

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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NIXON TO OUTLAW LONGSHORE STRIKE

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

HOUSTON, Texas—Labor Secretary James D. Hodgeson told leading shippers in a meeting held here Monday that the outlawing of strikes on the docks will be a top priority of the Nixon Administration after the elections.

The National Commission for Industrial Peace which Nixon proposed in his Labor Day address will play an important role in the attack on longshoremen, Hodgeson told the shippers at the exclusive Propeller Club.

"One of the problems I am sure we will be tackling is that of the massive and frequent strikes that have so long plagued the transportation industry, including longshore strikes," he said. "It has become increasingly apparent that the public will no longer tolerate them."

The shippers at the meeting suggested various plans to mask the abolition of collective bargaining through the use of "impartial" mediators with the power to impose settlements.

But the general agreement with Hodgeson's comments were summed up by Edward J. Heine, president of United States Line, who said: "We must rethink the fundamental labor-management relationship in the maritime industry."

With this speech at the Propeller Club, Hodgeson has let the cat out of the bag. The Nixon Administration is preparing the machinery for the destruction of the ILA, ILWU and all trade unions in this country.

**Bulletin
Expansion
Drive**
**Raise \$2,424
In One Week**

The Bulletin Fall Fund Drive is up once again this week with \$2,424.82 coming in bringing the total to \$8,971.29. The difficulty is that we should be receiving \$4,000 a week. Because progress towards this goal is so slow we need to reach \$16,500 by next week, the one third point.

Baltimore has sent in \$485; Minnesota \$475, New Haven, \$385, while East New York raised \$90 at a dance. Every branch must now make extreme efforts to turn the situation around by next week.



Coast Unionists Demand Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 8—Over 60 workers and youth attended a conference here to prepare for the October 22 Workers League National Conference for a Labor Party Now. Unionists from warehouse, steel, auto, electrical and social services took part.

Speakers for the Workers League and the Young Socialists emphasized the rapid development of the economic crisis since August 15, 1971 and the conscious preparation of the ruling class for civil war against the working class.

It was stressed that the objective conditions are now forcing the working class into a fight which requires a fundamental change in thinking in order to take up the struggle for power. Unlike Lincoln during the American Civil War, the working class cannot afford to operate pragmatically.

Speakers emphasized that the October 22 Labor Party Conference in Chicago represented a preparation for this new period when it is necessary to change the thinking of a section

(Continued On Page 19)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW!

CHICAGO-OCT. 21-22

The purpose of this conference will be to establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to call a congress of labor to establish a labor party. The conference will also consider the program around which such a labor party is to be constructed as well as the situation facing specific sections of the labor movement.

CONTACT: New York: 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., NYC 10011 924-0852; Chicago: P.O. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago 60607 327-2620; West Coast: Rm. 313, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 415-621-1310. Inexpensive accommodations available.

Strikes Sweep GMAD Plants

See Page 4

German Workers March Against Arab Persecution

BY DAVID NORTH

More than 10,000 workers and youth marched with red flags through the industrial city of Dortmund to protest the German government's vicious repression of Palestinian organizations and Arab residents in the country.

The trade unionists carried signs and shouted slogans which denounced the revival of fascist methods by the police to carry out unlawful attacks on the Palestinians in Germany.

CRINGING

Cringing before the hysterical demands of all the reactionary elements and the Christian Democratic Union—the main capitalist party—for a crackdown on left-wing forces, the Social Democrats ordered last week the shutdown of the two largest Palestinian organizations, the General Union of Palestinian Workers and the General Union of Palestinian Students.

Social Democratic Interior Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher announced that police throughout the country were coordinating intensive manhunts for Palestinian student leaders. He also stated that the government would continue the policy of mass deportation without trial which began two weeks ago.

In some cases, Palestinian students have been given less than two hours notice to pack their belongings and depart for the airport to fly to Jordan—where many face possible execution by King Hussein.

With ominous language, the government has demanded that the outlawed organizations provide full membership lists.

WITCH-HUNT

Behind this assault on the Palestinians stands the preparations for a witch-hunt of all left-wing organizations in Germany. During the past year, the Brandt government has passed emer-

gency legislation to strengthen the police and curtail basic liberties.

All these measures have evoked a powerful opposition within the trade unions which clearly understand the danger of a right-wing dictatorship.

ELECTIONS

With national elections only six weeks away, Brandt is in full retreat before the CDU, creating the very laws that the reactionaries hope to use against the working class and its political organizations, including the Social Democratic Party.

TREACHEROUS

These treacherous policies could lead to a victory for the CDU next month, and an all-out attack on the living conditions of German workers. Brandt is following in the footsteps of his Social Democratic ancestors who paved the way for fascism in the late 1920s and early 1930s.



West German government is launching police onto nationwide witch-hunt to suppress left wing groups and trade union militants.

Liberation Forces Batter Thieu On Outskirts Of Saigon

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The liberation army of Vietnam has opened a new stage of its offensive against Thieu, right on the doorstep of Saigon.

In southern Binhduong province, the NLF fighters have defeated the South Vietnamese soldiers and have gained control of three hamlets around the district capital of Bencat, only 20 miles outside Saigon.

Forty miles south of Saigon, the liberation forces broke through the defenses of three bases and have launched an attack on Mytho. The U.S. is frantically dropping thousands of tons of bombs all around Saigon in an attempt to halt the offensive.

This is the reply of the North Vietnamese to the arrogant ultimatums of Nixon that they either capitulate or agree to his terms for an end to the war:

STRENGTH

The latest offensive, which demonstrates the continued fighting strength of the NLF, exposes the deliberately constructed web of lies that the recent secret talks were making progress.

On September 26 and 28, Kissinger met with North Vietnamese official Le Duc Tho and Paris negotiator Xuan Thuy for a series of highly publicized but secret talks.

Hanoi issued a sharp state-

ment accusing the U.S. "propaganda machine" of intentionally trying to give the impression that a peace settlement was near and declared that on September 30, F-111 planes were sent on a bombing raid over Hanoi's suburbs.

In a news conference last week, Nixon declared that the "impending elections will not in any way influence what we do at the negotiating table." He stated that Johnson's bombing halt was "a mistake" that he would not repeat and said that "the mining and bombing will continue until we get some agreements on the negotiating front."

Nixon has not budged from his opposition to any form of a three way coalition government proposed by North Vietnam and to the removal of his puppet dictator Thieu.

DESTRUCTION

Nixon has no intention of compromising. His goal remains the complete destruction of the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants in order to ensure the control of the big U.S. corporations over Vietnam.

Kissinger's secret talks are an attempt to create a phony illusion that he is interested in negotiations to provide a cover for Nixon's real preparations to launch even more destructive attacks on Vietnam than before.

There is no question that just as Nixon is preparing an unprecedented attack on the living standards of American workers after Nov. 1, he will open up a new phase of his attack on the Vietnamese people as well.

Nixon's statement that he will not let the elections change what he does in Vietnam is the sharpest warning to the working class that he will let nothing stand in the way of defending capitalism.

This is why Nixon must be stopped now with the immediate formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

Rumania Joins Monetary Fund

BY MELODY FARROW

The Stalinist regime of Rumania has taken a decisive step in its collaboration with imperialism by joining the capitalist monetary agencies, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

This move reveals the real nature of Rumanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu's "independence" from the Soviet bureaucracy. Far from being to the "left" of the Moscow bureaucracy, Ceausescu has sought to develop his economy by seeking concessions from both the Eastern European countries and imperialism. His country has been a member of the East European economic federation, Comecon, while at the same time, enjoying a preferential trading status with the Common Market.

RESOLVE

But Ceausescu seeks to resolve the restraints placed upon the Rumanian economy by the Soviet Union within the Stalinist perspective of peaceful coexistence with capitalism and building "socialism in one country."

Thus, he does not turn to the struggle of the working class against capitalism but to the imperialist rulers themselves.

ENDANGERED

Ceausescu has already endangered the foundations of the workers state by allowing outside corporations to directly invest in Rumanian industry.

In order to join the IMF and receive loans, Ceausescu will be forced to make even greater concessions that are creating the conditions for the restoration of capitalism.

Member countries of the IMF must make their currencies con-

vertible with each other and must take the necessary domestic measures to rectify balance of payments deficits. These measures are designed to preserve the status of the dollar and of American capitalism.

Through the World Bank, the U.S. has gained a stranglehold over the underdeveloped countries by investing funds through loans which these countries can never pay back.

KEY

The refusal of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries to make their currencies convertible with the capitalist currencies has been the key aspect of the monopoly of foreign trade, one of the major gains of the Russian Revolution. It has been essential to protect these countries from an invasion of cheap goods and from the raging inflation in the capitalist countries.

By joining the IMF, the Rumanian working class will be subjected to greater exploitation by capitalist firms and will be forced to assume the burden of paying off the loans. Ceausescu has already imposed a wage freeze on the Rumanian workers to deal with the inflation caused by capitalist investment.

IMPERIALISTS

The imperialists, in order to resolve their economic crisis, must seek to destroy the workers states and restore capitalism throughout Eastern Europe.

It is not the working class of Czechoslovakia, who took up arms against the bureaucracy in 1968 that threatens the gains of the October Revolution, but the bureaucracy itself which seeks to maintain its own privileges against the interests of the working class. Ceausescu's moves have exposed the real class interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The gains won by the workers of Russia and Eastern Europe and the construction of a truly socialist economy cannot be won as long as capitalism dominates the major Western countries with all its industrial and technological power. Socialism can only be built through the struggle for revolution in every country and for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Japan Yen In Crisis

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

Panic gripped the government of Japan's Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka as world pressure for another revaluation of the yen increased last week. An emergency session of the cabinet has been scheduled in which the government will discuss the possibility of floating the yen in order to curtail the massive inflow of unwanted dollars.

In spite of an earlier 17 percent revaluation of the yen, Japan is still running a trade sur-

plus to the tune of \$8.3 billion which the United States—as Treasury Secretary Shultz made clear at the IMF Conference—will not tolerate.

As the world trade war heats up, the United States is demanding a drastic revaluation of the yen that would price Japanese exports out of the international market.

Last week's trading on the money markets was marked by a continuing decline in the dollar and a jump in the price of gold.

Sea-Land Settlement Leaves Jobs In Danger

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE—After nine days of strike action against Sea-Land Service, the Masters, Mates and Pilots, a section of the ILA returned to work here last week. The strike over manning scales for deck officers tied up nearly 40 ships in the Sea-Land fleet.

The MM&P which had been working for over 3 months without a contract, struck when Sea-Land refused to meet their demand for 8 deck officers for each of the 8 huge new SL-7 container vessels which Sea-Land will be placing in service over the next 15 months. Previously Sea-Land vessels had been covered by 4 or 5 deck officers, so that the proposal made by the company for 6 officers for the new double capacity SL-7's meant unemployment for 25-40 percent of the men.

AGREEMENT

The new agreement specifies that 7 deck officers will be signed on for each run. However, at the same time Sea-Land announced its intention to hold the line on manning scales for engineers and seamen. As a result, Sea-Land would have 3 men competing for every 2 jobs.

It will only be through united action on the part of the maritime unions that Sea-Land's attacks on jobs can be broken up. The concession made to the MM&P is only a device on the part of Sea-Land to buy time to prepare a more decisive attack on the unions. Only through a united fight for 2 crews on the new container vessels and for a labor party to nationalize shipping, taking it out of the hands of the owners and putting it under workers control, can jobs and conditions be protected for maritime workers.

BUG Bosses Kill Three In Four Days

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN—The catastrophe last Sunday of a gas main rupture in the Greenpoint area, which resulted in the death of Francis Hanratty, a 27 year old worker, and the injury of six other workers, must serve as a warning to every worker at the Brooklyn Union Gas Company.

This disaster follows only three days after the gas explosion in Jamaica, Queens, which caused the death of two men.

It is really no coincidence that it is at this particular time that these "accidents" happen. The reason behind it all is the fact that old and antiquated mains and cheap metal pipes are still being used for the distribution of gas.

In order for the BUG to make more profits, it now cuts down on its expenses, not only through the use of automated equipment and computers but also on the cost of maintenance and replacement of deteriorating materials.

Louis Castellano, the first man to fall in the Sunday accident, told the Bulletin:

"I can't explain what happened. I am myself trying to find out. I can only remember holding



Baltimore Workers League held successful meeting last week (above) to build contingent of trade unionists and youth for Chicago National Conference for a Labor Party Now. Similar meetings have been and will be held throughout the country.

Trade Union Support Grows For Labor Party Conference

BY THE EDITORS

A nationwide campaign is being conducted by the Workers League and the Young Socialists to prepare for the National Conference For A Labor Party Now to be held in Chicago on October 21-22.

As the economic crisis grows more severe with each passing day, the need to bring trade unionists from every section of industry to this conference grows more urgent.

The Chicago conference is being held at a time when the entire trade union movement faces the greatest dangers in history.

• Richard Nixon delivered an ultimatum to the world bankers

at last month's meeting of the International Monetary Fund that will lead to a devastating trade war. Nixon and the international bankers could agree on nothing except the need to destroy the living conditions of workers in every country.

• Because of the economic crisis, the re-election of Richard Nixon means that American workers will be saddled with the most reactionary regime in the history of the United States. Big business is closing its ranks behind the Republican Party for an all-out attack on the trade unions.

Just last week, Labor Secretary Hodgeson told an exclusive audience of shipping magnates that Nixon is preparing legislation to outlaw strikes. Behind the bosses' drive to create mass unemployment, introduce brutal speed-ups, drive down wages, and break unions will stand the authority of the government.

POWERFUL

American workers will not hesitate to fight back. Already, a powerful strike movement is developing within the auto industry.

However, the fundamental life or death issues of this period cannot be met simply by militant trade unionism. Only a political struggle against the government, through the mobilization of the working class in a labor party pledged to socialism, can deal with the crisis.

Although the objective conditions are ripe for a break with the Democrats and the construction

of a labor party, it will not come into existence automatically. Every bureaucrat in the union movement is determined to prevent the development of a labor party.

Every attempt of the working class to break beyond the bureaucracy and the two party stranglehold is fought by the Stalinist Communist Party and all revisionists.

TASK

The task of the Chicago conference will be to develop a conscious Marxist leadership within the working class that will lead the struggle for a labor party in a fight against Stalinism and revisionism. It is only this conscious leadership that will bring the labor party into being.

Throughout the country, the preparation for the Conference has stirred tremendous enthusiasm. Meetings have been held in Bethlehem, Pittsburgh, Dayton, Detroit, Youngstown, Baltimore, New Haven, Newark, and in other parts of the country, including the West Coast.

Among the most successful meetings was that held in Baltimore, where the trade unionists expressed strong support for a labor party.

LESSER EVIL

One worker said that the trade unions should face up to the fact that "there's no lesser evil when choosing between the Democrats and Republicans." Many other speakers attacked the trade union bureaucrats who were either sitting on their hands this election or endorsing Nixon or McGovern.

In the discussion, a member of the Workers League stated that a labor party would deal with the economic crisis by fighting for the nationalization of all industry under workers control, and that this action alone could save the jobs of millions of workers threatened with unemployment.

Following the discussion, several trade unionists and students purchased their tickets for Chicago.

• All out in Chicago on October 21-22!

• For an American labor party NOW that will fight against Nixon and for socialism.

"It is the same everywhere; it is all dangerous. Take for instance the use of P&P Cock. It takes two guys for that job—not because one man can't do the job but because if one is knocked out the other can proceed."

DANGEROUS

It is known throughout the company that the medium pressure gas main, used more often in heavily populated areas—especially in the East New York section of Brooklyn, is the most dangerous. The danger results from the fact that the system in operation today is totally inadequate.

Because of the high rate of supply, too much pressure is used through these small six to eight inch pipes conducting the flow of natural gas. This is why there is a high percentage of leaks registered in low income neighborhoods.

These dangerous conditions exist to a greater proportion in places like Brownsville and Bedford Stuyvesant, where high pressure is deliberately used through medium pressure systems, causing continuous

cracks in the mains and developing gas pockets most everywhere.

The criminal role of BUG employers must be met with action by the ranks in the union, if more lives are not to be wasted for the profit of the company.

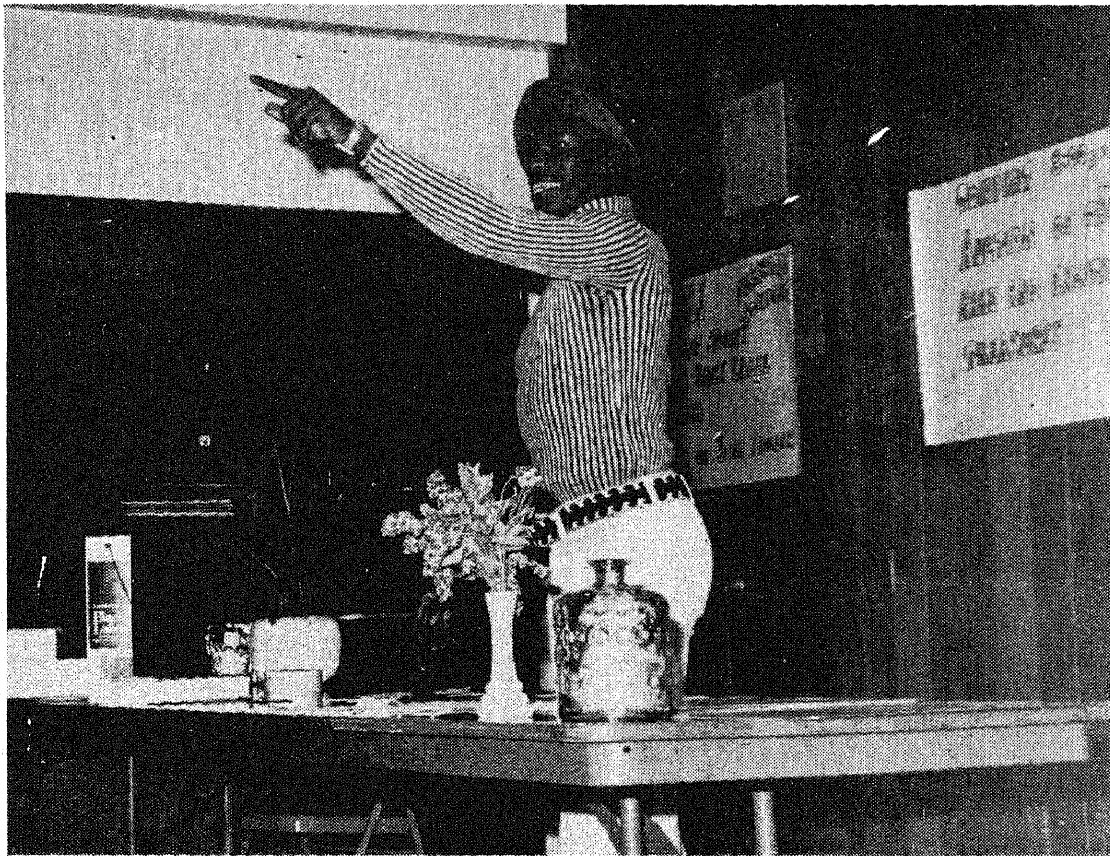
So far, the Kirrane leadership, who has been compromising the interests of the local members on every major issue, has not said a word or taken concrete action to prevent such calamities in the future.

ANSWER

The ranks of Local 101 must answer Kirrane and the BUG bosses by calling for a reopening of the contract to guarantee jobs and working conditions backed up by strike action.

It is the government, both Democrats and Republicans, which stands behind BUG and their right to make a profit at any cost to the workers.

Only the independent political action of all the unions inside a labor party can guarantee for all workers, but also prevent every worker from going the way of Francis Hanratty.



Louie Ladson auctions off various items during Minneapolis Young Socialists' Hungarian Dinner party. The Hungarian dinner and the auction raised \$200 for the Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive.

Defeat GMAD With Nationwide Strike

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 10—Local 25 of the United Auto Workers, which is scheduled to strike the General Motors Assembly Division Plant here this Friday, has thrust itself at the center of the strike movement sweeping the auto industry by demanding that the International order a total shutdown of the General Motors Empire.

This call for a nationwide strike comes at a time when the most powerful UAW locals in the country have voted to shut down their GMAD plants by overwhelming majorities. Besides St. Louis, strike votes have been passed at Janesville, Wisconsin, Van Nuys, California, Doraville, Georgia, and Mansfield, Ohio.

In these plants, the ranks are in rebellion against the brutal and exhausting work overload introduced into GMAD by Joseph Godfrey.

The Bulletin is the only paper which has continually fought in the UAW for a nationwide shutdown of GMAD as the only way to defeat the speed-up methods introduced by GMAD and backed by the government.

Local 25s demand that a nationwide strike be called comes into collision with the attempts of the Leonard Woodcock leadership to hold back the movement of auto workers and to fight GM on GM's terms!

It is no secret that GM plans to weaken the UAW ranks by taking on one plant at a time. Woodcock's strategy of calling out individual plants for one or two days at a time plays right into the hands of management. Woodcock himself admitted that GM cannot be beaten by isolated strikes when he said last week: "The tragedy of the Norwood strike is, the workers are going to wind up exactly where they began." Similarly, the UAW Vice President, Irving Bluestone said: "First Lordstown and then Nor-

wood, Ohio and now Janesville. St. Louis and Van Nuys have been used as targets... This has happened to us too often not to know there's something going on."

There is only one way to fight General Motors, and that is for the UAW to call the nationwide strike that St. Louis Local 25 has demanded. This strike must not be diverted into a 48-hour protest.

A strike against General Motors now, just before the elections, must raise the decisive political issues. The speed-ups introduced by Godfrey are part and parcel of the productivity drive demanded by the Government, supported by the Democrats, in order to meet the economic crisis.

Therefore, a nationwide strike against GM would be a political struggle that requires the support of the AFL-CIO and Teamsters in general strike action to defeat the attacks spearheaded by the Government.

At the same time, the UAW must be at the forefront to construct a political alternative to the Republicans and Democrats by repudiating Woodcock's pro-McGovern stand and calling a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party.

The decision of the Mansfield plant to shut down lends great strength to the St. Louis local. The strike at Mansfield is very important because the plant produces parts required for every GMAD plant in the country. At St. Louis, there is virtually no stock of parts maintained and trucks make deliveries several times daily. The closing down of the parts supply can very likely close down all General Motors production in a few days.

Negotiations in St. Louis have been unable to provide anything

worthwhile. Less than a quarter of the men, approximately 400, have been called back to work in an attempt to quiet the revolt from the ranks.

This also cuts both ways as the management does not have to pay their unemployment benefits during the strike. GM has also agreed to pay 75 percent of the wages lost from short shifts.

Originally GM claimed the shutdowns were due to sabotage, a claim denied by the workers. This agreement to partially reimburse the wages gives the lie to this claim.

GM Speeds Up Baltimore Plant

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 8—Following the moves of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) management to increase productivity and destroy United Auto Workers locals in Lordstown, Norwood, Fremont and St. Louis, the groundwork has been laid to turn these same attacks on the Baltimore Chevy local.

Traditionally, this local has stood up against the attempts to drive down the power of the UAW and the standards of living of auto workers. Their strong "No" vote cast against the national contract in 1970 testifies to this. The local has had at least one strike every year since the days of Walter Reuther.

In preparation for massive layoffs, management is taking steps to increase productivity with speed-up and new machinery. At present, the line speed has increased to 58 cars per hour, with plans for further increases. The drivers are faced with tremendous back-ups, whereas only a few weeks ago they were able to "keep up with the pace."

On the truck line, they have been steadily cutting production. At present there are shifts working a four hour day, with pay reductions.

The company is currently

Wisconsin Workers Want No Return To Isolated Auto Strikes

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

JANESVILLE, Wisc.—UAW Local 95 here passed an 81 percent "Yes" vote for strike authorization October 4 against General Motors.

Two days later, on Friday October 6, five locals including the Janesville local sent out letters informing General Motors of their intent to strike their respective plants.

The local leadership is maintaining secrecy about the precise plans for the strike. It is absolutely clear that the International and local leaderships are doing everything in their power to hold off a nationwide General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) strike.

STRATEGY

The overall strategy is to have each local go out for two days—for Friday and the following Monday—rotating a different local each week. A union official of Local 95 told Bulletin reporters:

"We think we've got the plan to create enough confusion to put a halt to this thing. But there has got to be a certain element of surprise."

But it is precisely the strategy of isolating a local which led to the sellout at Norwood and as several workers put it "allowed us to be starved out."

It was the policy of isolating the locals which allowed General Motors to transfer their best selling models from the Norwood to the Van Nuys, California plant during the Norwood strike. One young worker from the chassis department at Janesville said that, during the Norwood strike, the department was working nine and a half hours but has gone back to eight hours since the Norwood settlement.

The history of the Janesville local shows the treachery of this policy of separating the locals from the strength of the national union. It was the Janesville local which had a three week strike January 1, 1969 against the in-

roduction of GMAD and the merger between the Chevrolet assembly plant and the Fisher Body plant.

This merger was a violation of the local agreement. The strike against the introduction of GMAD was conducted separate from the fight against the national introduction of GMAD at other assembly plants throughout the country.

In the 1970 auto strike, the Woodcock leadership settled the strike, forcing the locals to try to settle the problems of layoffs and speed-ups on their own. After the 1970 strikes, the unresolved disputes erupted in a new strike at Janesville on February 26, 1971, which was ended after three weeks with no change in the working conditions.

The introduction of GMAD at Janesville has meant tremendous layoffs and line speed-up. Before GMAD, there were over 6000 workers in Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants and today there are only 5200 workers, of which about 400 have been recently hired for the model changeover.

Within the last six weeks, there have been spontaneous shutdowns in many departments over the speed-up of the line and the denial of break time. The workers are being forced to make up for the lost time during every breakdown of the line by working late and by being denied their breaks.

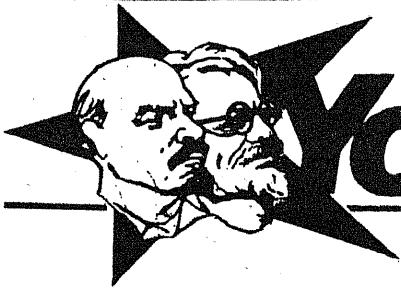
Last week, when it became clear that the normal half hour break was going to be denied, workers in one department simply shut down the line exactly one half hour before dinner in order to take their break.

The only answer to the brutal speed-up and mass unemployment of the GMAD plant lies in following the lead of the St. Louis plant in calling for a national strike of GMAD plants.

efficiency drive. Their attempt to take on GMAD, on a plant to plant basis, is bankrupt and dangerous.

Two weeks ago, the Baltimore local was scheduled to go out on strike, but the walkout was called off at the last minute. In this way, the International leadership is attempting to hold back the growing movement for a nationwide GMAD strike.

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Young Socialist

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Marxism And The Youth — Lessons Of Our History

The Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists, which will be held in Chicago Oct. 22, is of historical and international significance.

It is the most important step forward in the building of a revolutionary movement in the U.S. as part of the international Trotskyist movement. Only by beginning with an international strategy for the working class can the youth play the revolutionary role that history demands of them.

The International Youth Assembly, held in 1967 in Britain, was a historic event for the world Trotskyist movement. Because of the consistent struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International for Trotskyism, large numbers of youth from various sections of the world came together to build an international youth movement for the first time in the history of Trotskyism.

The program adopted at the IYA stated that the movements which were represented were those participants "which have been built not only on the basis of a struggle against the capitalist class and its state but also in struggle everyday against the treacherous bureaucracies which lead the labor movement and try to impose their leadership on the youth.

"It is on this basis of the continuation of this fight against pacifism and reformism, as part of the fight against capitalism, that the international youth movement will now grow."

What this event represented was a resurgence of Trotskyism, a real birth of Trotskyism as more and more youth began turning to the revolutionary movement.

At the Essen Youth Rally in 1971, the theoretical expression of the IYA was developed in the amendment put forward by the British Young Socialists. A split occurred in the international movement over this amendment, which dealt with the role of the youth. It stated that:

"There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially of Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory... Revolutionary youth everywhere must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combatting the dangers of adventurism, activism and 'pure' militancy with which revisionists and Maoists mislead the youth, and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class."

The Workers League supported this resolution and agreed that at the heart of building a revolutionary movement was the fight to develop Marxism, and that this is the central task of the youth. The Young Socialists see the primary importance of Marxist theory today because of our very history and the lessons learned from it.

In the 1930s, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) was the youth movement of the Socialist Workers Party. The opposition to the resolution of the British YS at Essen was the same position held by James P. Cannon and the entire leadership of the SWP.

The YPSL was composed of middle class youth, of students and intellectuals, who were hostile to dialectics and therefore very distant from the working class.

YPSL was the extreme reflection of the weaknesses of the leadership of the SWP who's pragmatism and narrow nationalism has been the main plague of the American movement.

Recognizing this weakness, Leon Trotsky fought to turn the SWP to other sections of the working class, such as the youth and the Blacks with the understanding that this would require a turn to Marxist theory.

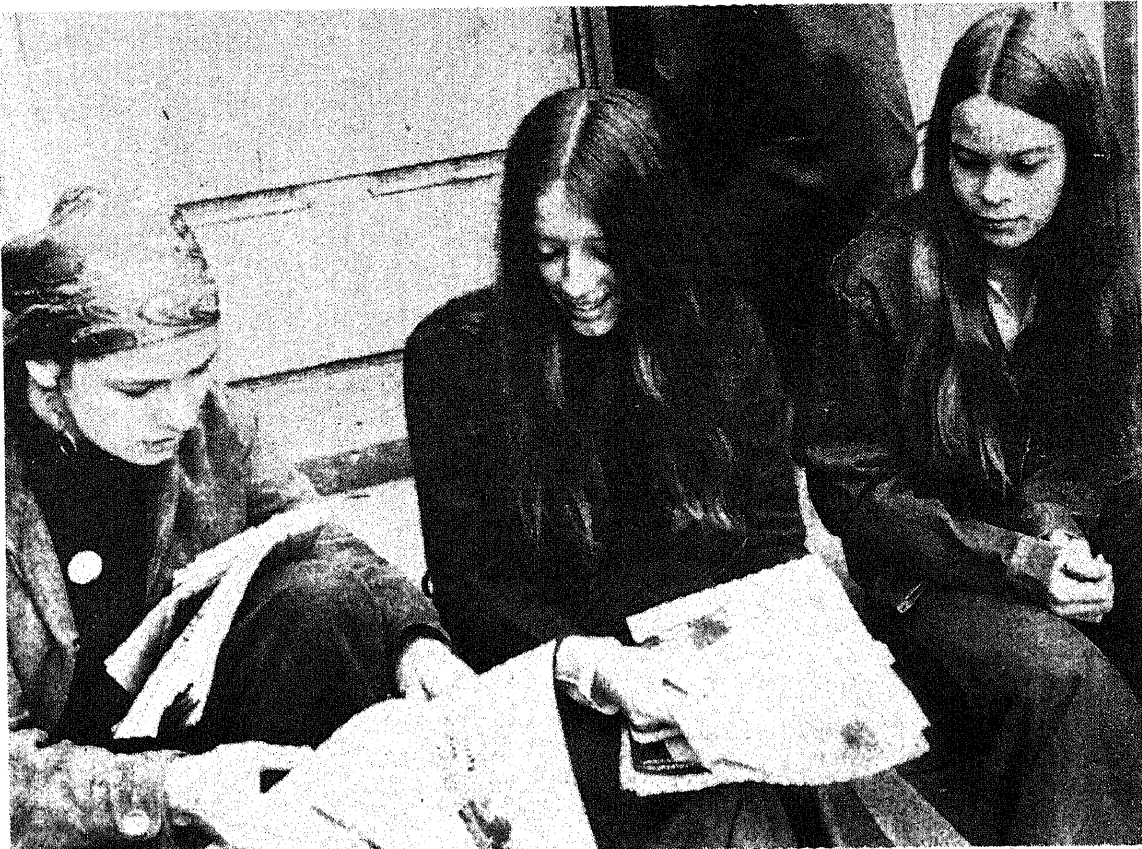
The refusal to build the movement on the basis of dialectical materialism proved costly in 1940 with the Shachtman split. When Shachtman split almost the entire youth movement of the SWP went with him. This was the result of the SWP leadership's refusal to see philosophy as central to the development of a youth movement.

Instead of assessing the meaning of this development and taking up the philosophical questions which it had exposed, the SWP turned away from the youth. For 17 years they turned their backs on the construction of a youth movement because they insisted on avoiding the philosophical questions.

During that time, the SWP developed theories to justify their actions, theories which said that all youth are middle class and that the way to keep the party from becoming revisionist was to keep the party away from the youth. Their position was just to work in the trade unions and then the party would develop as working class and Marxist.

At the same time, the death of Leon Trotsky had left the Fourth International leaderless. The responsibility fell onto

(Continued On Page 6)



Minneapolis North High School youth talk with Young Socialist about repressive conditions in school. Cops continue to harass the students there. Students have defended Bulletin salesmen from similar harassment.

YS Conference Answers Nixon Attacks On Youth

BY GIL GONZALEZ

The National Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists will take place during the most profound crisis capitalism has encountered.

Youth are suffering the most fundamental attacks under capitalism. Education is decaying at a rapid pace. The high cost of living has hit young people extremely hard.

School books, lunches, transportation, clothes, everything must be kept on such a tight budget that if you deviate from it for just a minute life turns into a battle to survive from one week to the next.

The ruling class is not satisfied with this. Nixon is preparing to make the 17 percent national youth unemployment figure, and the 50 percent unemployed figure among minority youth in the cities, look like nothing come November.

The capitalist class, represented through both the Democratic and Republican Parties, have vowed to drive the working class into conditions not even known in the 1930s.

DEFENSE

The only defense for the youth is through the taking of power by the working class and the establishment of socialism. This requires breaking the working class from the Democratic Party and the establishment of its own political party, a labor party.

This is why the National Preliminary Conference of the Young Socialists will be held along with the Workers League Conference to build a Labor Party Now. The youth have a central role to play by fighting as part of the working class to bring out the movement for a labor party.

This is above all a theoretical question which necessitates a turn towards dialectics and Marxist philosophy in order to penetrate the trade unions and

build a leadership within the working class.

This will mean a fight against those forces within the working class who disguise themselves as Marxists and seek to keep the working class tied to the Democratic Party.

COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY

The Stalinist Communist Party and their youth movement, the Young Workers Liberation League, are the main counter-revolutionary forces in the working class. They are the most ardent opponents to the building of a labor party and are openly calling for support to McGovern.

Their history is stained by the blood of the working class, whom they have betrayed time and time again. The rise of fascism in Germany and Spain, the death of millions of revolutionaries and workers and peasants, occurred because of their misleadership.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance

came out of the fight against Stalinism. Today they spit on their history and Trotsky's struggle because they refused to develop Marxism.

They too will lead the working class to destruction because of their refusal to educate the youth against Stalinism and in the history of the Trotskyist movement.

McGOVERN

They refuse to fight for a labor party to counter the policy of the Stalinists. They even call on these reactionaries to help "end" the war through mere protest along with the McGovern forces.

The Young Socialists has been built in the most bitter fight against these forces. It is the only way that a revolutionary movement can be built. We call on every youth to join in the revolutionary struggle to change society by attending our preliminary conference on Oct. 22 in Chicago.

National Pre-conference for the Construction of a Revolutionary Youth Movement Chicago October 22

The purpose of this conference will be to elect a provisional national steering committee of the Young Socialists and to consider a programmatic statement around which a national conference will be organized to found the Young Socialists. Plans for the launching of the Young Socialist as an independent paper will also be considered.

The conference will be held in conjunction with the Workers League Conference For a Labor Party Now!

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop).

For more information, see full ad on Page 1.

Young Socialist

Death Of Protest Politics Dominates SMC Meeting

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON, Mass., Oct. 7—Billed as a national meeting, the Student Mobilization Steering Committee met here today with less than 130 persons present, and virtually no independent forces. Almost everyone present was a member of the YSA which is trying to breathe life into a dead protest movement.

The meeting began with a report from Fred Lovegren from the SMC which reflected the disorientation and pessimism of the YSA. Stating that "antiwar activists are confused" and demoralized and that there was no way of "predicting" how small the next demonstration might be, he went on to say that the SMC "does not judge the different candidates, although the majority of SMC members probably support McGovern."

BATTLE

The meeting was dominated by the battle between this outlook of the YSA and the fight of the Young Socialists for a Marxist perspective to mobilize the working class and youth against the two capitalist parties in a struggle for a labor party.

A member of the Young Socialists pointed out that the NLF was within 20 miles of Saigon as the Vietnamese workers and peasants began a massive offensive, and that the American working class, especially as expressed in the threatened auto strike, was ready for battle against the government's attacks.

POWER

"This means the fight now is the struggle to bring the working class to power through the construction of a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans. The Stalinists are fighting to betray the workers and peasants in Vietnam with a coalition government that will tie them to imperialism, and they are fighting to tie the American working class to the Democratic Party."

"The SMC says it takes no positions on the elections, but they refuse to fight for a labor party against McGovern, and they line up with the Stalinists for McGovern."

The YS then put forward the motion that the SMC turn to the fight for a labor party and endorse the National Conference for a Labor Party Now, being held in Chicago October 21-22 to build a Marxist leadership in the unions and among the youth for the fight for power.

DISGUSTED

One of the few working class youth at the meeting told the Young Socialist that: "I was disgusted at the way they tried to keep you from speaking. And what they say about the SMC just isn't true. I'm the head of an SMC and we can't even get a meeting

started, to say nothing of building anything."

LIEBERMAN

Jack Lieberman, a member of the SWP, said: "We want a broad movement. We've been very successful in working with the McGovern people, who are surprised that we are not hostile to them, that we get along together."

Abby Rodriguez, of the YS, pointed out that: "It is completely fraudulent for you to say you are neutral in the elections and to talk about the interests of the Vietnamese. It's a lie to say you are neutral when you build rallies for Jane Fonda with the Stalinists to build McGovern's campaign. You end up with McGovern."

RIGHT-WING

The real depth of the SWP-YSA's turn away from Trotskyism and the fight for socialism is most sharply expressed through an article by Dan Rosen-shine in the current Militant. The article comes out for the seven point peace plan of the Stalinists, trying to compare it with the Bolshevik's Brest-Litovsk treaty.

This is a sharp turn to the right from even a year ago when they took up a certain fight against the Stalinists on this. Now they are prepared to desert the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and go over to the Stalinists.

The Young Socialists will be built in the fight against these revisionists and in the fight to construct a Marxist leadership in the unions and among the youth in the fight for power to smash capitalism.



Young Socialists (above, speaking) insisted at SMC meeting in San Francisco last week that youth must take up struggle for labor party against betrayals of Stalinists, revisionists and labor bureaucrats.

Hartford Youth Denounce Mayor

BY ALAN BERENSON

HARTFORD—Fighting broke out between Black and Puerto Rican youth in various sections of Hartford—most notably in the low income project Bellevue Square and Hartford High School last Friday.

At Hartford High School, the cops drew guns on unarmed students. At night, community centers were shut down. The Stowe Village Center, at which the Young Socialists were to hold a dance and show the Young Socialist film, was forcibly shut down after the police exerted extreme pressure on the directors of the center.

The truth about the fighting in the schools and the projects is that the youth of Hartford are literally forced into battling each other by the rotten conditions in the city. Furthermore, racial divisions are encouraged by the police and administration in order to keep the youth from confronting their real enemy—the government.

This was revealed in a meeting held Friday night in Hartford at

which representatives of the youth—particularly from Hartford High School—met with the Hartford Superintendent of Schools and Mayor Athanson. At the meeting, youth denounced the city administration for the conditions in the schools and throughout the city.

Sandra Blacksheet said: "Now we are going to let you all know what is happening and what we really want." She went on to list a series of demands calling for more jobs, better housing, more recreation centers, cheaper school lunches, and an end to police harassment.

The city's unemployment rate has reached 10 percent for adult workers in the last year. The rate of unemployment among youth is much higher—especially among minority youth.

What is now developing among the youth is a sharp awareness concerning the real enemy—despite the city's attempts to keep them at each others' throats. One youth, Carlos Benitez, summed up the reasons for the fights:

"These fights come from the frustration we have to put up with every day. When it gets too much we just take it out among ourselves and that is what the man wants. Maybe here tonight we learn who the real enemy is."

Mayor Athanson showed his complete contempt for the youth in the meeting. He spent most of his time calmly conversing with a fellow panel member. When he finally did get up to speak, he merely said, "I'm not going to stand up here and say I'll give you this and I'll give you that just to get a lot of applause." One youth shouted: "That's what you did to get elected."

The determination to fight back was the basis of every single statement made by youth at the meeting. What is now crucial is the building of a conscious revolutionary leadership which can lead the youth in a political struggle against the government.

Wisconsin Wages At Rock Bottom

BY A YS REPORTER

MADISON, Wisc.—As unemployment rates rise, employers are increasingly using the desperate situation youth are placed in to force youth to work at pitiful wages.

Restaurant owners in Green Bay have been threatening to "put hundreds of cooks, dishwashers and cooks back out on the streets" if the State Minimum Wage Advisory Council increases the minimum wage to \$1.60.

Contempt for these youth, who are forced to work at measly wages, was expressed by these restaurant profiteers in a statement in which they claimed that they were "contributing to the employment and training of minors who otherwise might not find jobs, especially in college towns."

They said they felt that "minors were learning important job attitudes and were making money while doing so." Youth under 16 are now making \$1.10 an hour at these jobs, while insulting "reforms" of raises to \$1.25 are being debated by council members.

Meanwhile, in Madison, job prospects for youth are at a dead-end. Faced with the growing unemployment, one Madison stu-

dent at East High School stated: "I'm really desperate for a job. I'd take anything, even at \$1.35 an hour. I just don't know where to look anymore."

The Dane County Social Services has a program that enables high school students to obtain credits for working part-time. But the most that can be said for this is that it is grossly inadequate.

One girl at East that a YS reporter talked to is working as a cashier at Treasure Island at \$1.75 an hour and considers herself lucky to get into the program. She said:

"The job situation is pretty bad. Especially considering that my dad will be out of work this winter. My hours are really bad. I work from 5:00-10:00 three days a week and the weekends too. There's no way for me to get a ride home that late so I've got to take a taxi.

"And the taxes they take out are ridiculous. One week I made \$30.98 but by the time they take out the taxes of \$4.78 it's only \$26."

LESSONS . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

the hands of the SWP but they refused to take it up.

In 1957, they empirically turned towards the youth, because of the explosion within the working class internationally, expressed in the developments following the Hungarian Revolution.

Among the youth, this movement could be reflected in the only youth movement that existed—the Shachtmanite movement. The SWP had not bothered to build a youth movement.

The move by the youth towards Trotskyism, breaking from the Shachtmanism and Stalinism, was a turn towards theory and for the international revolution.

The theoretical development in the struggle against Shachtman enabled these youth to carry out a principled struggle later against Pabloism—the revisionist tendency within the SWP and the YSA today.

During their unprincipled reunification with the Pabloites, the SWP expelled anyone who raised questions of philosophy.

Today, the YSA is in actuality like the Shachtman youth who split in 1940. It is made up of middle class students, hostile to the working class, who laugh and sneer when dialectics is mentioned, just as YPSL forces sneered.

Today, it is even more dangerous because of the period we are in and because these forces dominate the SWP.

Those who voted against our resolution at Essen, particularly the French section, are today making alliances with every sort of revisionist rascal.

In the U.S., the Communist Party calls for support to McGovern. The YSA refuses to fight for the building of a labor party and calls on the Stalinists and the McGovernites to end the war.

"Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially of Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory."

These are the lessons of our movement. The Young Socialists can only be built in the fight to develop Marxist theory.

THE POLITICAL DEGENERATION OF *Young Socialist* THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

5. Huey Newton Returns To God

BY JOHN HILLS

The riots of the mid-sixties were the beginning of the massive offensive of the American working class against capitalism. These rebellions expressed the determination of Black workers and youth to break from the shackles of the non-violence of Martin Luther King. They represented a section of the working class determined to rid itself of exploitation.

Watts was a violent rejection of the church as an instrument of social change. Reactionary nationalists like Rev. Abernathy and Rev. Jesse Jackson stand out as the main representatives of the Black church. These servants of God sit firmly behind the feeble capitalist Democratic Party.

Through his liberal dialectics, Huey Newton seeks to find some progressive side to this medieval institution, whose sole purpose is to justify capitalism. Nixon's August measures spell out clearly for revolutionists the preparation of the working class for class war. A return to the church to consciously divert the struggles of workers against the government is an act of treachery which must be mercilessly condemned by the revolutionary party.

Newton attempts to revive the church in the following manner:

"The Church is in its developmental process, and we believe it needs to exist. We believe this as a result of our new direction (which is an old direction, as far as I am concerned, but we'll call it new because there has been a reversal in the dominance in the Central Committee of our party for reasons that you probably know about). So we do go to Church, are involved in the Church, and not in any hypocritical way. Religion, perhaps, is a thing that man needs at this time because scientists cannot answer all of the questions.

"As far as I'm concerned, when all of the questions are not answered, when the extraordinary is not explained, when the unknown is not known, then there is room for God, because the unexplained and the unknown is God. We know nothing about God, really, that is why as soon as the scientist develops or points out a new way of controlling a part of the universe, that aspect of the universe is no longer God. In that way we took for ourselves what was His before. But we still haven't answered

all of the questions, so he still exists.

"And those scientists who say they can answer all of them are dishonest. We go into the Church realizing that we cannot answer the questions at this time, that the answers will be delivered eventually, and we feel that when they are delivered they will be explained in a way that we can understand and control."

This statement is truly the most pathetic justification of religious mysticism. Newton, who lies prostrate before the unknown, concludes that it must be God. Newton is then drawn to the conclusion that since men cannot know the unknown they must go to Church and wait for the answers to be delivered in some mystical way, presumably by God. Here we have Newton openly admitting the political bankruptcy of the Black Panther Party's ability to bring about revolutionary change.

Newton here again reveals his agreement with Kant that we cannot know matter, substance, the thing-in-itself. We can only recognize the objective world, but it is unknowable, so it must be God. Lenin says of the development of knowledge:

"The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely. From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality.

"Kant disparages knowledge in order to make way for faith. Hegel exalts knowledge, asserting that knowledge is knowledge of God. The materialist exalts the knowledge of matter, of nature, consigning God, and the philosophical rabble that defends God, to the rubbish heap."

Newton separates religion from its history and development. Religion and God are creations of men, that grew out of primitive society. Man's ignorance of phenomena in nature, and his inability to control it, led him to believe that it was

magic, supernatural or God.

However, what Newton fails to see is precisely the struggle between man and nature for the preservation and development of his species and society. It is this struggle that has today brought man beyond religion.

Capitalism today with its advanced technology has put men on the moon. But the profit system of the monopolies refuses to develop the productive forces further for the needs of society. It is this inability of the capitalist class to produce what workers need to live that forces the working class onto the road of revolution.

We disagree with Newton! The working class will not gain consciousness kneeling on pews in a church, but only in a struggle to control the wealth that they produce, through the taking of state power by socialist revolution. Workers and youth will not return to the dark ages of religious mysticism. They are entering a struggle for class consciousness for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism—along with its ideological institutions—namely the church.

Newton began the struggle for Marxist philosophy, while Cleaver never even tried. Today both Newton and Cleaver remain liberals in support of capitalism.

Newton's turn to dialectical materialism represented an objective movement of the working class for consciousness. The failure of Newton to root his understanding in the struggle of the Marxist movement, particularly Stalinism vs. Trotskyism, has led him into the camp of idealism.

Newton today supports both capitalism and its reactionary ideology—religion. He now seeks to return to religion which has been the main force enslaving the working class, particularly Blacks, for centuries. The Black Panther Party now openly supports the political descendants of the white, racist, right-wing slaveowners in the Democratic Party.

Today only the Workers League and the Young Socialists remain the continuators of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S.

A G.I.'s Eyewitness Story Of Philippine Dictatorship

A YS EXCLUSIVE

Miguel Rodriguez, who spent three and a half years in the Air Force, was in the Philippines when President Marcos declared martial law in order to beat back the working class. Rodriguez returned to the United States on September 26 and spoke to the Young Socialist several days later about recent developments.

"On the first night of martial law, there was a partial curfew that started at six in the evening. But the real curfew began at midnight; and then the army and the police could shoot anyone still in the streets. The first night, a couple of GI's were trying to get home and they were shot at. The Philippine soldiers hit at least seven GI's.

"The whole army was out in the streets, raiding every place. They confiscated some guns from GI's, who had to go to jail downtown.

"Most GI's don't like service in the Philippines because of the way the government treats its own people. The rich people downgrade the poor people and don't try to help them at all.

"I once witnessed a fight in a house, and the landlord went to get the police. It was nothing—

just a father and son arguing. But when the cop came, he grabbed the son by the hair, threw him on the floor and aimed an M-16 at his head. The cop said: 'You make a move and I'll shoot you.'

"I used to give part of my pay to Philippine people because they have nothing. I saw houses made out of cardboard, pieces of sticks, with no running water and just plain ground for a floor. I saw people eating nothing but dry rice with no water, nothing. The only time the people get water is when it rains.

"The army burst into my house because they knew I gave money to the people, and they thought I might be with the revolutionary forces.

"The conditions for the Philippine workers are bad. The president wanted martial law so he could stay on the scene. He tries to blame all the conditions on the Communist Party and the Moslems. His opponent in the last election has been put in jail.

"President Marcos doesn't try to help anybody. There was a flood last August. The United States sent a couple of million dollars over there. Some base

commander received the money and he split it with Marcos. That president must be one of the world's richest men.

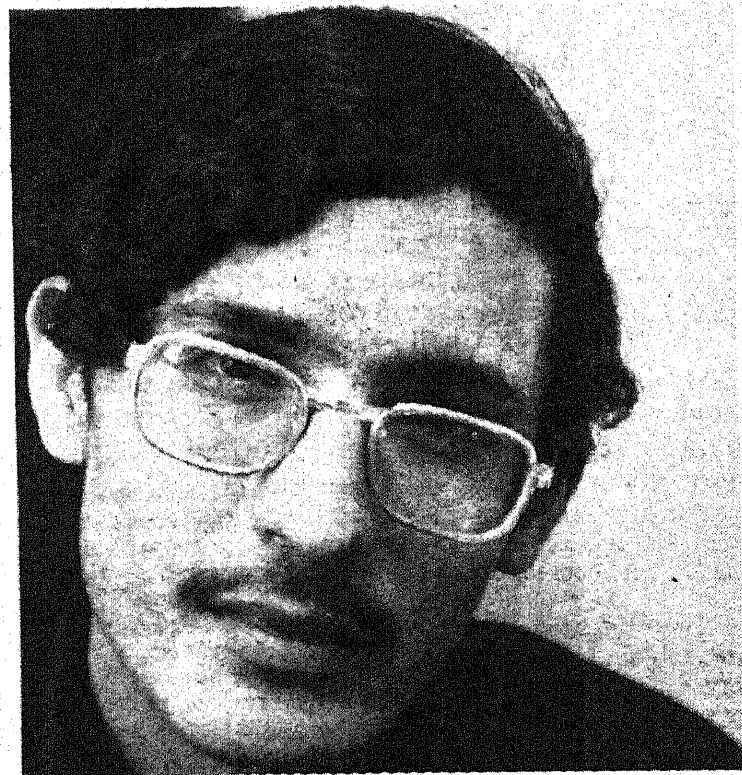
"The workers also die of high fever. They don't get any medication, because Marcos controls the drugs and sells them to businessmen.

"For the youth there I don't see any future, because they can't even go to school. They can't pay what it costs, and most of the schools are high-class. My Philippine wife had to leave school in the second year because her family couldn't pay.

"My wife can't come to the United States yet because things have to be straightened out. My friend tried to bring his wife back; but martial law just began and they took her off the airplane.

"The Philippine workers are resisting Marcos. There are terrorists who try to kill mostly the high-class people, people in the Cabinet, around Marcos and his troops.

"The terrorists have support from all the poor people in the islands and that's why Marcos is so scared and put up martial law.



"When martial law began, a lot of GI's thought it would be better if there was a revolution to get the president out because so many people are suffering."

Miguel also described some of his experiences in Vietnam.

"I went to Quangtri during the offensive. I just went there to pick up dead people. I was supposed to pick up survivors, but when I got there, there weren't any survivors. Just a lot of rubble.

"The war is terrible. Most of the GI's don't like it. Everyone sees that they're fighting for no cause, and the GI's are getting killed for no reason.

"Once I was working in a hospital in the Philippines, and I met

a lot of GI's who were getting checked up before going back to the States. They told me war stories and how much they suffered and how much they hated it—and how they are dying to get home.

"All the Vietnamese hate the Americans. If a Vietnamese works in an army chow hall, he sometimes brings a little bomb before coming to work in the morning."

Like thousands of veterans, Miguel does not know how he will make a living after three and a half years in the army.

"I have to look for a job, but my chances are too low. I think it's going to be pretty hard. All those years in the Air Force seem wasted."

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Nixon Threatens Unions -Democrats Collapse

With less than one month to go before election day, it has become obvious that the campaign of George McGovern is in a state of near collapse. All the major polls indicate that the South Dakota Democrat will go down to the most crushing defeat ever recorded in a modern presidential campaign.

Beneath the weight of the present economic crisis—where the convertibility of the dollar into gold has been ended by presidential proclamation—there is no future for the Democrats. What predominates now is the attempt of big business to develop a one party dictatorship under the Republicans and the powerful movement of the working class toward an independent political struggle beneath the banner of an American labor party.

Big business is preparing a massive attack on the working class and the trade unions and for this purpose it is consolidating itself around the party which it created to defend capitalism in another period of civil war—the Republican Party.

Within this framework the decision of the Colorado State AFL-CIO to appeal to the courts in order to fight Meany's neutrality position in a futile attempt to bolster McGovern is a dangerous development. The Colorado AFL-CIO, now being joined by several other state labor councils, is turning to the avowed enemies of the trade union movement in order to advance the McGovern campaign.

The very courts that have signed countless anti-strike injunctions and sent hundreds of workers to jail are more than happy to meddle in trade union affairs and lend their assistance in tying the working class to the Democrats. In this dirty business, the courts have been joined by Sargent Shriver, who is being invited by pro-McGovern bureaucrats to denounce the AFL-CIO.

This is where the refusal to break with the Democrats and begin independent political action is leading the trade union bureaucracy, that is, into the arms of those who are out to destroy trade unions and all the gains won by the working class.

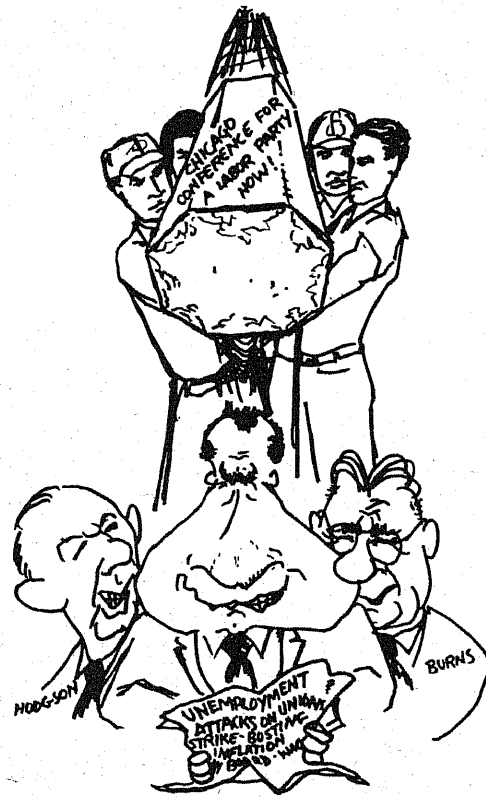
It is with this objective in mind that the Stalinists have been enthusiastically endorsing the right-wing rebellion of the Colorado State AFL-CIO against the national AFL-CIO. For the past two weeks, the Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily World*, has hailed the actions of the Colorado AFL-CIO as a progressive stand against Meany.

But no trade unionist should allow himself to be misled. The Stalinists are lined up behind the biggest traitors in the labor movement today. They are supporting, not a rebellion against the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, but rather an attempt to split the labor movement and destroy it.

The *Bulletin* has no illusions about Meany. It is his refusal to go beyond the bankrupt position of neutrality in these important elections that have paved the way for the right-wing fifth-column which the Stalinists support.

However, we insist that Meany can be fought and a new socialist leadership constructed in the trade unions only through the fight for the labor party. The dangerous actions of the pro-McGovern bureaucrats and the Stalinists, as well as the attacks being prepared by Nixon, make the building of such a party the immediate task before the working class.

The National Conference for a Labor Party Now! to be held in Chicago on October 21-22 will develop the leadership that will bring a labor party into being—a party that will meet the crisis with a determined fight for socialism. The Workers League calls on all trade unionists to attend this Conference.



What we think

Mr. Breitman's Dream House



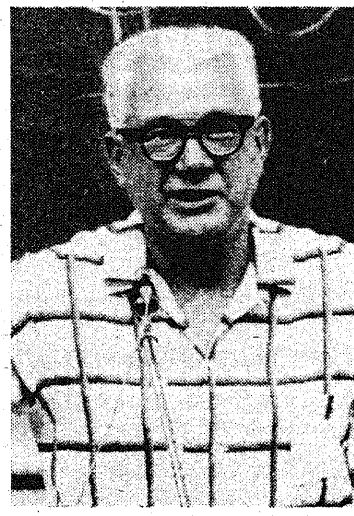
George Breitman

The latest writings of George Breitman in the *Militant*, weekly paper of the Socialist Workers Party, have ripped even the fig leaf of a revolutionary cover from this organization. In "Revolt of the Juries" Breitman denies that there is a crisis of capitalism and a class struggle. He dismisses the need for a revolutionary party with one stroke of the pen putting his faith in the reformability of capitalism.

First of all he sees the greatest threat to the capitalists coming from the new radicalization of the "last dozen years" of which the juries' acquittal of political prisoners such as Angela Davis, the Panthers and the Tombs 3 is a part. This "revolt" which Breitman says is not "revolutionary" but "relatively radical" has been "inspired by the radicalization of the national minorities, the youth, the women, the antiwar GI's, the prisoners, etc."

What Breitman leaves out completely is the tremendous movement of the working class which now finds its expression in the struggle of the auto workers for a nationwide GMAD strike and in the demands being raised for a labor party. It is the working class, not the revolting middle class, that threatens capitalism and its ability to resolve its crisis. It is the reflection of the strength of the working class that is behind the acquittals.

The real heart of Breitman's perspective is summed up in his concluding paragraph: "Another thing that follows from it is a reminder once again of how wrong the radical tendencies who were panicking themselves or others during the 1968 election campaign with their predictions about fascism or all-out repression around the corner. Repression is always an option for the ruling class and one that they exercise even in "normal" times. But it isn't a weapon that they can always use in-



George Novack

discriminately or with complete success, especially in a period of general radicalization. And whatever happens in the 1972 election is not going to change the nature of the present period."

Here Breitman seeks to disarm the workers and youth by completely denying the dangers now posed to the working class by the crisis. This is where the impressionism of the Pabloites in this period goes over to complete idealism and the denial of the material world itself. Breitman bases his perspective on the "theory of neo-capitalism," which holds that since World War II capitalism has entered a new stage in which it has stabilized itself and is able to grant reforms to the working class. The problem today is simply a matter of the alienation of the middle class. What Breitman and the SWP refuse to confront is the whole break-up of the boom and the reassertion of the capitalist crisis on a whole new scale precisely because of the concessions made to the working class in the 1950s in the form of inflation. This is why they are incapable of making an assessment of Nixon's measures on August 15 and the development of the crisis since.

A few weeks ago the SWP published an article by Breitman entitled "Who Is Better for the Ruling Class: Nixon or McGovern?" In this article Breitman contended that the capitalist class was making a big mistake in backing Nixon and would be better off with McGovern who could "smother the radicalization" with reforms.

Now in the latest issue of the *Militant*, Breitman has taken his perspective a step further. This recent article is obviously written in answer to Don Gurewitz' criticism of his position on McGovern. Gurewitz attacks Breitman for ignoring the "social problems" behind the "new radicalization" and advises him "to specu-

late" more about the "reasons that might be leading the ruling class to back Nixon." Gurewitz states that he does not think the ruling class is in a position where it can grant substantial reforms to the masses as Breitman contends.

Breitman's rejection of revolution for reform flows from the SWP's abandonment of the Marxist method and is defended philosophically by George Novack in his recent attack on the Workers League.

Novack denies the whole basis for change through negation in which one of the opposites is destroyed. According to Novack, change takes place by combining the two opposites. The old is brought into the new without a complete break.

Thus Novack states that "dialectical negation not only breaks up and breaks with the preceding stage and form of being out of which it emanates but preserves in a superior synthesis the positive, viable, enduring elements." The continuity however in the dialectical negation is preserved not through eclectic combination but through the conflict of opposites, the negation and destruction of one of the opposites. It is this conception of change from the simple negative of quantitative change to the transformation of the opposites that is the key to leaps, the break in continuity to the destruction of the old and the emergence of the new.

This conception is at the heart of consciousness itself. Novack and Breitman see changes in consciousness taking place without conflict, without negation, gradually and spontaneously in a straight line without leaps. Thus they see the masses coming to revolutionary consciousness simply through the struggle for reforms, not through the conscious struggle of the revolutionary party in conflict with the thinking and practice of the working class in which bourgeois consciousness is negated, is destroyed and a leap in thinking takes place.

The thinking of the working class today is shaken up by the crisis and by the attacks by the government. It begins to change. But quantitatively the working class cannot go beyond trade union consciousness and make the leap to socialist consciousness without the conscious fight of the revolutionary party against the present thinking of the class. This is the heart of the struggle for a labor party in the United States today which will mean a complete break with the past and a leap in consciousness in the working class. It is to prepare for this leap that a Marxist leadership must be built in the unions and among the youth that is trained in Marxist theory, in a battle against the revisionists of the SWP. This is the purpose of the Chicago Conference for a Labor Party Now!

The Latin American Revolution & The Lessons

by Ed Smith

of Bolivia



THE PRESENT PERIOD throughout Latin America is one of the development of conditions in which the working class will be confronted with the tasks of the struggle for power in country after country in the near future.

In Chile the Popular Unity regime proves itself impotent in breaking the will to fight of the workers and peasants. But the Chilean right-wing has already begun its counteroffensive, emboldened in the knowledge that the working class' subordination to the popular front of class-collaboration means it is still politically subordinated to the bourgeoisie. The aim of the bourgeoisie in Chile is to provoke a civil war with the working class under conditions where that class has been demoralized and weakened by the betrayals of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucratic leaderships, and where the fight for the alternative revolutionary Trotskyist leadership has been liquidated by the Pabloites.

In Argentina, civil war is also being prepared by the development of the capitalist crisis and the class struggle. The latest upsurge of the Argentinian workers, following the Trelew massacre of imprisoned urban guerrillas, has placed the question of power squarely on the agenda.

While the Argentinian trade union bureaucracy strives to confuse the masses with Peronist demagogy, elements like the Alsogaray brothers, the "brains" behind the June 1966 coup, which brought the military to power in Argentina, pose the necessity for the Argentine rulers to impose an iron fist dictatorship modeled on the bloody Brazilian regime. Such a regime could not be instituted without first settling accounts with the Argentine workers.

What is driving developments forward in Latin America is the whole breakdown of the capitalist system of production which the new economic policies announced August 15 of last year by Nixon represented.

As the process of monetary breakdown and trade war proceeds, the underdeveloped nations of Latin America are being literally drained of economic life by imperialism. Prices for their main pro-

ducts, primary commodities, are stagnating or declining. With the vanishing profits from these products, the possibilities of any independent industrial development also disappears.

The balance of payments is running strongly against a number of Latin American countries. This leads to the accumulation of staggering debts owed to the imperialist nations and an even greater state of economic destitution.

The problems of Latin America are insoluble under capitalism. The new stage of the crisis means not a repetition of the miserable stagnation of the past decade but the necessity for all the gains of the working class to be wiped out, for the most brutal regime of exploitation to be imposed on the workers and peasants. This is why civil war, class war, is the future of Latin America.

The crisis of Latin America is the crisis of those radicals, those so-called revolutionaries and socialists who based themselves, not on the development of Marxism for the working class to come to power, but rather on "radical" nationalism, the antagonism of the bourgeoisie and middle class to imperialism in hopes of "independent" development. This method was, of course, based on the subordination and exploitation of the working class.

Thus today in Bolivia the radical-nationalist MNR which led the revolution of 1952 and nationalized the tin mines now creeps into the government behind the fascist Falange and the "gorila" military, over the bones of hundreds of workers, peasants, and students.

The guerrilla foci, hailed by revisionists everywhere as the new short cut to power which bypasses the struggle for independent revolutionary parties, have almost completely disappeared. Their mentor, Castro, has just completed a series of cordial discussions with the military junta of Peru. The delegation, including the leader of the Peruvian military police "advisory council" and the director of SINAMOS, the corporatist front attempting to destroy the unions, spoke glowingly of the "fraternity, friendliness and recognition of the Peruvian process" that characterized their Cuban hosts. Cuba "understands our process and they are ready for large-scale cooperation," one of the deputies of the gorila, Gen. Velasco, stated.

While Castro lines up with his bourgeois nationalist friends against the working class, his disciples like the Tupamaros of Uruguay and the ERP of Argentina are plunged into crisis. Totally isolated from a working class faced with revolutionary tasks, and at the end of the blind alley of guerrillism and terrorism, these forces are moving rapidly to the right.

The Pabloite ERP has now agreed to completely liquidate itself into a "people's army" along with the Castroites and Peronists of the "Revolutionary Armed Forces" and the Montoneros. The unification takes place on the basis of the

"Argentine national flag" and the "traditions of San Martin"—the bourgeois revolution.

Meanwhile the demagogic nationalist populism of Peronism continues its historic work of diverting the Argentine working class from its historic task of taking power. All the various people's fronts springing up on the continent represent the attempts of the Stalinists to tie the working class behind the native bourgeoisie. Undoubtedly the main task in constructing a revolutionary leadership in Latin America is the fight to break the working class from nationalism, and the Stalinists, Castroites and revisionists who work to reinforce it.

LESSONS OF BOLIVIA

From this standpoint, it is essential that the lessons of the revolution and counter-revolution in Bolivia last year be drawn and applied in the construction of conscious revolutionary parties.

In Bolivia, the class struggle reached its highest point to date on the continent. After the establishment of the "left" nationalist military regime of Torres in October 1970, the great movement forward of the working class rapidly created conditions of dual power in the country. More and more the Popular Assembly of workers' organizations became rival to the Torres regime in exercising the functions of government.

Moreover, there existed in Bolivia a party, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) of Guillermo Lora, which called itself Trotskyist and which had deep roots in the decisive sectors of the working class, particularly the miners. Conditions had matured for the revolutionary party to establish its leadership and lead the working class to the seizure of power. Such a development would have had tremendous revolutionary repercussions internationally.

But in fact, the opposite happened. The Torres government was left in power and collapsed in August 1971 before a rightist military coup. The workers were left to fight the onslaught of the gorilaist Banzer armed with only sticks of dynamite. The Popular Assembly was crushed and a dictatorial anti-working class military regime was set up.

The lesson of Bolivia was that the problems of revolutionary leadership could not be fought out simply on the basis of Bolivian experience. The problems of the revolution in Bolivia and every other Latin American country are actually international problems, problems fought out in the struggle of the international Marxist movement for dialectical materialism against revisionism. This is why the real key to understanding the defeat of the Bolivian revolution and the failure of the POR lies in the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International over questions of theory and method.

The split from the IC by the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)

of France, with which the POR is in solidarity, revealed that behind the opportunism of the POR lay the liquidation of dialectical materialism, of the struggle for Marxism in the fight for leadership, against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class. The inevitable product of this philosophic position is the liquidation of the independent role of the revolutionary party.

This is why the IC pointed out that the real split with the OCI and its followers was consummated not in Bolivia but July 1971, at the International Youth Assembly in Essen, Germany, which was organized by the OCI. At this gathering, the OCI forces joined with the centrists to vote down a resolution proposed by the majority of the IC affirming Lenin's stand that there can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory.

The OCI (speaking as well for the POR) replied that a struggle for theory outside of the direct struggle for the program was idealist. They stated that the main problem was to "express" a spontaneous "revolutionary process," which would find different "forms" to express itself with on the upward path to an International Republic of Soviets. Here the OCI becomes the attorney for the "organic process" of the revisionist leader Pablo, of an imminent revolutionary wave that would sweep the Stalinist, Social Democratic and nationalist leaderships to power. The theories of the OCI and POR differ in no essentials from those which the SWP utilized in breaking from the IC and rejoining the Pabloites: theories of "objective processes" that found expression in "natural Marxists" like Castro.

What all these tendencies have in common is the liquidation of the revolutionary party as the conscious opposite in struggle against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class. What is completely left out is their own role, their own responsibility, except insofar as they hope to persuade other leaderships to express more clearly the "historical process."

These liquidationist conceptions have in fact guided the POR from one betrayal to another over the past 20 years. Above all they were the basis for the failure of the POR to meet the revolutionary challenge of October 1970-August 1971. The crisis facing the POR and its allies in Latin America is the crisis of centrism.

As Tim Wohlforth wrote in the *Bulletin* immediately following the Banzer coup, what happened in Bolivia can be repeated in the near future in Peru, Chile and Argentina. The precondition for any revolutionary development in Latin America is to learn the lessons of Bolivia. In this way a break can be made from the whole anti-theoretical past of Latin American Trotskyism, fostered by Pablo, the SWP and the OCI, each in their own time.

This has already occurred in Peru. Based on bringing together the events in Bolivia and the conduct of the POR with the principles and fight for consciousness of the Marxist movement, the Peruvian Marxists were able to bring out the centrist essence of the POR's policy, the outcome of Lora's refusal to develop theory in the fight against revisionism within the movement. By posing their fight as the conscious negation of the liquidation of the independent fight of the POR, they were able to break in a principled fashion with the centrist supporters of the POR and OCI, the POMR, and found the Liga Comunista. Today, the Liga Comunista is in the forefront of the working class movement against the repressive Velasco junta, while the POMR and its mentor, Lora, follow Castro and the Stalinists in supporting the regime's corporatist schemes to strangle the working class, through the SINAMOS.

However, the fight to learn the real lessons of Bolivia, to break with centrism and struggle to develop revolutionary theory inside the working class as part of the Fourth International, has not been seriously taken up in either Chile or Argentina. In the present situation, this poses the greatest dangers.

POLITICA OBRERA

This is the case, for example, with the Argentinian group *Politica Obrera*, which calls itself Trotskyist. This party supports the POR and OCI and its "IC for the Reconstruction of the FI" (since reduced to an "organizing committee").

The July 5, 1971 *Politica Obrera* carried an article on a meeting organized by the OCI with its Latin American allies, in which the author traces the international development of P.O. from its founding in 1964. It is made clear that the theory and method of the P.O. are firmly founded on the bankrupt approach of the POR:

"The old party of the Altiplano (the POR) was a decisive factor of the first importance in our national and international development. Our theoretical and militant gains were strengthened when confronted with the tradition of the POR. The linking of our organization with the committee for the reconstruction of the FI must be understood in relation to the development of our relations with the POR."

The root of the problem is that the POR itself has never seen its development as part of the development of the Fourth International. The POR has never seen it as its responsibility to take forward the development of theory against its opposite, revisionism, into the working class against the spontaneous consciousness of the class. It follows that at all the important points in Bolivia, the POR has abandoned the fight for leadership of the struggle. Rather, it has adapted to the nationalist and Stalinist forces, despite its strong position in the Bolivian working class.

In 1952, under the domination of the FI by Pablo, the POR was faced by a situation wherein a bourgeois radical government, the MNR, had come to power while armed miners took over the mining areas. Instead of fighting for the workers to break with the nationalist regime, for a workers' government, Lora and the POR followed the advice of Pablo and called for the unions to enter the government.

When the 1953 split of the IC from the Pabloites took place, Lora refused to take sides. The battle of the FI for its very existence did not concern him. Confronting the revisionism in the international movement was the only way Lora could have confronted his own opportunism but this he refused to do. In fact, the way was open for Pablo who, over the next several years, nearly succeeded in wrecking the movement by liquidating it in the MNR much as was done with the APRA in Peru and Peronism in Argentina.

Lora's split from Pablo was an empirical split. Lora never felt it worth his while to probe to the roots of the revisionism that nearly wrecked the Trotskyist movement. The result was that his split could not be a lasting one.

By 1965, Lora had once again unified with the Bolivian Pabloites, this time over purely Bolivian questions. When Che Guevara's guerrilla adventure came along in 1967, Lora totally suppressed his criticisms of guerrillism. Instead this man of principle echoed the Pabloite SWP, stating: "The guerrilla movement seems

to mean a return to the Bolshevism of the first period." He talked of "coordinating guerrilla warfare and agitation in the cities and the centers of work." He even stated that: "The Bolivian situation requires another kind of guerrilla, that which results from the united front of working class tendencies."

Following the debacle of 1967, Lora again broke from the Pabloites, but once again without fighting out the method responsible for their failures. It was from this position that in 1970 the POR approached the IC and at the same time entered the test of the Bolivian revolution with the overthrow of Torres.

Despite the tremendous movement of the working class, the weakness of the bourgeois elements, the development of the dual-power situation, the revolution failed. It failed because the Stalinists and the union bureaucrats like Lechin were left in domination of the working class; because the fight to throw out Torres for a workers' government was never taken up; because the workers were never prepared for the threat of a military coup which everyone understood would inevitably be attempted.

It happened because the POR, which occupied a leading position in the working class, refused to take up the struggle for leadership of that class. This refusal flowed from a complete revision of all the fundamentals of Marxism by the POR.

These are the people that *Politica Obrera* says "strengthened its militant and theoretical gains!" On the contrary, the only theoretical and militant gains in Argentina or anywhere else lie in a break, a continued battle against the anti-Trotskyism of the POR, the negating of the negation of Marxist theory.

The anti-Trotskyism of the POR is not a bald assertion. It can be proved straight from the mouth of the POR itself.

In April of this year the OCI held a conference of its Latin American supporters. At this meeting the POR presented a statement which represented, in the clearest possible form, its revisionist perspective. The POR makes clear at once in this document that its policies are founded on the Pabloite conception of a revolutionary role for the Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists:

"The thread uniting Stalinism and nationalism is the resurrection of Menshevism...On many fronts, the position of Bolivian Stalinism is exceptional. It has taken radical positions and its working class support has lined up with the POR on many questions, notably within the Popular Assembly and the anti-imperialist united front."

Further on, it states that: "The worst thing that can happen to 'Marxists' is to confuse the national bourgeoisies in Latin America with the imperialist bourgeoisie."

The POR attempts to utilize the relative differences and friction of the national bourgeoisie with imperialism to obscure the absolute of the ultimately reactionary nature of these regimes. It revises the Trotskyist assessment of the Communist Parties as agents of the international policies of Stalinism in collaboration with imperialism to one of "Menshevism" which can be forced to the left under "pressure."

Based on this revisionism, Lora and the POR refused a decisive break with the left-nationalist regime of Torres. The POR at a Congress of the COB (trade union federation) voted for a resolution which included a portion written by the Stalinists as follows:

"The present process is contradictory: while the government is taking certain anti-imperialist and progressive measures on the one hand, on the other hand it is adopting pro-imperialist measures contrary to the national and popular interests. The proletariat supports whatever is positive for the emancipation of our people and at the same time criticizes and fights the measures which are against the masses' interests, fighting to impose new anti-imperialist measures which will lead us to a true revolution on the road to national emancipation and socialism. This is our task in the present process, and this is without forgetting the final goals of the working class."

The POR twists and turns to get out of it, but despite all protestations, the essence of this platform is brought forward in the POR's statement to the OCI's conference itself:

"The forces in struggle tried and it would have been absurd if they had not tried each in turn to use the weak Torres government for their own ends by making it a weapon against the enemy...Only ultra-leftist schematism could imagine that in these conditions the duty of the proletariat was to quarrel with, not to put pressure on this government and to quickly overthrow it, which would practically have helped fascism come to power without all the delays which it brought on itself."

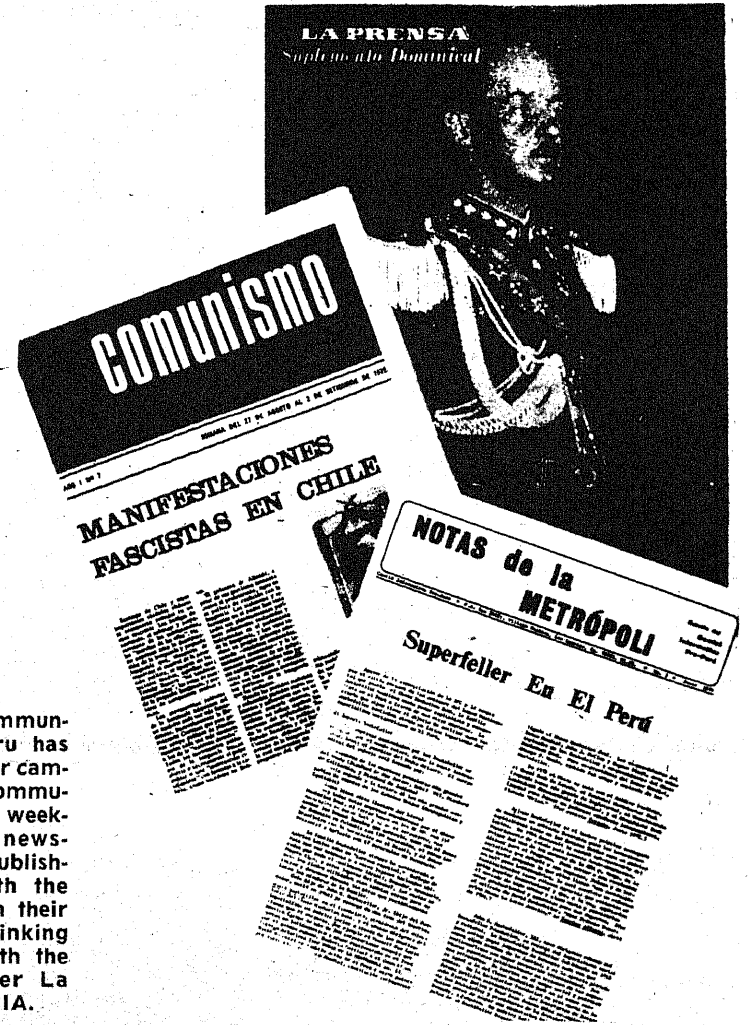
From these positions, the POR drew in practice the logical conclusions:

"It is clear (it writes) that the (Popular) Assembly was not born and did not live as, above all, a hostile force to Torres; this is understandable if one remembers that for the masses and the POR the fascist clique was the main enemy...it is clear that in this situation there was no other solution than to stand up to the Torres government and fight for it to be changed into a government that

Lechinist betrayers were elected.

In fact this is how the POR conducted its entire work in the COB and the PA. Lechin and the Stalinists would swallow any formula the POR put up as long as the POR did not disturb the day to day coexistence of the PA with Torres. Lora liquidated the struggle against the union bureaucrats and the Stalinists. This struggle could only have taken the form, in the beginning, of demanding that these forces break from Torres in concrete political life. Because this concrete political fight—which could only have been understood by fighting through the abstract political questions of revisionism, of Lora's whole past political history was not taken up, the POR dominated the PA verbally, while in actuality it only provided a left cover for the Stalinists and Lechinists to stay with Torres, and thus for Torres himself.

It is on the question of arming the workers against the gorillas that the terrible consequences of this revisionism become crystal clear.



The Stalinist Communist Party of Peru has launched a slander campaign against Communism, an illegal weekly Trotskyist newspaper. The CP published a story (with the above picture) in their paper, falsely linking Communism with the right wing paper *La Prensa* and the CIA.

could be used against the 'gorillas.'"

Here is precisely the heart of the matter. It is the position of the Old Bolsheviks presented once again. It is the position of Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin, of "not forgetting" the "final aims" of the proletariat, but in the meantime "strengthening the progressive tendencies and fighting the negative aspects" of the Provisional Government.

Starting from the point of view of the POR's theses it is difficult to see why Lenin would have issued the April Theses which called for the overthrow of the Provisional Government at the same time that the Bolsheviks led the struggle against Russian "gorillas" like Kornilov.

The reason for the POR's position is clear. In its actual work, the POR saw no alternative to fascism (Banzer) and democracy (Torres). The independent revolutionary mobilization of the working class for power did not seem "real" enough to them.

It is a fact that the day to day practice of the POR faithfully reflected these adaptationist perspectives. Throughout the revolutionary crisis, the POR issued its paper, *Masas*, only once every other week. Its work was confined almost solely to the Popular Assembly and the trade unions—no independent work, meetings, leaflettings, etc. were ever really taken up.

In a report by F. Escobar in the May 26, 1971 *Politica Obrera*, the work of the POR in the mining area of Siglo XX is summarized. The POR put forward the policy of a common electoral slate with the CP. This was rejected by the Stalinists. Then, the POR abstained in the elections, "conscious that any formulas that emerged victorious would make a very weak union and win by a narrow margin." In fact, the

In the document presented to the OCI's conference, Lora states:

"Our enemies laid a bet with us: General Torres could not give arms to the people. How peculiar then that on the morning of August 21, this same president ordered the handing over of 4000 arms to the Political Command...the sharp contradictions which spring up within the armed forces, faced by the powerful pressure of the exploited, always opens up the possibility for the left nationalists to give arms to the revolutionaries."

How peculiar, then, that in a report written immediately after the Bolivian revolution was crushed, Lora reported that on the night of August 20, Torres refused request for arms from the Popular Assembly, on the grounds that it would provoke a military rebellion. The next day, Lora reports, as the gorilla columns neared La Paz,

"In the 'Confederacion de Fabriles,' 400 Mauser and Garand rifles were given away, many of them in bad shape, and 2000 rounds of ammunition...Due to the masses finding themselves disarmed, the real battles were engaged not in the streets, but among the military commands who utilized the regiments of soldiers like chess pieces."

"In October of 1970 the working class occupied the political scene without arms, as a simple mass. By then it was clearly understood that in order to be able to defeat gorillismo it was indispensable to put a gun in the hands of the politicized worker. At this time everybody thought—including we Marxists—that the arms would be given by the governing military team, which would consider that only through resting on the masses and giving them adequate firepower could they at least neutralize the gorilla right."

"This position was completely wrong. It did not take into account that Torres preferred to capitulate to his fellow generals before arming masses who showed signs of taking the road to socialism and whose mobilizations put in serious danger the army as an institution."

It is no wonder that the document of the POR on the entire course of the Bolivian revolution and counterrevolution proceeds completely cut off from any international connection, independent of any historical connection with the workers' movements' struggles. In contrast with the revolutionary intransigence of Bolshevism, the policy of the POR stands revealed as miserable centrist capitulation.

All the demagogic raving of Lora and his OCI friends about "attacks on the Bolivian revolution" cannot cover this up. In the final analysis, the real crime the POR must be judged for today is not even so much its betrayal of the Bolivian revolution as the fact that it seeks to prevent the lessons of Bolivia from being learned by those seeking to construct revolutionary parties internationally today.

The POR states:

"It is true that in October 1970 the POR did not put forward the slogan of taking the power, for the simple reason that the masses had not acquired sufficient political maturity to take the power."

Yet several sentences later, they state:

"One can say that from January 1971 the masses politically went beyond the nationalism of Torres...they brought forward the slogan of the struggle for their own government—not to strengthen and support the Torres government—and for the building of socialism."

So if the masses had "matured" to the point where they wished to go beyond Torres to their own government, for the building of socialism, why did the POR not fight within the PA demanding that the Stalinists and Lechinists at least break from Torres and form such a government?

The Problem is that if the POR had in fact taken up this fight, the acquiescence of the Stalinists and the Lechinists to the theses of the POR would have come to an abrupt end. If the POR had seriously directed itself onto the road to power, the whole question of arms would have acquired a different aspect. A revolutionary policy conducted by the POR would have been the means of getting arms from the bourgeois forces (20 percent fought against gorillism even at the last moment) into the hands of the workers and peasants. The conditions Trotsky noted during the Spanish Civil War hold true for Bolivia. What was lacking in Bolivia was neither arms nor military geniuses, but a revolutionary party.

The question that must be asked is why, if the POR recognized the fact there was a "revolutionary process," why if they even recognized, according to the July 5, 1971 report in P.O. on the OCI's Latin American conference, that a revolutionary policy was essential in "the defense against the fascist coup that is being prepared" (this was agreed in February, 1971, seven months before the coup), why was it that the POR refused to mobilize the workers against the Stalinists and Lechinists, instead of walking hand in hand with them up until Banzer's coup?

The answer, obviously, cannot be found by following the advice of the OCI that "the struggle for philosophy has been superseded by the struggle for the program." It was unfortunately this advice that the POR based its policy upon, relying on propagandism and platonic discussions concerning "program" with the Stalinists and Lechinists in the Popular Assembly, rather than in the struggle to transform the principles of the program from the ideas of a few to the guide of the actions of the workers. The struggle to realize this is the struggle for philosophy in our epoch.

But listen to the POR on this very question:

"The POR has pointed out many times that social revolution was a process within the masses which takes place when the national masses join the process of subversion, when they take into their own hands the problems of the country and when they make history with their own hands. The fundamental factor then is no doubt the qualitative transformation which takes place within the consciousness of the class. This process cannot be modified by the action of a heroic

minority, however spectacular it might be.

"The masses acquire a class consciousness and are mobilized in the course of their own class struggle, that is, by confronting and resolving day-to-day problems however slight they might be. The political party which wishes to speed up this process and to bind itself to the masses has no other recourse than to live the daily life of the working class. The oppressed do not advance every day pomposely, radical slogans; they go forward gradually starting with their immediate necessities, which are in most cases very modest."

Later on, the POR reveals the roots of "political blindness," that is:

"In its class origin is its subjectivism, with which leftism justifies itself. Events have given us a serious lesson. The coup d'etat placed revolutionaries by the side of General Torres and there was no other road to defeat fascism."

Here we find the consummate expression of the conception of the OCI of "corresponding to the revolutionary process."

"The finished political expression of the class is not the trade union but the political party, because only the program of this party can express the historical interests of the class. The union was created by workers when they were forced to begin economic struggles. The party appears when they acquire class consciousness...there are within the class certain political tendencies, represented in the left parties, which contribute positively to the evolution of class consciousness."

Apparently Stalinists, Trotskyists, and reformists contribute all together to "class consciousness."

Then they state:

"Marxist ideology does not spring spontaneously from within the masses; it comes from the outside and is changed in time into the active element which contributes to the real formation of the class."

This sounds very Leninist, almost embarrassingly so when contrasted with the blatant spontaneism of the previous few sentences. The key to this riddle is the content of the POR's proposition of how Marxism comes from the outside and "is changed in time" into the active element. Lora himself answered this question in his "Perspectives of the Bolivian Revolution," when he said that:

"The exploited, on reaching a certain degree of maturity, expressed clearly their central objective: the constitution of their own government and their wish to cease to be cannon fodder for political movements which are alien to it. The existence of the POR is justified because it expresses this trend."

Here Lora disagrees with Lenin who states, on this most basic of all questions, in *What Is To Be Done?*:

"The working class spontaneously gravitates toward socialism; nonetheless, the most widespread 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 spontaneist, trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of the revolutionary social democracy."

It is no surprise that the POR in its document submitted to the conference takes pains to emphasize "there is no opposition between union and party, but between the party and reactionary tendencies, which are sometimes hid within union organizations." (our emphasis—E.S.) What the POR seeks to liquidate is the very conceptions of the Leninist party as the independent conscious opposite in struggle with the natural bourgeois consciousness of the working class.

It is true that the party brings forward all the experiences of the working class, but the party also brings forward a conscious struggle with this experience so that the working class can actually make the leap from bourgeois to socialist consciousness.

The theories of spontaneous development, under "objective conditions," of the working class coming to an understanding of the necessity to take power, then to be "expressed" by "parties reflecting this process" was the very means by which the Lora-ites leave out their own role, their

own responsibility to prepare the working class, except insofar as they hope to persuade other leaderships to express more faithfully the "historic process."

Trotsky conceived of the revolutionary party, in his *In Defense of Marxism*, as the "independent ideological laboratory of the working class." Here questions presenting themselves empirically in the class struggle could be confronted with the historically developed method of dialectical materialism. The resulting accumulation of knowledge could be thrown in the practice of the party against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class.

The OCI attempted to dismiss the struggle for theory in this sense, as posed by the International Committee of the FI, as comparable to developing the muscles through exercise. In this, they were eagerly supported by the POR whose whole political history was based on a consistent refusal to confront its own practice and thus the practice of the working class with the Marxist method.

The sterile formulas of parties "reflecting the whole historical experience of the working class" leaves unanswered the question of why particular parties and not others happen to reflect the "process." It would seem that the only method capable of keeping the party in line with the historic process would be that advanced by the arch-revisionist Joseph Hansen of the SWP, namely one of "consistent empiricism."

The other side of this question is that if the "historic process" is strong enough



Guillermo Lora

then all and sundry may be pushed willy-nilly by the all-powerful objective forces, which, after all, determine ideology, into reflecting in some way or other the "historic process." And as we shall see, this is exactly the way the POR proceeds.

By following the road laid out for us by the OCI and POR, we find ourselves at the same point as the Pablo of 1953 as he began his liquidation of the International. His position was that powerful objective processes would soon sweep the working class leaderships into expressing historic necessity and taking power. However, these theories cannot explain how the most powerful objective circumstances in Bolivia did not stop the POR's centrist betrayal of the working class.

The development of the POR is not without parallel. In the 1950s, another so-called Trotskyist tendency in the colonial world raised critical support, under the guidance of Pablo, for the "progressive features" of bourgeois nationalism. That party was the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon.

Following out the theories of the United Secretariat and the SWP on "organic processes," coming to power with blunted instruments," and the "empirical path to Marxism," the LSSP subordinated everything to a "united left front" and eventually sold its revolutionary birthright in order to assist the "revolutionary process" from within the bourgeois government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Today these "Trotskyists" have the blood on their hands from thousands of workers and youth massacred by the "socialist government of Sri Lanka" in defense of imperialism.

Ever since 1952, the POR has refused to break from "critical support" to the nationalist betrayers of the Bolivian people. Today they must share the responsibility for the deaths of Bolivian militants killed by the Banzer regime, because their conciliatory policies in 1970-1971 were the essential preconditions for these deaths.

Today, in exile, the POR participates in its own version of the united left front—the "Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front (FRA)." This organization comprises not just the POR but the Stalinists, the revisionists, Castroites, trade union bureaucrats like Lechin, and

even the followers of Torres. The FRA, the POR states in its statement to the April OCI congress:

"...is certainly not a temporary front but a front for taking power and the building of socialism. It is undeniable that national liberation is the substance of its program, but national liberation becomes an aspect and only an aspect of the proletarian revolution and a step on the path of the construction of socialism."

"The political parties which make up the FRA aim at becoming the leadership of large sectors of the masses, an activity which supposes a joint struggle by the parties, the only method which allows the political line of the FRA to be imposed...The subordination of the different organizations to the methods of the FRA is established in writing."

This is justified on the following basis:

"In Bolivia, the political tendencies which maintain the possibility of a peaceful movement from capitalism to socialism did not have the courage to formulate their theses in a frank and systematic way, and this can be attributed to the powerful pressure exercised over them by a country which is radicalized in the extreme. They only try to deflect and attenuate the meaning of the methods which derive from direct action."

Here the real theory that guided the activity of the POR in the days of revolution is brought out into the open. The struggle of the revolutionary party against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class, the permanent revolution, the implacable war of Trotskyism against nationalism and Stalinism is destroyed by the POR.

In the tradition of Pablo, the tasks for which the Fourth International was founded will instead be performed, in a "rough," "two-stage" way, by the Stalinists, revisionists, reformists, and even the bourgeois military. These forces will become the opposites of their entire material historic development because of "radicalized" conditions in Bolivia.

No doubt the bitter struggle of Lenin against the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in the "radicalized" Russia of 1917 was all based on a misunderstanding, which the POR, with the aid of "objective forces," is now willing to clear up.

On the contrary. The entire program of the FRA (defense of democratic guarantees, national liberation first, socialism later) shows that the FRA is not the result of the capitulation of the enemies of Trotskyism in the face of "objective events," but rather the abject surrender of the POR to the anti-Trotskyists. In this sense, the POR is quite correct in maintaining that the FRA is continuing in a new form political work of the Popular Assembly.

The entrance of the POR into the FRA, which constitutes in effect its public renunciation of Trotskyism, was prepared for by two decades of retreat from theory, of turning away from the international problems of the Marxist movement, its fight against revisionism, of dissolving the fight for theory into the day to day "concrete" activities of the movement. Every step of the way this anti-Marxist tendency was encouraged by the revisionists inside the FI: Pablo, the SWP, the OCI, each in their own time. The reality behind the development of the POR is revealed in the vicious attack on Marxism it spits out at the end of its contribution:

"The direct experience of the masses, however small it might be, has an enormous meaning for their political maturity, much more than the diffusion of abstract principles and slogans of socialism. Lenin is right when he maintained that one step forward in the everyday struggle was worth more than a whole library of theoretical books. Bolivians learned and developed more in the strike in February than through reading books and tracts published by the Marxists when they publish any."

Expressed here is utter contempt and hostility not only for Marxist theory, but for the working class itself, complete skepticism as to the revolutionary role of the working class. Abandoning the class to bourgeois ideology is abandoning it to the clutches of capitalism.

It is only now that we can confront the real meaning of the statement of the *Politica Obrera* that "our theoretical and militant gains were strengthened when confronted with the tradition of the Bolivian POR."

Undoubtedly revisionism in the backward countries rests today mainly upon nationalism. Nationalism represents the striving of the native bourgeoisie and middle class for "national development" and an end to imperialist domination. It stands outside of and against the taking of power by the working class as part of an international struggle against capitalism.

This is what the "two stage" theory of the Stalinists is all about. Through lining up the working class behind the native capitalists and middle class nationalists, the Communist Parties of the Latin American nations carry out in their own way the strategy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This strategy is designed to derail the independent movement of the working class in favor of providing support to and "pressure" upon the so-called progressive sections of the capitalist class against the "reactionary" sections.

In the past period in Latin America, nationalism most disoriented and confused the working class and socialist movement in the activities of Castroism. From the very beginning Castroism was a tendency completely hostile to Bolshevism, that is, to the independence of the working class. This hostility determined all the activities of the Castros, above all in its most radical stage—guerrillaism.

Guerrillaism was meant to be Castroism's great challenge to Marxism, to the building of independent revolutionary parties to lead the working class to power.

Today, Castro takes "radical" nationalism to its logical, "consistent" conclusion: guerrillaism has failed, popular frontism like Allendism in Chile finds itself in greater difficulties with each passing day. Therefore, what seems to be "succeeding" is the activity of the military juntas of Peru and Ecuador.

On the front page of the September 24 issue of Castro's newspaper *Granma*, there is a "Peruvian-Cuban Joint Declaration" resulting from high level conferences in Cuba between representatives of the Peruvian junta and the Cuban regime, including the Castros themselves. Among other points in this communique there is the following:

"1. The existence of common objectives of struggle for the final establishment of advanced social and economic orders based on social justice, and freedom and sovereignty for the peoples was noted, and the Revolutionary Governments of Cuba and Peru reiterated their aim of strengthening the friendship between their countries through an effective policy of cooperation in various fields connected with national development—a policy which they carry out through their autonomous revolutionary processes, in response to concrete realities and specific political conditions."

A clearer idea of the convergence of the Cuban and Peruvian "processes" is revealed in the remarks of the head of the Peruvian delegation, General Graham. *Granma* quotes him as saying that Cuba received the junta's representatives with repeated "demonstrations of fraternity, friendship, and recognition of the Peruvian process that really impressed me." He went on to say that Cuba "understands our process and they are ready for large-scale cooperation."

Ominously, the Peruvian delegation included high officials of the SINAMOS, the corporatist "capitalist-labor front" initiated by the junta in order to discipline the working class. They were there to study the work of the "mass organizations of the Castro regime."

There were long discussions on "increased people's participation" in the "Peruvian revolutionary process." The Peruvian people are participating in the dynamic of the Revolution through the achievements we are creating for them," one member of the delegation stated.

The other side of the SINAMOS is the regime's brutal repression of workers who defend their rights, as in the infamous massacre of striking miners at Cobriza by the junta. What the Peruvian regime really represents is not at all some resurgence of "left nationalism" or bourgeois reformism. It is one manifestation of an international tendency in Latin America for the bourgeoisie to definitively "settle accounts" with the working class in the most brutal fashion.

The future being prepared by the ruling class for Latin America is not one of refor-

mism but one of brutal military regimes, as in Brazil, and outright fascism. This was the pattern followed in Bolivia where the counterrevolutionary coup was carried out by a coalition of the military, the fascist Falange and the former "radical nationalists" of the MNR.

Throughout its entire history, Castroism has intervened in the workers' movement in order to disarm and defeat it. In the 1960s, the new movement forward of the working class threw the nationalists and Stalinists into a tremendous crisis and led to a number of left-wing splits from the Stalinists. Castroism, through its anti-Marxism and theories of guerrilla warfare, led to the crushing of many militants in guerrilla adventures and acted to let the Stalinists off the hook. It prepared the way for the development of Allendism and popular frontism throughout the continent.



Argentine bourgeois nationalists leader Juan Peron is supported by Stalinists and Revisionists.

Today Castro does his best to pump the most dangerous illusions into the working class, while assisting the corporatist strikebreaking Velasco regime of Peru in repressing the Peruvian workers.

Naturally the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party maintain complete silence on Castro's activities. At all costs, they wish to avoid confronting the fact that Castro's "revolutionism"—around which they organized their split from the International Committee—leads straight to guerrilla adventures on the one hand and "nationalist" corporatism and murders of workers on the other.

But Lora's POR has not been so discreet. The POR, and its Peruvian disciples of the POMR, join Castro and the Stalinists in support to the SINAMOS. As Lora says in his book on the Bolivian events: "In the backward countries, the working class must participate in the management of the nationalized industries even if they are a minority."

The reality of the situation is that such fraudulent participation—which is the polar opposite of genuine workers' control under workers' power—is used to undermine the unions and paralyze the fight back against the wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment and repression instituted by such regimes.

Lora has at times made empirical criticisms of Castro but when it comes down to a choice between the so-called progressive Velasco junta (which is working might and main to destroy the fighting capacity of the working class) and the interests of the working class, Lora joins hands with Castro in doing Velasco's work inside the class. As we have outlined above, Lora again came together with Castro over Guevara's guerrilla adventure in Bolivia. His support for Guevarism was completely hostile to the real

tasks in Bolivia of training a revolutionary leadership against the Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats. Lora's turn to Guevara in 1967 was an essential preparation for his betrayal of 1971.

But groups like *Politica Obrera* stand together with the POR precisely on these questions. In the July 5, 1971, article in *Politica Obrera*, it is stated that:

"The first chance contact with the press of the POR was in relation to the guerrilla of Che. This was an important circumstance which was to show agreement on fundamentals. Support for Che's guerrilla (although it was inopportune and inconvenient) to the extent it had become the starting point for an incipient national movement on a national scale, to overcome its limitations, to build a leadership based on the anti-imperialist united front, led by the proletariat..."

Clearly the "agreement on fundamentals" of the P.O. with the POR is the worst sort of political preparation for the questions of guerrillaism, Peronism, and corporatism that confront the Argentinian workers. And it is on these questions that the life or death of the Argentine working class will be fought out.

ARGENTINE PABLOITES

If we turn to the Argentine Pabloites we find these tendencies even more pronounced. The one thing that characterizes the official section of the United Secretariat in Argentina, the PRT-ERP, is above all its hostility to Marxism, to Leninism. The urban guerrillaism of the ERP is merely a transposition of the guerrilla foci of Castro and Guevara from the countryside to the cities.

The ideas of Lenin and Trotsky are thrown into the pot along with those of Castro, Mao, Guevara, and General Giap, while the petty bourgeois of the ERP can pick out which ones suit them.

Today, the ERP carries its anti-Trotskyism, its struggle against the whole fight for the Fourth International, begun by Trotsky in the 1930s, to its logical conclusion. Following the Trelew massacre and the escape of several of the ERP leaders to Cuba, a joint statement was issued by the ERP and two other guerrilla groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) and the Montoneros (a group of Peronists) which contains the following:

"In Argentina, the claws of imperialism were disguised, cloaked by our own flag. They were cloaked in uniforms bearing our national emblems, in an army that calls itself Argentine—but there's nothing Argentine about it—an army that claims to be following in the footsteps of San Martin—but is doing nothing but... (our comrades) like out flag; had been taken prisoner..."

The conclusion they draw is that the task is to "Unite all the revolutionary forces" in a "single people's army. Needless to say, this entails overcoming our political and ideological contradictions; finding the way, the correct method, for overcoming and settling these contradictions."

The Pabloites of the ERP now propose to sink their differences entirely with the Castroites and Peronists (not to mention the Maoists and "revolutionary Christians" already contained in the ERP) on the basis of anti-Trotskyism, of "the great Latin America dreamed of by Tupu Amarc and San Martin" that is the goal of Castro. They propose complete liquidation into bourgeois nationalism.

Today, when an independent revolutionary party taking forward the whole struggle of Marxism is of the greatest importance, as the only way to break the working class from the stranglehold of Peronism and Stalinism, the ERP dissolves itself to find unity with the Peronists. This is the role of the official section of the United Secretariat in Argentina.

The role of the Moreno group (PRT-La Verdad), which is supported by the SWP, is equally treacherous. Moreno represents a tendency completely hostile to the construction of the Fourth International. Following his split with the International Committee, he published his paper with pictures of Peron and Castro on the masthead, "under the discipline of the Supreme Peronist Council."

In the 1967 SWP book, *Fifty Years of World Revolution* (dedicated to Trotsky and Guevara), Moreno, writing on "The Chinese and Indochinese Revolutions," states that: "Maoism can be considered from various angles. One of its most im-

portant facets is the enormous contribution made by its political-military-social-theory of guerrilla warfare to the program of the permanent revolution."

He goes on to quote from a resolution of the "Fifth World Congress of the Fourth International"—a conference of the rump International Secretariat of Pablo—held in 1958:

"This union attains one of its highest expressions in guerrilla warfare, which—against the armed forces of imperialism and of the bourgeois state—proves itself to be a powerful factor of struggle and a no less powerful factor in political organization. Guerrilla formations of this type can live, develop, and win only when composed of individuals with a very high revolutionary morale, and when connected with the masses of the country. That is to say that they tend to become a selected vanguard that elaborates and applies a policy corresponding to the interests of the masses."

In passing, this excerpt exposes the completely Pabloite nature of the SWP's reunification with the International Secretariat in 1963. Moreno continues:

"Maoism represents, to some extent, a repetition of the case of the Narodniks. The latter contributed to Marxism through their influence on the formation of the Leninist concept of a centralized party of professional revolutionaries (!). Although Maoism is not Trotskyism, i.e., revolutionary Marxism, it has contributed the programmatic elements noted to the program of the world socialist revolution."

"Its (Maoism's) divergences from Castroism result from the fact that Castroism developed in a directly revolutionary stage, untrammelled by counter-revolutionary Stalinism or advancing world reaction. Hence Castroism's dynamic is less provincial, less nationalistic, and has a less bureaucratic and Bonapartist character."

"To sum up: Stalinism is the product of counterrevolutionary pressure on a victorious workers' revolution; Maoism is the product of a provisional combination of counterrevolutionary Stalinism and the uneven development of the Chinese mass movement. Castroism is a direct result of the advance of the world revolution."

Thus Moreno himself prepared the confusion and anti-Trotskyism which came to dominate his own organization. When he split away from his own creation, the PRT, the split was not based on any fundamental assessment of its political degeneration. It was rather an opportunist response to the demise of Guevarism and the growth of centrist forces in the Argentine labor movement.

Today, when the burning necessity in Argentina is for a principled struggle for the construction of the Trotskyist party against centrist tendencies, Moreno has dissolved his whole organization into the left-wing of the Argentine Social Democracy, the PSA-Coral. Since the PSA is a legal party, this is Moreno's way of preparing for the elections which are now to be scheduled through negotiations between Peron and the military junta. The fusion with the PSA was based on repudiation of Trotskyism covered up by some general statements on the need for a socialist revolution.

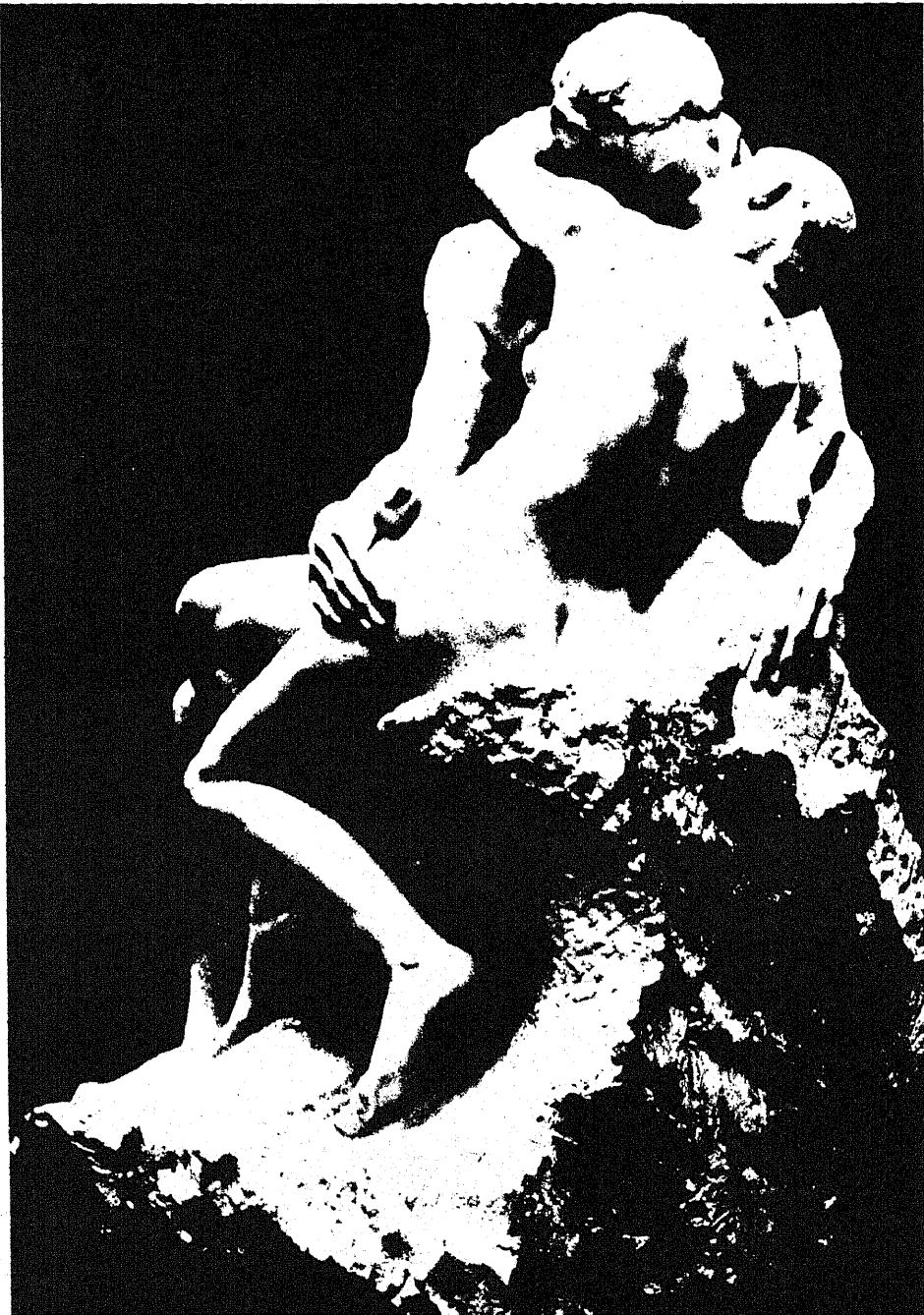
The negotiations between Peron and the military represent nothing more than a stage in the preparation of the military for further repression in Argentina, leading up to a fascist dictatorship. The power of the working class forces the military to attempt a temporary turn in Peron's direction only to disarm the workers before new repressions required by the vise-like grip of the capitalist crisis upon the weak and subordinate Argentine economy. Bourgeois reformism is completely out of the question now.

The movement of the working class in Argentina, as well as elsewhere in Latin America, spontaneously pushes beyond the Stalinists and the bourgeois nationalists like Peron. This leads to the development of the centrist tendencies like the PSA-Coral, Moreno, ERP-PRT and *Politica Obrera* which seek to hold the working class at the spontaneous level, disarm it theoretically before the attacks of the national and international capitalists who are now compelled to beat the working class back. Under these conditions, the revolutionary movement can only be built in the most ruthless struggle against centrism. This is the lesson of Bolivia for the Argentine revolutionaries.

Lou Belkin Pretty Nice Art Paintings For Sale



The Metropolitan Museum of Art will auction several works of such great artists as Rodin and Degas. Those shown above are not involved in the auction. Above, Degas' sketch of "Edouard Manet." Right a sculpture by Rodin called "The Kiss."



Many of the magnificent paintings that hang in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City are headed for the vaults and mansions of private collectors. No longer will the public have access to these treasures of civilization. Instead, the famous canvasses will be commodities in the

hands of profit-minded speculators who could not care less about art.

"The most severe financial crisis in its history" has led the curator of the Metropolitan, Thomas Hoving, to announce the auctioning of 12 paintings. The business arrangements will be handled by the prestigious Parke-Bernet galleries, whose customers include the Kennedys, Rockefellers, and Lindsays.

Hoving, a close friend of Mayor Lindsay and no mean collector himself, has reassured the public that among the paintings up for auction "there are some pretty good pictures but they aren't important for the Metropolitan."

That's fine for Hoving to say, but those unimportant pictures include works by some of the greatest masters of the 19th century: Degas, Lautrec, and Renoir.

This is not Hoving's first adventure in picture selling. Last February, there was an outcry from museum-goers when they learned that the Metropolitan was selling canvasses by Picasso, Cezanne and Manet to a selected list of dealers. According to Hoving, he was "refining" the masterpieces—whatever that means.

Mr. Hoving's dealings with speculators demonstrate that the very existence of culture is threatened by the economic crisis. The Metropolitan had a \$1.5 million deficit for 1971, and it is expected that the figures will be even worse for 1972.

It is not only the Metropolitan that is threatened with collapse. Historic institutions like El Prado in Madrid and the Louvre in Paris are on the verge of closing. Neither museum—which house the most important collections in Western Europe—have enough money to complete planned renovations.

The survival of culture, like every other aspect of civilization, depends upon the victory of the socialist revolution. Only then will the treasures of the past be preserved and great new advances in culture become possible.

Diane Isaacs Books

Fraternal Order Of Guilty Liberals

THE GERMAN LESSON. By Siegfried Lenz. Published by Hill & Wang Publishing Co. 471 pages. \$8.95.

After almost a quarter of a century, literary critics had almost given up hanging by their collective thumbnail waiting for the one novel emerging from postwar Germany that would explain it all. But Siegfried Lenz wants to take on the task anyway. Unfortunately for us, he poses all the wrong questions in *The German Lesson* and can find no answers.

With only a few exceptions, most notably Gunther Grass, Germany since the end of World War Two has produced a stream of basically insignificant authors who constituted themselves into a sort of fraternal order of guilt-laden liberals during the economic miracle of the 1950s. Lenz wants to get into the act—somewhat belatedly, as capitalism faces up to a much more fundamental crisis than it did in 1929. He is bogged down with the same questions that have plagued liberals since Plato wrote his *Republic*, and will probably still be ponder-

ing them as the Christian Democrats consolidate their plans for tackling the German working class.

To Lenz, the chief problem facing humanity is a conflicting sense of duty, an eternal clash of wills between personalities following directives from different sources which cause discord and anarchy. If one is a young boy experiencing all this in a tiny village in northern Germany and incidentally symbolizing mankind in general, one can only observe, and do the bidding of whomever needs a duty performed.

Max Ludwig Nansen, a rather famous artist of the period, engages the services of the boy, Siggie Jepsen, to help him fight a ban on painting issued by the Nazis. Siggie's father, the local policeman, engages the services of his son in fulfilling his duty, enforcing the ban. Nansen recognizes the threat his color and paint pose to the Nazis and determines that this shall not be, even if it means he must paint invisible pictures.

FORCE

But what is potentially an important statement on the artist as a force fighting against the existing order rather than passively depicting what is real is smothered in Lenz' almost impossible, sticky prose (not the fault of the translator), primarily because Lenz does not see himself as a force in any way. He is an author who, in the end, is more determined to describe his own life at the

expense of the reader. Rather than binding his experiences to perceptions and emotions common to all men, Lenz severs himself from the reader by writing in such a completely personal, mystical manner as to lose the reader.

The duty of the artist is to present what is true for the human condition, all of which was posed in the most brutal form yet known to mankind, under Hitler; Lenz chooses to relegate this responsibility to the dustier corners of the novel. One keeps hoping to find it through almost 500 pages, but puts the book down wondering if he really had anything to say at all.

Thus any comparison to Solzhenitsyn is unfortunate. While superficial analogies of form can be made between the two authors, literary critics proposing that Lenz writes with the perception and magnitude of Solzhenitsyn miss the point. Solzhenitsyn consolidates and magnifies what is real and true in a microcosm which grasps the knife-edge of man's plight, in terms of the concentration camps established by Stalin.

Lenz' microcosm collapses inwards upon itself and disintegrates in a thicket of vague, unimportant impressions and personal recollections that can find no interrelationship or purposiveness. Siggie Jepsen can make up his mind about nothing, least of all himself, and Lenz would have all of us remain as bewildered, confused children if he had his way.

Perhaps Mr. Lenz should have taken up painting?

BY ALEXANDER PLAMENIC

The Tito regime's latest campaign of repression against Yugoslav workers and youth culminated last month with the jailing of three Belgrade University students and one professor plus the banning of two journals and one newspaper.

Professor Mihajlo Djuric of Belgrade University was sentenced to two years in prison for criticizing the newly adopted Amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution. Prof. Djuric voiced the convictions of many Yugoslav workers when he accurately described the Amendments as "another blow aimed straight at the destruction of working class unity and the Yugoslav Revolution."

The Tito regime has since attempted to undermine the impact of Djuric's criticism by misconstruing his testimony and labeling him a nationalist. With this label, the bureaucracy hopes to drown Djuric in the current flood of anger against reviving nationalist tendencies.

After publishing articles in Djuric's support, two journals, Praxis (Zagreb) and Filofia (Belgrade), were summarily banned from publication. As a probable result of Djuric's trial, three Belgrade university students were also brought to trial and sentenced to three years in prison for the "possession of enemy propaganda"

and the "dissemination of foreign anti-communist ideas."

During the students' trial, it was revealed that the source of the ideas considered so dangerous by the Tito clique was allegedly the Trotskyist Fourth International. In his sentencing of the students, the judge linked Djuric, the two journals Praxis and Filofia, and the students to a so-called Trotskyist conspiracy against Yugoslavia.

Immediately following the trial, the entire editorial staff of the Belgrade newspaper Student was fired and the newspaper temporarily banned from publication.

In order to disarm working class unrest over these bureaucratic reprisals against the youth and their publications, the bureaucracy has attempted to link the growth of this formative opposition to the growth of nationalism.

REPRESSION

Hoping to transform the popular anger over the growth of nationalism into a support for a campaign of repression against

the youth, Tito has published a set of guidelines by which "enemies of the people" can be recognized. The guidelines make it clear that they consider spokesmen for the working class as the "enemy," and not those responsible for the rekindling of national hatreds.

Behind this latest wave in a tide of bureaucratic repression, looms the intensifying crisis of international capitalism. In the death agony of its own crisis, imperialism is closing in on the workers states.

During his recent visit to the U.S., Tito tried to placate the lust of American capitalism by giving in to demands for special privileges for U.S. firms—including completely owned subsidiaries with profit repatriation privileges. Suspecting that some deal had been made behind their backs, the Common Market countries now demand the same privileges and require that all past contracts be rewritten.

In Yugoslavia, inflation is rampant, exports to Europe's Common Market have fallen off and now, as unemployment at home grows, the foreign employers of some two million Yugoslav workers abroad have begun to demand that the Yugoslav "migrants" go home. The potential return of nearly 10 percent of its population, mostly young skilled workers, poses the greatest threat of all to the Tito bureaucracy.

In the past, the Tito clique has proven itself extremely resourceful in temporarily mitigating contradictions both with international capitalism and with one of the strongest and most revolutionary segments of the working class, the Yugoslav working class. Today politically bankrupt, the bureaucracy has reached the depth of its contradiction.

In a vain attempt to preserve its power and privilege, they must retreat in the face of imperialism while at the same time, they are totally incapable of extracting any further sacrifices from the Yugoslav proletariat.

United in their hatred of the Stalinist regime, the leading elements of the working class are today openly resisting the further concession of their conquests. No longer can Tito deliver what capitalism demands because he does not have the support of the Yugoslav working class.

Faced with this contradiction, the bureaucracy has not hesitated from applying the worst weapon of all for the destruction of proletarian strength in unity: nationalism. By resurrecting and pumping new blood into old dormant nationalist groups, they have set in action counterrevolutionary forces.

While it is true that the Ustashi fascist movement, which ruled Croatia during the Nazi occupation, has received complicit support from U.S., Australian and European capitalist governments, this support could never have been sufficient to more than keep the movement barely alive. With the blood of over 800,000 Serbs, Jews, and Romany (Gypsy) on their hands, the Ustashi were crushed by the revolutionary workers and peasants.

Five years ago, this movement could claim a membership of no more than a handful of old immigrants hiding in Europe and Australia. Two months ago, an armed Ustashi band of 15 immigrant Croatians between the ages of 18 and 25 attacked a village in Yugoslavia and killed 20 people. The Ustashi who put the bomb in the Belgrade theater was only 22 years old and had been in Sweden for only a year before he was recruited into the fascist movement.

NATIONALISM

By systematically sowing nationalism, the Tito clique has revived and given new blood to the Ustashi fascists. Today its danger to the working class cannot be underestimated.

By dividing the working class, the party, the army, as well as the economy on a national basis, the regime has carried to its final implications its true Stalinist nature. It was the bureaucracy, not the working class, who attempted to carry out a separatist coup in Croatia. It was the bureaucracy who established working contacts with Ustashi leaders in Austria and Germany.

The bureaucracy, not the so-called Croatian youth, placed a right-wing Catholic theological student in charge of the University of Zagreb. And they forced the immigration of 18 percent of the actively employed workers to Europe where some fell prey to fascist groups. The Tito clique is responsible for the growth of the counterrevolution.

FRANCE

The formation of defense societies by Yugoslav workers in France to protect themselves from fascist bands, the organization of unofficial unions by Yugoslavs in Germany to protect their jobs and interests at home, the open revolt of past revolutionary heroes against the bureaucracy, as well as the groundswell in workers' ranks which has pressured the one Yugoslav union into making its first timid independent statements; all these represent an attempt by the working class to regroup and fight back against the counterrevolution.

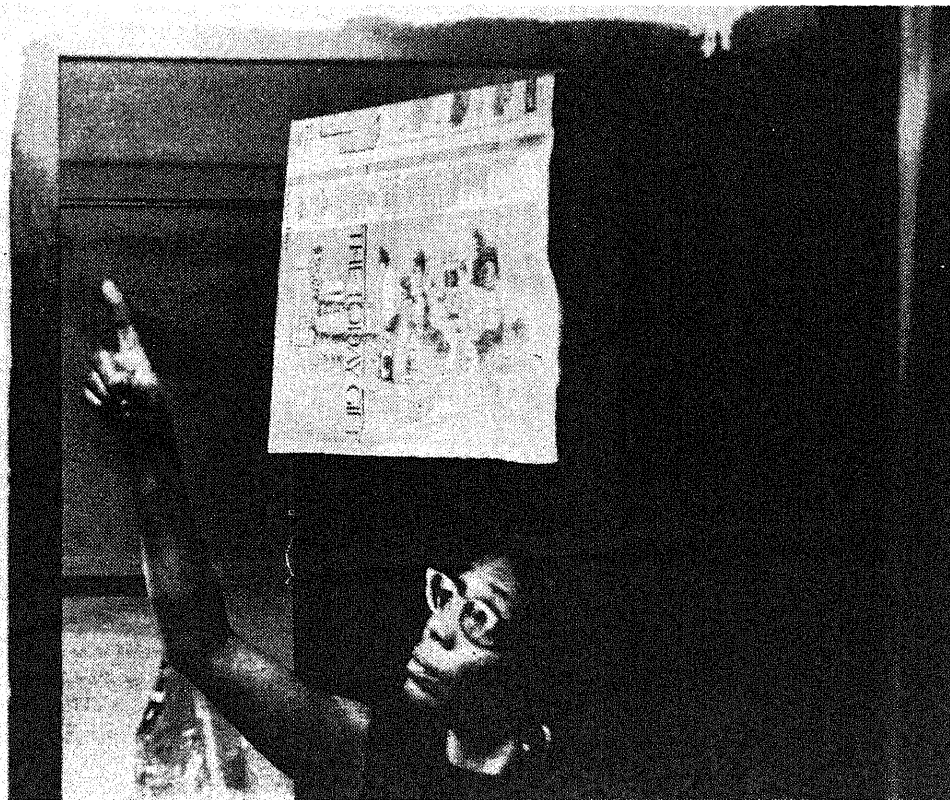
In this attempt, they have rapidly discovered that the same ruling clique which is paralyzed from acting against the national fascists, is capable of real repression against them. In this manner, the struggle against the counterrevolution must be transformed into a political revolution against the bureaucracy.

Today only a revolutionary Trotskyist party formed within the International Committee of the Fourth International can lead the workers and youth to the political revolution. This party must be strengthened in particular from the ranks of young Yugoslavs working abroad.

"Trotskyist Conspiracy" In Yugoslavia



Yugoslav Premier Josip Tito.



A tenant in the St. Louis Darst-Webbe housing project points to water marks on walls caused by plumbing leaks in apartment above. City may soon try to evict all tenants because of the lack of funds.

NMU Delegates Denounce Curran

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Oct. 5—The Sixteenth National Maritime Union Convention, which closed here today, was dominated from start to finish by a battle over unemployment.

The loss of 10,000 shipping jobs in three years, in a union with only 16,400 maritime and inland water members, forced a number of delegates to battle the Curran bureaucracy over increased manning scales, overtime pay, and the presidential elections.

DEFEAT

The National Office bureaucracy was handed a clear defeat by a 123 to 58 vote in favor of equalizing overtime pay between watches while ships are in port.

This vote reflected the desire of the rank and file to strengthen and unify the union in the fight against unemployment, as well as the dissatisfaction with the Curran leadership's do-nothing attitude toward the needs of its members.

NEUTRALITY

On the third and fourth days, there was a limited discussion of the NMU's official neutrality stand in the upcoming presi-

dential election. Curran stated that the Eagleton Affair led him to drop his support for McGovern; and he refused to allow the political issues to enter into the debate on the election.

CUT OFF

Discussion was cut off and the neutrality position was approved by the delegates. As the discussion began to show, neither capitalist party has anything to offer the maritime workers.

Only a labor party can fight against unemployment and the union-busting by the shippers and government. It was fear of this struggle which led the bureaucrats to cut off discussion.

NECESSITY

The necessity for a unified fight by all maritime unions for a labor party and against manning scale cuts and scab ships was shown by developments in the industry during the Convention.

Speaking at the annual Propeller Club convention in Houston on

October 5, Hugh Downer, senior vice president of the Marcona Corporation, launched a vicious attack on maritime "feather-bedding" and wages. Downer stated that shipowners "have dismally failed in an attempt to control costs of all types."

FOREIGN FLAG

Downer went on to say that manning costs for a foreign-flag 70,000 ton tanker run to \$235,000 per year, while U.S.-union scale wages run \$751,000 per year. He demanded that the government take action to stop "an economically nonviable flood of conditions and requirements" by the maritime unions.

Conn. Bus Owners Demand Big Cuts And Force Strike By 350 Drivers

BY DAVE FRANKLIN

NEW HAVEN—The Connecticut Railway and Lighting Company (CR&L), Connecticut's second largest bus company, today locked out 350 employees and suspended all bus operations. The buses had been operating on a day to day basis since September 30 when the old contract expired.

The company is claiming a daily operating deficit of \$1500 to \$2000. The company's action was coupled with a demand that either the state come up with three million to subsidize the company or the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) take a 70 cent an hour wage cut from their already small \$3.73 an hour wage, plus cuts in pensions and holidays.

CLEAR

A CR&L spokesman made it clear that they are not expecting any financial assistance from the state, as Governor Meskill has already vetoed such legislation. He went on to say that:

"The buses will stay in the garage unless the union decides it's better to have jobs at lower rates of pay than not have any jobs at all."

The drivers who gathered at the garage this morning found the situation hard to believe. Most of the men have 25 to 40 years with the company. They told the Bulletin that the legislation already exists to solve the crisis, but they could not under-

stand why the Republicans and Democrats were playing football with the buses.

But all the maneuvering of the Democrats and Republicans is only a front as both parties knew full well that the kind of patchwork subsidy solutions to mass transportation are no longer possible.

AWARE

Both parties are completely aware of this and have now created the conditions for the company to drive down the wages and conditions of its employees.

The ATU leadership continues to spread the illusion that somebody will come up with the money from somewhere. This morning they led some 40 to 50 bus drivers on a march to the unemployment office.

RELIANCE

The continued reliance on the good intentions of the Democrats will lead to accepting the conditions of the CR&L. The only solution lies in the fight for a labor party to nationalize transportation under workers control.

Meskill 'Efficiency' Plan Causes AFSCME Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD, Conn.—Thirty three American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) workers of the Dietary Department of the McCook Hospital have been among the first workers to be hit by Governor Meskill's plans to "streamline the state payroll."

A report on the hospital prepared by the state, in the interest of efficiency, recommended that the hospital food service be contracted to a private firm.

On September 29, the Servend Seiler firm took over, leaving seven workers without jobs and 23 with cuts in pay up to \$50 a week or a loss of state benefits.

Now bids from food contractors are being considered at the much larger state facilities at the University of Connecticut at Storrs which could affect 300 workers.

A dietary worker with 25 years of service told the Bulletin: "This is the worse thing that can happen. But we have a union and we can fight back against this thing with unity."

One worker at the McCook Maintenance Department said: "Of course, after the food workers, they will start cutting into this department. That's why we all have to defend each other's jobs."

In the face of this determination to fight, the local leadership had the gall to tell workers with seniority that they were "lucky to be able to bump somebody at the University of Connecticut."

In response to this, one worker asked: "How can I take another man's job when he has a family to support?"

Instead of relying on the independent strength of some 5000 AFSCME workers in Connecticut, the union leadership has called upon various civil and religious organizations, such as High Noon, to pressure Meskill's administration into softening its blows.

RESULT

The result of this strategy was disastrous for McCook workers. They have learned that no reliance can be placed on the business-dominated groups such as the Urban League and High Noon.

COWERS

The present union leadership

cowers before Meskill when he publicly brags that he has done much to cut the state payroll and that more is certainly to come. Politically, the leadership hides behind the flimsy opposition put up by the Democrats. Crocodile tears are shed for the McCook workers by Democrats, but that is all.

VICTIMIZED

In every crisis today in Connecticut, workers are victimized by both parties. Meskill's phase approach to the cutbacks in the payroll means that those planned for the University of Connecticut campus will be much sharper.

For this reason a fight must be waged that relies only on the independent strength of the unions to guarantee that no pay cuts are allowed and to fight for the complete reinstatement of all laid off workers. For this reason, a rank and file committee must be formed to fight for these demands and the establishment of a labor party.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)

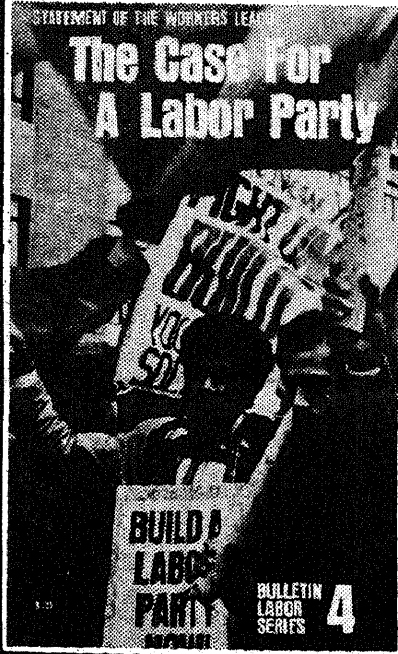
Timothy Wohlforth

President



**Oscar
Mayer**

TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party



The following articles are part of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.

JIM SALT works in the Sanitation Department at the Madison, Wisconsin Oscar Mayer plant and is a member of Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen Local 538.

The Oscar Mayer plant is a dinosaur. It's big, it's obsolete, it's falling down—they're always patching walls, patching stairways, patching ceilings. They've made token repairs. They patched the ceiling which is old and cracked and water drips between floors.

Then the inspectors wanted stainless steel supports for all the pipes, ventilators and conveyors, hanging conveyors. They want them all stainless steel because the old steel is rusted to hell and they have black paper wrapped around the pipes and the cockroaches are falling between them, because it's fairly warm in there.

So they made a few attempts to put some stainless in and they patched the ceiling and painted it white. They made it look nice, but they got to have someone in there constantly, just kind of showing enough progress so the inspectors say: "Well, what do you know, they did something this weekend."

But Oscar Mayer is not only going to have to take the floors out, they're going to have to take all the equipment out, junk

it and put all new equipment in. The equipment has got to be stainless steel and stainless is going for a fortune now. So when they're talking about remodeling the cut and kill, they're not talking about a couple million bucks.

It's going to cost them a fortune here so they might move the plant to Texas. They could probably build a plant and save money for what it would cost to remodel that place. That's my opinion. That's what I think is going to happen here.

There has been a lot of speed-up since I started working here. They chop a little here, they chop a little there. They want a little bit more out of you. We've had a couple of meetings on it—all the guys that work on the line. Urschitz, president of the local, our steward, the guys that do the timing, our foreman and the supervisor intend to discuss if we think it's fair, if they think it's fair. The meetings are a joke—the only nice thing is that you get paid for the time.

Urschitz asks questions, and he takes notes, but he probably throws them in the trash can as soon as he gets over to the union. Because the union doesn't go for incentive bonus. They feel that a person should work a normal day's work and go home without any bonus. The company runs 100 guys in there, they run at 150 percent and they're taking 50 guys' work away from them. I can see why the union isn't too hot on setting standards but they should at least try to get us a normal day's work for a normal day's wage.

I was on production for a year when I first came here. I got stuck on the

JEAN POND is 45 years old and lives in Madison, Wisconsin. She used to work at the Oscar Mayer plant here but now is unemployed and on welfare. She has three children.

There should be a change. I think the platforms of both the Republicans and Democrats are so close that they are practically the same. They are both for the big corporations and the oil men.

Being on welfare, you can see some things very clearly. Right now, where are the jobs? There are men walking the streets and yet the welfare department claims that they can find us jobs just like that.

The situation is terrible as far as jobs are concerned for everyone. My son-in-law works at Oscar Mayer. The doctor told him that he should get another job because he has back trouble. But he said to the doctor: "Where do you suggest I find one?"

With unemployment so high, I am afraid he will stay at Oscar Mayer's because as far as the wage scale is concerned, it is one of the best in the city. The working conditions are bad but if you make a decent wage, I guess that is all the working man can ask for right now.

Big business gets out of all the taxes. I just don't see the justice of the big guys getting out of all the taxes and the little guy taxed up to the eyebrows. I think if they (the labor party) could take care of the inflation, that would carry it alone. I don't know, a working person just can't make it in this country.

There's no way. Your wages don't go up, but your food prices and everything else does. You go grocery shopping and you see it on the shelves every week. There is never a week that you go grocery shopping

but something has not jumped and it is not only a penny but three or four at a crack. It's enough to drive you poor.

I believed some of the things that Nixon said when he got into office. I didn't vote for him, but he was so dead sure he would get us out of Vietnam within 90 days or six months. It was the longest 6 months I ever spent. Now McGovern says the same thing. Well, I think that the war should be stopped, regardless of what they want over there. I think it's horrible what they're doing to that country.

If I understand The Case For A Labor Party, I would say this is what the country needs—a change. Some of the things your platform has, I'd go for. Anybody would be crazy not to vote for a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay.

I realize that is a complete break from our history. We need a change, and if that's what the labor party is about, I'm all for it.

Will Oscar Mayer's sit back and let all that nationalization happen? My son is on the night shift and every once in a while they shut down and put him on the day shift. He'll work quite a spell on nights and all of a sudden he's on days and the whole department is shut down. I suppose that's where they're cutting down because they're not making enough profits. Well, they can't survive without working people. We've got to have a revolt of the people, that's all.

I think if the labor party can take care of the unemployment and inflation, two of the biggest problems we've seen, then it is a definite necessity. I think it is really needed in this country and quick, cause this country is going to go down the drain if somebody does not grab a hold and do something about it. I've been voting for a lot of years, and have been nothing but disappointed every time.

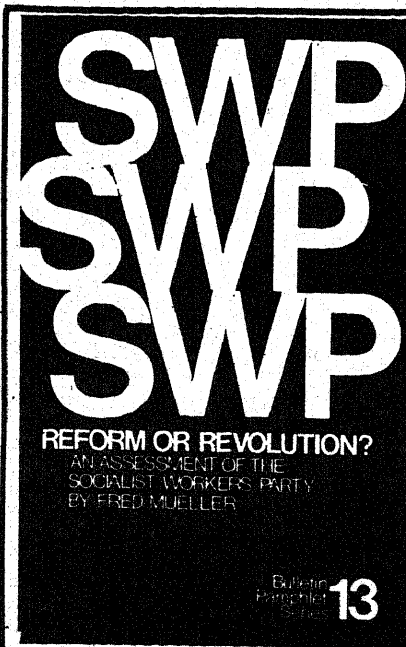
I realize that it is a complete break from our history. We need a change, and if that's what the labor party is about, I'm all for it.

machine skinning hams and within the first two weeks I was up there, one of my friends got his finger in it. I got mine caught too. It was an unsafe job. The machine just peels your skin off. And a guy down there had the whole palm of his hand peeled off.

I don't understand why sections of the Democrats and Republicans have not broken away and tried to fight—like the AFL-CIO officials. Why haven't they really pushed for a labor party? They'd probably go along with a labor party if it worked within the present system, but if you talked like let's dump this system, we need something better—it's too radical for most of those guys. Some people can't see

a new system because of our great Senator Joseph McCarthy, you know. They've put so much fear in the people about socialism and communism. We've got to push a labor party first.

But see the meatcutters are supporting McGovern, and most of them have buttons that have "Dump Nixon" on one side and McGovern on the other. I had one of McGovern's pamphlets. It was on the difference between him and Nixon. And one of his differences was that he was against the right to work laws. But I understand he was one of the people who voted for the right to work law in his state. And I mean he's got it right on the pamphlet! I mean it staggers the imagination.



THE SWP: REFORM OR REVOLUTION? An assessment of the Socialist Workers Party by Fred Mueller. 50¢

Examines the theoretical roots of the SWP's abandonment of Marxism and shows how this abandonment has led to an open acceptance of the philosophical methods of the bourgeoisie: that is, pragmatism and empiricism. Roots the theory of the "New Radicalization" in the impressionistic, pragmatic analysis of capitalism put forth by Ernest Mandel with his theory of "Neo-capitalism."

BY DAVID NORTH
EDISON, N.J.—One of the most bitter strikes in the history of the state's labor movement ended Tuesday as 2,800 members of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 483 returned to work following a seven and one half month battle against the Fedders Corporation.

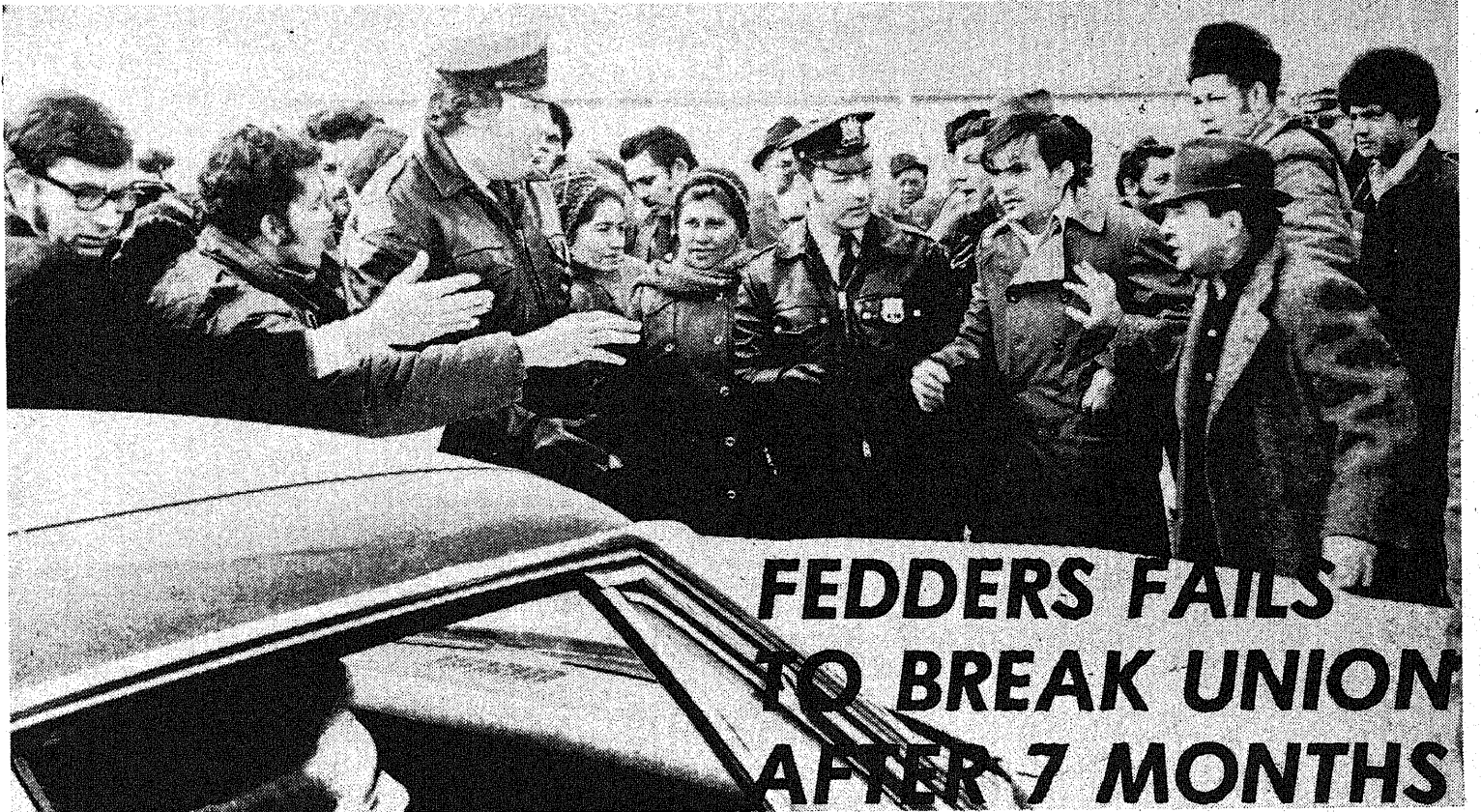
In spite of the treachery of the local and International leadership, the refusal of the state AFL-CIO to defend the strike, and the brutal attacks on the rank and file by the corporation, courts and police, the Fedders workers were not defeated.

Fedders, one of the largest producers of air conditioners in the United States, failed in its efforts to impose a wage cut and to take away many benefits. It also did not win the right to fire workers with excused absences. The corporation also had to grant an improved health benefits plan.

However, because the union leadership cynically sabotaged the strike, the workers were held to wage increases of less than five percent and lost 5 of their 17 paid holidays. For those five additional days on which they now will work, payment will be delayed until Christmas.

SETTLEMENT

The settlement was announced to the local membership last Friday, at a meeting in Perth Amboy attended by less than 500



IUE workers at Fedder Corporation plant in Edison, N.J. beat attempted wage cuts but betrayals of leaders open way for further attacks.

workers. Realizing that many workers felt that the strike should continue because Fedders desperately wanted a fast settlement in order to begin production for the big spring season, the International gave the meeting the shortest possible notice and scheduled it at nine in the morning—when many of the strikers would be unable to attend because of second jobs.

For two hours after the meeting started, the leadership did not appear. Only after the size of the audience had dwindled considerably were the proposals presented and passed.

From the first day of the strike last February, the leadership made it clear that it would not fight. While the ranks showed tremendous enthusiasm for mass picketing during the first week of the strike, the leadership submitted to a court injunction that ordered it ended.

It made no attempt to mobilize the powerful state labor movement in mass picketing of the plant or to fight for a nationwide shutdown of Fedders, even though a week-long walkout by Fedders workers in the huge Buffalo plant proved that such an action could have been organized.

What the IUE feared above all else was the development of a confrontation in the industrial heart of New Jersey that would expose the role of the Democratic Party.

POLICE

During the strike, the ranks were told that the Republicans controlled the police of Edison Township, who regularly assaulted and arrested the men and women on the picket line. In fact, the Mayor, within whose jurisdiction the Fedders plant lies, is Bernard J. Dwyer, a Democrat.

The strike revealed the criminal thirst of big business for the blood of workers. In order to extract concessions from the ranks, Fedders did not merely use the courts and police (28 workers were arrested).

It organized a witch-hunt within Edison and Perth Amboy to prevent striking workers from obtaining employment while on strike. The corporation was also seeking to cut the striking workers from the welfare rolls.

During the course of the strike, three workers died; and because Fedders had terminated their life insurance, the widows' pensions will have to be paid for by the IUE.

POWER

The strike also showed the tremendous power of the American working class and its determination to fight even in the face of naked betrayals by its leadership. The ranks resisted the efforts of the company and the union leadership to encourage demoralization. It also fought every effort to split the Puerto Rican and Cuban workers, who constitute the majority of Local

483's membership.

The tenacity with which the Fedders workers fought for more than seven months—and were prepared to continue—with strike benefits of only \$12 per week, exposes the claims by middle class outfits like the anti-communist Labor Committee that the working class has been defeated.

LABOR COMMITTEE

Throughout the Fedders strike, the Labor Committee refused to mobilize the strength of the ranks in a fight against the IUE bureaucracy. Its fraudulent "strike support" committee served only to bolster those responsible for the betrayal of the workers.

When Fedders workers in Buffalo went on strike, the Labor Committee denounced this important development as a "spreading of the defeat." Like all traitors in the trade union movement, the Labor Committee fears above all that the working class should become conscious of its strength.

INDICATION

The strike is a sharp indication of the new character of the struggles that confront workers. Every industrial battle will call into question the very right of workers to have unions. Fedders revealed that big business will mobilize all the resources of the state to destroy the power of the working class.

The main lesson of the Fedders strike is that a new leadership must be built in the trade unions to mobilize the working class politically in a labor party that will fight for socialism and power.

Bitter Fruits Of Betrayal In Washington AFT Strike

BY CHARLOTTE WOODS
WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 7—Striking teachers are back in school here after a two week strike which ended in a forced settlement.

A promised 12 percent pay increase—7 percent this year and 5 percent next year—was the central feature of the proposed contract pushed through at a membership meeting earlier this week.

CAPITULATION

William H. Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union (WTU), urged acceptance of the settlement at this week's meeting on the grounds that further negotiations with the school board would be futile since Congress holds the purse strings for the District. This capitulation to Congress by the union bureaucracy is actually setting the stage for further reduction of the proposed pay increase which was originally 17 percent.

While the House District Committee has approved the 12 percent increase, it must be approved by the full House and the Senate as well as Nixon.

This faith in the justice to be found in the government offices is belied by the actual conduct of the government during the strike. Fines now totaling \$90,000 have been levied against the union and its executive council following defiance of an injunction aimed at stopping picketing and

forcing the teachers back to work.

Teachers—union and non-union—were threatened by Superior Court Judge Robert H. Campbell with jail sentences if picketing continued.

Over the past three years the teachers have been subjected to a systematic attack on their jobs and income. Congress has steadily decreased the budget for the District's educational system, which has resulted in the loss of 1,500 teaching positions over this period.

The union had demanded restoration of 300 jobs. The settlement allows for a restoration of 182 jobs.

Overcrowded classrooms, speed-up through expanded duty assignments to teachers and loss of "special" teachers like those covering physical education, languages, art and music, are all examples of Nixon's vision of "quality education." While the settlement does call for an additional \$350,000 for school supplies, workers in D.C. face a city hiring freeze and a cut in the city budget of \$10 million.

SELLOUT

Union President Simons relied on demagogic statements like "If I were reluctant to go to jail, I wouldn't be president of the Washington Teachers Union" to give himself the appearance of militancy in order to divert the real militancy and fighting spirit of the ranks into begging expeditions to the Congress.

Rather than take on the attacks

of the government, Simons sought to channel the struggle into support for the Washington area Labor for Peace on the basis that the war funds would then be diverted to so-called "domestic priorities." Under conditions where the unions are confronted by the government, which threatens their existence, this bit of budget scheming only serves to cover over the fundamental dangers facing the working class.

Eric Martel, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party on the WTU Strategy Committee, served primarily to give a left cover to Simons whenever the going got rough. Martel justified the liquidation of the teachers' struggle into Labor for Peace on the basis that it was essential to show the striking teachers the relationship between the strike and the Vietnam War. This relationship, for him, came out of the reformist assertion that an end to the war would mean more funds allocated to social services.

It is no longer possible to wring this or that compromise from the ruling class as has been done in the past. As the capitalists move to discipline the working class internationally, the need to carry forward a political struggle against the government is sharply posed.

The teachers must break from the two political parties which cut jobs and livelihood from them. The Conference for a Labor Party Now, which will be held on October 21-22 in Chicago, will lay the basis for this struggle.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

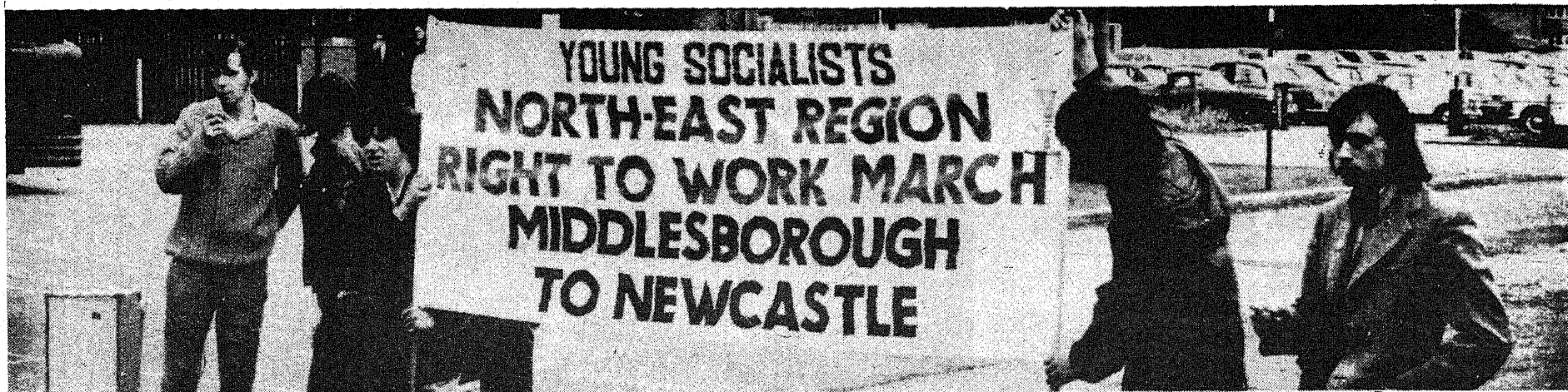
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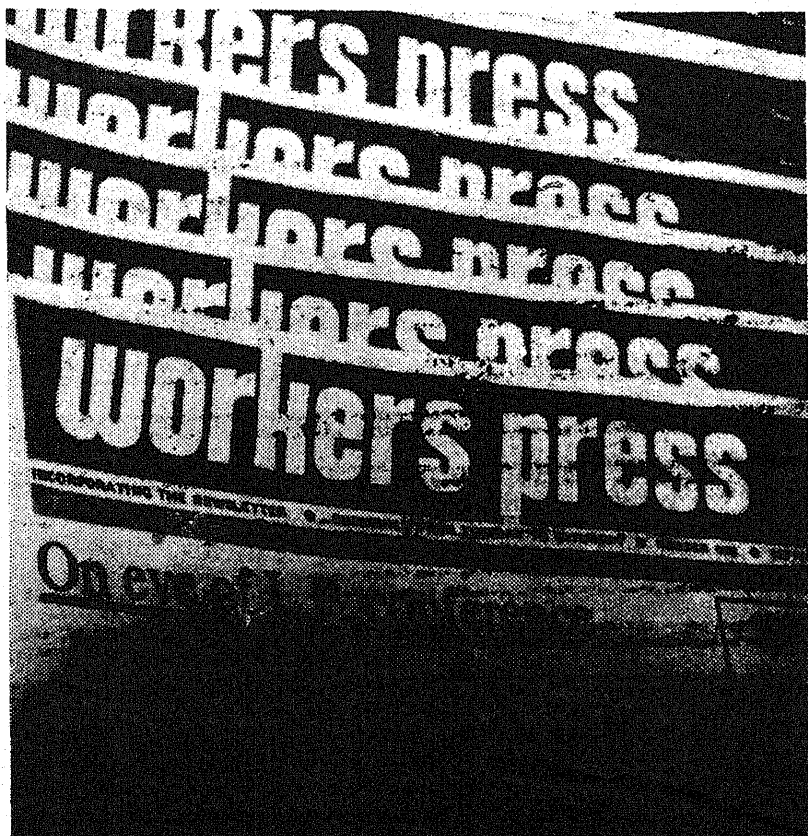
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THREE GREAT YEARS OF WORKERS PRESS

ALEX MITCHELL, news editor of the world's first Trotskyist daily, explains the real strength which has made three years of continuous publication possible as well as plans for future development.

Top: latest British Young Socialist march for the right to work. Right: The first issue of Workers Press three years ago.



THE PRODUCTION of the 12 page Workers Press six days a week, 52 weeks a year is an enormous technical, professional but, above all, political achievement.

The celebration of our third anniversary as a daily is a complete vindication of our Marxist political estimation of the economic crisis and its implications for the British working class.

We now intend to build on this solid foundation with wider coverage of industrial and international news and at the same time to introduce the latest printing technology to improve production.

In other words, Workers Press is getting ready for the class battles in front and for the crucial task of training and building an alternative revolutionary leadership in the working class.

After three years of continuous publication we have given the lie to those who scoffed at our decision to launch a revolutionary Marxist daily newspaper. They said that the workers' movement was "not ready" to support a daily newspaper; they said the Socialist Labour League would break its back putting it out.

But these impressionistic commentators, particularly the ones in revisionist circles, had no credible perspective of the political situation in Britain and internationally. As the world crisis of capitalism unfolded, the SLL felt the question was not simply what was politically possible, but what was politically necessary. The working class needed such a paper as a revolutionary instrument in the class struggle.

We have unmistakably demonstrated that on our program the first Trotskyist daily newspaper

in the world could be founded with the support we fight for in the working class.

Then we have other huge advantages: a first-class printing plant, highly-skilled tradesmen, a professional team of revolutionary writers, photographers and designers. But there is a further group of comrades and supporters whose work deserves special elaboration.

These are workers—and sometimes their wives—who collect the paper at stations and air terminals in the early hours of the morning and undertake long delivery runs to ensure that the Workers Press is on sale and taken into factories in the morning shift.

Sales are one crucial aspect of the life of our paper, and so is the monthly appeal fund. Each day we collect a continuous stream of money to fill the fund; in the three years since we began daily publication it has never gone short.

What is forged, therefore, is a unity of purpose between reporters, readers, sellers and collectors. It is a common fight against a common capitalist enemy.

The devotion and sacrifice by all those participants in this fight is truly magnificent. It is unknown on the capitalist press. Indeed, it couldn't happen there.

This struggle for the paper was best demonstrated during the national Right-to-Work marches organized by the Young Socialists during the bitter winter months of February and March this year. Reporter Stephen Johns marched the whole route from Glasgow to London with the unemployed youth.

By the final week of the national campaign we had a full reporting team with the marchers: Ian Yeats was with the Kent march, Philip Wade with Liverpool and David Maude with the Welsh contingent. They lived and slept with the marchers. Only one capitalist newspaper sent a reporter, The Sunday Times. And he drove alongside in a hired car and spent the night in a luxury hotel.

It would be wrong to give the impression that our success has been produced out of some sort of formula or simply out of sacrifices made by our supporters. Our success is built on political struggle, often bitter but always educative.

The most outstanding example is at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the focal point of a big battle against unemployment. Since the "work-in" began over a year ago we have conducted a relentless exposure of the Stalinist and reformist leadership warning that their policies would lead only to the break-up of the yards and the loss of thousands of jobs.

The Stalinists replied in their traditional way—they harassed our sellers and one of our reporters was threatened with a dunking in the Clyde. Now we've come almost a full circle. James Airlie, leading Stalinist, is rejected by the workers in his yard and the CP's glamour boy, James Reid, wears a much-tarnished image. The Workers Press, on the other hand, has earned the respect of the most advanced section of UCS workers.

Our paper is bought and read with respect. Our analysis has proved correct. We have continued to serve the UCS workers in their struggle and only three weeks ago we published in detail the agreement which the Stalinists signed with the Texas oil firm at Clydebank.

So with our coverage of the international scene. We have

exposed the policies of the Eastern European Stalinist bureaucracies as they reach trade agreements with fascist and neofascist countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece. Guiding these attacks has been the struggle for socialist internationalism in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

We have kept the case of political prisoners in front of the working class—George Jackson, who was subsequently murdered a year ago at San Quentin, Angela Davis, Soviet prisoners Grigorenko, Yakir, Bukovsky, Czech prisoners, Rhodesians, Ceylonese, Greek and Irish.

We have stood unequivocally for the defense of the colonial peoples in their struggles in Vietnam, Bangladesh, Palestine, the Arab states and southern Africa. In Ulster we were the first to call for the withdrawal of British troops and we have consistently fought for the unity of the British and Irish working class in the struggle against British imperialism.

Experiences over the past nine months have demonstrated the mass revolutionary movement which is under way in Britain. This expressed itself first in the miners' strike, then with the railwaymen, the dockers and the building workers.

The bitter struggles on the picket line and in the anti-union courts have left an indelible mark on the political consciousness of tens of thousands of workers. But the path ahead will be uneven and dangerous.

It is in consideration of these future developments that we have laid our plans for the expansion and development of our publishing. To train an alternative revolutionary leadership—the supreme task of revolutionists today—requires two essential stages: the publication of books at reasonable prices as part of a mass education program and further increases in

the circulation of the Workers Press.

To this end in mid-1973 we are installing a brand new press to publish Workers Press. This will allow our present press to be used on a full-time basis for book production while the new machinery will publish more quickly and efficiently our daily and the weekly youth paper, Keep Left, which we are so proud of.

Coupled with the technical innovations there will be new additions to the editorial staff from national daily newspapers. These journalists who have decided to throw up the bourgeois media and give their talents to the revolutionary movement will help to greatly expand our coverage of industrial, economic and international news.

The other major development will be in film-making. We are now in the final stages of completing plans for film production; the laboratories, cutting rooms and viewing facilities are being brought into service. This will enable us to produce drama based on working-class history, and education films for those coming for the first time into political struggle.

In conclusion it must be emphasized that our fight is to make the Workers Press a workers' paper which fights for leadership in the working class. We don't and won't tail-end the working class. On this basis we are confident of winning the best sections of workers who are moving towards revolutionary politics.

Our paper couldn't last another day without the support of the working class. Its continued expansion over the past three years is living testimony to the power of the working class and its revolutionary potential. The existence and growth of Workers Press is undoubtedly its greatest achievement.

300 Strikers Arrested

West Coast News

TERROR AGAINST FARMWORKERS

BY BARRY GREY

DELANO—Over 300 United Farm Workers pickets have been arrested in the last two weeks of a five week old strike at the White River grape vineyards in Poplar and Delano.

The White River range, now owned by Butte Oil and Gas Company, was formerly owned by Schenley. It was here that, in 1966, the first farm labor contract in American history was signed after the heroic struggle of the farm workers under UFWOC forced Schenley to recognize the union.

Now Butte Oil and Gas, with the full support of the Reagan Administration, has mobilized all of the forces of the growers—together with the courts and the police—in a vicious drive to break the union.

The strike was provoked by Butte Oil and Gas, who are now saying they will not negotiate until after the harvest is completed by the scabs they have imported, and that they may never negotiate.

Negotiations, which began with the expiration of the old contract in June, broke down on August 28 when John Boretta, president of Butte, demanded that the union accept revisions in the language on grievance procedure, the introduction of harvesting machines which replace 40 workers per machine, and the elimination of the UFW organized Hamburg Ranch in West Fresno County from the contract.

As soon as the union went on strike, the company obtained an injunction from the Superior Court of California requiring the pickets to stand 50 feet apart and allow police escorted scabs to pass freely into the fields.

SCABS

All of the growers' organizations, the California Growers' Association, the California Farm Bureau Federation, and the Nisei Farmers League, have joined together to give financial support to Butte and to enlist and transport scabs into the White River fields, including hundreds of illegal aliens.

The Nisei Farmers League, composed mainly of smaller Japanese growers from Fresno County who have refused to recognize the union, have led the way for the big growers in mobilizing scabs.

The union countered with mass picketing, mobilizing farm workers from up and down the state. The first arrests took place on Monday, September 25, when pickets at the Poplar fields tried to stop busloads of scabs from entering the vineyards. Scores of club-swinging sheriff's deputies descended on the pickets and arrested over 100.

The UFW brought hundreds more pickets after the first arrests. On Monday and Tuesday of last week over 100 farm workers were thrown in jail after they tried to defend themselves against rock-throwing scabs.

On Thursday of last week, the Superior Court handed down a new injunction at the request of White River Farms and Bill Taber, a scab contractor from Poplar, which outlaws mass picketing entirely.

SLANDERS

The most vicious slanders and attacks in the pages of the capitalist press, constant harassment by the police, open provocations by armed scabs, the constant likelihood of police terror and arrests, and court injunctions which outlaw any effective resistance are the daily conditions which face the striking farmworkers.

In the Fresno Bee on Tuesday, October 3, John Boretta called on Cesar Chavez to "stop his Molotov cocktail-throwing goon squads before they kill someone."

But the farm workers will not be easily broken. The Bulletin spoke with striking farm workers in Poplar and Delano. Pedro Bella, the president of the UFW ranch committee in Poplar, described the arrests of last Monday. He said:

"There were around 35 to 40 arrested. These Sheriff's deputies picked up some women and treated them pretty bad. They tried to hit them with a blackjack over the head, and tried to push them around.

"Also they try to scare us all the time. Anytime they come around they try to scare the people with they're going to hit them and they're going to put them in jail and all that. Sometimes they make the people get mad. Be-



Farmworkers are being terrorized now in California by government as growers try to bust their union.

cause if you see somebody try to push a lady or hit a lady you get mad.

"Before they had a truck or two of national guard. I think they are trying to break the union. On October 4 they made a new injunction. They do not let us stay 50 feet apart. They want us to go home. Because if you have to stay separate, one mile from each corner, that doesn't help nothing.

"But in California, and in other states like Arizona, Texas, Florida, New Mexico, everywhere we have people that can support us because they belong to the union. We have a lot of people. And other unions, they support us too.

"We're not afraid of the farmers here. We know that we're going to get them, sooner or later we're going to get them. They're not going to break the union that way. We're not going to back up steps, we got to go forward, never back."

Despite the scabs and the harvesting machines which have been brought onto the fields, whole sections of the harvest are going to ruin. But the growers appear willing to absorb the loss. In return, they step up the terror.

Ester Negrete, staffwoman at the Tulare County (Poplar) headquarters in Selma, told the Bulletin how the growers and the police operate. She said: "They know who our organizers are, so they take them first."

The leaders of the strike, Richard Chavez, Dolores Huerte, and the local organizers have all been arrested at least once. Ester Negrete described some of the police tactics against the

leadership:

"Last week when our people were being brought back from court after they were arraigned, they were sprayed with mace. Richard Chavez and the organizer from Poplar, Al Rojas, and Pablo Spinoza were there. There were about 15 or 16 guys in a panel truck and they sprayed them with mace. So they had to scream and holler until they got out."

The Bulletin interviewed Richard Chavez, who is leading the strike against Butte. When asked about the role of the courts in the strike, Chavez said:

"The damn racist injunction the courts slapped on us today completely destroys our picketing. It's a very, very bad injunction. I think it's the worst piece of crap they've come up with in recent labor history.

"They come out with this because the big money people all over the country own the courts. If you own something you make it work for you."

When asked how the union was going to deal with the injunction, Chavez said: "We're going to commit civil disobedience against it. We'd rather rot in jail than to obey something like that."

POLITICAL

Pointing to the massive forces which the UFW mobilized behind it in the petition drive to oust the governor of Arizona, which has in less than three months amassed over 100,000 signatures, enough to legally depose the governor, the Bulletin posed to Chavez the question of a political struggle against the growers, the police

and the courts through the construction of a labor party. Chavez said: "It's a little bit premature for it. That's my feeling. Labor's not that strong in this country. We got too many damn sellouts on top.

"Look, I'm going to be very frank with you. Being neutral is giving Nixon a vote, right? And if you have to choose the lesser of two evils, I cannot in clear conscience vote for someone like Nixon."

JEOPARDY

But it is not the weakness of the labor movement which places the UFW and the rest of the unions in jeopardy in the face of the outright attempt by the government and big business to smash them. The determination of the farm workers to fight back is proof of that.

It is the bankruptcy of the leadership, including Chavez, who refuse to take on the employers and their parties through the independent political power of the working class organized in its own party fighting for a workers' government.

The UFW can only defend itself by mobilizing all of labor in California in a massive demonstration of power to break the injunction and shut down the White River Range. At the center of this mobilization must be the call for a labor party now.

The Workers League and Young Socialists are taking forward the defense of the Farm Workers in the National Conference of Trade Unionists and Youth for a Labor Party Now to be held in Chicago on October 21 and 22.

COAST UNIONISTS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

of the trade unionists and youth who will be decisive in building a revolutionary leadership under the new conditions after the elections.

The fight for a labor party is a fight for socialism today. Just as the founding of the Republican Party meant the opening up of civil war, the construction of a labor party in the United States will mean the fight to go forward to socialism against the capitalist system, which today can only destroy the lives of millions and wipe out the key productive force, the working class itself.

The discussion at the conference revealed the tremendous interest in the question of the economic crisis and the need to turn to a study of Marx's Capital and Marxist philosophy in order to understand the

changes now required.

The conference passed a motion to support and build the Chicago conference on October 22 by sending the largest possible West Coast contingent and to support the pre-conference of the Young Socialists to prepare the launching of a national youth movement based on the fight for Marxist theory.

COLLECTION

The tremendous response to this fight was reflected in the collection at the meeting of \$500 to take forward this decision. The rapid development and interest in theory was expressed in the sale of \$45 worth of literature.

The task now is to carry forward this conference in an all-out fight to bring workers and youth from the West Coast to Chicago on October 22.

West Coast News

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Editorial

The Way Forward For Farmworkers

The drive for Proposition 22 and the reign of terror opened up against the United Farm Workers in the fields of Delano and Poplar is the beginning of a campaign to smash the powerful California labor movement.

The UFW is fighting for its very life in the same fields where it signed its first collective bargaining agreement.

While Nixon and Reagan openly boast of their plans to smash the UFW, every major California newspaper has lined up behind Proposition 22 and is issuing a daily barrage of lies about farm worker violence.

From the liberal Democrats, there has been nothing but a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts to knock the proposition off the ballot, a great many platitudes and an enormous amount of praise for the non-violence of Cesar Chavez.

For farmworkers facing all the repressive might of the state, the only way forward is the mobilization of the strength of the labor movement through the construction of a party of labor that can smash the power of the growers.

Chavez has been forced to turn to labor in a limited way. A picket line organized against Butte Oil and Gas was supported by Richard Groulx of the Alameda Labor Council and by James Herman of the ILWU clerks and head of the Ad Hoc Committee to aid strikes.

Both of these leaders are committed to McGovern and have so far refused to do any more than protest for fear of breaking up their fragile alliance with the liberal Democrats. They know that real solidarity action of the trade union movement with the farmworkers would blow their rotten relationship with McGovern sky high.

It is here that the Communist Party comes forward to play their counterrevolutionary role. They have nothing but praise for the section of the labor bureaucracy rallying behind McGovern. They cheer on Chavez' appeals to the liberals and the church and his attempts to liquidate the UFW fight into support for the McGovern candidacy.

They are determined to see the farmworkers strangled in impotent protest rather than to fight for a mobilization of labor that would expose the labor leadership and clear the way for a break with McGovern and the building of a labor party.

In the middle of this struggle, the Socialist Workers Party has launched its presidential campaign in California. In a UFW march in San Francisco, they refused to even mention politics. Rather, they carried a banner reading "SWP supports the farmworkers."

In other words, they accept every betrayal of the labor bureaucracy and are perfectly happy to leave the farmworkers to the perspective of the Communist Party and George McGovern.

Linda Jenness has been touring California speaking to hundreds of students on dozens of campuses. She refuses to even mention the battle of the UFW, let alone take up the fight to construct a labor party.

The Workers League will not accept this situation. We intervened in the S.F. UFW march with banners calling for the construction of a labor party. The eagerness of farmworkers for a political lead was expressed in the sale of over 50 Spanish language copies of *The Case For A Labor Party*.

We intend to carry this forward by mobilizing the largest possible contingent of workers and youth for our labor party conference in Chicago on October 22.

2 Day Strike Paralyzes Hawaiian Shipping

A BULLETIN REPORTER
HONOLULU, Oct. 9—Hawaii longshoremen returned to work today after a two day strike, the first here since 1949, that paralyzed shipping.

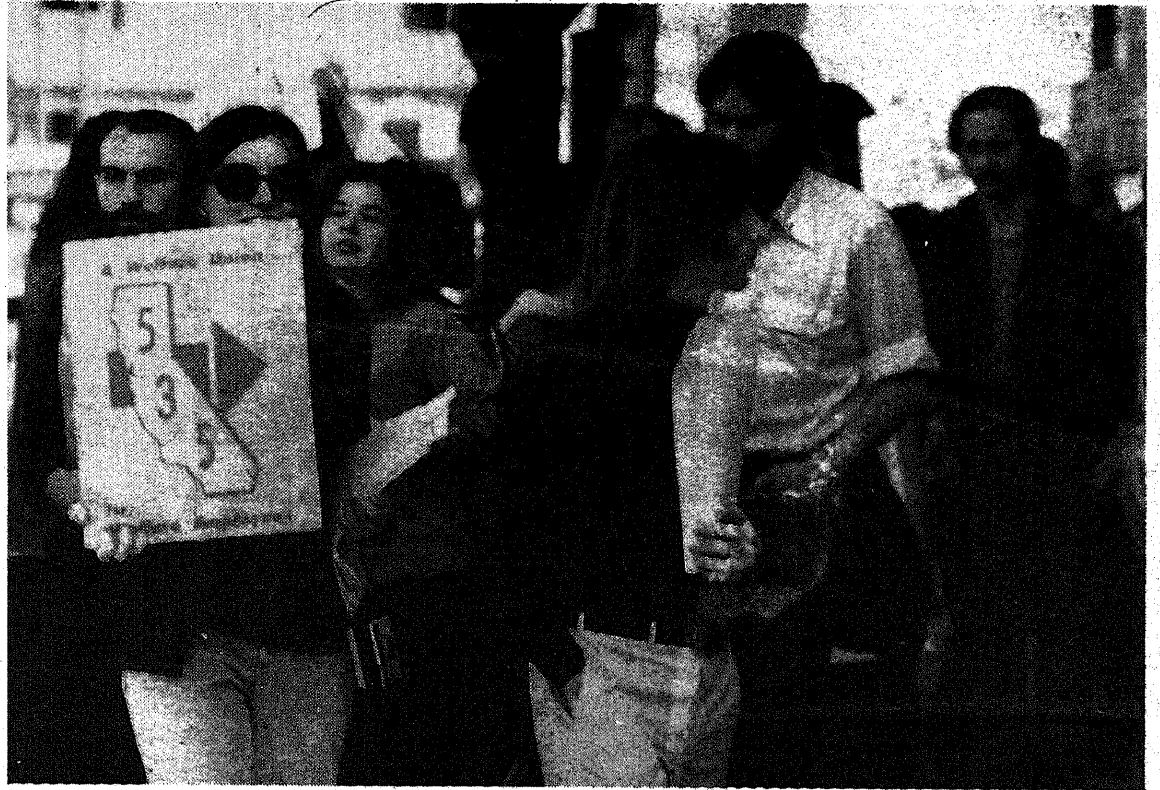
Robert McElrath, regional director of ILWU Local 142, called the strike after it became clear that the 250 dockers and 750 stevedores were prepared for wildcat action against the major stevedoring companies.

The dockers have been working without a contract since June 1971, but the leadership has agreed to extensions that have

left the Hawaii ranks behind the pay and benefit scale of the West Coast longshoremen.

The agreement reached with Seatrain Terminals reportedly includes a wage increase of 92½ cents per hour and pensions of \$350 a month for retired longshoremen.

The explosion on the the Hawaii docks occurs just as tensions are building toward the breaking point on the West Coast. ILWU President Harry Bridges has threatened that the union may throw out the contract negotiated after the 134 day strike because of continued company violations.



Members of SEIU Local 535 in San Francisco demonstrated against new 19-page form which speeds up workers and threatens welfare clients. Last week, Bulletin incorrectly identified union as SSEU.

GMAD Ranks Protest UAW Strike Strategy

BY

ROBERT GREEN

LOS ANGELES—Speaking to the ranks of Van Nuys Local 645 on October 5, Jerry Whipple, Western Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, unveiled the International's hit and run scheme that amounts to an attempt to cut off the growing strike movement of General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) workers before the November elections.

Forced to admit that "GM is out to take us on," Whipple did not advance a plan to unite the ranks in a nationwide strike against the unrelenting speed-up, but rather put forward Woodcock's ploy of rotating strike action.

What this amounts to is that Van Nuys, Mansfield and a few other selected GMAD plants will be hit in a weekend strike, from Friday October 13 through the following Monday, in an attempt to "foul up production" and make GM more amenable to further negotiations.

In a situation demanding decisive leadership, Whipple could only say: "I can't tell you it will work for sure but it's damn well better than what happened at Norwood."

He added: "If it doesn't work, we're all going to have to get our

heads together and try something else."

On the other hand Van Nuys' ranks expressed their determination to fight. Whipple's remarks were met with protests that "striking them piecemeal for two days isn't going to accomplish a damn thing. All they will do is work us overtime to make up the production."

As the debate continued, one irate worker shouted "We need a national strike now."

Local officers, fearing rumors of wildcat, quickly called the meeting to order and, in the absence of a really organized opposition, rammed Whipple's proposals through.

All that Whipple would tell the Bulletin was that in his opinion "a national strike would not work" and that "a labor party is a fine idea but for the moment

we're going to have to stick with McGovern."

Whipple's election as Western Regional Director over Paul Schrade was an expression of rank and file discontent with Schrade's refusal to fight layoffs and speed-up. Whipple has now revealed his determination to play the same role.

If a six month strike at Norwood could win nothing, a policy of harassment at a few plants is bankrupt against GMAD's determination to impose virtual slavery on its production lines.

The militancy of the Norwood strikers and the massive movement towards strike action throughout GMAD must be taken forward in all plants in a fight for national strike action combined with a fight for the launching of a labor party immediately.

Workers League and Young Socialists WEEKEND OF EDUCATION & RECREATION IN THE REDWOODS

Lectures:

1. Pragmatism and the American Revolution—Tim Wohlforth
2. The Irrepressible Conflict of 1861—Tim Wohlforth
3. A Methodological Approach to Marx's Capital—Jeff Sebastian

\$17.00 covers everything including transportation.

Note New Dates!

NOV. 11-12

For information call: 415-621-1310

