minister of State without portfolio, and Makram Talabani of the Politburo was named Minister of Agriculture.

The move follows the signing of an Iraq-Soviet friendship pact April 9 in Moscow. Following the signing, Soviet leader Alexei Kosygin visited Iraq and held conferences with the CP leaders. The invitation into the government followed.

The CP has been out of the government since 1963. In that year the regime of Gen. Abdul Karim Kassim was overthrown by the present Baathist rulers. The CP had participated in his government.

ANTI-WORKING CLASS

The bitterly anti-working class nationalists of the Baathist party executed many CP members on the spot. Over 800 Communists were taken to concentration camps in the desert or sent to Baathist torture chambers. At the beginning of the year about 50 CPers were still in jail. The CP demanded they be liberated or their sentences "revised." It also demanded the right to a daily newspaper, which had been prohibited by the regime, and more powers to the figurehead Cabinet instead of the Revolutionary Council, run by the Baathists.

No mention was made of lifting the repression against a rival Communist Party faction driven underground by the Baathists whose members are still being tortured and executed.

The Communist Party, with the full backing of the Kremlin, now enters a regime whose "anti-imperialist" rhetoric covers the most brutal repression of the working class and the CP itself.

Just as in 1963 in Iraq, as well as Ceylon and elsewhere since, the Stalinists' participation in these popular front coalitions prepares the way for vicious attacks on the working class.

# No Work Rule Changes On Docks!

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—Representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the employers shipping association (CONASA) are meeting today, reportedly to consider what to do about the Pay Board's rejection of the wage agreement section of the contract.

According to the decision of the Pay Board, the first year wage increase of New York longshoremen will be reduced from 70 to 55 cents an hour.

While the Pay Board has denied the wage increase won by the ILA, it has given the shippers the green light to implement the new work rules in the contract. The ILA must demand that the rules not be implemented until the full wage increase is restored. At the same time the rank and file must demand that the ILA leadership set immediately a strike date to restore the fight for the restoration of the full increase.

Not only has the Pay Board

refused to reconsider the contract, but Arnold Weber, key spokesman for Nixon on the Pay Board, has warned against unions trying to get around the guidelines of Phase II by holding off increases until Phase II controls are relaxed or ended.

## GAI

A rumor is being spread on the docks that Gleason will argue for a "one year contract," and accept the wage reduction as well as the new rules on the guaranteed income (GAI) that the shippers got in the new contract. These rules are designed, by admission of both the employers and the ILA, to in-

crease profits by millions of dollars at the expense of the guarantee!

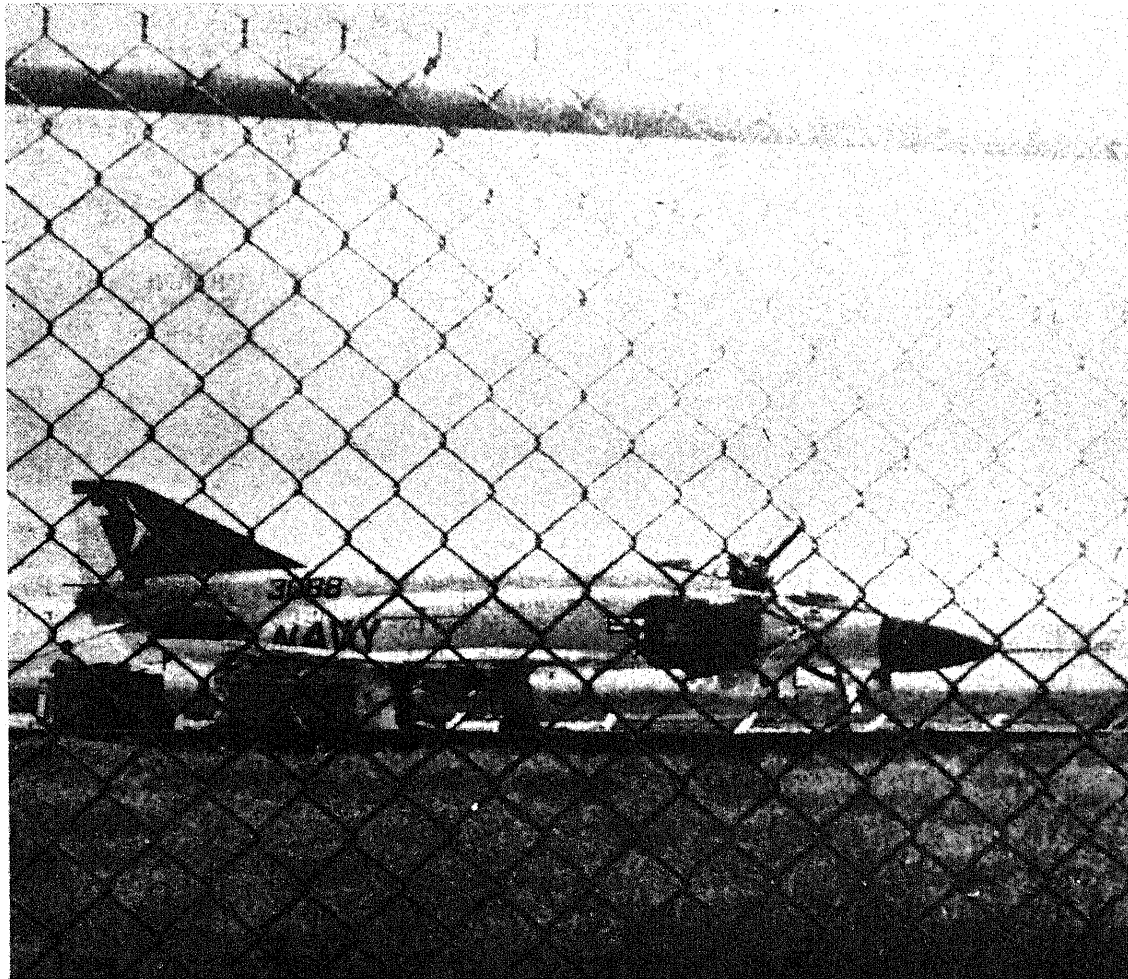
## HIRING

Last week Gleason even proposed that the union accept the wage reduction if the employers would agree to the elimination of PDO and a return to the old system of hiring which the shippers claimed was "abused." The shipping association rejected this proposal, making clear that they want it both ways—to make more money by lowering the wages, and to force thousands of men off the docks and beat them into submission under the new provisions of the guarantee.

Another longshoreman told the Bulletin: "This 'flexibility' will mean, for example, drivers will be working at any job, in the hold, or anywhere in the entire port that the employers need them. And then, after you get through with the job they'll tell you to pick up a broom and sweep up."

## RESISTANCE

It is clear that all attempts to implement the new work rules will meet with tremendous resistance on the docks. "It seems to me," said another longshoreman, "the only way you can beat them is by going out on strike. You're not going to say, we want the 70 cents and still work for them. The only way you can hurt them is by not working. Other than that, they don't care."



McDonnell-Douglas, which makes fat profits off Vietnam War (F-4 Phantom bomber above) used Pay Board to keep wages down as it lays off workers and speeds up lines at St. Louis plant.

## Talks Stalled At Winchester

BY DENNIS BARRETT

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT—Contract talks are now underway at the Winchester Division of Olin-Mathieson Corporation, a gun and ammunition manufacturer, and New Haven's largest industrial employer. The contract of International Association of Machinists Local 609 expires July 15.

There have been 13 negotiating sessions so far, and according to Mike Rao, president of the local, they are making slow progress. Olin Corporation's unyielding position is expressed in the fact that talks on economic issues have not yet begun, but the sessions have remained on the level of language.

Three years ago, the union's 3000 members were on strike for 119 days. The *New Haven Register* called it the "longest and costliest strike in this area." The strike took place in the context of the beginning of the current offensive of labor against inflation; it was followed by the General Electric Strike and then by auto.

Since that strike, Olin Corporation, reportedly in a deep financial crisis because of cut-backs in defense contracts, has gone on the offensive to weaken the union by laying off 1600 workers, or over 50 percent of the work force! Recently, over 400 workers have been hired back

and overtime is the order of the day.

## TEMPORARY

Nearly all the rehired workers told the *Bulletin* that they thought this was temporary. As one Local 609 member put it:

"I'm already looking for something else, because I know this won't last long. Our contract's coming up and that's why they've hired us back."

The president of the local has some other thoughts on the matter however. Rao told the *Bulletin*: "I think the hiring back looks permanent. They're going to try to maintain an increased work force."

One of the main issues in this contract involves the "Red Circle" as it did in the last contract. The "Red Circle" replaced the incentive pay formula or piece work and paid workers by an average rate. This was at first opposed by the union in the last contract, but was com-

promised in the end.

An older worker said: "The company made a mistake in the last contract. They put us on the 'Red Circle.' Say before you were making 400 pieces, now you get paid for that rate, but the men aren't making that many pieces anymore—maybe 200 instead."

"Now the company wants to insist on a rate. They want a little more work for the money they're giving us. Speed-up."

This slowing down was the workers' response to the massive layoffs and a way to spread out the little work that remained.

## COMPROMISE

Instead of this policy of compromise, the union must demand a guarantee that all rehired workers will be guaranteed jobs throughout the life of the new contract. A 30 hour week without reduction in pay must be instituted if necessary in order to achieve this.

## Aerospace Betrayal Forces St. Louis Men To Accept Guideline

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—A meeting of over 4,000 aerospace workers from the McDonnell-Douglas plant on May 13 voted to accept a three year contract proposed by the company.

Workers voted ten to one to abide by a contract which ties them to Nixon's Pay Board. The pay hike during the first year—34 cents an hour—as well as those of the subsequent two years are identical to the increases approved by the Board for the major West Coast aerospace companies.

All fringe benefits presently written into the contract are subject to the approval of the Board.

No doubt this vote was very pleasing to McDonnell-Douglas. This company, the largest employer in the St. Louis area, has reduced the work force from 22,000 to 12,000 in the past four years.

Now the company is able to combine these massive layoffs with holding down the wages of the remaining workers. Therefore, the already record profits made by the company during the Vietnam War will be increased even further.

## HISTORY

The history leading up to this vote contains many important lessons for the labor movement.

The previous contract between the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 837 and McDonnell-Douglas expired on January 30, 1972. A meeting of 10,000 members of the machinists on January 9 voted to go out on strike if their wage demands were not met by McDonnell-Douglas.

The workers were demanding parity with the West Coast aerospace workers who had recently won 12 percent pay hikes from their respective companies. Some 95 percent of the workers voted for a strike.

The militancy of the ranks as expressed by this vote was curtailed and diverted when a dispute broke out over the union representation. A rival union (TEAM) claimed to have the support of the McDonnell

workers. Hence the contract vote had to be postponed until the representational election was held.

This action by a supposedly more progressive union only weakened the fight against the bosses as well as divided the St. Louis workers from those on the West Coast.

During this time, the wage hike negotiated by the IAM and the UAW on the West Coast and agreed to by the companies there were slashed by the Pay Board. The Presidents of both these unions were Pay Board members.

However, in spite of their stated opposition to the class character of the Pay Board, these labor leaders remained on the Board and channeled the whole movement of the ranks into an impotent fight in the courts as to the legality of the Pay Board's decision.

## WEAKENED

Hence the failure of the powerful UAW to present any real opposition to the Pay Board decision as well as the objective role played by TEAM greatly weakened the bargaining position of the IAM District 837 and forced the acceptance of the company's proposal on May 13 by the workers.

This was exactly what the Pay Board was counting on through collaboration with the labor bureaucracy of the most powerful unions. This collaboration enables the Board to keep down the wages of workers in the weaker unions as well as all sections of the working class. In this way, the Board seeks to break the unions themselves.

At the contract vote, McDonnell workers all agreed that the contract was completely inadequate. But as one worker put it: "We can't fight the Pay Board by ourselves."

The task of uniting labor into a labor party which is able to take on the government and its Pay Board is critical in this period.

# IUE Strike Vote Delays GE Plan For Big Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT—Two weeks ago, members of International Electrical Union Local 203 authorized strike action against the Wire and Cable Department at General Electric Company here. The strike vote came in response to vicious speed-ups in the plant.

A former shop steward told the Bulletin: "You wouldn't believe how bad it was. It makes me mad just to think of it. They were pushing us and were on our backs all the time."

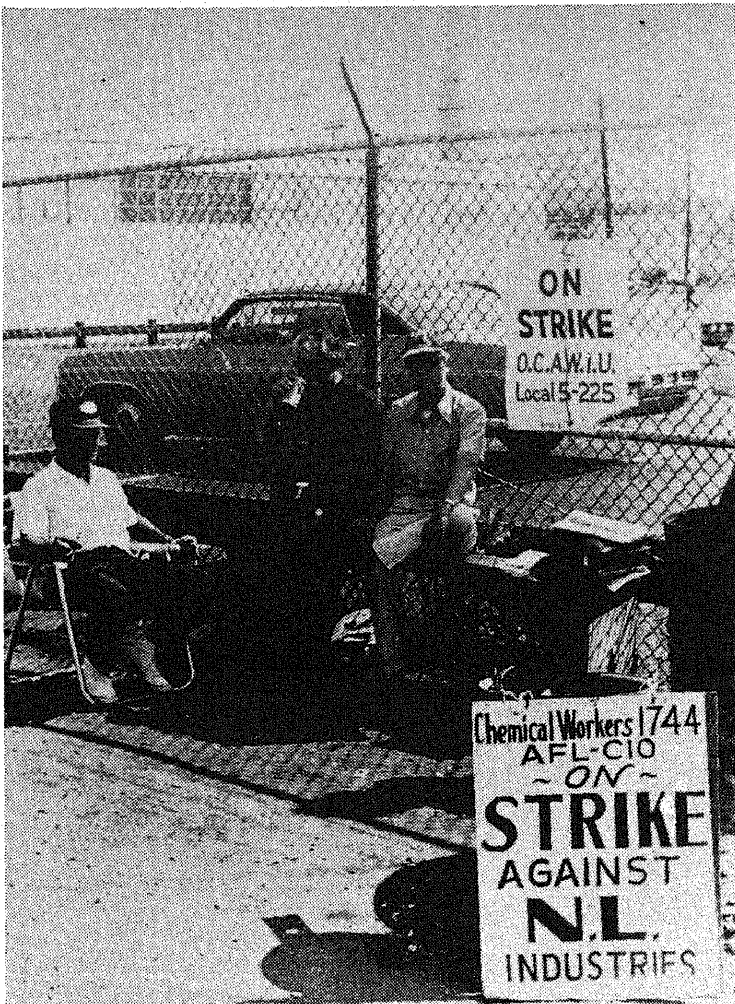
"You couldn't even make a telephone call, and they even did away with our coffee breaks."

They were giving warning slips out left and right."

He said that after the strike authorization the company evidently told the supervisor involved in this to "cool it," and at this point the harassment seems to have decreased.

GE is trying to avoid a confrontation with the IUE ranks at all costs and has temporarily retreated to prepare for much bigger attacks. What every worker at GE knows is that the entire fan department is scheduled to close down shortly which will affect over 400 workers.

Although the union leadership is saying that all the fan workers "will be absorbed into other departments," the real situation is that only the older workers will be placed in other departments. The workers with little seniority will be thrown into the streets.



1,400 chemical workers are striking against inhuman working conditions at N L Industries in St. Louis. Full story will appear next week.

# Bricklayers Fight to Save 7-Hour Day

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—The Bricklayers Union Local 2 is entering its third week of strike action. The employer is insisting that the work day be lengthened to eight hours from the previous seven hour day, and in this way eliminating overtime.

As one Local 2 member said: "That would set us back 15 years; our aim is to push ahead to improve ourselves!"

The employer is also trying to do away with all benefits, such as welfare and pension rights. Local 2 members, as well as other sections of the construction industry, are frequently out of work. An older worker said: "I've never seen it so bad—especially since Nixon has been in office."

The strike is joined by the Masons Union and the Laborers Union. The Carpenters Union has not yet decided to join the strike, but one worker felt: "The only way we can win is if we all go out."

# AFSCME For Labor Party

BY AN 1164 MEMBER MINNEAPOLIS—AFSCME 1164, University Employees Union, last week passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS; AFSCME 1164 is fighting job elimination and speed-up in food service at a time when layoff and speed-up has become the conscious policy of the government and employers across the country;

WHEREAS: AFSCME 1164 is beginning negotiations for its first union contract at a time when Nixon and his Pay Board are ripping up contracts and trying to destroy the right to bargain collectively;

WHEREAS: The government Pay Board threatens to take away the 10 percent wage increase for Minnesota state employees won last November;

WHEREAS: Nixon's attacks on the trade unions and the threat that Wallace poses to the whole labor movement cannot be fought by a Humphrey or McGovern who support the attacks on labor;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: AFSCME 1164 demand AFSCME International immediately call a conference of labor to construct a labor party through which labor can fight politically for the interests of the working class.

The International convention of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees is being held this week in Houston. Jerry Wurf and his bureaucracy have invited Humphrey, Muskie, and McGovern to give major speeches.

But members of Local 1164 see these men offer no alternative to either Nixon or Wallace. They too stand on the side of the bosses.

Local 1164 has instructed its delegate to take the resolution for a labor party onto the convention floor in complete opposition to these liberal Democrats. Local 1164 demands this be labor's answer to Nixon and Wallace.

# TUAD Meeting Sabotages Pay Board Fight

BY FRED MUELLER

NEW YORK—The May 20th conference of the New York Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy was a sharp reflection of the Communist Party's crisis in the face of the tremendous upsurge of class struggle internationally.

This meeting took place just days after the open capitulation of Harry Bridges to the Pay Board's cut of the increase won after the historic four month West Coast longshore strike and Wallace had just swept the Maryland and Michigan primaries.

These developments demonstrate the absolute urgency of the fight for a labor party in opposition to the parties of big business.

The CP seeks to hold back the fight against the employers at every point. They ran this meeting as a railroad from start to finish with the aim of lining up support for the Democratic liberals as the election approaches.

The proposed policy statement, which the conference organizers at first tried to have

# NCR Chief: Fire 8,000

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—The newly appointed president of National Cash Register, William Anderson, last week brazenly called for a mass job liquidation program to solve the company's economic crisis.

The Dayton NCR workers organized into UAW Local 1616 recently won a minimal wage and fringe benefit increase. The Pay Board has just approved a reduced version of the agreement, delaying some of the fringe benefits for one year. This paltry increase is viewed as disastrous by NCR and they have appointed a new boss to solve this problem.

Anderson spelled out the solution clearly—"more complete automation and decentralization is necessary not only in the search for lower wage rates but for more efficient use of materials." This spokesman of

adopted without any discussion whatsoever, speaks of "the need for independent political action by labor." This, it explained, meant the fight for "a coalition of labor, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicano people, of youth and women, of all who wish to advance the cause of peace, economic security, equality and social progress. Such a coalition can make its imprint felt within and outside the major parties."

Concretely, this policy statement called for enthusiastic support for Congresswoman Bella Abzug and State Legislators Sidney Von Luther and Arthur Eve.

When the CP talks about independent political action, it means nothing of the kind. In 1972 it means to support McGovern or

corporate power openly attempts to pit American workers against Japanese workers.

He states: "Japanese are different, hard working, easy to teach, but we're counting on U.S. leadership in technology." Then he proposed new technology to wipe out thousands of jobs both in Japan and the U.S.: "New technology such as the electronic cash register, which will be produced initially in Japan will bring about a change in NCR employment rolls."

This program will cut Dayton's NCR work force in half in three years, from 8,000 to 4,000 workers, according to the business editor of the Daily News.

The situation at NCR raises sharply the necessity for a labor party with a program of nationalization of basic industry under workers control.

some other liberal as an alternative to Nixon and Wallace.

The conference organizers pushed through rules requiring all speakers to submit their names in writing to the chair. When this was done by several unionists who sought to speak on the need for a fight to smash the Pay Board and build a labor party, the chair proceeded to ignore the names which had been submitted.

Finally, after several hours, Fred Mazelis of Local 1199, the opposition candidate to Leon Davis in the recent union election, and Helena Farinas, a Local 1199 delegate, took the floor to denounce McGovern as well as other Democratic and Republican candidates as backers of wage controls, unemployment and every other attack required by capitalism in order for it to survive in this period.

These speakers put forward a motion calling on the conference to fight for a labor party, and to demand that Bridges reverse his capitulation to the Pay Board and mobilize the ranks in strike action to defeat it.

The CP tried everything to prevent this motion from coming to the floor, and then did everything to vote it down.

Referring to "representatives of a number of Trotskyite sects" the Daily World writes: "These people, most of whom were students, seized the microphone on every possible occasion to make pseudo-revolutionary speeches demanding that the conference denounce all 'capitalist' politicians, including those invited to the conference, and call instead for 'class-wide militant actions,' 'general strikes' and a labor party."

This statement brazenly distorts the character of the intervention made by the Workers League in order to attack its political perspective. It lumps the Workers League—which brought only trade unionists to the confe-

rence—together with Labor Committee and the International Socialists, which were represented by students.

The IS and Labor Committee were continuously called on, while the Workers League was barely recognized. But the Daily World is attacking the Workers League which stood alone in its call for a general strike and labor party.

The Daily World then commented: "Rank and file workers then pointed out that such fine sounding militant speeches could not be made on the floor of any trade union meeting and were completely out of touch with the current state of development of the labor movement."

Ignoring the fact that the call for a labor party was made on the floor of no less a trade union meeting than the UAW Convention in Atlantic City, the Stalinists are stating that the assault on the living standards of workers and the destruction of their contracts by the Pay Board does not require "independent political action by labor."

The Stalinist line is to maintain the struggles of the working class within the framework acceptable to the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. It is for this reason that their resolution condemning the action of the Pay Board on the longshore settlement did not say a word about Bridges' betrayal nor did it propose action against the Pay Board.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: Dan Fried  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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(Continued From Page 1)  
class is rightfully fed up.

Whatever base Wallace has within the working class can be destroyed through the break with the Democratic Party by the trade union movement. The construction of an independent labor party would create the political form through which the working class could defend itself and would promptly expose Wallace as the reactionary enemy of workers that he has always been.

#### TOOL

There is no shortage of evidence to prove that Wallace is bitterly hostile to the working class. His claim to be a representative and defender of the "little man" has absolutely no foundation in fact.

His long record as Governor of Alabama reveals him to be the willing tool of big business' drive for super-profits. It is largely because of Wallace that Alabama has been such a difficult place for the working man to eke out a tolerable existence.

With Wallace in the Governor's mansion in Montgomery, all the arch-enemies of the working class have found encouragement: the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, various states' rights organizations, segregationists and white supremacists.

#### WEAKEN

These elements have served the purpose of weakening the working class by fomenting racial divisions and fighting to prevent the growth of trade unions in order to make it that much easier for business to exploit a man's labor.

Under the administration of George Wallace, Alabama has been one big birthday party for the giant corporations. For someone who claims to carry the banner of the little man, Wallace has shown surprising concern for the needs of industry.

Not too long ago, George Wallace bought a one-page ad in the Wall Street Journal in order to persuade businessmen to locate in Alabama. Beneath no less than twelve pictures of a smiling George Wallace, the following message was printed:

"We're the Free Enterprise State. We've got everything industry is looking for."

The text continued: "American industry didn't invest 1 1/4 billion dollars in Alabama just because the welcome mat is out. The mat's out everywhere. No sir. Industry invested for the best reason: their plants could make bigger profits in Alabama. Of course, our financing plans that let new industries custom-build and equip plants without capital outlay helped.

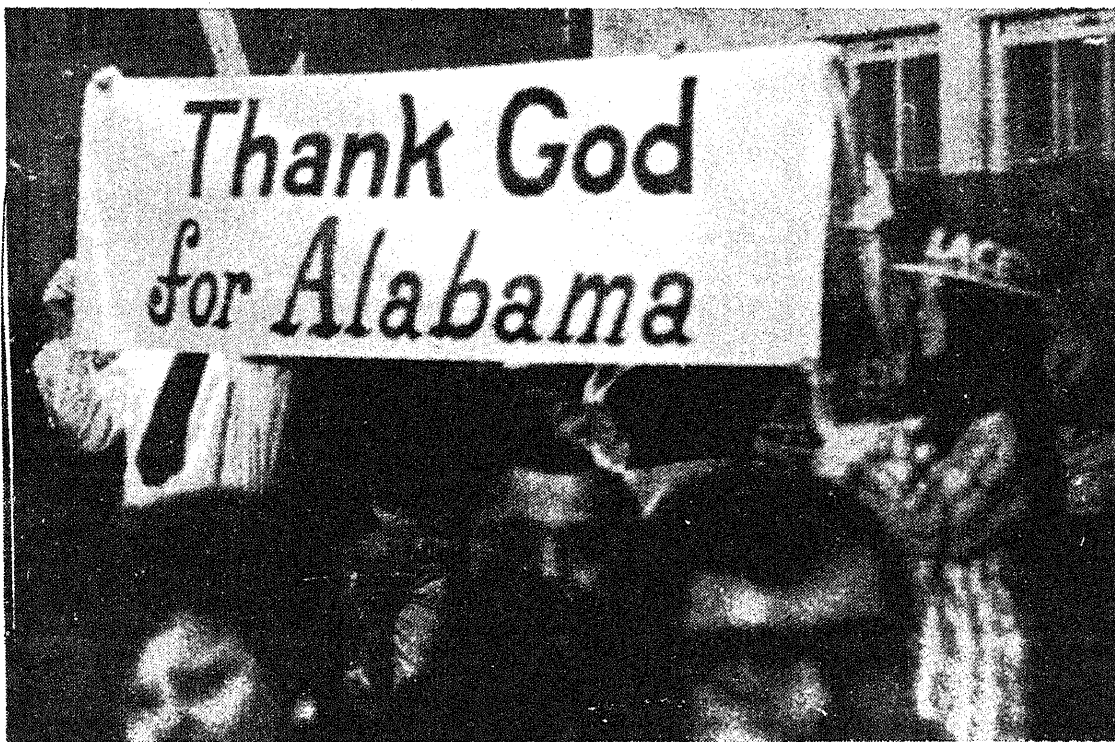
#### FREE ENTERPRISE

"So did our natural resources, and our dedication to the free enterprise system. But in the final analysis, they come because of our profitable environment. Call me. The number is 265-2341. Ask for George Wallace."

The "profitable environment" of which Wallace boasted comprises the conditions that make Alabama about the most difficult of all the fifty states for a worker to live in.

The statistics compiled by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education give the bare outline of working conditions in the state governed by George Wallace.

There is no effective minimum wage law in Alabama. The Alabama production worker earns an average \$114.97, which places him far below the national average for a week's work and below the workers in 38 other states.



## Where George Wallace Really Stands



Pictures show Wallace's campaign during Maryland Democratic primary before he was shot.

The average per capita income in Alabama is \$2,853, which is 48th in the national ranking. Unemployment compensation averages at \$39 per week, lower than in 41 other states.

Alabama ranks 36th in workmen's compensation; the maximum weekly allowance is \$60. A recent survey computed that in Michigan, where Wallace received a thumping 50 percent of the vote in the primary, a worker's eye is worth about \$13,000. In Alabama, a worker's eye is worth about \$5,000.

#### EXPLOITATION

All the statistics tell the same story: that George Wallace, the self-proclaimed friend of the working man, administers a system of exploitation almost without parallel in the United States.

It is reported that 24.7 percent of Alabama residents live in poverty as defined by the lenient guidelines of the U.S. Department of Labor. This is the second highest in the entire country and more than double the national average.

The "profitable environment" of which Wallace boasted did not just develop by accident. It was prepared consciously over a long period of time by the relentless struggle of Alabama capitalists against the attempt by workers to organize unions.

Along with the statistics cited above, an expression of the reactionary warfare is the Alabama "right-to-work" law. In Alabama, the open shop is the law of the land.

Time and again, the Alabama labor movement has sought to have it repealed. The strongest efforts have been made during the lengthy tenure of George Wallace. But the state AFL-CIO has been defeated every time.

The Alabama Governor does not like being questioned about his stand on the "right-to-work." When he was pressured, Wallace gave the following rambling and evasive answer:

"I don't know all about the—I don't know all about the—in fact I haven't viewed the arguments on both sides of that particular matter, but I would say that there are arguments pro and con

and there are so many pro and con arguments that it certainly ought to be looked into..."

An important part of the "populist" program of George Wallace is his promise of sweeping tax reforms. He told factory workers in Michigan that he would cut the loopholes for big business and make the rich pay their way. And he promised "tax relief for the working man."

Wallace has had plenty of time to try his schemes out on Alabamians. But the only thing unusual about the tax structure in Alabama is that the worker pays more in taxes and the boss less than almost anywhere else in the country.

#### TAX

George Wallace has imposed a stifling assortment of sales taxes upon the working class. Between 1963 and 1967, Wallace's first term as governor, more than \$70 million was added in consumer taxes.

As for the giant corporations that Wallace threatens with a sound thrashing, they pay prac-

tically nothing in Alabama—another aspect of the "profitable environment." There is a graduated personal and corporate income tax ranging from 1.5 percent to 5 percent.

The last time the corporations had to accept a tax increase, Wallace handed them the pen and ink to write the law. The result was that the increase became part of the state constitution. Because it is hard to amend the constitution, the corporations could continue to pay the same taxes for an indefinite period of time.

#### CORPORATIONS

Because Wallace will not tax his real friends—the large corporations—he attempts to squeeze all the money he possibly can out of workers. Last year, Wallace proposed to finance a new mental health program with the retirement funds of Alabama teachers.

One of the big promises that Wallace made during his 1970 gubernatorial campaign was that he would force a 25 percent reduction in utility rates and that the four percent sales tax would be abolished. Wallace said that the corporations would have to meet the obligations caused by the elimination of the tax.

Well, the sales tax still exists. As for the utilities, the Wallace administration has granted rate increases totaling \$38.5 million. Of course, Wallace made a flamboyant display of public anger against the utilities and hired several lawyers to begin lawsuits. But that was a charade staged only to deceive the working people of Alabama.

In the midst of all the public furor, Wallace met quietly with the leaders of the Southern Company, the utility giant of Alabama. He delivered a speech entitled "Industry, Commerce and the Economy." The battle of the Utilities vs. The Defender of the Little Man failed to materialize:

#### "PROGRESS"

"I want," Wallace said "to congratulate all of you on the great progress you have initiated in our state and our region, and are continuing to carry out. If it were not for the ingenuity of you people in the Southern Co., we would not have the revenues necessary to expand and develop as we are doing. I am well aware of that fact."

The president of the Alabama Power Co., Joseph M. Farley, was moved by the Governor's thoughtful remarks, and responded with a flattering toast. Wallace, he said, has played "an impressive role in American public life—forceful, challenging—that various others among us in Alabama could or would not have done.

"In recent years, we have had no such spokesman, and we are indeed proud to have one today...We are very pleased Gov. Wallace has graced us with his presence."

#### DEMAGOGY

All the demagoguery about fighting big business and helping the little man is nothing but a cover for the real Wallace program. The man who has carefully developed an image of defiance to the great interests of the corporations is actually their faithful friend and servant.

It is for this reason that the Wallace campaign is lavishly financed by the most powerful vested interests in the South.

A leading official of the Alabama AFL-CIO told the Bulletin that if Wallace were president, "Big industry would be running this country. Along with the police and reactionary generals."

# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## Why YWLL Stifles A Study Of Marxism

The Stalinist-led Young Workers Liberation League recently held its second national convention in Chicago.

The entire meeting was a conscious attempt to turn the youth present from a study of Marxist theory, from a fight for socialism, into impotent protest movements and reformism. The convention was riddled through and through with attempts to indoctrinate the youth with acceptance of the needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy, that is, with an abandonment of revolutionary struggle.

For two weeks, the Daily World, newspaper of the Communist Party, has tried to give the impression that the youth who attended accepted unquestioningly the proposals put forth. Every other sentence in the articles written about the convention have the words "cheering ovation" in them. This is another example of Stalinist falsification and lies, reminiscent of the Moscow trials.

What went on was not as calm and "gung ho" as the Daily World tries to paint it. There was an undercurrent of discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the convention. The youth did not take as gospel everything put forth. As a matter of fact, a large percentage of the people present left after the first day.

This refusal to accept at face value what was said was sharply pointed out a variety of times. Jarvis Tyner, chairman of the YWLL, stated: "People are getting expelled right and left... (we must have a) more useful approach, with shorter meetings and easier educational."

What he was saying was that what Marxist theory was being taught in the YWLL was too demanding and bred "sectarianism." In other words, the study of Marxist theory gave the YWLL the appearance that it was a revolutionary party, and as a result kept middle class tendencies—liberals, radicals, etc., from joining the YWLL.

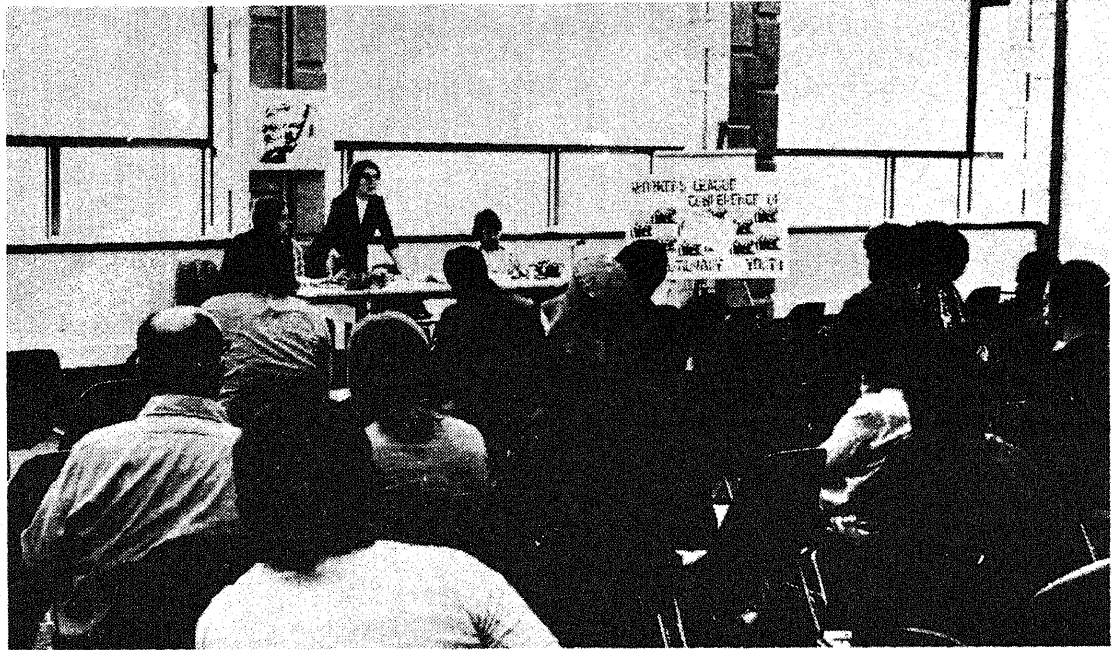
When youth took up a fight against this, and insisted upon the continuation of the attempt to understand theory, they were viciously silenced, and their questions were left unanswered. This is why half of the observers present walked out the first day.

Expressed at the convention was a fear of the youth who were turning to revolution. This was shown by constant attacks against Trotskyism, as the revolutionary theory and movement in the present period. The Daily World wrote: "The Trotskyites remain a real factor among left youth..."

Many youth who attended the convention realize that there is no future in capitalism, that what is posed is revolution. This period is the most critical period in the struggle between the classes. On one hand we have the tremendous movement of the working class, taking up the fight for power, and on the other, we have the beginnings of the rise of fascism, the beginning of ever more harsh attacks against the working class.

Stalinism internationally is trying to betray and crush the movement of the working class. It is trying to tie the working class to the capitalist parties, and to sell out the revolutionary movements. This is what was put forward by the leaders at the conference.

This is what the youth have begun to face, and what it must continue to confront. It must confront the past sellouts of the working class by Stalinism, and the betrayals that it is trying to perpetrate today. The youth must realize just what is posed: that is, the destruction of Stalinism, and the building of a revolutionary, Trotskyist party.



Lucy St. John addresses Michigan-Ohio founding conference of Young Socialists last weekend in Detroit.

## Workers And Youth Vote To Launch Michigan YS

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

DETROIT—On Saturday May 20th young workers, students and unemployed youth from Michigan and Ohio attended a conference in Detroit and voted unanimously to adopt the program of the Young Socialists and to begin immediately in building the movement in the Michigan and Ohio area.

This conference like the one held two weeks ago in St. Louis are critically important to open the way to the construction of a revolutionary youth movement in the heartland of the American working class.

### CRISIS

The conference was opened up by Lucy St. John who delivered a perspectives report on behalf of the Workers League on the nature of the crisis.

"We have entered into a period in which capitalism can no longer provide for the masses of workers throughout the world. In order to preserve profits, the capitalists must drive the living standards of the working class into conditions far worse than

that of the 1930's.

"It is significant that this conference is being held in Detroit where the giant step forward to form the CIO was centered. But this is also the state where George Wallace just won over 50% of the vote. Wallace's racism is being used to break the unions, to pit the white worker against the Black worker. It was here that Henry Ford did all he could to prevent the organization of the CIO, to divide the working class. Despite this the workers united and broke Ford. Wallace's victory is a great danger to the labor movement. The only way to defeat Wallace is to build a labor party based on the tremendous power of the unions."

St. John emphasized that the youth must take up a study of Marxist theory. The youth now can play the critical role in the struggle to build a labor party and give leadership to the working class.

Mike Moore of the Detroit YS reported on the situation facing youth in the area.

"The unemployment in Detroit is over 55% for minority youth. At the same time budget cuts will close up parks and athletic activities in the schools.

### THEORY

"Electives are no longer available to students. Young workers who are able to get jobs are forced to work at breakneck speed. At the same time the government is moving against the youth. In Detroit the special police squad STRESS is used specifically to harass youth. Already a curfew is being announced for the summer because they can't provide jobs. The construction of a revolutionary movement that can lead the working class is crucial. The YS must lead the fight against capitalism and for the

building of a labor party."

Abby Rodriguez spoke on behalf of the national committee of the YS.

"The fight that we took up on December 18 when the YS was formed must now be continued by you. Capitalism as Trotsky said is in its death agony. When capitalism cannot even provide recreational activities for youth that is the bottom of the barrel. Throughout the country the YS is building a movement that can give leadership to the workers and youth. We have entered a period in which a movement based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky can and must be built."

### DISCUSSION

In the discussion questions were raised on the crisis and what the alternative is. A young auto worker asked about the role of the public in making decisions referring to the referendum which rejected a tax increase for education.

Another participant said, "What always happens is that the government tells you you can save your education but your taxes must go up. This is really no choice at all. Just as you have no choice between the Democrats and Republicans."

One youth asked: "How are we going to change the system?" A youth from Dayton answered: "It's going to take a revolution. But before the working class has a revolution it must be prepared through a change in consciousness. That is what the labor party will do. It will establish the independence of the working class from the capitalists."

Demonstrations against unemployment were discussed for the summer as well as recreational activities, and social activities. The conference ended with the showing of the YS film.

## Behind The Madison Shootout

BY LARRY SOMMERS AND NANCY KIDD

MADISON, May 20th—At the height of student protests last week against Nixon's increased escalation of the war, a shoot-out with police occurred in the early morning hours of May 11th in the Mifflin Street community area.

As a result of the shoot-out, three cops were wounded, none seriously. However, four youths were arrested on charges of conspiracy to arson.

Oliver Steinberg, one of the four, is charged with the attempted first degree murder of the three officers. The other three have \$10,000 bail set and may get up to 15 years.

The shoot-out occurred following an alleged fire bombing attempt of the Madison National Life Insurance building, at the home of some members of the Wild-Eyed Revolutionary Movement (WERM), a radical split off of the old SDS movement from the earlier 60's.

According to a report by the informer involved in the case, at

two in the morning he observed a Dodge convertible leaving the Bedford Street house. The car was followed and the occupants were alleged to have been confronted concerning the bombing of the insurance building. No fire bombs were discovered in their possession.

The youths were then followed back to their home. At this point, the shots were fired wounding the police officers.

Within minutes some forty police converged on the scene and began firing tear gas into the house. The four youth were flushed from the house and forced to crawl out on their stomachs.

The mother of one of the youths stated: "When police first ar-

rested them, they lined them up against the wall of the building across the street and brutally clubbed and beat them."

Police claim that a confession was gotten from Steinberg admitting to the shootings. This "confession" was extracted after five hours of physical harassment, including a revolver to his head. During this period he was not permitted legal counsel.

In spite of the obvious stripping away of democratic rights and the political nature of the case, the defense lawyers are proceeding to fight the case on merely technical grounds while the State has consciously tried to separate the shooting from the anti-war activities.

# DEATH AGONY OF STUDENT PROTEST & TODAY'S TASKS

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Today, as Nixon mines the harbors of Hanoi and Haiphong and increases the bombardment of the North in a desperate last ditch stand against the American Dienbienphu, the Stalinists in SDS and the revisionist YSA attempt to lead sections of students back into protest and isolated student powerism.

On campuses across the country, this perspective has led only to brutal beatings, macings, rock throwing adventures, and trashing. In Albuquerque, it has led to the shooting of two students by state police.

The development of the student movement must be carefully studied and the lessons brought into the struggle against the revisionist and Stalinist misleaders of the youth if the revolutionary alternative is to be constructed to defeat Nixon and his class.

Four years ago the climax of the first stage of the student protest movement came in the occupation of Columbia University in New York. The occupation of the university, the barricading of buildings, battles with police and the student strike were the forms which thousands of students sought to use in order to take up a real battle against the system.

But at the same time this mass struggle of thousands of students

was conducted on a completely reformist program, to stop the construction of a proposed gymnasium, to stop war research, etc.

Thus, it expressed the enormous militancy and determination of the students and at the same time the absolute limits that the policies of student protest imposed upon the students.

This two-sided process was expressed in the development of SDS. The tremendous growth of SDS reflected the burgeoning of the student protest movement just as its collapse starting about a year after Columbia reflected its inability to go beyond the limits of protest.

The post-1968 period in the student movement was carried to its conclusion by the Weathermen. Arising from the leadership of SDS and the collapse of the protest movement, it carried the movement to its logical extreme of terrorism and confrontation in complete isolation from the struggle of the working class. The movement destroyed itself in the process.



One of the four Kent State students killed after Cambodian invasion in 1970 lies in pool of blood.

Following the breakup of SDS, the student movement could no longer proceed without taking up in one form or another the question of the bankruptcy of middle class protest and a turn to the struggles of the working class. This is the underlying significance of the massive student upsurge following the invasion of Cambodia and Kent State shootings in 1970.

Another event, almost obscured by the capitalist press in the immediate aftermath of Kent State, took place earlier in the same week of May, 1970 in Akron, Ohio, scene of the first sit-down strike in a Goodyear rubber plant in 1936.

In Akron, the same National Guard who days later were to cold-bloodedly murder the Kent State students, fired at striking Teamsters who were trying to

stop scab trucks from breaking a successful nationwide teamsters wildcat strike.

These two events are bound together in the history of the American working class movement. For Kent State did not simply signal the death knell of middle class protest politics.

The ruling class, which turned on the students, was at the same time aiming the bullets at the working class already in motion to protect its standard of living from capitalist attack.

## POLITICAL

The desperation of the imperialist assault in Asia was matched by its necessity to take on and beat back the American working class. Protest politics would be shoved aside by the movement of the working class onto the political battlefield.

State troopers in St. Louis shot at armed carloads of Teamsters who were patrolling the highways to prevent scab over-the-road trucks from breaking the strike during that same month in 1970.

These developments were consciously buried by the capitalist press as it covered the student strikes which swept hundreds of campuses after Kent State. But they express in a moment the future of the American working class and the real meaning of Kent State itself.

The understanding by the ruling class that the student protests, as widespread and outraged as they were, were only a prelude to the massive movement of a powerful working class, compelled Nixon to unleash the National Guard.

(Continued On Page 18)

# YSA AND NATIONALISM AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE

BY DAVID WEISMAN

The reformist character of the Young Socialist Alliance has been demonstrated in their complete capitulation to the policies of the nationalist organizations on Brooklyn College.

On campus there have been a variety of nationalist organizations, which had originated as cultural clubs. The recent entrance

of minority working class youth through the open admissions program had both brought politics into these organizations and began to break them up. With a perspective of Black and Puerto Rican "priorities," these organizations acted in a completely reformist manner, campaigning for the hiring of more minority teachers, cultural studies, food programs, etc.

The preparations for massive cuts in education and the development of the reactionary Jewish Defense League left these forces paralyzed. Behind this paralysis was the reactionary conception of "third world" people. This theory essentially meant that whites either exploited or were complicit with the exploitation of non-white people. Bringing the working class to power is out of the question, and at the best "progressive" whites could support the movement of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

This movement was one of "liberation" or "revolution," which meant anything from race war to reforms. Since revolution isn't a question of the objective developments of the class struggle, but one of the increasing "aware-

ness" of third world people, it would tend to be a long time till this educational process was finished. It added up to fighting for whatever reforms seemed possible, and a better education.

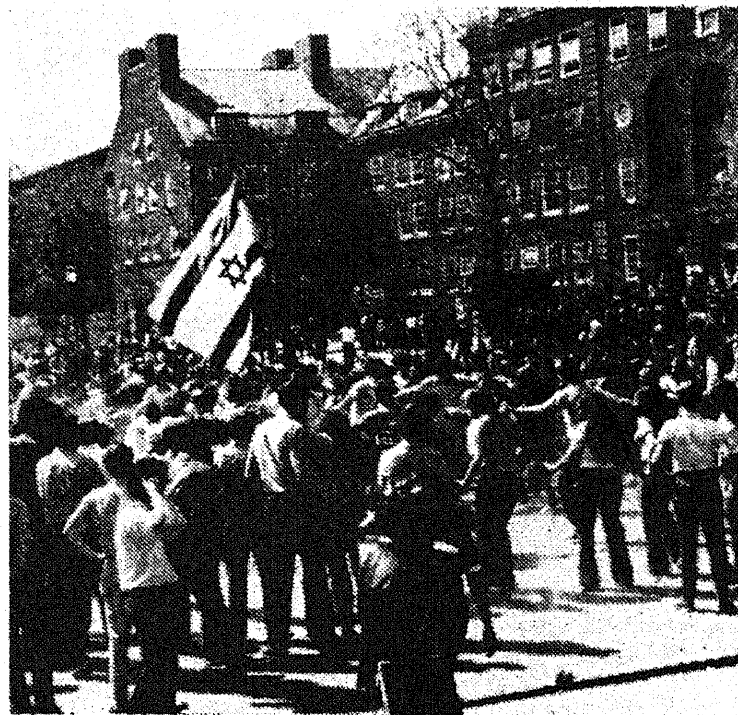
## METHOD

The method behind these theories is completely hostile to Marxism. Impressions as to social relations are substituted for a scientific assessment of society. Idealist conceptions of changing awareness outside of objective developments, and a pragmatic approach to what worked inevitably led to reformism. This bourgeois method and the ensuing bankrupt policies drove students away.

The sharpness of the attacks on the students posed to the nationalists a political turn, to take up a class fight, uniting all the students, and at the same time turning them toward the labor movement. But because of the very character of nationalism, the nationalist leadership was unable to make this turn and retreated further from the struggle. In an attempt to cover this, they formed the Third World Federation.

## MASSAS

In the first Student Government elections in which the Workers League participated, we offered critical support to Paul Massas and his Revolutionary Slate. This support was based on a program to fight the budget cuts and the JDL. The Revolutionary Slate represented a



Nationalists and the YSA seek to identify all white students at Brooklyn College with Zionist activity and all Zionists with the JDL just as they identify all Black students with nationalism.

section of the students that broke, if even timidly, from the paralysis of the TWF.

At the same time, the Revolutionary Slate completely refused to support the YSA. This hostility was based on both the YSA's patronizing support to Black and Puerto Rican organizations, community control, etc., and the clear liberal nature of the YSA in their involvement in anti-war and abortion movements.

The Federation couldn't even bring itself to officially endorse any of the slates, let alone take up an active role. This could not prevent sections of their membership from voting for both the

Revolutionary Slate and the Workers League, while refusing to support the YSA.

Once in Student Government, Massas returned to the methods of the TWF. He refused to take up any struggle against the impending budget cuts. Far from fighting the JDL, he voted for funds for them, and openly collaborated with them.

## ZIONISM

This collaboration was an expression of the very logic of nationalism itself. The nationalists reasoned that if Blacks are a nation and have their own culture, etc., then why not Jews? All white students were iden-

tified with Jews, all Jews with Zionism, and all Zionists with the JDL.

The JDL was therefore accepted as the natural outgrowth of the white students just as nationalists accept Wallace. Thus rather than fight the JDL, it was used as an excuse to rally minority students behind the nationalist leaderships who in turn did nothing whatsoever to fight for anything from anybody.

But the mass of the minority students at Brooklyn College refused to accept JDL and its rule on the campus as inevitable any more than the mass of Black workers will simply accept Wallace or in the future accept fascism which develops in the wings of movements like Wallace's and the JDL. They sought to fight JDL and to defend the class issues they shared with other students—all of whom were affected by the attacks of the capitalist state on educational funds, student activities and on the very life of students through the Vietnam War.

The experience at Brooklyn College in the coming months was to fully confirm the assessment of the YS and Workers League that a class fight against class attacks could bring forward large sections of minority and white youth, Jewish and non-Jewish.

## PROGRAM

In the second student elections, for the positions open in the fall term, the perspective of the TWF became clearer as they chose Paul Massas for their Presidential candidate. Their election statement was essentially completely reactionary cultural nationalism.

(Continued On Page 18)

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## American Stalinists Back Nixon Trip

President Nixon, the leader of U.S. imperialism and the enemy of the working people internationally has been warmly welcomed in Moscow by the Soviet leaders. This is the man who threatens a third world war in order to defeat the just struggles of the workers and peasants in Vietnam. This is the man who slashes workers' wages and jobs in the United States.

As bombs fall on North Vietnam, killing men, women and children, as North Vietnamese ports are mined and rail lines bombed, the Stalinist bureaucrats sit down with this butcher of the Vietnamese people to discuss "peace."

This trip has set a time bomb within the American Communist Party. This trip has been planned for months now. But the *Daily World*, organ of the Communist Party, has remained silent while voicing demagogic denunciations of Nixon's escalation of the war. The CP waited until comment could not be avoided any longer—as Nixon stepped on the plane to Moscow.

Now the CP is desperately covering up for the betrayals of the Soviet bureaucracy. With the height of cynicism the *Daily World* on Tuesday, May 23rd, prints side by side two articles, one defending Nixon's trip and the other on the heroism of the Vietnamese people in the face of Nixon's war.

The CP in its editorials is attempting to whip up support for this visit by claiming that it is in the interests of the "American people." This is a lie. It is no more in the interests of American working people than Harry Bridges' sellout of the West Coast longshoremen's wage increase.

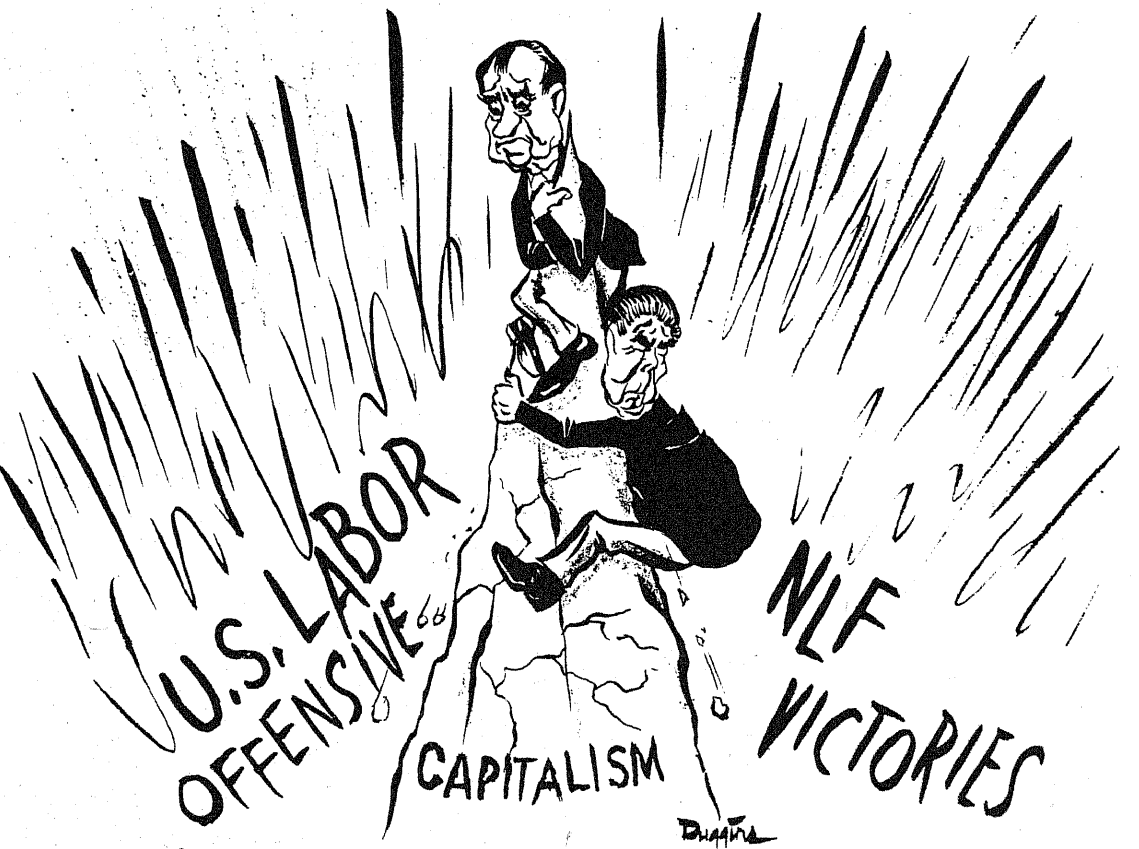
The CP like the Soviet bureaucracy seeks to defend this betrayal by invoking Lenin. The *Daily World* on May 20th issued a statement which said that Moscow's invitation to Nixon "is grounded in the policy of peaceful coexistence developed by Lenin and the guiding line of Soviet policy from the beginning."

Lenin did not develop peaceful coexistence and it was not the "guiding line of Soviet policy" in his lifetime. In 1919 Lenin said about the possibility of peaceful coexistence: "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other must triumph." Lenin constructed the Third International based on a strategy of world revolution not to peacefully coexist with capitalism but to destroy it.

It was Stalin who developed peaceful coexistence, subordinating the struggles of the working class internationally to the diplomatic needs of the bureaucracy and the preservation of its privileges. After Yalta, Stalin dissolved the Third International. It was in a struggle against this rejection of Leninism that the Trotskyist movement was built.

The American CP, always the most faithful servant of the Soviet bureaucracy, will now be called on to defend the criminal deal being plotted in Moscow, by diverting the American workers away from a fight against the government.

The workers and youth in the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League must demand an explanation from their leaders and an accounting with the whole history of Stalinism.



## Editor's Notebook

### The Pieta



Michelangelo's Pieta, one of the most celebrated sculptures and one of the most brilliant achievements of man, was severely damaged by the sledge hammer blows of an alleged "madman."

But this was the work of more than one man. It expresses all the sickness and decadence of capitalism in its death agony. Dying capitalism, the corrupting influence of the rich, unleashes all the reactionary forces that have been nurtured in the belly of this system.

As armed fascist gangs roam the streets of Italy, in Rome the act of Laslo Toth symbolized the role of these forces—the destruction of all the gains mankind has made historically.

The Church it must be said encourages these forces for the defense of capitalism. It is no accident that Toth as he hammered away shouted "I am Jesus Christ."

The defense of all the achievements man has made now lies with the only progressive force in this society—the working class.

### No Visa For Bach

In Hitler's Third Reich, racist crackpots were assigned the task of purifying Aryan culture of all Jewish influence. With some form of mystical zoology as their guideline, the Nazis banned the music of the great composer Felix Mendelsohn and threw into the bonfire the books of Heinrich Heine, perhaps the most beloved German poet of the nineteenth century.

It seems that in Israel, artistic questions are also decided with a blood test. The Ministry of Edu-

cation and the Supreme Court have ruled that performances of Christian music should not be encouraged.

The Government's decision was aimed against George Friedrich Handel and Johann Sebastian Bach, whose choral masterpieces have been universally acknowledged for more than two centuries as one of the highest expressions of human genius.

Justice Yitzhak Kister stated that the Government opposed the "dissemination of Christianity." And, as far as the Judge is concerned, Handel and Bach should be scorned as "a type of German music."

The Judge recommended that more attention be given to "fanning into life the embers of song and poetry left glowing after the great dispersal of the Jewish people and on developing the new music of the nation after its return to Zion."

### Parting Is Such Sweet Sorrow



Since the death of J. Edgar Hoover, the tyrant who built a virtual state out of the FBI and whose poisonous activities were directed against those who fought the system, some more information has been released about his life and activities.

For example Jack Anderson revealed recently that Hoover prepared films and dossiers on the extracurricular activities of senior members of the administration. These were shown in the private rooms of the White House for Lyndon Johnson.

Now the publication of Hoover's will has shed some new light on his career. Hoover, "a life long bachelor," has willed almost his entire estate valued at \$551,500 to what is politely described as his "long-time friend

and colleague," Clyde A. Tolson. Hoover's next of kin, four nieces and two nephews, one of which was an FBI agent, were left absolutely nothing. Hoover was generous enough to leave his clothes to his chauffeur and an FBI messenger. Two namesakes were left jewelry.

Tolson, an associate director of the FBI, lunched and dined with Hoover almost every day. They often shared vacations. On one of these vacations, a little while back, Hoover and Tolson were accused of travelling to a spa at the expense of the government.

Hoover was indeed the highest paid cop. How is it, one might ask, that Mr. Hoover accumulated such a fortune as a "civil servant." Hoover lived alone in a \$100,000 house which since his death has been occupied by Mr. Tolson. Hoover who worked for the FBI for 48 years managed to acquire \$125,000 in oil, gas and mineral leases in Texas and Louisiana.

It appears that Mr. Hoover was not beyond the corrupting influence of the rich he so doggedly defended.

### Anything For Profit

When the rule of the land is the business of making profit, then anything goes for the profit-makers. This must inevitably breed the worst forms of corruption and exploitation.

On Long Island last week five men, including a professor at Adelphi University and a school equipment salesman, were arrested for organizing a club that recruited young boys and trained them in "deviant sexual behavior."

Working class youth of 8 to 14 years old were bribed and forced into this form of slavery with expensive trips to Acapulco. Their families were also bribed with such prizes.

The money behind the operation was allegedly supplied by the equipment salesman who was described as "very wealthy" and a family man with three teenage children.

Probably the worst of it is that this "club" has been operating for 10 years. For all the talk about "law and order," the government allows this money making business to go on.





# The OCI & The International Committee New Documents

In October 1971, the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) split from the International Committee of the Fourth International by publishing a public statement attacking the majority of the IC. This statement was issued together with the Hungarian LSH group headed by Nagy, then a section of the IC, and the Bolivian POR of Lora, not a section of the IC. The November 8th issue of the *Bulletin* carried this statement together with a reply by the IC Majority.

In the April 24th and May 1st issues of the *Bulletin* we printed the response of the OCI to the October 24th statement of the IC Majority. In last issue and this week we print the reply of the IC Majority to the OCI's response. This material is reprinted from the *Workers Press*, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League of Britain where it appeared as part of the preparation for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee.

## Dialectical Materialism & The OCI: Statement Of IC Majority

CONTINUED FROM  
LAST WEEK

The 1970 'Pre-Conference' of the IC

It was at this stage, when the immediate features of the objective situation seemed to have provided the basis for agreement, that the basic differences became more clearly exposed. At the pre-Conference of the IC in 1970 this contradiction was first clearly identifiable. As soon as the formal agreement was probed, to the method behind it, we were faced with disagreement on the basic question of dialectical materialism: as the theory of knowledge of Marxism.

Revisionists like Joseph Hansen think it clever to make the point: can the SLL explain how they stayed together with the OCI despite differences on such a fundamental matter. Of course, Hansen regards a 'correct' position on dialectical materialism and on questions of programme as something fixed for all time: the actual process is one of struggle for clarification as existing conceptions are tested against the objective developments.

The OCI document refers only briefly to this theoretical discussion at the pre-Conference, recalling that its delegates 'warned the comrades of the SLL against the serious political risks in any tendency to transform dialectical materialism into an ideology (philosophy), a system of ideas developing by itself, which is a complete break with the very essence of dialectical materialism: the unity of method, of form and content'.

Let us state what actually occurred in the discussion, because this was indeed the occasion on which there first came out clearly and openly the issues voted on at the Essen Conference. Delegates from the SLL showed from experience of building the revolutionary party in Britain that a thoroughgoing and difficult struggle against idealist ways of thinking was necessary which went much deeper than questions of agreement on programme and policy.

The Trotskyist movement had gone through a long period of isolation in which propagandists inevitably took a strong hold, so that it was difficult for comrades to be trained theoretically in an actual, developing relationship of revolutionary practice in the workers' movement. In these conditions, as was now being shown in the practice of trying to turn the movement to the

working class and accept the responsibility of fighting for leadership, formal propaganda agreement, even to the extent of acknowledging verbally the basic theoretical premises of Marxism, actually served as a barrier to the real understanding of the unity of theory and practice. The same 'theory' which had rationalized a propaganda existence before, and which had never been called upon to guide a really revolutionary practice, now provided a screen of formal agreement to obstruct change, to obstruct understanding of the living movement of the class struggle.

Formal agreement with Marxist principles in fact co-existed with failure to have challenged the deep-going ways of thinking and feeling (i.e., bourgeois idealist philosophy) which tied members of the revolutionary party to fixed ways of life under capitalism. Activism, no less than propaganda and abstract 'pure' theorizing had its roots in 'English' bourgeois tradition.

When, therefore, the SLL delegates spoke at the pre-Conference about the need to fight for a deepening of the understanding of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism, it was precisely to direct the movement towards the fundamental questions involved in the nature of consciousness, of what is meant by a 'leap' in consciousness, and of what this means for the stage reached by the Fourth International and its parties in the new stage of the epoch of proletarian revolution which has opened up.

When the OCI and Hungarian delegates dismissed this discussion as irrelevant and even dangerous, then the SLL and other delegations realized that their fears of fundamental differences concealed by formal agreements on programme were only too well founded. If this happened at the international level, then there was every danger that in the building of sections, in France or any other country, our sections would react to the international crisis and the radicalization of workers by tail-ending the movement (though of course continuing to state their adherence to revolutionary principles) instead of, by a more intense struggle, selecting and training the best of the new forces in a fight to develop Marxism.

The OCI delegates at the pre-Conference did not simply, as they now put it, 'warn us of a tendency to transform dialectical materialism into an ideology'. They told us that dialectical

materialism was certainly not a theory of knowledge, and that Marxist theory did not exist except as concentrated and fought for in the form of the programme of the revolutionary party. They rested then, as now, on the remark of Marx and Engels in 'The German Ideology' that philosophy is surpassed by the extension of science, of revolutionary theory and practice, to the sphere of human activity.

On these grounds they dismissed the arguments of the SLL and other sections that a struggle on Marxist philosophy was the basic qualitative task confronting the revolutionary movement. This is a sophisticated distortion of Marx and Engels. The OCI remain indifferent to the fact that Lenin, in his work on philosophy in the early part of World War I, insisted that dialectics as the theory of knowledge of Marxism was not just a neglected 'aspect' of Marxism but was the 'essence' of the question.\*

As for Marx and Engels, they regarded philosophy as 'surpassed' only in so far as it was practised as a system standing above the sciences.

There is no question but that Lenin's work on these questions was crucial to his break with Social-Democracy and the building of a new, communist, International, and for the October Revolution itself.

His enriched understanding of the development of consciousness breaks through decisively in the April Theses and the discussion around them, against the 'Old Bolsheviks'. His work on 'State and Revolution', incomplete when the 1917 Revolution demanded his return to Russia, is directly and decisively influenced by the methodological advances he was able to make on the 'Philosophical Notebooks' for the 1914-1916 period. Those who reject the thesis that dialectics is the theory of knowledge of Marxism, and that this 'essence of the question' is decisive for the period of proletarian revolution, where revolutionary consciousness comes into its own, will soon find themselves questioning all the basic tenets of Leninism. And this is precisely what emerges from the OCI's document on the questions of the united front and on the question of revolutionary class-consciousness.

Dialectical Materialism and the OCI

We are certainly not saying that the SLL has answered

all the problems in this field; on the contrary, the first thing is to recognize that a long and continuous struggle is necessary in every section against the dominant bourgeois ideology, which inevitably takes a 'national' form. This was, of course, the meaning of Trotsky's deadly serious warning to the Socialist Workers' Party in the United States on the necessity of a conscious struggle against the dominant American philosophy, pragmatism.

The French Trotskyists have neglected to take up any fight against the school of 'Marxism' in France (actually a Stalinist compromise with 'national' traditions in the name of a revolutionary heritage from Jacobinism and the Enlightenment). This school is based, precisely, on playing down the decisive break from 18th century French materialism that was necessary for Marxism to be born.

Unless this philosophical struggle is fought out and deepened in the course of a battle against the way that bourgeois ideology today still strengthens the hold of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, then 'Marxists' and 'Trotskyists' in France will continue to publish books, articles and resolutions which look like Marxism, which rehearse the 'programme' with great expertise and with the most impeccable Trotskyist phrases, but without making any development of Marxism in theory or practice.

Marxism—here we see it once again—is not seen from the standpoint of a theory of knowledge, of the contradictory development of consciousness in struggle, but as the ideological expression of the interests of the working class. This one-sided view of the relation between Marxism and the working class is in fact very little different in its basic conception from the theory of knowledge which the pre-Marxist French materialists held. These materialists, to the limited extent that they applied their theories to history explained ideology in terms of 'utility' in ensuring the interests or happiness of those who embraced the ideas.

If those who call themselves Marxists conceive of Marxism simply as the expression of the nature and struggle of the working class, they do not go beyond this. Roger Garaudy, for example, writing about the French materialists and Marxism, explained that the latter could be a more consistent materialism because of the collectivist and non-exploitative character of the proletariat and its need for an outlook free of mystification: 'Materialism is the ideological expression of the action and struggles of the working class.' This has nothing to do with Marxism. Garaudy expands his explanation:

\*Here we discover at its very

origin the fundamental weakness of all our precursors: not one of them, before Marx, set out his socialist or communist doctrine founding it consistently on the positions of the working class. For them, materialism was never the ideological expression of the action and struggles of the working class. What essentially distinguishes them from Marx is that they wanted to deduce materialism from this or that stage of the progress of the sciences instead of seeing in it the necessary principle of the action and struggles of the working class. This attitude condemned them to leave idealism its share: it will always be the same if one tries to make of materialism a necessity arising from thought and not from action. To deduce materialism from an idea or system of ideas is to subordinate it to something not the same as it, to descend into metaphysics and finally into idealism.

'Marx gave to the working class and to philosophy the method necessary to escape from these illusions. Henceforth we have a measure with which to judge social doctrines and philosophical works: their value is a function of the weapons which they provide for escaping all mystification.'\*\*

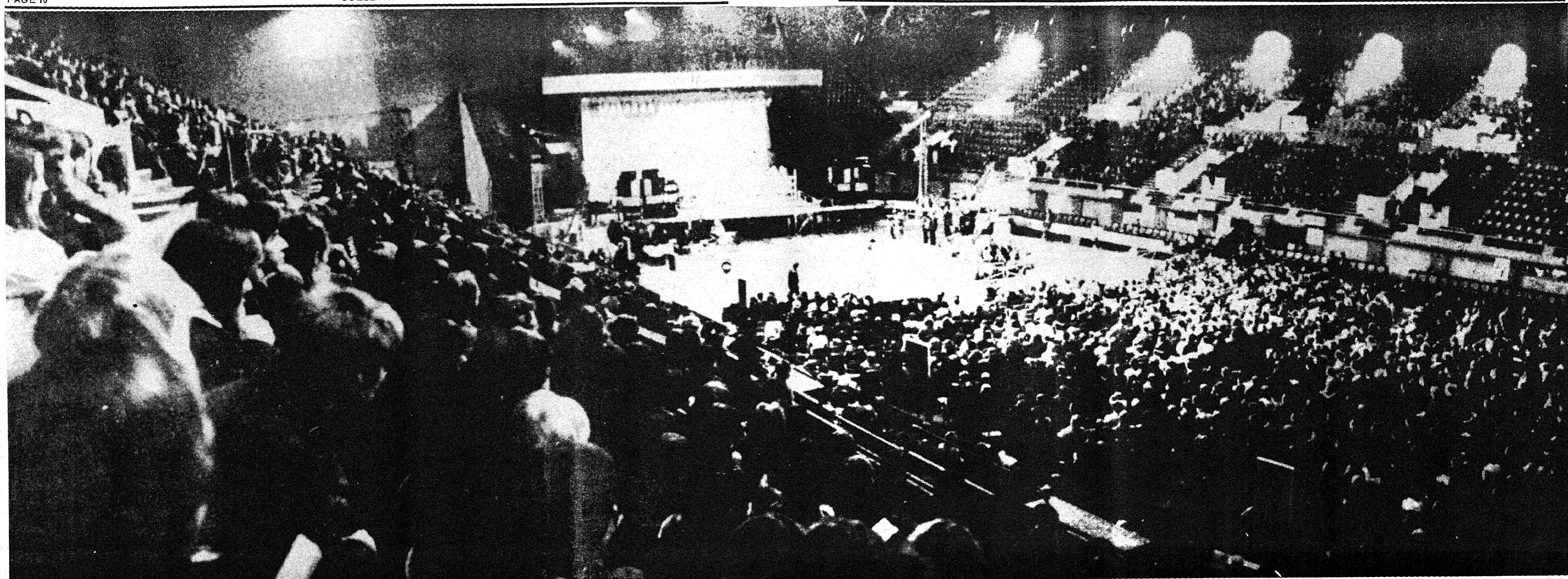
The purpose of this quotation, let us say before the screaming starts, is not to make an amalgam of Garaudy and Steiner. They are, of course, politically different, opposed to each other, in their whole political course. But we are here talking about what Engels called 'the theoretical front' in one of its sectors, the vital sector of philosophy.

Garaudy manages to make of Marx a continuator of the materialists of the 18th century bourgeois enlightenment, but able to be consistent because he based himself on the specific interests of the working class. The French materialists of the 18th century prided themselves on tearing away the veils of illusion and unreason, particularly in their religious and political forms, but, according to Garaudy, only a philosophy based on the working class, which has no system of exploitation to introduce, can really provide the basis for destroying illusions.

Such explanations of class and ideology would not be out of place in the many books and magazines of 'sociology' from which 'Marxists' in France find it impossible to break, and which neither the OCI nor anyone else has theoretically challenged.

Stephane Just, writing for the OCI, in his own way speaks very similarly to Garaudy:

'Marxist method only exists through its content which integrates all the moments of the class struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. It is in this sense that the programme of the socialist revolution concen-



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trates Marxism and that the defence of Marxist theory can only be the defence of programme, i.e., the struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership.

Certainly it is only in the struggle for the revolution that the fight for Marxism has any meaning, but this struggle demands a defence of Marxism in the realms of philosophy, sociology, etc. as well as at the level of politics as such. The youth in the AJS are being educated in the spirit of Just's distortions, and this is the meaning of the opposition to the Young Socialists' amendment at Essen. We have the representative of the AJS, discussing the Essen amendment at the subsequent meeting of the 'Liaison Committee' set up there, saying: 'There is no ideological battle in itself, no Marxist theory in itself, but a programme which is the expression, concentrated through the Marxist method, of the totality of the struggles of the proletariat, and upon which an organization fights.'

We are not saying, of course, that there is such a thing as 'Marxist theory in itself' or 'Marxist theory in itself', as we have explained in describing the differences at the pre-Conference. But we are certainly fighting against those who seem to understand the unity of theory and practice as meaning that theory no longer exists. We are certainly saying that dialectical materialism is the theory of knowledge of Marxism, of the path of struggle from error to truth—not to a 'final' truth, but continually making advances through contradictory struggle to real knowledge of the objective world as we fight to change it and change ourselves as part of it. Because this is rejected by the OCI leadership, insofar as they are represented in the document before us and in the writings of Stephane Just, they leave out the conflict between the development of scientific consciousness in the revolutionary party and the spontaneous consciousness

ness of the working class.  
**Stalinism Revisionism & the OCI**

The excursions of the OCI into historical questions of the movement in this connection are very instructive. So anxious are they to refute the Essen amendment that they contradict even their own recent writings. According to the OCI document, the Essen amendment errs by saying that revisionism can be found behind the development of Stalinism. 'No,' they say, 'behind each development of opportunism in the workers' movement there is not "ideology" in the form of the revision (rejection) of Marxism, there is the reality of social forces in conflict, the class struggle expressed in the centre of the working-class movement itself, which is both the terrain and the stakes in the struggle. This created justifications in the form of a revision of Marxism.' And, on the interpretation, Stalin's revision of Marxism 'expresses the interests of the bureaucratic caste which is taking over political power...'

Once again we have developments in ideas interpreted purely as expressions of the interest of 'social forces'. This general truth is used to deny any role to the conscious struggle for theory. Trotsky once compared the revolutionary party to a 'laboratory', in which there certainly was, and must be, a temporary but definite abstraction of certain elements of the changing reality, and definite theoretical effort, before understanding of the reality of the class struggle could be taken further in revolutionary practice, the results are to further enrich theory.

On the other side, revisionism, like any other idealist development, has theoretical roots, epistemological roots in unresolved theoretical traditions, etc., and only under certain conditions do these traditions get the chance to develop and be-

come 'anchored', as Lenin puts it, in definite class interests. Stalin's revisionism (the doctrine of socialism in one country) was the product of Stalin's (and others) limited theoretical outlook when encountering the intractable realities of the early 1920s. It became anchored in the definite interests of the bureaucracy, and could have come to dominance only on the basis of this bureaucracy and the social and cultural conditions which sustained it. For this revisionism, and the bureaucratic caste whose interests it adequately represented, to succeed, it was necessary first to achieve what Trotsky called the 'inner corrosion' of the Bolshevik Party itself, and that process was above all one of ensuring the destruction of the theoretical basis of the Party (in the campaign against the theory of permanent revolution and the discrediting of Trotsky as a previous opponent of Lenin).

The dialectical relationship between ideas and the classes or fractions of classes whose interests they serve is entirely wiped out by the OCI's mechanical and 'sociological' theory that ideological changes are simply 'justifications' of social interests. Revolutionary consciousness developed in struggle to grasp the changes occurring through the struggle of opposites in the objective world; this struggle and change is fundamental, whereas the identity of opposites is temporary and transitory.

It should at least be recorded in this discussion that in Stephane Just's 'Defence of Trotskyism', published earlier in 1971, which contains many of the mistaken theories which recur in the OCI document, he did at least state a correct position on this particular matter: Answering the Fabiolites, who 'explained' the rise of Stalin by 'objective' conditions, Just replied:

'It is not so-called "objective" conditions which lie at the origin of the isolation of the Russian proletariat and of the Bolshevik

Party, of the degeneration of the workers' state and of the Bolshevik Party, but so-called "subjective" conditions which lie at the origin of these so-called "objective" conditions.'

Even though the use of the adjective 'so-called' reflects extraordinary confusion (as we shall see, Just obliterates the opposition of subjective and objective), this quotation is quite correct about the origins of the degeneration of the workers' state. At this point, since the OCI promises another document on the disputed questions, we will make one specific request: let them say categorically, in dialectics the theory of knowledge of Marxism or not? And if it is not, what were the consequences, in Lenin's theory and practice, of his mistaken conceptions on this score. We do not expect this request to be favourably considered, and yet the author of the OCI document has in fact already embraced a formulation by Stephane Just which, without referring to Lenin as such, directly challenges his basic idea.

**Stephane Just corrects Lenin**

The OCI document tells us:

'As S. Just recalls in his "Defence of Trotskyism": Considered as a historical and organic process, the formation of the class-consciousness of the proletariat depends on the analysis of the development of the class struggle and ends the metaphysical discussions on whether class-consciousness is brought in from the outside or not, and on whether the vanguard is self-appointed or not.'

Here we have arrived at the crucial link between the philosophical and methodological errors of the OCI, on the one hand, and their centrist political tendency on the other. Stressing the unity of the opposites, Marxist theory and exploited working class, they ignore the

struggle of these opposites in which the unity consists. Just's 'organic' conception serves very well to help recognize any emerging 'allies' as more or less legitimate expressions of this organically developing consciousness. An extended quotation on this question from Just's book shows how, by a series of rationalistic formulae to 'integrate' all the different aspects of the class struggle, the actual dialectic of how consciousness is achieved is abolished.

But it is abstraction to consider the struggles and organization of the proletariat outside the totality of the social, political and ideological relations in society. They are born and develop as one of the components of the whole history of humanity. They are fed on all this history whose mainspring they become. The struggle of the proletariat against exploitation, the forms of organization which it adopts, concretize the basic contradiction in bourgeois society, but this is expressed in many forms within all classes and social layers in bourgeois society, through contradictions which derive from the production relations of that society.

'The struggles of the proletariat and its organization feed in their turn the social, political and ideological contradictions and antagonisms within bourgeois society. The proletariat maintains complex relations with all the other classes in bourgeois society, their struggles, their antagonisms, their political and ideological relations. There is nothing more stupid than these symmetrical views: Class-consciousness brought into the proletariat from outside its struggles by "good prophets", bourgeois intellectuals, or the class-consciousness of the proletariat monopolized by horny-handed workers who produce surplus value, with the "good" petty bourgeois or bourgeois having to put themselves humbly at the disposal of these workers and to imitate them.'

The experience or existing consciousness of the working class. If Just's 'organic' point of view were correct, why would Lenin want to insist that left to itself the proletariat can achieve only trade union consciousness, and that this is bourgeois consciousness? Because, although from some god's eye view, or from the point of view of pure reason which has gathered into itself all the determinations (or 'moments' as Just has it), the beautiful whole can be seen as integrated, nonetheless from the standpoint of revolutionary practice the task is precisely the struggle for political or socialist consciousness against the ideology imposed by the bourgeoisie and its agencies.

In their anxiety to oppose this insistence on the fight for Marxist theory, for dialectical materialism, and to make themselves acceptable to others who dismiss the basic importance of this question, the OCI are forced back on to the use of quotations from Marx in a way which deliberately counterposes general statements of the principles of historical materialism against the specific developments of this theory by Lenin. The document quotes 'The German Ideology', attempting to show by this that it is nonsense to talk about fighting for socialist class-consciousness because only the consciousness itself can produce such consciousness. ('A massive transformation of man is necessary for the mass creation of this communist consciousness... such a transformation can only be wrought through a practical movement, through a revolution...') This is another sophism.

The fight to build the revolutionary party on the basis of Marxist theory is the struggle for conscious leadership of the practical movement of the proletariat. Nor did our original formulation suggest that the fight for consciousness was some abstract one taking place entirely separately from the class struggle. That is a distortion.

What we said was 'What was most essential in the preparations of the sections was to develop dialectical materialism. In a struggle to understand and to transform the consciousness of the working class in the changing objective conditions.' (emphasis added). What a shameful distortion to quote this and then make jokes about people who want to 'develop' dialectical materialism on the model of exercising the muscles.'

These thoroughly anti-Marxist views on the character of dialectical materialism and on the nature of the relation between theory and class-consciousness cannot but be associated with a revision of the Marxist positions on the revolutionary party and the relation to the working class. Lenin's argument on the question of theory being 'brought from the outside' was directed to laying the foundations of the revolutionary party in Russia. Just's rejection of this as 'metaphysical' is directed towards the liquidation of the positions of the International Committee, which have been fought for against revisionism in the Fourth International.

In 1967 the SLL warned the OCI on the political implications of failure to build on the gains of the 1966 Conference. The OCI has now reaped the political harvest. Already by 1967 the OCI presented once again the formula 'the FI was destroyed under the pressure of hostile social forces' (15.5.67).

The SLL Central Committee replied (19.6.67): 'The OCI delegates voted [at the 1966 Conference] for the SLL's amendment that the FI was not destroyed. It is not possible to go forward and build revolutionary parties except on this basis. Those who left the Conference on this issue joined the attack on the SLL by those who have gone over to the camp of bourgeois pacifism and they will never return. We tell the OCI: You cannot separate the return to this formula, together with your attacks on centralized

organization and the supposed "ultramaterialism" of the Socialist Labour League, from the line-up of revisionist forces on exactly these questions. In the preparation for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee, as our SLL 9th Conference resolution makes clear, we will fight to reaffirm the decisions and gains of the April 1966 Conference. Having insisted there on the continuity of the Fourth International, rejecting the formula "The Fourth International is dead" as a middle-class, pessimistic rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and of revolutionary consciousness, we went on to formulate in the Commission on the tasks of the International Committee, the central principles of the type of Party we build, a Bolshevik party.

'We stressed that all trade union work, youth work, etc. was subordinated to this task. We specifically rejected all "spontaneity" and syndicalist theories of the "organic" or "natural" emergence of revolutionary parties through struggle.' Further, we drew the attention of the OCI to the implications of these differences for the developing situation in France itself. It is necessary to quote this section in full, because it shows the continuity in the positions the SLL has taken on the political questions involved, in contrast to the OCI's caricature of the SLL position as one of abstract theorizing on philosophy.

'Now the radicalization of the workers in W. Europe is proceeding rapidly, particularly in France. The election results there, the threat of a return to the political instability of the ruling class in the Fourth Republic, the mounting strike struggles, the taking of emergency powers—all these place a premium on revolutionary preparation. There is always a danger at such a stage of development that a revolutionary party responds to the situation in the working class not in a revolutionary way, but by adaptation to the level of struggle to

which the workers are restricted by their own experience under the old leaderships, i.e., to the inevitable initial confusion. Such revisions of the fight for the independent party and the Transitional Programme are usually dressed up in the disguise of getting closer to the working class, unity with all those in struggle, not posing ultimatums, abandoning dogmatism, etc.'

The indications here for the policy of the OCI in the May-June events, only 12 months later, discussed in our statement of October 24 last are obvious.

**The 'working-class united front'**

The OCI's turning its back very deliberately on the theoretical foundations of the building of the revolutionary party, particularly in respect of the youth, is the necessary companion of its distortion of the Leninist policy of united front. The capitulation to spontaneity is the link between these two aspects. Whereas Just wipes out the distinction between spontaneity and revolutionary consciousness, calling it 'metaphysical', Lenin very deliberately insists on this distinction:

'The working class spontaneously & a priori tends towards socialism: nonetheless, the most widespread (and continuously and diversely revived) bourgeois ideology spontaneously imposes itself upon the working class to a still greater degree. Hence our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to combat spontaneity, to divert the working-class movement from this spontaneous, trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of the revolutionary social-democracy.' (Lenin: 'What is to be Done?')

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British Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists rally

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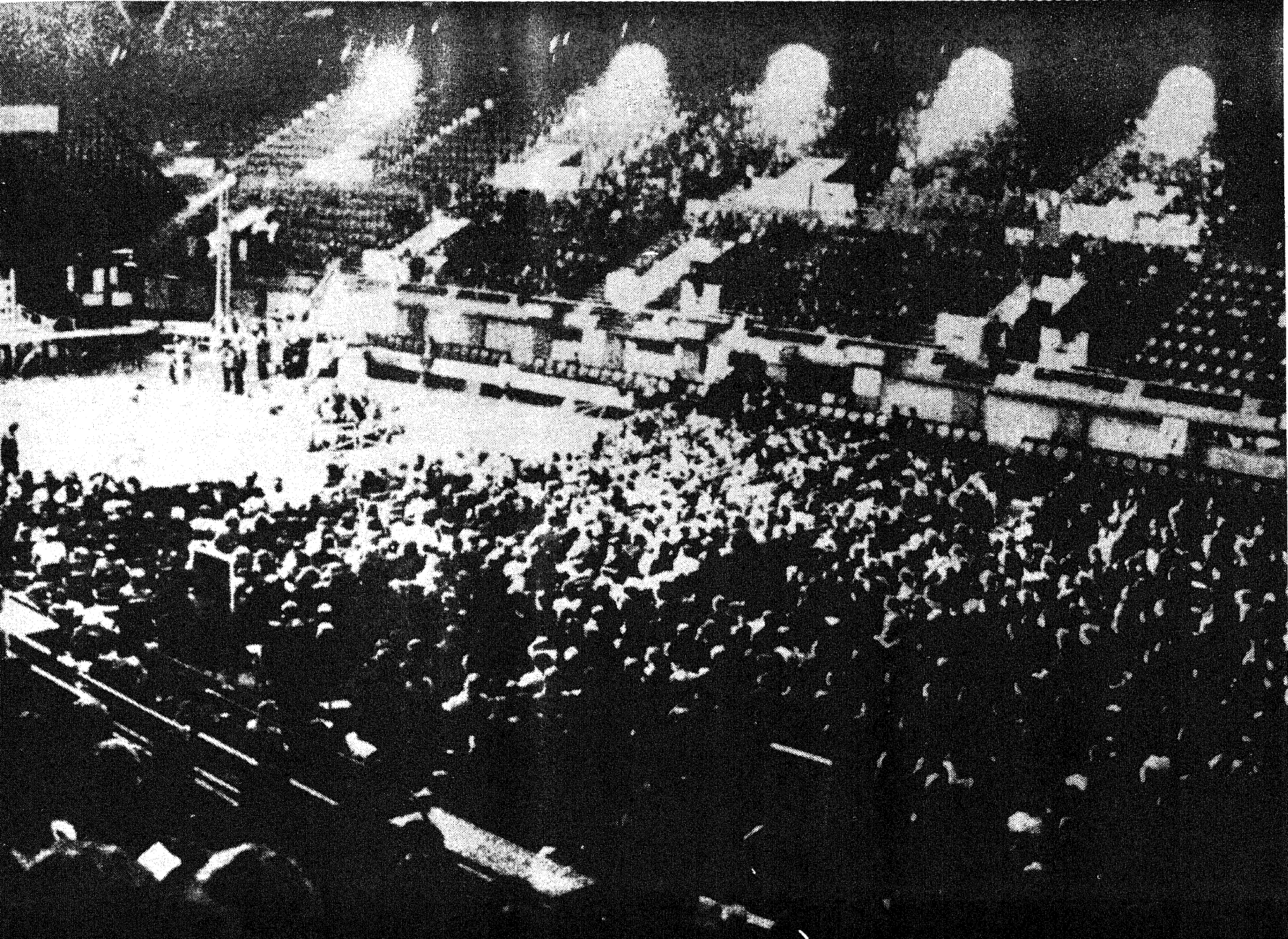
'As S. Just recalls in his "Defence of Trotskyism": Considered as a historical and organic process, the formation of the class-consciousness of the proletariat depends on the analysis of the development of the class struggle and ends the metaphysical discussions on whether class-consciousness is brought in from the outside or not, and on whether the vanguard is self-appointed or not.'

Here we have arrived at the crucial link between the philosophical and methodological errors of the OCI, on the one hand, and their centrist political tendency on the other. Stressing the unity of the opposites, Marxist theory and exploited working class, they ignore the

struggle of these opposites in which the unity consists. Just's 'organic' conception serves very well to help recognize any emerging 'allies' as more or less legitimate expressions of this organically developing consciousness. An extended quotation on this question from Just's book shows how, by a series of rationalistic formulae to 'integrate' all the different aspects of the class struggle, the actual dialectic of how consciousness is achieved is abolished.

'But it is abstraction to consider the struggles and organization of the proletariat outside the totality of the social, political and ideological relations in society. They are born and develop as one of the components of the whole history of humanity. They are fed on all this history whose mainspring they become. The struggle of the proletariat against exploitation, the forms of organization which it adopts, concretize the basic contradiction in bourgeois society, but this is expressed in many forms within all classes and social layers in bourgeois society, through contradictions which derive from the production relations of that society.'

'The struggles of the proletariat and its organization feed in their turn the social, political and ideological contradictions and antagonisms within bourgeois society. The proletariat maintains complex relations with all the other classes in bourgeois society, their struggles, their antagonisms, their political and ideological relations. There is nothing more stupid than these symmetrical views: Class-consciousness brought into the proletariat form outside its struggles by "good prophets", bourgeois intellectuals, or the class-consciousness of the proletariat monopolized by horny-handed workers who produce surplus value, with the "good" petty bourgeois or bourgeois having to put themselves humbly at the disposal of these workers and to imitate them.'



over 8,500 trade unionists and youth last March in London.

tempt of the petty-bourgeois for the proletariat: they make the working class a present of their consciousness and the others imagine a mythical working class made up of workers who are incapable of going beyond the narrow horizon of their immediate exploitations. Fighting against exploitation, trying to break the social relations based on their exploitation, in search of ways and means of organizing, the proletariat builds and develops its consciousness in an organic historical process fed by all its previous history and the relations it maintains with all the other social classes, their contradictions, their antagonisms, the political, social and ideological struggles developed there. Thus petty-bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals can break with their class, join the proletariat, participate in the formation and development of its class-consciousness, by bringing the acquired knowledge of other classes and social layers. But the latter are radically transformed when they are integrated into the struggle of the proletariat which they enrich. The struggles of the proletariat give them a new content and a new historical dimension.

Because the proletariat's role is related to everything else that happens in bourgeois society, and because its existing consciousness is dependent on the end-result of all the interconnections, Just forbids any study of the living struggle whereby the contradiction between the working class as object and the working class as subject is overcome! No wonder then that he dismisses the central idea of Lenin's 'What is to be Done?' as a 'metaphysical discussion'!

It was precisely against the type of 'organic' theory of consciousness put forward by Just that Lenin insisted very firmly on the fact that Marxism as a science was developed on the basis of a conscious theoretical effort by bourgeois intellectuals to grasp reality at the level of the relations between all the classes, and not at the level of

the experience or existing consciousness of the working class. If Just's 'organic' point of view were correct, why would Lenin want to insist that left to itself the proletariat can achieve only trade union consciousness, and that this is bourgeois consciousness? Because, although from some god's eye view, or from the point of view of pure reason which has gathered into itself all the determinations (or 'moments' as Just has it), the beautiful whole can be seen as integrated, nonetheless from the standpoint of revolutionary practice the task is precisely the struggle for political or socialist consciousness against the ideology imposed by the bourgeoisie and its agencies.

In their anxiety to oppose this insistence on the fight for Marxist theory, for dialectical materialism, and to make themselves acceptable to others who dismiss the basic importance of this question, the OCI are forced back on to the use of quotations from Marx in a way which deliberately counterposes general statements of the principles of historical materialism against the specific developments of this theory by Lenin. The document quotes 'The German Ideology', attempting to show by this that it is nonsense to talk about fighting for socialist class-consciousness because only the revolution itself can produce such consciousness. ('A massive transformation of man is necessary for the mass creation of this communist consciousness . . . such a transformation can only be wrought through a practical movement, through a revolution. . . .') This is another sophism.

The fight to build the revolutionary party on the basis of Marxist theory is the struggle for conscious leadership of the 'practical movement' of the proletarian revolution. Nor did our original formulation suggest that the fight for consciousness was some abstract one taking place entirely separately from the class struggle. That is a distortion.

What we said was 'What was most essential in the preparations of the sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a struggle to understand and to transform the consciousness of the working class in the changing objective conditions.' (emphasis added). What a shameful distortion to quote this and then make jokes about people who want to 'develop' dialectical materialism on the model of exercising the muscles.

These thoroughly anti-Marxist views on the character of dialectical materialism and on the nature of the relation between theory and class-consciousness cannot but be associated with a revision of the Marxist positions on the revolutionary party and the relation to the working class. Lenin's argument on the question of theory being 'brought from the outside' was directed to laying the foundations of the revolutionary party in Russia. Just's rejection of this as 'metaphysics' is directed towards the liquidation of the positions of the International Committee, which have been fought for against revisionism in the Fourth International.

In 1967 the SLL warned the OCI on the political implications of failure to build on the gains of the 1966 Conference. The OCI has now reaped the political harvest. Already by 1967 the OCI presented once again the formula 'the FI was destroyed under the pressure of hostile social forces.' (15.5.67)

The SLL Central Committee replied (19.6.67):

'The OCI delegates voted [at the 1966 Conference] for the SLL's amendment that the FI was not destroyed. It is not possible to go forward and build revolutionary parties except on this basis. Those who left the Conference on this issue joined the attack on the SLL by those who have gone over to the camp of bourgeois pacifism and they will never return. We tell the OCI: You cannot separate the return to this formula, together with your attacks on centralized

organization and the supposed "ultimatum" of the Socialist Labour League, from the line-up of revisionist forces on exactly these questions.

'In the preparation for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee, as our SLL 9th Conference resolution makes clear, we will fight to reaffirm the decisions and gains of the April 1966 Conference. Having insisted there on the continuity of the Fourth International, rejecting the formula "The Fourth International is dead" as a middle-class, pessimistic rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and of revolutionary consciousness, we went on to formulate in the Commission on the tasks of the International Committee, the central principles of the type of Party we build, a Bolshevik party.

'We stressed that all trade union work, youth work, etc. was subordinated to this task. We specifically rejected all "spontaneity" and syndicalist theories of the "organic" or "natural" emergence of revolutionary parties through struggle.'

Further, we drew the attention of the OCI to the implications of these differences for the developing situation in France itself. It is necessary to quote this section in full, because it shows the continuity in the positions the SLL has taken on the political questions involved, in contrast to the OCI's caricature of the SLL position as one of abstract theorizing on philosophy:

'Now the radicalization of the workers in W Europe is proceeding rapidly, particularly in France. The election results there, the threat of a return to the political instability of the ruling class in the Fourth Republic, the mounting strike struggles, the taking of emergency powers—all these place a premium on revolutionary preparation. There is always a danger at such a stage of development that a revolutionary party responds to the situation in the working class not in a revolutionary way, but by adaptation to the level of struggle to

which the workers are restricted by their own experience under the old leaderships, i.e., to the inevitable initial confusion. Such revisions of the fight for the independent party and the Transitional Programme are usually dressed up in the disguise of getting closer to the working class, unity with all those in struggle, not posing ultimatums, abandoning dogmatism, etc.'

The indications here for the policy of the OCI in the May-June events, only 12 months later, discussed in our statement of October 24 last are obvious.

### The 'working-class united front'

The OCI's turning its back very deliberately on the theoretical foundations of the building of the revolutionary party, particularly in respect of the youth, is the necessary companion of its distortion of the Leninist policy of united front. The capitulation to spontaneity is the link between these two aspects. Whereas Just wipes out the distinction between spontaneity and revolutionary consciousness, calling it 'metaphysical', Lenin very deliberately insists on this distinction:

'The working class spontaneously gravitates towards socialism: nonetheless, the most widespread [and continuously and diversely revived] bourgeois ideology spontaneously imposes itself upon the working class to a still greater degree.

'Hence our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to combat spontaneity, to divert the working-class movement from this spontaneous, trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of the revolutionary social-democracy.' (Lenin: 'What is to be Done?')

Once this fundamental distinction is obliterated, and the conscious struggle for the development of Marxist theory through conflict with spontaneously developing consciousness (inside as well as outside the Marxist party) is dropped, then the party's cadres, above all

its youth, are raised entirely in a spirit of adaptation to existing centrist and opportunist forces, no matter how much this is hidden behind a screen called 'working-class united front'.

In the last four years, the OCI has staked all its policy on this 'working-class united front'. In the name of moving forward from abstract proclamations on the united front towards taking into account the actual development of the working class, they have in fact subordinated the building of the independent revolutionary party to the general truth that the working class in struggle first tests out its traditional mass organization. Taken one-sidedly, without concentration on the independent role of the revolutionary party, this can only result in becoming a hand-maiden of the existing leadership of the working class.

In conditions where the contradiction between the needs and demands of the masses and the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracy becomes extremely acute, then the first consideration is the theoretical preparation of the cadre against all adaptation to spontaneity.

At every vital stage of his struggle against Stalinism, Trotsky returned to the essential theoretical preparation of the youth. After explaining the lessons of the anti-Trotskyist campaign of the Stalinists, and outlining the tasks of the opposition, Trotsky concluded: 'Today the theoretical education of the younger generation is our supreme task.' (Feb. 7, 1930). Five years later, in the midst of many discussions about the united front and the relations between the centrists and the building of the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote:

'The task at present is to prepare the cadres of Leninist youth, to raise them to the level of the tasks of our epoch. In this sphere, the requirements are special theoretical clarity, ideological honesty and an irreconcilability to opportunism and to diplomacy.'

'The conservative centrist apparatuses inherited from the past must be prevented from checking the revolutionary development of the proletarian vanguard; that is the task!' (April 24, 1935.)

At Essen we had a clash between this conception on the one hand, and a conception of playing down theoretical preparation and ideological independence of the revolutionary vanguard for the sake of alliances with the remnant of international centrism on the other. Essen was the extreme limit of the attempt of the Socialist Labour League and the IC majority to fight this centrist tendency within the same international organization. Again Trotsky's words are perfectly apposite:

'The Bolsheviks have no reason for uniting with the centrists. Hollow international parades are of no use to us. Revolutionists do not flirt with centrists at conferences but carry on tireless day-to-day work against them in their own countries, and they participate in their own revolutionary international conferences, where they do not blow soap-bubbles but discuss and decide the questions of the class struggle.' (April 24, 1935.)

The OCI has fallen into the trap of converting the tactic of the united front into its whole policy. This can only mean that the independent programme of the revolutionary party, while repeated on suitable solemn occasions, becomes no longer the actual guiding line of the party, fought for by an independent cadre which constantly deepens its theoretical understanding of the historic significance of this programme through participation in the class struggle and study of the living movement. It is clear from all the publications and campaigns of the OCI (as well as from the theoretical positions we have already discussed) that the youth in the OCI are being trained exclusively around this mistaken conception of the united front; they are trained to believe that by campaigning consistently as the only principled fighters for the unity of all working-class organizations against the bourgeois government, and for a government of these workers' organizations, they will win the best elements in the working class and in this way build their party.

Is this policy sufficient to build

the revolutionary party? On the contrary; precisely at a time when the sections of the FI are emerging in struggle from a generation of isolation and the dominance of propaganda methods, all the well-known dangers from the necessary tactic of united front come to the fore and must be consciously guarded against.

Only theoretical training can do that, a theoretical training fought for in the building of our independent resources, our independent political line.

What are these dangers? We already know their manifestation at Essen, in the international youth movement. We have already indicated their results in the failure to go beyond the demand for a 'central strike committee' in 1968. These results could have been avoided. The warnings against these dangers abound in the theoretical work of Lenin and Trotsky. The fact that they went unheeded is a sure indication of the weight of hostile class pressures behind the line of the OCI leadership. Trotsky, writing and speaking at the time of the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International, (often specifically about the French Communist Party) devoted many thousands of words to the question of the united front, but never once went beyond describing it and advocating its use as a tactic. ('First Five Years of the Comintern', Vol. II). Nor was this tactic applicable in all cases or at all stages in the development of the revolutionary movement.

In cases where the Communist Party still remains an organization of an insignificant minority, the question of its conduct on the mass-struggle front does not assume decisive practical and organizational significance. In such conditions, most actions remain under the leadership of the old organizations which by reason of their powerful traditions continue to play the decisive role. Similarly, the problem of the united front does not arise in countries where . . . the CP is the sole leading organization of the toiling masses.'

### Lessons of history

We cannot simply take phrases from the history of the communist movement about the necessity for the united front, and transplant them as timeless truths into the present. It is always a question of understanding definite and necessary stages in the development of the revolutionary party in relation to the development of the working class and its needs. This is what Lenin explained in the discussion on tactics at the Third Comintern Congress (1921):

'The first stage in our struggle was to create a genuine communist party, so that we could know with whom we were talking, and in whom we could have complete confidence. At the first and second congresses we said: "Out with the centrists!" . . . But now we have to go a bit further. The second stage, after we have created the party, must be to learn how to prepare the revolution. In many countries we have not even begun to learn how to win the leadership . . .'

The sections of the International Committee are not, of course, at the same stages of development as the parties of the Comintern. These sections, as part of the Fourth International, have had their own specific evolution, with its own specific stages, in the fight against Stalinism and revisionism, in objective conditions different from those of the years after World War I.

But we can certainly say that these sections have defended Trotskyism and have developed as revolutionary parties, and will continue to do so, only on the basis that the building of independent revolutionary parties is the central task of our whole epoch. These parties must indubitably work out the way to use the united front tactic in each country.

But the OCI is making the united front a principle to which the independence of the vanguard and the development of Marxist theory are subordinated. Under today's conditions this is equivalent to a new and more sophisticated form of the liquidationism which has been the main content of revisionism in the Fourth International.

The history of the struggle for the Fourth International is strewn with warnings against these dangers which exist in the united front tactic, and for good reason. Representative are the following extracts from Trotsky's writings in Germany in 1931-1932, writings in which he deals fully with the question of the united front, and indeed where the main emphasis was on the necessity of the united front. His warnings therefore carry special weight:

'That a workers' party is compelled to carry out the policy of the united front—that is not to be gainsaid. But the policy of the united front has its dangers. Only an experienced and a tested revolutionary party can carry out this policy successfully. In any case, the policy of the united front cannot serve as a programme for a revolutionary party. And in the meantime, the entire activity of the SAP is now being built on it. As a result, the policy of the united front is being carried over into the party itself, that is, it serves to smear over the contradictions between the various tendencies. And that is precisely the fundamental function of centrism.'

'To reduce the whole policy of the proletariat to agreements with the reformist organizations or, still worse, to the abstract slogan of "unity", is something that only spineless centrists of the stripe of the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) can do. For the Marxists, the united front policy is merely one of the methods in the course of the class struggle. Under certain conditions this method becomes completely useless; it would be absurd to want to conclude an agreement with the reformists for the socialist revolution. But there are conditions under which the rejection of the united front may ruin the revolutionary party for many decades to come . . .'

There could be no clearer warning to the OCI: ' . . . the policy of the united front cannot serve as a programme for a revolutionary party . . . the entire activity of the SAP is now being built on it.' And this is centrism. The extent to which this process has gone in the OCI is graphically illustrated by the following extract from their latest policy statement:

'What government deserves confidence of the workers?' (Extract from the political report for the conference of February 5-6.)

'In a political situation where the struggles of the workers, which are necessary for the improvement of their wages and pensions, against the worsening of their living and working conditions, against unemployment, do not bring the anticipated results, increased prices, super-exploitation in all its forms imposed by the government on behalf of the employers, inevitably wipe out every success.'

'In a situation where every serious action, even if, we repeat, its point of departure is a partial demand, leads to the posing of the fundamental question of power, each organization is obliged to formulate and to present to the workers the governmental solution which corresponds to the interests of the workers. The will of the working masses and the youth to win satisfaction of their demands and hopes cannot be doubted, but in order that this will can be realized, an immediate objective is necessary: replace the Pompidou-Chaban-Delmas government with another government. A government which would respond positively to the aspirations of the masses, because it would rest for support on the mobilization of the workers in struggle against the employers and the state.'

'The working class expects clear answers from its organizations, the conquest of governmental power cannot consist only of a change of ministerial personnel. It is not general phrases against the monopolies, but only through a political and organic break with the French capitalists and all their bourgeois parties that an orientation can be made in deeds and not just words towards a change of government. We shall not tire of saying this over and over again, of repeating it afresh, certain of expressing the will of the working masses.'

'It is necessary to define clearly the political content and

form of the government corresponding to the aspirations of the workers, because it is this government, leaning on the masses in struggle against the employers and the state, which will decide what measures to take. If it is not said clearly: 'not one capitalist minister, not a single representative of the bourgeois parties will sit alongside us in the government,' then we would be accepting class-collaboration, and nothing would be done to advance along the road struggle against the high cost of living and unemployment, for the true satisfaction of demands.'

'The only politically responsible thing to do is to say to the leaders of the mass organizations who claim to speak for the interests of the workers: 'To accept the presence of representatives of the bourgeoisie in the government, even in limited number, is to reject any prospect of making any inroads into property rights in the major means of production, to open the door wide for runaway deterioration of living and working conditions, to leave untouched the police state constructed by Marcellin to defend the interests of capital.'

'It is only on this basis that the government of united workers' organizations, for which the workers are ready to fight, can meet the needs of the workers and the youth. The necessity of the common struggle for the workers' government flows from the decisions taken by the government, the consequences of which will be to reinforce the general offensive of capitalism against the working class. The workers' government is an economic necessity because the struggle of the working class to defend itself against exploitation has become a political struggle for its demands.'

'It is necessary to drive out, and with the utmost speed, the bourgeois government and the bourgeois ministers. The unity of all workers wanting to fight capitalism, of the organizations which bring them together and of the leaders who speak in their name, must impose the workers' government. For this objective, it is necessary to combine and unite in a powerful united front of workers' organizations, which must undertake to carry out a real struggle against the bourgeois government. Socialism is not in some distant and obscure future; the will to fight for the workers' government represents today the immediate step to be realized, for the lessons which great masses are assimilating more and more consists in this: if the power of capital is not overturned, exploitation cannot be abolished.' ('Informations Ouvriers', January 5-12, 1972.)

These are questions which French Trotskyists cannot avoid. Is the policy of united front sufficient for the building of the revolutionary party? The history of the Fourth International gives an unequivocal No! What is the content of the united front? It must not be simply a matter of expressing generally the aspirations of the masses for unity, but must state firmly the area of united front agreement in relation to the programme of the revolutionary party, which expresses the revolutionary interests of the working class.

The OCI advances no such programme, and confines itself to the general slogan of a workers' government formed by the existing workers' organizations. Without such a programme the door is opened for the social democrats and Stalinists to arrive at a false 'united front' which is nothing more than reformist treachery. Again this is not a new question in the history of our movement. Trotsky wrote in the summer of 1934, in France:

'We criticized Naville for not concretizing the revolutionary content of the united front, thus permitting the two bureaucracies to seize upon this slogan without great risk.'

With this distortion of the tactic of the united front, the OCI goes over to the essence of the revisionism which has for 20 years attacked the Fourth International. The difference here is not one of emphasis but

of principle. Trotsky, writing on the ILP in 1933, condemned ' . . . a united front made not for one single practical action but for collaboration in general . . .'. There cannot be the slightest doubt about where Trotskyists place their essential concentration. Every day of the history of our movement, especially in the fight against Pabloite revisionism, has reinforced Trotsky's warning:

'The policy of a united front with reformists is obligatory, but it is of necessity limited to partial tasks. There can be no thought of making the socialist revolution in a united front with reformist organizations. The principal task of a revolutionary party consists in freezing the working class from the influence of reformism.' (September 1933.)

The 'government of united workers' organizations' in which the OCI wants to participate is clearly a government of the bourgeois state. Revisionism opens the door to reformism.

If this point has had to be explained at length, it is because the consequences of error on this score are truly enormous. For the sake of a practical 'alliance' with Lora of the Bolivian POR, the OCI leaders 're-constructing' the Fourth International in Latin America after their own prescriptions chose to forget even their own criticisms of the POR's capitulation to Stalinism in 1970. They adopted a position on the Bolivian revolution which totally liquidates the independence of the working class and the revolutionary vanguard, not merely into the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinist apparatus, but into the bourgeois nationalism of Torres.

All the demagogic talk from the OCI about the 'universal republic of Soviets', with the Bolivian Popular Assembly as its first manifestation, all the talk about the permanent revolution, is disguise for the awful reality that the working class was placed under the domination of bourgeoisie. Because of this the counter-revolution was able to isolate and repress the working class without the Popular Assembly being able to carry out any real mobilization of the masses.

Lora and the Assembly supported the Torres regime, they did not prepare for its overthrow in any way; and finally, with the counter-revolution at the gates, the POR itself appealed for the arming of the masses . . . by Torres!

There could be no more fitting end to this reply. Lora's party took to its logical and practical conclusion the opportunistic opposition to theory entailed in the positions of the OCI. It is time to draw all the lessons of this experience, in line with those of the Belgian General Strike, of the Ceylon coalition and of Algeria. With such policies and programmes, a split in the International Committee of the Fourth International was shown to be absolutely necessary and inevitable.

### CONCLUDED

\* *Dialectics is the theory of knowledge of (Hegel . . .) Marxism. This is the "aspect of the matter (it is not "an aspect" but the essence of the matter), to which Plekhanov, not to speak of other Marxists, paid no attention.' (Emphasis in original.) Lenin: 'On the Question of Dialectics'. Collected Works Vol. 38, p. 362.*

\*\* Roger Garaudy: 'Les Sources Françaises du Socialisme Scientifique', revised edition, 1949, p. 277.

1 *'Human knowledge is not a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral. Any fragment, segment, section of this curve can be transformed (transformed, one-sidedly) into an independent, complete, straight line, which then (if one does not see the wood for the trees) leads into the quagmire, into clerical obscurantism (where it is anchored by the class interests of the ruling classes.' Lenin: Vol. 38, p. 363.)*

## Alex Steiner Books

**PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION.** By Loren R. Graham, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1972. \$15.00.

The intention of this book is to present a description of the interaction of science with the philosophy of dialectical materialism in the Soviet Union from the time of the October Revolution up to the present. The author examines this development as it has emerged in the fields of quantum mechanics, relativity theory, cosmology and cosmogony, genetics, the origins of life, structural chemistry, cybernetics and physiology and psychology.

The author is careful to distinguish the genuine creative development of dialectical materialism by many Soviet scientists in their endeavors from the official Stalinist dogma of "Marxism-Leninism" which the bureaucracy has used to hold back the development of science, as well as all other areas of cultural and political life.

In so far as the author has brought out the historical issues of the Stalinist perversion of science, and documented the courageous struggle for a dialectical materialist understanding of nature on the part of many Soviet scientists against Stalinism, he has made a very positive contribution toward the development of science and philosophy.

The author blinds himself to the fact that Leninism was partisan against the enemies of the working class whereas Stalinism spared no energy in suppressing the working class and preserving the privileges of the bureaucracy. The political suppression of freely developing scientific and cultural activities by the bureaucracy, which flowed from its hostility to the independent development of the working class and the intelligentsia, was in sharp contrast to Lenin's encouragement of scientific and cultural activities in the early years of the Soviet Union.

### MYOPIA

This historical myopia is related to the author's philosophical perspective. A chapter is devoted to a survey of dialectical materialism as conceived by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and it attempts an assessment of Marxist philosophy and its relevance to science. Graham is a confirmed empiricist and skeptic who derides Marxism for not being supple enough in revising its "doctrines" in light of new facts, which is how he conceives scientific theories to have developed. He writes: "If Marxism is to claim that it is scientific, it must in principle be willing to question the universal commitment to political revolution if empirical data seem to justify such questioning."

The author of this book, like the Empirio-Critics, tries to reconcile dialectical materialism with an agnostic outlook similar to Hume and Mach which he calls "realism." In his schema, dialectical materialism is reduced to a set of practical rules of thumb which can aid the scientist in avoiding certain methodological pitfalls such as reductionism.

He finds himself accepting much of the practical value of a dialectical materialist understanding of nature, but he is unwilling to go along with the insistence on materialism as a fundamental philosophical stand on the nature of objective reality. He feels that a materialist stance is an unwarranted assumption that can never be proved though it may indeed have certain heuristic value for the scientist.

### PRODUCT

Materialism, however, is not an a priori assumption, but the product of the development of thought. Only when man first looked beyond himself to an independently existing objective world could scientific theory develop. The proof

of all theory has been man's ability to change the world, to reconstruct to his ends the material world on the basis of the ideas he developed about its independent functioning through his previous practice.

However, this must not be understood in any simple direct way as the pragmatist does. Theory cannot usually be immediately translated into correct practice. There is a continuing approximation of our ideas to the movement of matter which is historically developed. Thus, theory is continually enriched and deepened through man's practice.

Marxism is a materialist philosophy not because it has discovered some deductive argument which "proves" materialism, for this would be nothing more than scholasticism. It maintains a materialist position because it is the highest development of scientific theory that has been proved in practice.

One could say that materialism has been the *telos* of the development of theory if one does not take this in the Hegelian idealist manner as the inner development of the idea of materialism. Rather it must be viewed as the reflection of man's continuing struggle against nature which has led him more and more to adopt the conclusion of philosophical materialism and to constantly enrich and deepen his understanding of the forms of matter in motion. The task of philosophy is to reflect this process and not to impose upon it an abstract model of formal proofs taken over from mathematics.

A dialectical materialist philosophy of science remains open to the new discoveries and statistical data developed by science. It does not, however, throw out past theoretical acquisitions the moment they come into conflict with the new discoveries and lean on ad hoc hypotheses to "explain" the new data. The latter method is the anti-theoretical empirical method that dominates the outlook of many Western scientists and philosophers.



Stalin (above) and Russian bureaucracy twisted sciences to aid defense of their privileges. This set back Soviet science for decades. Top right, charlatan Lysenko.

## How Stalinism Strangled Soviet Science

On the other hand, to turn one's back to the new discoveries and their implications which challenge the adequacy of the present level of theory in order to "defend" the traditional outlook is a dogmatic method that is hostile to science and philosophy and ultimately is hostile to the development of man's struggle against nature.

### REACTIONARY

Such an attitude has historically been tied to reactionary bureaucratic cliques and ruling classes whose vested interests demanded that the clock of human history be turned back. It is therefore no accident that the decaying Catholic Church of the Renaissance persecuted such great scientists as Copernicus and Galileo, that the German fascists launched a campaign against "Jewish metaphysics" in the sciences, nor is it an accident that the Stalinist bureaucracy murdered many distinguished scientists, such as the geneticist N.I. Vavilov, as part of their campaign against the reactionary "bourgeois sciences."

One of the strengths of Soviet science has been that it had to deal with questions of philosophy. This was an expression of the October Revolution and the theoretical development that led to it and which it in turn sustained. Lenin had posed the importance of scientists confronting philosophical questions in his philosophical testament "On Militant Materialism."

A tremendous impetus was given to the development of culture and science after the Revolution. This was accomplished through the liberation of artists and scientists from brutal suppression and censorship of the Czarist regime. The development of culture was openly encouraged both financially and spiritually by the new Soviet government. This heritage of free creative cultural development reflected the movement and

aspirations of the Russian workers and peasants. Precisely for this reason, the Stalinist bureaucratic clique, which was fed by the demoralization and defeats of the working class in the 1920's and 1930's had to behead this blossoming of culture.

Thus, at the same time as Stalin moved to suppress the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky, he launched a campaign of ideological and ultimately physical terror against the arts and sciences. But the destruction of the spirit of the October Revolution could not be accomplished overnight. It was also important that this destruction look to people as if it were a continuity with the past, and not a break from it.

Therefore, the old forms of Marxist terminology were used to convey a new content. Ideological hacks took quotes of Marx, Engels and Lenin out of context and used them to smother all creative development by labelling their opponents idealists, Machists, etc.

In this way, dialectical materialism was transformed into its opposite in the hands of the bureaucracy—into a mechanical materialism that was hostile to the new developments in science instead of seeing in these developments a challenge that confronts the adequacy of our present theoretical concepts.

The author presents a well-researched and invaluable historical account of the struggle against the Stalinist perversion of science and explains the issues behind the "debates." The bureaucracy's attacks on the integrity of science reached its sharpest expression in the affair of T.D. Lysenko and his dictatorial stifling of genetics, under the supervision of Stalin. The legitimate philosophical issues that were raised by Lysenko's campaign for "Soviet biology" were minimal. The whole affair was a reflection of the panic of the bureaucracy in the face of the agricultural crisis which it had itself engendered with its bureaucratic forced collectivization program.

### CHARLATAN

The blind, pragmatic solution of the bureaucracy to this crisis led to the pseudo-scientific charlatan Lysenko assuming institutional control over a large field of Soviet biological science, particularly in the period from 1947 to 1964. In the process, theoretical research into genetics was set back for decades in the Soviet Union and enormous practical damage was done to Soviet agriculture.

Lysenko put forward the "theory" that the acquired characteristics of an organism could be inherited after just a few generations. He opposed genetics on the grounds that genes were nothing but metaphysical postulates and because genetics, which denies the possibility of inheriting acquired characteristics, was opposed to the materialist dictum that an organism interacts with its environment and through this interaction is changed. Lysenko's argument was merely a crude schematic materialism that flew in the face of the progress of scientific knowledge about genetics.

To deny that acquired characteristics can be inherited is not to deny that the genes which pass on inherited characteristics are themselves the end product of a process of interaction between the organism and its environment lasting millions of years. During this time, a process of natural selection takes place which insures that those characteristics best suited to a particular environment will survive and be transmitted to succeeding generations through the genetic code.

There have, however, been many mediocrities and charlatans in history. Lysenko rose to a position of power because the Stalinist bureaucracy saw in him the answer to their prayers. His "theory" seemed to promise miraculous results in the controlled evolution of grains and livestock. Furthermore, the theoretical research of the geneticists did not result in any immediate practical results, although the application of genetics theory was to soon dramatically revolutionize agricultural technique. Lysenkoism was therefore made the official scientific dogma and genetics was ruthlessly suppressed.

TO BE CONTINUED

# Stanley King Speaks Out On Marxism

**Bulletin:** The trial of the "Tombs 7" began recently. How were you framed up?

King: Framed is a very, very good word to use. It started around August, 1970. We had addressed ourselves to every agency in the city in reference to the problems we were having.

**Bulletin:** What were the demands you were raising?

King: Ten points, in reference to the inadequacies of counsel, the long delays in detention centers, high bails (which are ransom), false representation by legal aid (they were working with the District Attorney's office), the high censoring of the mail, discarding of personal property, the abuse of visitors when they came in the evenings, the poor medical ward, the poor medical treatment which was given, and basically the judiciary system was being attacked.

We presented these demands on July 28th and again on August 10th in the elevator on the 9th floor, we had a thing, and we were able to hold a press conference and what not.

**Bulletin:** They let the press in?

King: Well they let two Associated Press members in who were distributing whatever we said to the media. And we had an attorney selected by Barnes to come up and make sure there were no illegalities in statements. McGrath was mouthing off proposals for legislation. And after that a few of the aspiring politicians came in and ran their rhetoric about what they were going to do, what they could do.

And as we know the development in October occurred, the one which we are indicted for now. The same demands were presented. It was clear they wanted to use it as a political argument. You know, what this politician is not doing against that politician. And meanwhile the people suffer, right?

It was proven by our own investigation that everything that we demanded was within the realm of possibility without costing any more money than it was already costing.

In order to justify the claim that they couldn't do what they did, they went on to proceed to say "Well we need X amount of money for this and X amount of money for that," right? In reality the whole thing turned out to be just what it was, an economical thing, it wasn't even a question of justice. It was just a question of how much money they could make at a time with an inmate as being a part of this product they were producing, mass producing, and repeating and forcing it into the position of being reproduced again for certain segments but at the same amount of money. And every time the budget goes in they would claim that they would need more money to do the same thing over again, that they hadn't been doing in the first place.

This is their capitalist structure, this is the way they function. Everything has a price, and their manner of getting around giving the people anything in this instance was simple, they claimed that they didn't have enough money. But yet at the same time they're spending money doing nothing but claim they need more money to do something.

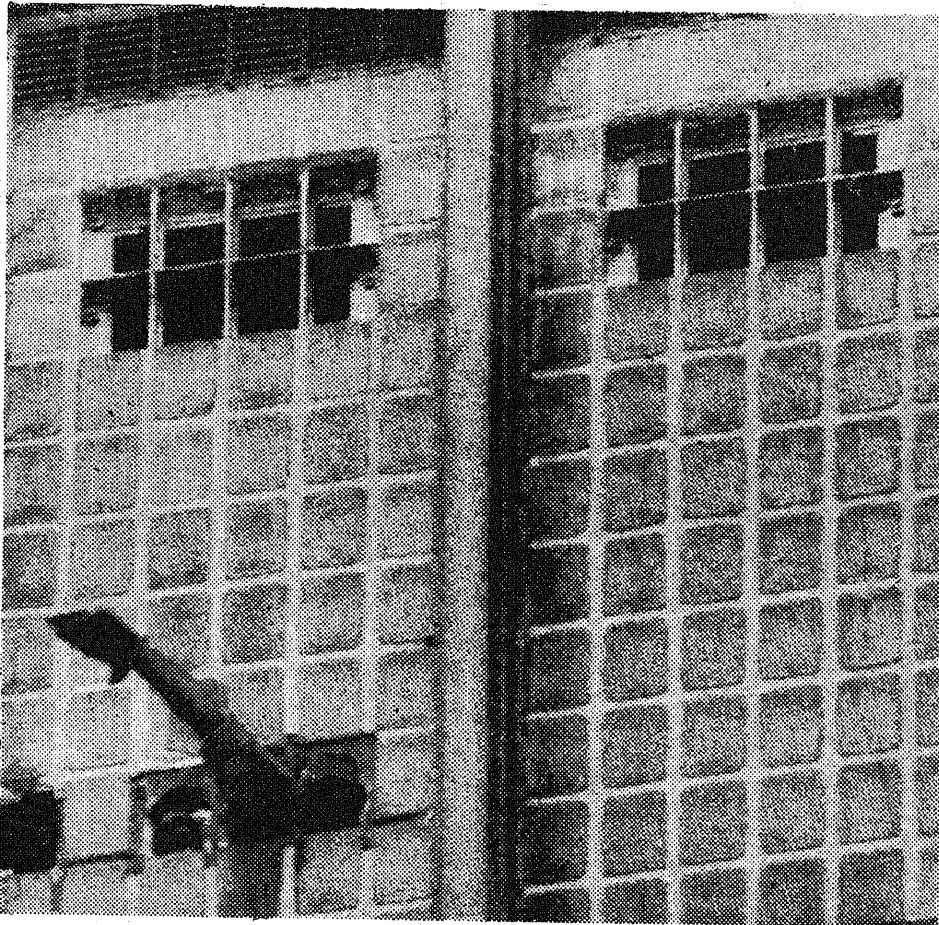
They spend where they want. As far as we are concerned, all of this, it verifies the economic crisis upon the people. The state had the money to use any way they want to use it.

**Bulletin:** What about the rebellion in October?

King: We were in the auditorium of the institution and it was there that it took place. We held it for five days, we constantly made demands to see Mayor Lindsay, which was a primary concern, but basically our purpose for that was to get his statements in public to the effect that what he could do and what he couldn't do, we knew what he could do, because we knew his powers. We intended to force him as far as we could to the wall with every demand we possibly could, in sanctioning every demand we possibly could to verify the enormous power one individual has over the people.

When you attack Lindsay or attack Rockefeller you're attacking a structure,

The following is an interview conducted with Stanley King in the Tombs Prison in New York City by a Bulletin reporter. Stanley King is a member of the Tombs Seven who were framed up by the government during the prison rebellions. During his time in prison, King has taken up a study of Marxist theory.



a small unit or structure who control everything, and their control is based upon one thing, their own gain. They have no interest in who they use to maintain their control. I understand that. My point is that as long as it could be made clear to the people they do not have any relationship whatsoever to these so-called politicians that are elected to office, as representatives of their voice. They have no concern whatsoever for the people, and their concern is predominantly one thing, to maintain control for their own survival.

The only thing which could have been implemented by him was what was implemented in Attica—to attack. It should be evident and clear that when the system attacks the people regardless of their demands they have lost that one valid point—control. And control is over the mind. The mind is no longer locked up in the condition where it believes everything it is told anymore.

On the day before we released the hostages Lindsay went on the air and made a statement to the effect of "let them go, etc. etc." We had a meeting with Lindsay after the hostages were released. We went down to the dining room and we had a two hour conversation with him. And in everything that we asked and spoke of, he was in agreement, even on amnesty, right? But the statement which was the catch was "I do not have the judiciary power" to "totally decide whether there should be any indictments or not stemming from this or any criminal actions." This is a lie.

They didn't indict in October. Then they came up with a 76 count indictment in January of 1971.

That's been 16 months ago. We have been taken to court, we haven't been in court together. The last time we were in court, the seven together, was on January 25 when we were indicted. Since then we haven't been in a court together. Since then we've had 3 "co-counsel" visits, where we were all together. Now, just in February of this year, District Attorney Fine who's been handling the case suddenly decides that he wants to put in a brief of separation, separating the cases.

He wants to take three to trial at once, and four alone. This is all of a sudden. Because we're supposed to be a threat and a danger to the court procedure. We were set up for this. They took us to court on December 6. It was the day of the sentencing of Pancho Cruz, remember? And naturally his supporters were in court. So he went out for sentence first. After he went out for sentence, his supporters naturally had their thing, they expressed

their love for their brother. He had just gotten seven years.

They take us in, one at a time, within the same climate. We expressed our love for everyone there, and they expressed their love for us, which was only natural, fair exchange, this is a democracy, we're not guilty, they're not guilty. If expressing affection for someone you love is a crime, then we're all guilty!

So this was used in Fine's argument, this so-called court demonstration was used in saying that we were unsafe to bring into court together. The next incident, they take Brother Franklin Myers from our case. They try to take him to trial in an underlined single indictment. He was told to express himself, to tell them that we wouldn't allow this to happen. And he did, he told Fine, he told Judge Burns, exactly what he felt they were trying to do to him, the man was under emotional strain. He was in fear of his life, what is he supposed to speak like? An Oxford professor or something? Let's face it.

They provoke you in these situations and then they expect you to react. Nine times out of ten they are successful, because they are masters of this.

And Fine used this in his argument. It's based upon this contention that we would be a menace to the court, that they would have the trial separate. For whatever reason it worked. How is it possible to defend yourself correctly not knowing what a defendant within your case is saying, or his attorney is doing, or whatever, and what the judge is saying, that is in reference to you, because you are a part of this.

They are on trial. To bring us together to trial would emphasize this one thing.

I mean regardless of how it is turned around they can't get away from it. Its stem, its cause, its purpose was because of the conditions within, follow me? There's no argument as to what happened, the argument is to why it happened, and everyone is quite concerned as to why it happened.

**Bulletin:** Are they using informers?

King: Yes, by using these informers, they have a personal advantage. They can perhaps do personal harm to individual brothers, but basically it can't really change the case, because the case is what it is.

In a situation like this the only thing that the District Attorney can do is to try to show with the witnesses that "These were angry men." The question as to why we were angry should be quite evident because everyone that testifies will have to

testify to the fact that they themselves have seen brutality here; they themselves have been legally denied; they themselves have been abused; they themselves have had incidents where they didn't get medical treatment when they needed it. They themselves are unemployed!

The jury has to see it for what it was. Their own circumstances allow them to see it even clearer. Because even though they're not on trial, even though they might not be to the level or ready for revolution, themselves, at least they can recognize that any incident that occurs against the system, it's not personal, it can't be classified as anything other than against oppression.

**Bulletin:** Were you involved in politics before the rebellion?

King: I was politically aware, but I didn't know what politics I should have been aware of. Since about 1968 I've really been consciously political. And it wasn't until just recently that I became aware of the keys that were necessary to make the consciousness sound.

**Bulletin:** How did you become interested in Marxism?

King: Through the people I was surrounded with in the prisons. It started in the street, when I was out on bail. There were certain things I really wanted to find out, because I didn't like the way certain groups were coming off. They always seemed to be going back into the system, they would push but so far and then all they wanted was a job. Where people would just be concerned with small token accomplishments. I don't like to use that word token, but that's what it is.

We've been able to reach a lot of others, brothers and sisters, throughout the whole system here. Matter of fact we've set up a cross-walk as far as we can reach. It has made everything so clear. We are totally committed to functioning with Marxism as our basic theory. It's a question of transferring theory to practice.

We try to convey to masses as much as we possibly can, one principle idea, and that is, "Don't accept the system." Like ten year plans and all that, forget it, we don't have ten years.

Tomorrow might be the time we'll have to give it all up to make that next step possible and necessary. If you don't plan on going beyond your limit, whatever you have to do, you're automatically setting yourself back.

**Bulletin:** How do you see the struggles in the prisons related to the struggles of the working class?

King: The relationship between prisoners and the working class is that one is employed and one is unemployed. The system tries to tell you that it's the criminal who tries to steal from you. But in reality, the snatching of the goods is by the system.

Here in prison, the brothers are struggling to know and they're struggling to know a lesson that means life. A worker is struggling to live. He has the way to struggle if he has a vanguard party that can go to places and knows what to look for and knows how to execute actions that will allow the worker the opportunity to really transform himself and grow.

**Bulletin:** Have you taken up the history of the working class movement, especially the question of Stalinism?

King: We have had a lot of discussion on this, yes. Stalinism points itself out to be directed toward identifying with that which socialism was intended to remove. It didn't relate to the people.

Being that it is predominantly a Black and Puerto Rican population, these have a tendency to be nationalist in their presentation. But looking at it in an overall picture, it is quite apparent that the Stalinists haven't been concerned about the people because of their settlements. They won't relate to the workers. They are basically involved with the bourgeoisie.

It's almost as though we have two enemies. One pretends to coincide with us, but only to the limit that they can try to destroy you. Like when Stalin came into power. They don't just kill the surface, they try to kill the root. The root principles.



John Connally

# Gold Crisis Preludes Shakeup In Class Relations



Arthur Burns

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Following sharply on the heels of the extreme political crisis in the American capitalist class, expressed in the resignation of the Treasury Secretary Connally, the price of gold on the London and Zurich exchanges rose \$2 an ounce on Thursday May 18, hitting an all time post World War II high of \$57.75 per ounce.

The free market gold price, which has risen some \$13 since the beginning of the year and seven dollars an ounce in the last two weeks, now stands \$20.00 above the \$38.00 official price maintained in trading between central banks and perhaps \$100 or more below its actual value.

## CONTRADICTION

What this massive rise in the price of gold reflects is that international capitalism, caught in the vise of a powerful international working class both in the United States and Vietnam and in its own historical contradictions, is completely unable to come to grips in any fundamental way with the crisis that is now ripping it apart.

At the heart of the crisis is the break between gold and the dollar. Since August 15th the Nixon government, while viciously attacking the American working class, has sought to push the lion's share of the burden of this crisis onto the back of Europe.

## BLUDGEON

To accomplish this, it has used the bludgeon of an inconvertible dollar to force massive trade concessions and in this way turn around U.S. payments and trade deficits.

Now the very mechanism through which Nixon seeks to attack the crisis or push it on to Europe: that is, the maintenance of a completely inconvertible dollar explodes in a massive appreciation of gold on the world bullion markets.

## MONTREAL

It is precisely this contradiction that has brought frictions to a head between various sections of the capitalist class in and around last week's Montreal conference of the American Bankers Association. While Arthur Burns clearly stands in full agreement with Nixon and Connally on the need to attack both the American and European working class, Burns' differences from Nixon's policies reflected the fear of the more farsighted sections of the capitalist class. They realize that to conduct this attack on the basis of an inconvertible dollar is now on the verge of leading the

entire capitalist world, European and American, into a full scale economic catastrophe.

The inconvertibility of the dollar, which is now directly responsible for precipitating a massive appreciation of the gold price itself, threatens a new massive devaluation of the dollar. This in turn can only

mean the break up of the rickety Smithsonian accord and the deepening of the present trade and currency war between capitalist states and the opening of a new level of class war internationally.

The impossibility in the situation for capitalism lies particularly in the fact that the crisis opened up by the break with gold on August 15th now cannot be corrected.

While leading representatives of the international capitalist class met in Montreal last week to discuss ways and means of salvaging the international monetary system to prevent a wholesale collapse, more and more sections of the capitalists are banking on the complete inability of the U.S. to prevent a new disaster.

## SOUTH AFRICA

Thus, the South African government announced two weeks ago that South Africa was suspending shipment of newly mined gold to Europe which is widely recognized as an open attempt by South Africa to force not only the movement of the gold price higher on the free market but to force up the official price as well.

Similarly last week Consolidated Goldfields Limited published a survey which predicted a gold price of \$85.00 an ounce by 1980.

But more significant than this is the fact that the heads and leading figures in foreign central banks who are now pushing Nixon on the necessity of returning to the convertibility of the dollar are themselves recognizing that full convertibility is completely out of the question.

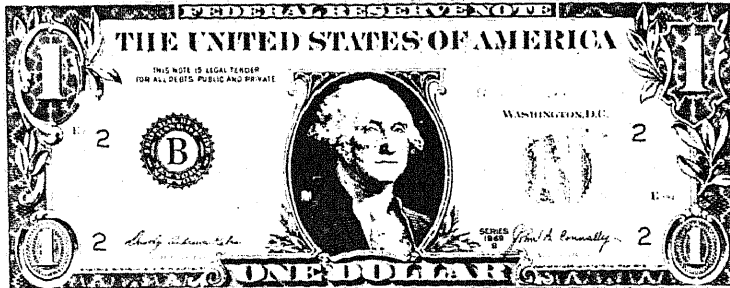
## SCHEME

This is particularly what lies behind the scheme increasingly agreed to in international banking circles for reform of the monetary system based on a new

system of Special Drawing Rights (SDR's).

This was expressed by German Minister of Finance Dr. Karl Schiller who stated the following in a paper published shortly prior to the Montreal Conference:

"In particular, it would be unrealistic to expect that all outstanding foreign exchange



holdings can be 'paid off' within a short period of time. It may be desirable to substitute new primary reserves (i.e., SDR's, I.O.) for 'excess' foreign exchange holdings (i.e., U.S. dollars)."

But the impossibility of resolving the problem in this way, what Schiller calls a "consolidation arrangement" is exposed by Dr. Hans J. Mast, Economic Advisor to General Management, Credit Suisse. Mast also points out that a "certain convertibility" based on SDR's is the best that could be hoped for because full dollar convertibility would quickly mean the emptying of the coffers at Fort Knox.

At the same time Mast points out that:

"The 30 billion deficit incurred by the U.S. between January 1970 and September 1971...is of such a magnitude as to rule out the idea of re-establishing dollar convertibility through SDR's. For in these circumstances they would have to be created in such a volume as to devalue them as a reserve medium just as much as the dollar itself."

Mast concludes from this that SDR's or no SDR's everything depends on the U.S. acting domestically to reverse its balance of payments deficits.

## SUBORDINATE

"If the world's biggest economic power fails," Mast concludes, "to subordinate itself to the intrinsic needs of the free currency and economic system it must be assumed that gold would move to the fore as a currency metal and eventually would undergo that massive appreciation which politicians now seek to avoid."

This is in fact what was hap-

pening on the bullion exchanges last week and what world capitalism can no longer avoid in spite of the most brutal attacks by Nixon on Europe and his vicious attack on the working class at home.

The gold rush on world exchanges last week flows entirely out of the actual objective relations between gold and the dollar themselves reflecting the relation between the capitalist and the working class. This makes all talk of de-monetizing gold, as if it were a matter of the subjective wishes of Nixon or Connally, a complete farce.

The price of gold, the univer-

sal money equivalent, whose real value like that of any other commodity is based on the socially necessary labor time required in its production, has been artificially depreciated for 28 years.

In the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, gold was officially tied to the dollar at the exchange rate of \$35 per ounce and maintained at this rate until last summer in spite of a tripling of the prices of all other commodities in the last three decades.

This arrangement involved no mere technical question. The Bretton Woods agreement meant that while the dollar remained in theory as good as gold, the capitalists in the period since that time were able to embark upon a huge inflation of paper money. They printed some four times the paper dollars, of which 40 billion are now held abroad, and there is now only 10 billion in gold in Fort Knox to back them up.

Furthermore, there is no gold to back all the billions of dollars that are circulated within the U.S.

The significance of this lies in the fact that, through the mechanism of inflation, the capitalists were able for the whole period of the boom to both maintain and expand their rate of profit. More important, they could avoid a confrontation with the working class.

What was taking place was that the capitalists in order to give to the working class a larger and larger share of surplus value and still realize high profits themselves were forced to gradually drain paper money of three quarters of its value, or to borrow value so to speak against a future confrontation with the working class.

On August 15th the limit of this process was overstepped. While in the period prior to and since August 15th the capitalist class had driven furiously to extract from the working class, which

provides the source of all value, the increased value necessary to reverse dollar inflation and therefore put back the value that had been drained from paper money in the boom, the resistance of the working class had made it impossible for the capitalist class to make any fundamental head way along this road.

## GOLD

The August 15th breakdown of the value relation on which the dollar was based involved the break between the dollar and gold. This has in turn precipitated a massive crisis in the sphere of capitalist exchange.

As a result of the breakdown of paper money, there is now not only a massive appreciation of the price of gold, but in the absence of a dependable depository of value, the very value creating process of production and exchange begins to break down.

Thus we see the fall off in world production in primary industry and the growth of mass unemployment and the growing trade and currency war between all capitalist states.

## CONFRONT

The capitalist class itself confronted with this crisis, despite the attempts of Nixon and Connally to make brazen statements that the system is basically healthy, is forced to confront the disastrous situation into which capitalism has now entered.

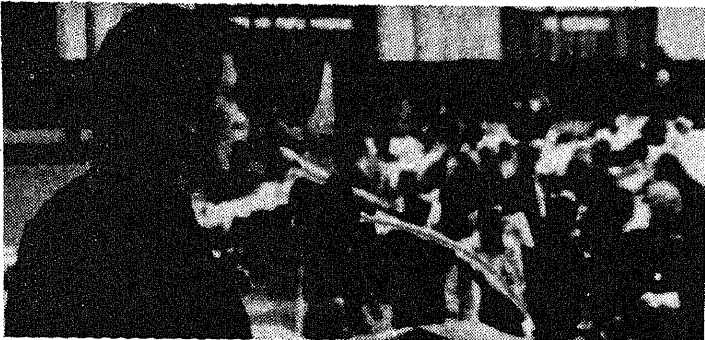
This understanding was expressed particularly clearly in the remarks delivered to the International Monetary Conference held in Montreal last Wednesday May 10 by the President of the American Bankers Association and American National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago, Allen P. Stults. Stults said:

"Over the past decades, the major monetary and economic problems have not been solved. Rather, they have been evaded through the adoption of temporary expedients which dealt with symptoms while both their consequences and solutions have been simply postponed."

Postponement having come to an end, the solution posed by Stults is a return to policies and principles which he says will be "painful and publicly distasteful," in other words to massive attack on the international working class.

While this is exactly what Nixon is seeking to carry out as expressed in his latest announcement that Japan has been forced to accept high level trade negotiations in July, his mining of Haiphong harbor and his attack on U.S. longshoremen, the skyrocketing gold price shows that a new and more disastrous stage in the world economic crisis cannot be prevented.





"Speedy" Gonzalez addresses UAW convention.

## UAW Convention

# Dan Fried Talks To Action Slate Leaders

The following is an interview conducted by Labor Editor Dan Fried with Jimmy Zarello and Bill Janick of Local 735 UAW covering the General Motors New Departure Bearings plant at Clark Township, New Jersey. Both men were attending the recent UAW convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Zarello was delegate and Janick an alternate elected on the opposition Action Slate. The Action Slate ran A. (Speedy) Gonzalez for trustee against the Woodcock "Team." The Action Slate is based primarily among younger workers and blocked with the United National Caucus at the Convention on the proposal that union officers should be elected by a direct referendum vote of the membership instead of by the convention delegates. This is the first of a two part series.

**Bulletin:** In the local there were one delegate and one alternate elected, not from your slate. What is the position of the local leadership in this? The president of the local is here but doesn't agree with you, am I right? He supports Woodcock. In a certain sense you have a majority of the delegation but not the leadership of your local. Yet they control the local.

**Auto Worker:** We gained the membership behind us in between elections. We ran for election last time but we were narrowly beaten. Our caucus was first organized about two and a half years ago. The election was last May. Our platform was basically the same as now, except for a number of local things that happened at that time. For instance, the company would run around and say, "We're closing this plant" or "this plant is shaky." Of course the International Reps come down on the floor and help the local leadership with their campaign.

**Bulletin:** In other words the International Reps backed the local leadership in the last election. Did they back them in this election too, the delegates I mean?

**Auto Worker:** Not forcefully. I would say that basically they felt that a delegates' election is usually won entirely by local officials. It's very rare for rank and file members to get in. It's usually all or nothing.

**Bulletin:** Can you go into the development of the Action caucus for me?

**Auto Worker:** I want to go back to the election and to the interim period. A lot of things happened and a lot of things changed. Of course we changed too. And our way of doing things changed, so that sort of helped us this time. And we came out a bit stronger, with a stronger platform. It was basically the same but also this referendum vote. We had a couple of money matters, I think basically this sort of helped us with this delegate election.

Basically what we did, in the beginning, with our campaign, to get in office so we could help the rank and file, was we would tell it in hard facts, exactly how it is. We came across, in the eyes of the people in the plant, as a little bit militant, and in other words a little radical. We were branded as the type of people that if we got in, we would close the plant, we would be on strike every day and all that type of thing. So, we met several times, and we had to reach a decision on how we were going to reach these people, in order to help them. How we're going to get their support. So what we did, you might say we turned slightly political. Because we felt that regardless of how you achieve this, how you make it, you've got to make it in order to help them. And if you have to change your strategy a little, and come over a little milder, in order to gain their backing, well then you have to do it, and that's what we did.

**Bulletin:** Did any other changes take place? In other words, you said you guys changed, but didn't things occur which changed the workers also?

**Auto Worker:** In the last election, the rank and file membership was sort of convinced that we couldn't do anything for them. In the course of the year, we had two strong Labor Board cases against the company, against General Motors. This was a history-making thing, according to the people at the Labor Board. Our second Labor Board case was very strong against

General Motors. Speedy was fired, he got his job back, all back pay. Jimmy here was demoted, transferred, for disciplinary reasons. He got his old job back plus all back pay that he lost.

**Bulletin:** Everything that's been happening, with plant closings, speed-



**"The thing is, it's not the balloons and all that that's doing it. . .you're not for the same things, really, so you can't play their own game. . ."**

**"We're not playing a game."**

**"You've got to bring the power of the rank and file into it."**

ups—well Lordstown really sums it all up. Therefore we should have an evaluation of the role of General Motors, what its policy is now. Obviously through GMAD it has a more conscious, stepped-up policy of breaking the union, really, beginning with the militants. At Lordstown, in the agreement, many guys didn't get their jobs back. It's not true that they went back to the way it was before. There was a certain amelioration, but they didn't go back to the way it was before, despite what the International says. And the company was allowed to have the right to keep certain guys out that they didn't like. The company may give a little bit of a concession in exchange for weeding out militants and trouble-makers. This is a big danger in your own kind of situation. The same thing is happening in regards to the courts. Regardless what decisions may have been won through the NLRB, and it is because of the strength of the unions that this has happened, we're in a period now where the courts on the national level are upholding the Pay Board.

**Auto Worker:** We had to do this. As you stated, that Lordstown thing, the International shoved that contract down our throats, which didn't please everybody. My understanding is that a third of the workers are against it. That's a lot of people. That's the third who voted. Now they can say that the rest didn't vote because they don't care, but that's a lot of bullshit.

**Bulletin:** You're always having an uphill battle because of the leadership.

**Auto Worker:** So like I said, we did have

to go outside of the established procedure, in order to fight our cases. Otherwise we never would have been back in our plants and they would have gotten us one by one with the help of the local leadership and the International.

**Bulletin:** So basically you got elected because of the guys there who have been under a lot of speedup and other problems. Can you go into the other problems.

**Auto Worker:** The problems are the same as Lordstown. It's combining jobs, speedup, layoffs—we had 3,300 people, now we got 2,300 people. They did it according to seniority, but they laid off that 1000 people and combined jobs. That's basically the big situation. It's still the same situation. It's like batting your head against the wall to try to get them (the International) to do something. That's why we get a knot in our stomach when we come here and the guys are singing "Solidarity Forever" in the ranks. You know we got a great union. But it's not a great union in our plant, we don't see it. And they're giving them the last day on the floor to put up their bitches, which doesn't

how can they possibly oppose better housing? But who cares? I mean, we all know we want better housing for everybody, but don't make a resolution. Let's get down to the resolutions that are important! Like the referendum vote and things of that nature. And these things aren't coming out.

**Bulletin:** I spoke to someone from the United National Caucus today who said that there was a division in the caucus. The point was, and this is what concerns me most, was that some people felt that the importance of the referendum was only that it related to the underlying issues. Now to these people the issues were unemployment, the war, the labor party. Otherwise, you'll just get people agreeing on a referendum, outside of the content of it. In other words, the issues as to why you need a referendum, why you need a new leadership. Obviously there are unions that have referendum votes—and nothing else.

**Auto Worker:** We're not the United National Caucus. We affiliate ourselves with them around the referendum vote. We're strong on this. It's a principled thing for us, and it was a plank in our platform when we were elected as delegates. For a democratic referendum vote. So we come here and get together with others who want a referendum vote. We ran Jimmy here and Speedy as officers up there. We didn't run them on the UNC slate. Of course they have a little trouble with their caucus. Some of its leaders sort of went against the caucus. We didn't like that. I mean if you're going to have a caucus and you're talking about democracy and the referendum vote and you change your mind in the last five minutes about what the caucus ruled. There was a vote, the caucus ruled they would vote...I thought the big thing was, what I agreed with them on before we even met them was that you have to take one issue at a time. That's the only way you're going to do it. And if these people want balloons and a circus give it to them. Take one issue, just like they did with the 30 and out, just like they're doing now with the four day work week.

**Bulletin:** What are they doing with the four day work week?

**Auto Worker:** They're starting a big thing about it. But they know they're not going to get it. What they're doing is they're giving out hats, balloons, and walking up and down the boardwalk. So we could do the same thing with the referendum. We could walk up and down the boardwalk. Of course they have more money than we do. But this is the way it is, we have to play their game to get what we want. We blew this now. The United Caucus has been going on for about eight years, batting their heads against the wall, and they haven't been proving a damn thing. You see, they won't compromise at all.

**Bulletin:** The thing is, it's not the balloons and all that that's doing it. I mean they have the control but you're in a different position than them. You're opposed to them on the basic issues. Let me put it this way. Suppose we as a group or anyone in the union wants to fight for a 30 hour week, a 4 day week. Now the truth is this, they can talk about the four day week, but they mean a 4 day, 10 hour day. And if they're going to fight for a 30 hour week, they're going to have to roll up their sleeves and become revolutionaries. They may not say it that way. But why? Because you cannot have a 4 day, 30 hour week in this country, against these corporations, without the biggest kind of conflict and explosion. That's what I'm saying. It's not a question of balloons or what not. If you agreed with them it'd be different, then you'd be playing their own game. But you don't agree with them. You're not for the same things, really, so you can't play their own game. In other words, you can't dress up the question of the referendum or the four day week with balloons and drums.

**Auto Worker:** We're not playing a game.  
**Bulletin:** You've got to bring the ranks into it, that's not their game. You've got to bring the power of the rank and file into it.

TO BE CONTINUED

# Chicago Teachers Vote Strike After Opposition Victory

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO, May 22—The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) voted overwhelmingly today to strike the Chicago school system on May 25. This result was foreshadowed in union elections last Friday, where elected strike-advocate John M. Healey defeated CTU head John Desmond by a wide margin.

After the four-week strike during the last school year, the union won its first two-year contract, as well as other substantial gains. But all these gains were thrown out the window when the Board reopened the contract this winter and took advantage of several fine print clauses Desmond had allowed to remain in the contract.

## PHASE II

Basically, these stated that the budget could be prepared annually, and that all salaries and the second-year raise of eight percent would be subject to the availability of appropriations.

In reopening the contract, the Board used Nixon's Phase II to trim raises to 5.5%, ended evening school classes, cut over 600 teachers, who were mostly Full-Time Basis substitutes, from the payroll, and demoted counselors and special field teachers to fill those classroom vacancies.

In addition, they announced plans to close school on June 8, 11 days short of the contracted school year.

## NEGOTIATIONS

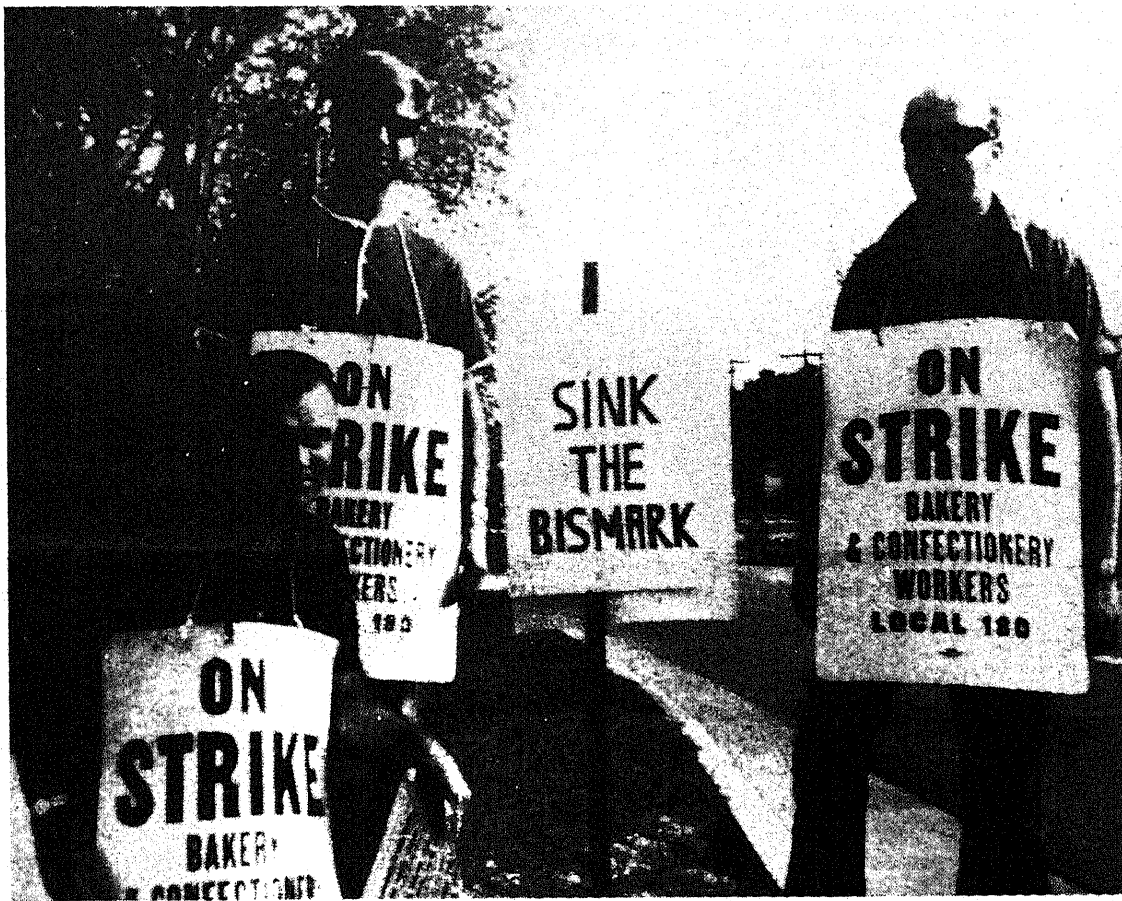
At that time, the teachers voted four to one to strike against the contract violations. The leadership dragged out "11th hour" negotiations for several weeks, and ultimately forced through the new contract, with promises that it could win supplemental appropriations from the legislature to prevent the early closing in June.

The school board has reacted to this with attack after attack. Budget-balancing attempts now include plans to eliminate art,

music and physical education programs next September, cutting over 4500 teaching and civil service positions.

## MOBILIZATION

It is in the face of these attacks that the teachers voted to strike. A mass mobilization of Chicago labor is needed to beat back the planned budget cuts and layoffs.



Nearly 100 bakery and confectionary workers of Local 180 have struck the Gardner Baking Company in Madison, Wisconsin. They are demanding an end to company's attacks on seniority (by shifting older workers into lower job categories) and low wages. Base pay (\$3.05 per hour) is the lowest in the state for all positions. Teamsters union is supporting strike and their men refuse to cross the picket lines.

# Montgomery City Workers Spearhead Wages Fight

BY DAVID NORTH

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—The gains won by 550 city employees after a nine day strike last month are threatened by the Federal Pay Board, which is expected to rule on the settlement shortly.

Montgomery workers, who defied the threats of the municipal government to use Alabama's anti-strike Solomon Act, ended their job action after winning a 12.5 percent wage hike.

With the rapid development of industrialization in Alabama and a tremendous strengthening of the working class, a wide-spread union organizing campaign is in progress. Municipal and state employees have been in the forefront of the drive, and the strike by Local 1314 of the Public Ser-

vice and Industrial Employees Union reflects the growing anger of Alabama workers against the conditions that exist in the state.

Until the latest settlement, city workers in Montgomery were earning an average of \$1.80 an hour. Sanitation workers, who were doing somewhat better, received about \$96 for a six day week.

Even with this settlement, city workers in George Wallace's home state will take home far less than the national average. Those workers who received

\$1.85 will now get \$2.00, and \$2.25 by October. But even these gains are dependent upon the approval of the Pay Board.

## REFUSED

Throughout the strike, the Montgomery administration refused to negotiate with Local 1314 because of a 1964 ruling of the Alabama Supreme Court which prohibits collective bargaining between a city and its employees.

The striking workers rejected the first offer made by Mayor Jim Robinson who stated: "The city doesn't have any money. I'm not a magician." The city's offer amounted to an annual increase of \$416.

An attempt was made by the city to whip up public anger against the strikers. The city accused workers on picket lines of jeopardizing the lives of exotic plants valued at \$50,000. But this charge did not make a deep impression upon the public, especially after workers announced they were watering the plants.

In addition to wages, the employees demanded improved work conditions. Sanitation workers demanded that raincoats, boots and gloves be provided on the job.

## DEMANDS

Until now, even such basic equipment has not been provided. In the settlement, the workers won these demands as well as new grievance procedures and safety regulations.

Pending the decision by the Pay Board, none of the increases have been paid to the workers who are still operating with their old contract. The existence of the Board at a time of new organizing activity poses in the sharpest manner all the limits of simple trade unionism to the Alabama labor movement.

While the organizing campaign represents a great step forward, these gains can only be defended politically.

"We're organizing and we're not getting paid well, and at the same time the government is imposing a wage freeze," stated a union organizer of municipal and hospital workers in Birmingham. "We're trying to sell people on collective bargaining just as the government is putting an end to it."

# SSEU Opens Door To Layoffs

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK—In the two weeks since the victory of the right-wing Cohen forces over the Hill slate in the Social Service Employees Union elections, the City has been able to get away with blow after blow against the union without so much as a peep of protest from the leadership.

In his first day of office, Cohen abandoned the union's work action on the arbitrary movement of staff from general services sections in the Bureau of Public Assistance to the Bureau of Child Welfare.

After only one hour of negotiations, Cohen agreed to allow the City to institute its Error Analysis Program, a program designed to hang individual workers for errors made in budget computations.

No sooner did the Cohen leadership approve Error Analysis, than it agreed to allow the Civil Service Commission to certify a whole section of provisional caseworkers as clerks, locking them into the detestable Income Maintenance job.

Their capitulation on the provisional caseworkers makes even more clear what the Cohen forces will do in relation to the

near-certainty of layoffs in auxiliary titles in Regional Manpower, the Community Services Administration, and the Housing and Development Administration.

In the Department of Social Services, where the weight of the City's reorganization schemes has been felt most heavily, it is becoming very clear that Cohen has no intention whatsoever of fighting for any kind of social service jobs for workers now temporarily on loan to clerical jobs as a result of the reorganization.

The proof of this is in the fact that the union has already agreed to allow the bulk of 500 caseworkers on loan to the eligibility and investigation section to be moved out of their centers into other agencies and special projects rather than fighting for expanded social services units based in the welfare cen-

ters.

In the face of all this, the forces around ex-union President Stan Hill, as well as the Stalinists, have no perspective for a fight. In a meeting called last week by these forces, ostensibly to fight Cohen, the representative from the Committee for a New Leadership was opposed when he called for a policy of strike action against any threat of layoffs.

Cohen, knowing that he will have to control the Delegates Assembly in order to persist in carrying out his betrayals, is determined to disenfranchise certain sections of the blue collar workers in the union, where his strongest opposition lies. He is particularly afraid of allowing due representation in Manpower, and through various maneuvers is trying to hold up the delegate elections there.

The Committee for a New Leadership will be running a slate of candidates city-wide in the delegates elections on the basis of a real program to fight the City.

The CNL will be calling for a city-wide SSEU strike if a single

member, permanent or provisional, is laid off in any title. They are also calling for immediate expansion of the service components in the BPA locations, as well as a policy of no movement of staff out of their centers until the City's plans are fully negotiated and voted on by the ranks.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## BROOKLYN COLLEGE . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

"Due to the increase of Third World students on campus the unity and closeness that once prevailed among our people is slowly diminishing. The Third World Federation was started to unite the Third World students on campus and rekindle the warm flame of revolutionary, social and practical love."

Not only couldn't they confront the JDL, but they proposed to further divide the students.

The Young Socialists ran a campaign with an understanding that the conditions being prepared not only offered no chance for more hiring of teachers and expansion of admissions, but sharp cuts. At the same time, the JDL would more and more seek to break up the movement of the youth. Our campaign was based on a fight against these developments, which could only be answered through bringing forward the movement and consciousness of the working class. We centered our campaign on the fight to construct a labor party.

### YSA

The approach of the YSA was the reverse. The crushing of free education, and the destruction of the future of the youth was nothing to them. Rather, an impression that capitalism was doing fine, and their "theory" of "new radicalization," in which the middle class would become alienated by capitalism meant for them adaptation to student powerism.

While they supposed that all the students were student powerists, it was in reality their own middle class conceptions and hostility to the construction of a revolutionary movement that led to a campaign centered around student powerism and the defense of nationalism. Rather than expose the reformist policies of the TWF and posing an alternative revolutionary program, they dropped their Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates on the basis that the TWF slate would spur on the formation of a Black political party!

This shows the completely liquidationist approach of the YSA. The election campaign was a campus extension of the SWP election campaign and represented the only independent party fight the YSA waged on



Paul Masas of the TWF

that campus. Every other activity involved immersion in some coalition or another. So the last independent vestiges of the YSA were dropped to defend the TWF.

The election results, a TWF victory of 847 votes, was a stunning defeat for the JDL. Though the TWF slate posed nothing for the students, they were able to serve as a vehicle for the hostility of the students to the JDL.

The YS sought to bring forward this struggle, and the opportunity was present when Meir Kahane (the leader of the JDL) appeared on campus. This visit could only be interpreted as an act of desperation after their loss in the elections, and an attempt to shore up their forces.

At this point what was absolutely required was a massive response to Kahane. We approached the TWF to join a counter rally and a picket line. Their reply was that such an action would "provoke" the JDL. In addition, they held a completely reactionary position, that Brooklyn College was "Jewish turf," identifying all white students with the JDL. The YSA was more than happy to agree to this retreat. Both organizations were shown to be completely wrong.

When the Young Socialists held their rally against Kahane, some JDL goons attempted to stop it. Scores of students defended the right of the YS to hold a rally. In addition, Kahane held the smallest audience in years. What the impressionists viewed as a campus dominated by "Zionist ideology," was shown to be the reverse.

The YSA's Organizer states: "We have solidarized ourselves with the Black and Puerto Rican students that have often been the

victims of the JDL's racist attacks." This is completely false. At best they covered up for the retreats of the leadership of the nationalists.

### PABLOISM

The method of Pabloism was made clear through the school year. Instead of proceeding from the objective needs of the working class, the YSA substituted a series of impressions about the supposed ideologies of the youth. Further, they didn't see conscious change occurring. This pragmatic method, that is the acceptance of a given situation and one falsely assessed, meant for the YSA a refusal to take up any fight against bourgeois ideology. Rather, they sought to work within the confines of a given situation. To carry out particular tasks, they were forced not just to adapt to nationalism, Stalinism and even reaction, but to openly aid them.

Because they never proceeded from the theoretical development of the youth, they always maintained a superficial relation with them. The YSA never held any classes or even lectures. The whole rich history of Trotskyism and the sharp battles against Stalinism were ignored. Not only did they refuse to educate a cadre in a battle against Stalinism, but persistently collaborated with them.

When such organizations like Hoa Binh were able to dominate the anti-war collective, the YSA was not even able to object. So during the student protest upsurges, the YSA was able to ride high on a particular rally or march, but when the tide receded they had gained little. All that the Young Socialist Alliance was able to build was a white, middle class, radical circle.

### TROTSKYISM

It was only the Young Socialists and Workers League that was able to summon up the history of Trotskyism, to hold classes every week involving discussions of the nature of Stalinism, reformism and nationalism, and educate a section of the students, including minority youth. Our campaigns throughout the year, based on this theoretically developed cadre was able to deal sharp blows against reaction, to take up a campaign to expose the bankruptcy of student powerism and nationalism. Out of this struggle we were able to build four Brooklyn branches starting with fewer forces than the YSA.

At the same time, while the YSA was never able to move from the campuses, it was the Brooklyn College YS which was instrumental in establishing the Bushwick YS and taking forward a perspective for the working class.

CONCLUDED

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Union had told Nixon that the visit would take place only if the mining and bombing was halted by May 17th.

### EXPOSE

Spokesmen for the Nixon government have bitterly denied these revelations because they expose the whole rotten deal worked out well in advance by Washington and Moscow. The Stalinists have sought to use the mining and the real threat of nuclear war as a justification for their policy of negotiations.

At the same time, the Soviet bureaucracy is seeking to put pressure on North Vietnam to cool down its offensive in the South. The major offensive expected against Hue has not begun and the provincial capital of Anloc, still under siege, has not yet been taken by the NLF.

Heavy fighting is raging around Kontum in the Central Highlands where Saigon troops were forced to abandon the Kontum outpost, firebase November. On Wednesday, the liberation troops scored an important victory by blowing up and completely destroying the main ammunition dump in Pleiku.

### MORALE

In a desperate attempt to boost morale of its troops, Saigon launched a well publicized and completely worthless raid by 1,000 marines southeast of Quang Tri. After allegedly killing 260 North Vietnamese soldiers, they withdrew.

At the same time, Saigon troops moved back into Firebase Bastogne outside of Hue. The reoccupation of this base which the North Vietnam Army obviously had no use for was trumpeted as a sure sign that the liberation troops were on the run.

### OFFENSIVE

It is one thing for the Stalinist bureaucracy to sit in Moscow and work out a secret deal with Nixon and quite another to impose this deal on the Vietnamese fighters who have sacrificed everything in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The current offensive by liberation forces in the South and the fear this produced in the Soviet bureaucracy is the sharpest expression yet of the growing conflict between the revolutionary army of Vietnam and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Vietnam workers and peasants now openly fear a deal will be made at their expense. The conflict between the Soviet Union and the Hanoi leadership reflects the growing pressure on

the North Vietnamese Stalinists to carry out the war against the U.S. to a victory.

### RESISTANCE

Resistance to Stalinist collaboration with imperialism is increasing within the heart of the Russian working class itself. Russian sailors aboard Soviet vessels in Haiphong harbor sent a radiogram to Russia declaring that the United States action "will not stop ships under the Soviet flag" and that they would "proceed along their course set by the Motherland." This telegram was reported in the newspaper of the Ministry of Merchant Marine but was omitted from the regular Soviet press.

Workers demonstrations have also taken place in factories in Baku, Leningrad and Moscow against the bombing and mining.

### PROPAGANDA

These important developments, which express the hatred of Russian workers for imperialism, have forced the Soviet bureaucracy to publish a barrage of propaganda to explain Nixon's trip as a continuation of Lenin's policies.

Pravda wrote that: "The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the development of mutually advantageous relationships on the basis of equality with the United States. Faithful to the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence, we emphasize that an improvement in Soviet-American relations is possible and desirable but not at the expense of any third world country nor at the cost of their legitimate rights and interests."

Contrary to the Stalinist falsifiers of Lenin and his policies, Lenin fought to preserve the gains of the Russian Revolution by extending the revolution throughout the world. His trade and economic agreements were completely subordinated to the task of overthrowing capitalism

It is not the policy of peaceful co-existence that will prevent a nuclear war. On the contrary, the capitulation of the Stalinists will spur Nixon into greater provocations and threats to the Soviet Union.

It is the frenzied drive of American capitalism to preserve its profit system that threatens the international working class with a nuclear war.

Nixon can only be stopped by the fight of the American working class to build their own party for 1972 to throw out the Democrats and Republicans who stand behind this war. In this fight, a new leadership must be built within the trade unions against Stalinism and its betrayals.

## ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

when British workers were industrial slaves.

The strategy of the Tories is to provoke a general strike and use the repression of the state on the one hand and the betrayal of the labor leaders on the other, to break it and crush the working class in preparation for all out civil war.

The Tories know that the capitulation of the labor bureaucracy will not stop the working class from fighting back. They know that their provocations will force the working class to seek a revolutionary solution.

### BONAPARTIST

At every stage, the Tories are strengthening the state in preparation for a Bonapartist dictatorship that will carry out the will of the capitalist class.

What is now essential is that the working class take the initiative against the Tories and prepare a general strike in which the central demand will be to force the Tories to resign and for new elections to bring a Labour government back to power.

The Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth

International, is fighting to bring this about and is demanding that the Trade Unions Congress be reconvened to prepare for this battle.

Such a Congress now, at a time when the vast majority of British workers are prepared to fight, would force the labor leaders to take up the question of acting on their verbal opposition to the Act expressed last September. It would be a Congress where the Socialist Labour League and its supporters in the trade unions could fight for the demand that the conditions be prepared to force the government out.

In this struggle, the SLL is fighting to expose the Stalinist and reformist leaders in the trade unions and the Labour Party, demanding that either they fight for a socialist government or be replaced by new leaders.

In this campaign to transform itself into a mass revolutionary party, to lead the approaching fight for power, the Socialist Labour League is determined that the Stalinists will not lead the working class to defeat again as they did in 1926.

## STUDENT PROTEST . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

Today, following the latest escalation of the war, the revisionists and Stalinists try to bury the meaning of Kent Sate and refuse to bring the lessons of May 1970 into the new movement of the youth against the imperialist war.

The movement almost immediately surged up to the limits of student powerism: that is, the colleges were either shut down or taken over by the students. The struggle to go beyond these limits was the real content of the Cambodian movement and this meant that thousands of students turned in a serious way to

the working class.

The confrontations and adventures of the Columbia-SDS period were largely bypassed. In New York and other cities the turn to the working class culminated in joint marches of students and sections of the labor movement.

At the same time, the limitations of Cambodia must be brought into focus. Because the movement of the working class into struggle with the capitalists had not yet reached a sharp surface level, the question of the working class was viewed generally by the students as bringing the class into the protest movement against the war.

The understanding that the

question of the war had to be brought into the general movement of the working class to defend itself from the capitalist class, the understanding that the war was a class question and could only be confronted by taking up the question of class power in the context of the capitalist crisis, was only fought for in the Cambodia events by the supporters of the Workers League.

This is why we saw then and see now the question of the labor party, the fight for millions of workers to take up the question of political power as central against all the revisionists.

TO BE CONTINUED

# Davis Defense Exposes Prosecution Fabrications

BY ANN LORE

PALO ALTO—The attorneys for Angela Davis opened their defense on Monday with a series of witnesses testifying to the whereabouts of Miss Davis just prior to August 7, 1970, contradicting the allegations of the prosecution's witnesses.

The defense is proceeding as though this trial were taking place outside of the real world, as if this were not a political trial.

On Monday, as they moved through the procedures of calling witnesses dealing strictly with the prosecution's case, the Supreme Court announced a landmark decision destroying the very foundation for the whole jury system, making it legal to find a defendant guilty without a unanimous verdict from the jury.

## CONVICTION

This heightens the prosecution's chances of a conviction a thousand times, virtually eliminating hung juries which have been responsible for freeing several other political prisoners.

This strikes the final blow against the perspective of the defense that one should rely on the courts and capitalist justice to defend the working class.

Last week, when the prosecution rested its case, the de-

fense moved for a dismissal of all charges against Angela Davis on the grounds that, despite the voluminous testimony from 93 witnesses, the prosecution had proven nothing against Angela Davis except that: "She is warm, articulate and she has loving compassion, yes, for George Jackson, but for humanity and especially the Black people who she represents so well."

Judge Arnason has taken the motion under submission, meaning that it has been denied. But it is clear that the prosecution with all its 6,000 pages of court transcript and cartons of evidence has not proven any of the essential elements of conspiracy nor has it shown any evidence proving that Angela Davis intended to involve herself in the murder or kidnapping.

Harris is relying solely on guilt by association and their desperate theory of passion to the point that Angela Davis was willing to do anything to bring about the freedom of George Jackson.

Defense Attorney Leo Branton

strongly condemned the fact that Miss Davis was kept in jail for 16 months and subjected to "the agony and terror of these criminal charges" on the flimsiest of evidence, essentially no evidence at all.

Most alarming was Branton's appraisal of the role of the prosecution in this case. He said: "It is the responsibility of the prosecution to see that justice is done. Therefore, he should have moved for dismissal.

## DIGNITY

"He didn't do that. If he had he would have returned some dignity to the office of prosecution which has been badly tarnished."

Apparently the defense feels that the ruling class has been unjustly slandered and would like to help patch up the facade of capitalist justice being ripped apart in this trial before the view of workers and youth.

The prosecutor in his reply stated the State's position very sharply. "Angela Davis is

## West Coast News



Herbert Paulive, a principal accountant for San Francisco International Airport parking lots, was one of the prosecution's witnesses.

charged with a crime that in damage to human life and the system of the administration of justice has no parallel."

It is clear Angela Davis is to be a lesson for the working class. The State is demanding a conviction.

Now that it is up to the defense, they maintain that legally the burden of proof rests with the prosecution and therefore they will be putting forward a very limited and abbreviated defense which exposes their continued faith in the courts.

# McGovern Wins Vote With Wallace Rhetoric

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND, Ore., May 23—South Dakota Senator George McGovern won today's presidential primary, and Alabama Governor George Wallace, who did not spend one day in the state, finished second.

The ability of George Wallace to win 20 percent of the vote without campaigning in a state where busing has not been an important issue exposes all the trade union bureaucrats who have attempted to dismiss Wallace as a southern phenomenon.

It was the politics of George Wallace that dominated this campaign. McGovern, who is likely to enter the convention as the leading candidate, ran around Oregon promising that he would make sure that the wounded Wallace's reactionary policies are heard at the convention. At the same time, he stated that the busing question had to be re-evaluated.

In spite of the growth of the Wallace movement and the support given by "liberal" Democrats to his positions, the trade union bureaucracy refuses

to be shaken from their collaboration with the Democratic Party.

Union leaders have declared that they will make a "last-ditch" effort to stop McGovern in California by supporting Humphrey. And then they said that McGovern will be opposed in such a way that would make it possible for unions to support him if he wins the nomination.

Senator George McGovern, following the Wallace victories in Michigan and Maryland, has used the Oregon primary as grounds for a move to the right.

Almost alone as an active campaigner in this primary and favored to win, he revealed more of his real positions which he expects will move the power brokers in the Democratic party to give him the nomination.

Oregon gave the front running McGovern a chance to respond to the increasing pressure in the party pushing him to the right for

the showdown with Humphrey and a Wallace write-in campaign in California.

McGovern was the only national candidate to campaign in person in this primary. The Wallace campaign sponsored a television blitz in the last few days before the election. Campaigning in Roseburg, McGovern announced he would vote for the anti-busing provisions in the \$18.5 billion education bill in House-Senate conference. The bill would halt federal court desegregation orders and prohibit the use of federal school funds for busing.

McGovern now joins Congresswoman Judith Green, the representative of the urban Portland district, in supporting the anti-busing provisions. Green has supported Senator Henry Jackson in the primaries this year. McGovern has to win the support of party regulars like Green to get the Democratic nomination. He is more than willing to attack the basic democratic rights of equal education to get that support.

To prove to the party leaders and big money supporters that behind this liberal cover he is willing to do whatever is required to serve the interests of capitalism, moving along another path beaten by Wallace, McGovern told a meeting of 550 employees of the Tektronix Company, the largest private employer in Oregon, that "The existing welfare system must be scrapped." He proposed to replace welfare with income supplements that would pay the rates of the poor the same amount—perhaps \$1,000 a year.

Back in Portland, McGovern said he would appeal to Wallace supporters on the issues of tax reform, overhauling the welfare system "which is a mess," and making sense out of foreign aid.

McGovern intended to build his liberal image in Oregon with pot shots at Nixon's economic policy, but supports the Pay Board behind a screen of talk about "inequities." At the same time a Wallace campaign spokesman from the Alabama office told the Bulletin in an interview in Portland that Wallace "opposed" some areas of Nixon's economic policies.

"This means he's opposed to the whole big idea of it. He says the President has got more information and better information about this type of thing because of the people he has working for him, more than the Governor of Alabama's got. He says he could not condemn the Pay Board until he had full knowledge of what information the President has available to him. As the Governor said, I don't think he (the President) would go out and do something that would not be in the best interests of the country and definitely with spiraling inflation he had to do something and if it checked it even for three months then possibly it was right. But then you've got such inequities in it. So he was taking issue with several points but not necessarily with the whole idea."

## ALABAMA

This Wallace campaign representative told the Bulletin that he personally opposed the West Coast longshore strike: "We were suffering in Alabama over a strike in California. That may be hard to believe, but there were certain imports, cars, and I know for a fact that Datsun 240Gs were awfully rare in Alabama. That's my own personal thought. Why should I suffer. I didn't have anything to do with it. I'm kind of narrow-minded on things like this."

An unemployed Teamster told the Bulletin that the people who are voting for Wallace: "Are just after some kind of change, any kind of change. Just out of what's left maybe they think he's the

only answer."

A longshoreman in Portland told the Bulletin: "I don't like Wallace but I like him more than Nixon. I don't like his background as far as labor is concerned—the right-to-work laws. Alabama has a climate that's not pro-labor. I'm going to vote for McGovern mainly because I hate Wallace, Nixon, Humphrey, Muskie."

## FIGHT

A construction worker in downtown Portland told the Bulletin: "If they don't get someone in there that does what he says and says what he does then there's going to be nothing else different anyway. I think a labor party's a good idea. The guy that they put in there should be for the working man. Because I've been in the labor movement for 50 years and I haven't had any of them do anything for me. I had to fight for every bit of it. I had to tighten my belt quite a few times because of some of these guys I've voted for."

McGovern addressed a three day mock Democratic party convention of 3,000 students from suburban Portland schools. He toned down his previous liberal appeals which had won many youth to support him. Some youth found the sharpness of McGovern's differences with Wallace and other Democratic party candidates dulled. A group of Wallace and McGovern supporters responded with disillusionment to McGovern's speech and the two capitalist parties.

"We've decided that all of the candidates are more or less the same no matter what they say. We were bored with McGovern. I'm sure we would have been bored with George Wallace too. We're not impressed with the Democratic and Republican parties. We're unimpressed with politics where the best liar wins. We don't think any of these candidates will be any different than Nixon is."



Wallace supporters demonstrate at mock Oregon Democratic Presidential Nominating Convention in Portland on May 17-19.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN | WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 | 8004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 | PHONE 415-621-1310

## Food Employers Announce Plan To Throw Out IBT Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Food Employers Council bargaining unit of the 15 Bay Area soft drink companies, which have been struck by Teamster bottlers for the past five months, broke off negotiations with the union yesterday.

They announced that they would begin hiring scabs to replace the strikers in order to bring the plants back to normal operation.

Letters have been sent to all the strikers notifying them that their jobs will be given to "temporary" workers unless they return to work immediately.

The union leadership has attempted to bring in a Federal mediator and professional arbitrator Sam Kagel, in order to throw the dispute into binding arbitration.

But 12 hours of meetings ended with the employers arrogantly demanding that the Teamsters return to work with no guarantee that the strikers, many of whom have received dismissal notices, would keep their jobs.

With this act the companies have set in motion their intention from the beginning—to break the union.

Jack Goldberger, chief negotiator for the Teamster local, said the companies "are not going to be able to break the union... They are going to meet with a lot of resistance, there's no question about that."

### FIRM

For over five months the ranks have held firm on \$35 a week and strike benefits in the face of court injunctions, fines and police intimidation which have enabled the employers to keep the plants open and trucks moving with scab labor. But throughout this long and bitter strike, Goldberger and the rest of the Teamster leadership have retreated before the employers and their courts, and sought to isolate the bottlers, refusing at every point to mobilize the full strength of the Teamsters.

It is the treachery of the lea-

dership, not the action of the ranks, which places in jeopardy the existence of the union.

Rather than carry out his threat to call out the Bay Area Teamsters in support of the bottlers, Goldberger chose to throw all the issues, including the basic question of the union shop, into the lap of one of Nixon's mediators.

This mediator, Sam Kagel, recently ruled against the ILWU in favor of the shipping bosses on every question in dispute.

### ANGER

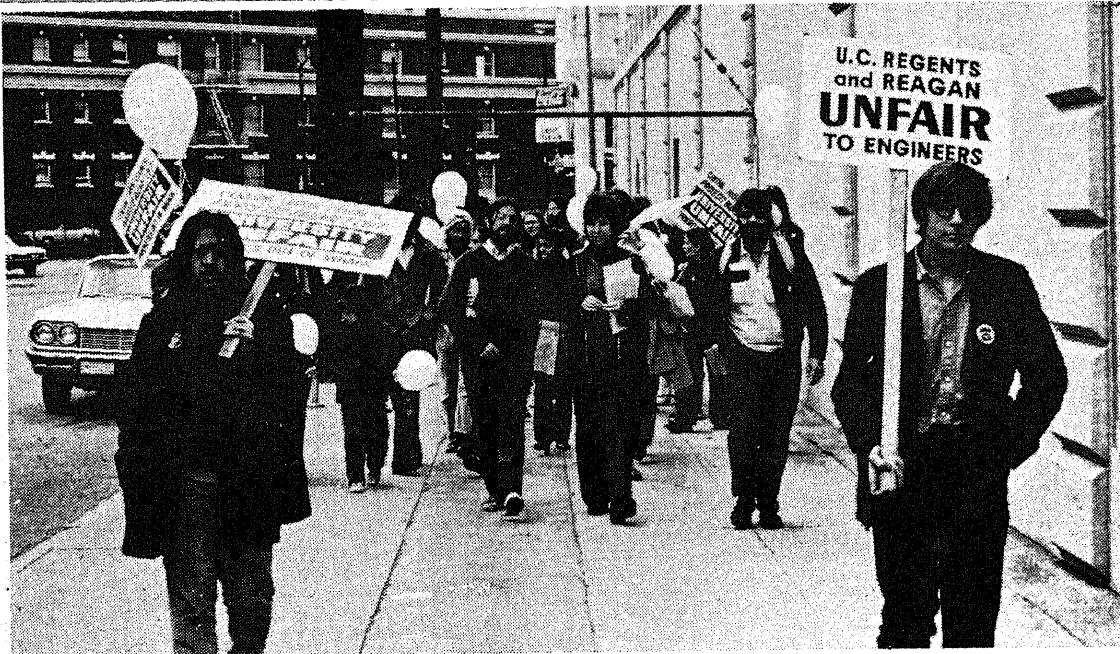
Pickets at the Palo Alto Coke plant who spoke to *Bulletin* reporters expressed anger and frustration at the leadership's refusal to pull out the rest of the Teamsters. "We should have had a general strike five weeks ago," one picket told us.

Another picket told the *Bulletin*: "I don't think they'll break us down. But there's one problem. How long can we hold out? We have drivers coming down the road saying, when are they going to call us out? What are they waiting for?"

### STRATEGY

The strategy of the beverage companies is to buy all their franchises and automate a few large plants, turning hundreds of bottlers out onto the streets. A picket at the Palo Alto plant said that the Dr. Pepper plant in Sunnyvale sold out to Pepsi Cola last week and sent all of the strikers termination papers.

Every local must reject any binding arbitration and demand a strike of the Bay Area Teamsters to defend the bottlers and a conference of Bay Area labor to launch a labor party in defense of the entire trade union movement.



Striking workers of the University of California picket against the Board of Regents.

## Court Suspends ILWU Container Protection

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Last week the *Bulletin* warned that a showdown must come on the docks. No matter how much Bridges and Gleason twist and turn to avoid a fight, the government is determined to take every concession as a sign of weakness and to press on for the destruction of the unions.

No sooner did Bridges accept the Pay Board wage slashes than the government revealed the next step in its strategy. A federal judge in Los Angeles has just issued an injunction suspending the container cargo jurisdiction section of the ILWU contract.

In effect, this injunction prohibits the one dollar a ton tax on containers used to finance the guarantee and prevents the PMA from requiring that containers be stuffed and unstuffed by ILWU members.

The case is now turned over to the National Labor Relations Board whose lawyers had requested the injunction, claiming that the contract is an illegal attempt to take work not rightfully belonging to the union.

With the contract signed, the government is now moving to heat up the jurisdictional dispute between the ILWU and the Teamsters over container work.

Longshoremen now find themselves in a legal stranglehold designed to destroy every historic right and gain of the union. The government has in essence completely cancelled even the

rotten contract that Bridges accepted. The Pay Board took away wages and now the NLRB is preparing to remove the only protection over jurisdiction dockers thought they had nailed down.

As things stand now, no matter what Bridges says, there is no contract. After one year of struggle nothing is left of the original demands of the longshoremen except for the wage increase lightened by 30 cents.

Wages are not even retroactive to the beginning of the strike but rather to December 1971.

All local issues dealing with working conditions, manning rates and individual port problems are unresolved with the PMA adamant about conceding anything.

Gang sizes on new operations such as LASH are unresolved and will be decided in arbitration.

The new attacks launched by the government expose completely the bankrupt policy of the ILWU leadership. It is the survival of the union that is at stake and this leadership speaks of protests and refuses to act.

The truth is that longshoremen cannot live with the present

situation. If no fight is made, there will be one blow after another as the government will tie everything up in the courts while continuing to smash away at the rights of the union.

Under these conditions, the arbitrator is preparing to find against the union on every fundamental question.

Dockers will have to look very closely at the policy of the Stalinists who declare in the latest *People's World* that the acceptance of the Pay Board cut "has once and for all ended the possibility of a West Coast longshore strike."

In fact the opposite is the case. Longshoremen have absolutely no choice but to launch such a strike. The government has declared the contract null and void and that is precisely what the dockers must do. Any hesitation will simply strengthen the attack on the union.

Dockers must fight for strike action immediately. A West Coast shutdown can bring out the ILA and prepare the ground for a general strike movement that can win the demands of the dockers and bring down the Pay Board.

## U.C. Regents Declare War On Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY—The existence of the trade union movement is what is at stake in the strike at U.C. Berkeley.

The university is determined to defeat the building tradesmen as a lesson to the unorganized workers on campus and in order to smash up the growing union movement among campus employees.

The strike is in grave danger. There is no question of the deter-

mination of the strikers to fight. Last week over 800 strikers marched with striking Teamster bottlers to protest university policies.

The university is however in no mood to give in. Last Friday strikers were given a vicious display of university arrogance by the Board of Regents. Richard Groulx, head of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, leading a delegation of strikers requested permission to address the Board whose meeting was attended by Governor Reagan himself. The Regents voted to deny a hearing to the repre-

sentative of the entire East Bay labor movement.

The reasons for this contempt are not hard to find. Groulx has done everything in his power to prevent a real mobilization of the labor movement in this strike and the Board expects more of the same.

Indeed the demonstration of strikers he led paraded about with white balloons with slogans denouncing the lack of free speech on the campus. This is because the Labor Council still refuses to call it a strike and insists its pickets are "informational."

# Party!

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