

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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**NIXON'S WAR ON  
THE WORKING CLASS--  
UNEMPLOYMENT,  
WAGE FREEZE**

Hold Out For \$ 1.25/Hour First Year

# GM STRIKE MUST GO ON -VOTE DOWN SELLOUT



Scottish miners (at left) have a clear message for Lord Robens of the Coal Board. French miners (right) demonstrate for higher wages as strike wave sweeps France.

## MASSIVE MINERS STRIKES SWEEP BRITAIN AND FRANCE

# MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM



A Series of  
Lectures by  
Tim Wohlforth

### NEW SERIES

This important new series is based upon lectures presented at Workers League Weekend Schools by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

In these lectures, Wohlforth deals with the question of philosophy, of dialectical materialism and its relationship to the construction of the revolutionary party. This series is of critical importance for the struggles of the working class today.



"Congratulations on winning the Nobel Prize, Mr. Samuelson."

## Nixon Declares War On Workers More Unemployment, Wage Cuts

BY FRED MUELLER

The reaction of the Nixon Administration to the elections means a declaration of war on the working class. The White House and the bosses are well aware of the problems they face. Nixon no more than Johnson before him will proceed simply from considerations of vote-catching or opinion polls and popularity.

The ruling class demands war on the workers and war it will be. The attacks have just begun.

This is expressed very clearly in the remarks of Herbert Stein of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. "The rate of inflation from this point forward will depend on the rate of wage increases probably more than anything else."

Stein begins by pointing his finger at the trade unions. The unions are to blame for inflation. Wages must be pushed back.

But the Nixon Administration also announces that it expects the wage offensive to slow down. And one reason given is "The recognition that rapid wage increases run on a collision course with full employment."

There you have it. According to one of the top Nixon economists the workers can forget about full employment, meaning even 4% unemployment. This is the face of capitalism today. It is the economic crisis which is posing this issue so sharply and just as Mr. Stein so blatantly put it: either wages or employment—and maybe neither!

"If, contrary to our expectations," continues Stein, "it should become clear that we are not continuing to progress toward less inflation as we move on the path to full employment, then the path will have to be reconsidered."

What does this mean? Quite simply, the government intends to increase unemployment at the slightest sign of resistance from the working class. Greater unemployment is a certainty. The employers seek to use it as a weapon against the organized labor movement, to help them achieve their major goal of cutting wages and living standards in order to restore profitability.

### BLUDGEON

The capitalists cannot give reforms because the boom is over. Reforms are a thing of the past. The wage offensive must be beaten back. Unemployment and inflation will be used to bludgeon the workers into understanding that they cannot have both jobs and wage increases. This is the conscious policy of the bosses and their government in Washington.

But that is not the end of it. For the American working class is not about to go along without a fight. At every step the ranks will fight back against any and all attacks. This fight requires a new leadership of the working class and in the unions.

The election results reflect deepening

dissatisfaction as well as hatred of Nixon and what he represents. There is also the other side, the growth of right wing tendencies within the middle class and backward sections of the working class, the growth of tendencies which will move at the earliest opportunity to smash the unions.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment figures for October show part of Nixon's strategy. They are up to 5.6%, the highest in nearly seven years. And this does not include at least 600,000 no longer on the rolls because they have stopped looking for work.

The growing joblessness, among highly paid workers as well as unskilled, and in key sectors of the economy like aerospace, was what lay behind the explosion of hostility to Nixon at San Jose just before the election. The demonstration against Nixon there was initiated and led by hundreds of unemployed aerospace workers. These workers were saying that they will not take any of Nixon's attacks lying down. On the road to imposing even the beginning of conditions like those of the 1930s the capitalists will find bloody resistance at every turn.

What is needed is a program to fight back now. Nixon is proceeding immediately after the elections to the attack. A counterattack is an absolute necessity.

This means organization of unemployed committees in the major centers of joblessness spreading throughout the country. We must fight not only for jobs through a 30 hour week, but also for full employment compensation for the duration of unemployment and for the restoration of all cuts in education, housing, medical care and research.

This means a political fight now, with mass demonstrations against the Nixon-employer attacks. This fight must be taken up inside and outside the trade unions. Not a single worker or his family must be made to suffer further to bail out the bankers and their industrial partners. Mass demonstrations, led and backed by the labor movement, for jobs and the wage offensive, against unemployment and all attacks on the unions!

In this fight the workers and the youth have no allies within the Democratic and Republican Parties. The trade union bureaucracy betrays this fight by tying the working class to the capitalists parties. We must fight now for a labor party to take forward the fight against unemployment. Nixon is preparing now for 1972. We must also prepare, and the only way is to take up the fight now.

## What The Editors Think...

The front page of the *Militant*, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, of Nov. 13, 1970 headlined "San Jose 'rock-throwing' was a Nixon fake." The article goes on: "That stone-and-egg attack on President Nixon by San Jose antiwar demonstrators was a figment of the imagination. It was created by the President, his associates and the San Jose cops."

The *Daily World*, organ of the Communist Party, of November 5 carried the same theme: "The Nixon-Reagan hoax at San Jose." The *World* says: "The San Jose affair demonstrates the lengths to which a national administration, with an assist from the California State administration, will go in pursuit of partisan advantage, and to hell with the national interests! ... a number of people with no axes to grind seem to be convinced that the San Jose incident was staged to provide the Nixon-Agnew and Reagan-Murphy campaigners with grist for their 'law-and-order' mill." While the *World* says that San Jose was not quite a 'Reichstag Fire,' the incident shows that Nixon is "not incapable of a distinctly American-type 'Reichstag Fire.'"

The contention that the San Jose incident was a plot by Nixon staged to win his candidates an election is an absurd statement, and is being used by the CP and the SWP to hide what really lay behind this demonstration. The fact is this demonstration did occur and thousands of workers and youth showed their anger and hatred that night of the Nixon Administration.

There is no doubt that Nixon's appearance at the demonstration was provocative and that he exaggerated the incident to stir up a witchhunt atmosphere. But Nixon's main purpose in this was to hide what was behind this action—the economic crisis and the determination of the working class to fight against his policies. Nixon and Agnew's law and order campaign reflects not only the fear of the movement of the working class but also its preparation to break the offensive.

The CP and the SWP play right into the hands of Nixon with their hoax theories by ignoring the CLASS character of this action and the CLASS hatred of Nixon. At the center of this demonstration—and this is what Nixon, the capitalist press as well as the revisionists conceal—was the political action of workers together with the youth. The banners the unemployed workers and trade unionists raised that night were for wages and jobs.

What the revisionists are really saying is that the class struggle is a "figment of the imagination." But the lesson of San Jose is that the working class is not

going to take the attacks on its living standards lightly or passively but is going to fight the employers and the government. Above all in this struggle the working class cannot afford the complacency which both the CP, SWP and the trade union bureaucracy are seeking to perpetuate.

The revisionists take the same road in relation to the elections in attempting to blunt the explosive character of the class struggle and the necessity for an independent political fight.

The Communist Party, echoing the claims of the trade union bureaucracy, hailed the defeat of Nixon and Agnew's strategy in the election. In their editorial of Nov. 6 the *Daily World* says: "The most important fact of Tuesday's election is that the Nixon-Agnew blitz failed. It failed to alter the composition of the Senate and the House in an ultra rightist direction as Nixon hoped." According to the CP the "Nixon-Agnew election team" did not succeed in "convincing the voters their Democratic opponents are dangerous 'radic-libs' undermining national security." In other words the liberals and the Democrats were able to pose an alternative to Nixon.

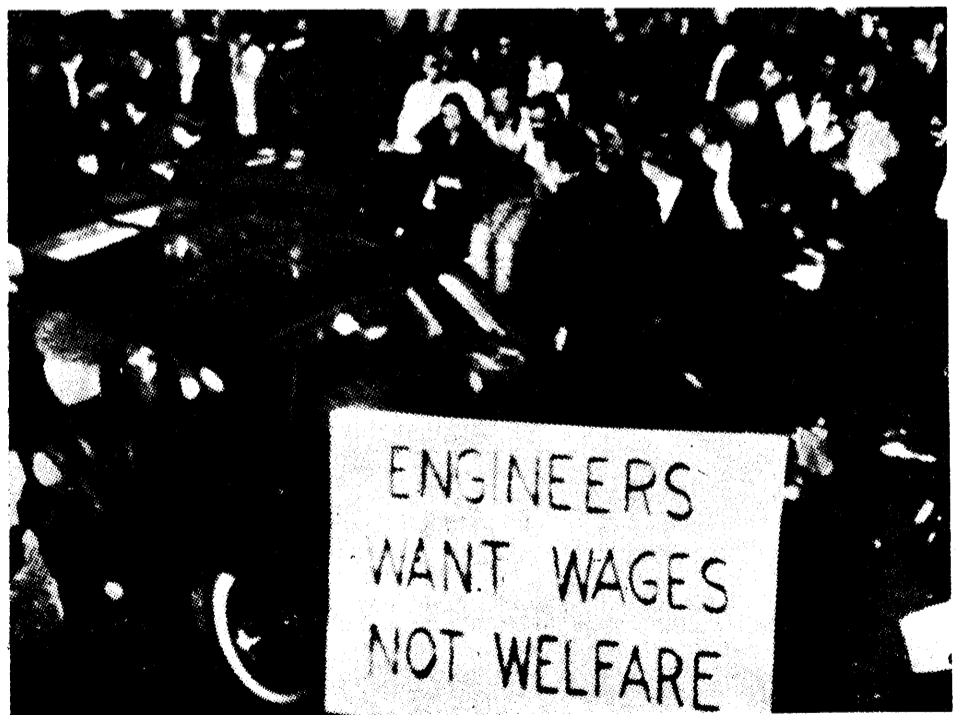
The SWP headed its Nov. 13 issue: "Vietnam Withdrawal Carries In Referendums." The theme of the article is that the antiwar forces gained a victory against Nixon through the referendums endorsed by the Democrats. In this way the SWP feeds the position of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucracy.

The point is that what was reflected in this election was not the strength of an alternative in the Democratic Party or in the antiwar forces but the class hatred and dissatisfaction of the working class with the Nixon Administration. This is why Nixon did not get everything he said he would. But what remains, contrary to the contentions of the CP and the SWP, was that Nixon did win an "ideological victory." The most openly anti-labor forces have been strengthened.

This is the warning of the Buckley election. The Democratic Party has made it clear that on the central questions of preserving the interests of capital they stand together with Nixon. Thus Muskie stated on election night: "There is no disagreement about what we want."

Nixon did win a victory precisely because there was no political challenge from the working class and the trade union leadership. The employers received no setback in this election because they were unopposed politically.

The lesson of San Jose and the elections is that the American workers are on the offensive in the fight against war, inflation and unemployment and the only way the struggle can go forward is through the independent mobilization of the working class and the fight for a labor party.



Hundreds of unemployed aerospace workers participated in San Jose anti-Nixon demonstration, and showed willingness to fight Nixon's policies with banners like one above.

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# AUTO WORKERS MUST SAY NO TO WOODCOCK'S SELLOUT PACT

BY DAN FRIED

Nov. 11—As we go to press, a tentative agreement has been reached between top UAW negotiators and General Motors to end the eight week auto strike.

Reports on the terms of this settlement make clear that it is a complete sellout and must be rejected.

In exchange for the return to the full cost of living escalator, the International leadership has gotten peanuts rather than a substantial wage increase the first year of the contract. The actual figure of the

first year increase, still undisclosed, is reported to be somewhere between the Company's offer of 7 cents an hour in new money and the union's demand for 30.5 cents. The continual reports that GM was offering 38 cents and the UAW asking 60.5 cents are a smokescreen to cover up the real wage figure. The inflated figures include 31 cents an hour in "catch up pay" which is owed to the workers from the last contract.

Speculation among workers at GM's Linden plant was that the agreement was

for only 10 to 17 cents an hour in new money. Even accepting a very generous figure of 20 cents, this settlement would be for less than 5-1/2%.

What an insult to the UAW membership! Woodcock originally said he would fight for 15% the first year!

This kind of settlement will mean the auto workers will fall even further behind at a time when the railroad clerks union leadership has rejected a government proposed wage increase of 37% over three years as "not enough money" and the head of the New York Sanitationmen's union has announced that his union will demand an increase from \$9,871 to \$13,000 in the first year of their contract.

To add insult to injury, we can expect that whatever Woodcock agreed to in first year wages, he accepted even smaller figures for the second and third year.

Even on the pension issue which Woodcock built up into the number one issue, there has been a major retreat. Instead of retirement after 30 years REGARDLESS of age, the reported agreement calls for retirement after 30 years at age 58 the first year of the contract, at 56 the second year, and 55 years the third year. These provisions exclude many thousands of workers who already have put in up to 40 years producing profits for GM.

The initial reaction of some local leaders to the agreement on pensions alone is critical. When it was first rumored that there had been a compromise on "30 and out," shop committeeman Manny McKenna of Local 595 at Linden, N.J., remarked: "If it does not contain 30 and out regardless of age, we are recommending rejection. Any-

thing short of this is discrimination. And as far as our local negotiations are concerned, we are no where near agreement."

The reaction of the workers both young and old at the Linden plant earlier this week to the threat of an imminent settlement was that the strike was just now beginning to hurt GM and that they were prepared to stay out as long as another six months to win a decent contract.

This morning when workers at the local first heard rumors about the agreement, there was still a feeling that they were being kept in the dark. One militant who has spoken up strongly for \$1.25 an hour, first year, felt that with the kind of first year wage agreement rumored, "Woodcock ought to be shot."

Even if the International leadership is able to get the agreement of the GM Council, the stage is set for an all out fight by the ranks to reject the national contract. Woodcock is not out of the woods yet. Not by a long shot.

After more than eight weeks on the picket line, the ranks of the UAW need more than pennies which will not even make up for what they lost during the strike. We say that the ranks should follow the lead of the Teamster rank and file who overturned their leader's sell-out offer last year and went on to win \$1.65/hour over 3 years.

- All out for rejection of Woodcock agreement!

- Hold out for \$1.25/hour first year wage increase, 30 and out REGARDLESS of age!

- No agreement on national terms until agreement of all local settlements are completed!

## Rank And File Miners' Strike Challenges Tories In Britain

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

On November 9 rank and file miners in Britain went out on strike in defiance of their leadership. Half of the members of the National Union of Mineworkers are out and more are expected to follow in the next few days.

The miners are demanding a minimum of \$48.00 a week. The National Coal Board has offered a measly increase to \$43.00. Despite the fact that the top leaders of the miners' union have accepted this insulting offer, the ranks are making it clear that they are going to fight it out.

The miners are very much in the vanguard of the British working class. It was the miners' strike which began the British general strike in 1926. This struggle today is the biggest and most vital strike for the miners since 1926.

The Tories since coming to power last spring have declared war on the working class in order to save declining British capitalism. Like Nixon in the U.S. the Tories are trying to break the back of the wage offensive of the British workers. In the miners' strike there is no room for compromise.

The Tories have made it clear that they intend to cut wages, increase unemployment, and have recently announced

wholesale cuts in social service.

The fight for the miners' wage demand is more than an economic struggle, it poses the whole challenge to the Tory government and British capitalism. The fight must be a political struggle to defeat the Tories.

The Socialist Labour League, British Trotskyists, have raised these demands in this critical struggle which will have an impact not just on the British workers but the international labor movement:

- All-out national strike now!
- No return until the full claim is met!
- Solidarity action now by transport, railway and dock workers!
- The miners' fight is every worker's fight! Force the trade unions to act in solidarity with the miners!
- Win the miners' strike, and take the most important step to stop the anti-union laws and force the Conservative government to resign!
- Victory to the miners!

## SSEU-371 Prepares Contract Fight As City Threatens Layoffs, Speed-up

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The fight for job security and decent wage increases on the part of city labor is coming under increasing attack by the Lindsay Administration. A report just released by the Citizens Finance Committee, a private advisory board to the mayor, stated that if the civil service unions did not decrease their wage demands and increase their productivity, layoffs should be expected.

Sanitation, fire and police contracts expire along with Social Service Employees at the end of this year. The city is rolling up its sleeves to take them all on. A real offensive fight is required now on the part of all city labor in order to beat back the city's attack and come out ahead in the wage area.

At last Thursday's meeting of the SSEU-371 membership, the SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership proposed demands for the upcoming contract which began to answer the city's offensive. After a heated battle, the Hill leadership was forced to agree to put the following clause in the contract demands:

"That there shall be no contracting out of work, no change of employer, and no community takeover of ASA during the term of this contract."

### WEAPON

This demand will prove to be a key weapon against Lindsay's attacks on civil service in general and in particular, the Addiction Service Agency, Homemakers, and Bureau of Public Assistance and Bureau of Child Welfare staff.

The city's refusal to give any more than a six month contract to the Addiction Services Agency indicates its plans for the ultimate elimination of this agency. A beginning step in the elimination of the agency is the private takeover of Phoenix House, which employs about a third of the ASA workers. Under the guise of "community control" the city is planning to replace unionized, civil service workers in this agency, with non-union, non-civil service and volunteer help.

The same type of scheme is being employed with regard to the Homemaker title. Under the "Vendor Plan," the city is hiring non-civil service lower paid "housekeepers" to do the job Homemakers do.

Nixon's "Family Assistance Plan" and the city's reorganization scheme become much clearer in this context. Nixon's plan is to federalize the Department of

Social Services in order to break down the protections offered workers through civil service status, and then to replace these workers with para-professionals and volunteers as a step toward the complete liquidation of any type of service program and the automation of the Department of Social Services along the lines of the Social Security Administration.

The city's reorganization scheme simply facilitates the Nixon Plan, by separating out the social services from the financial part of the job. Any essential services will be farmed out to private agencies. The union is now allowing contracting out of certain kinds of work in the Bureau of Child Welfare. This kind of practice must be completely stopped, as it only aids the city in its efforts to destroy civil service.

### HILL

The reluctance of the Hill leadership to accept this clause only further exposes the vicious nature of the reorganization schemes they are accepting in virtually all agencies covered by the union. Obviously such reorganization schemes are completely contradictory with real job security provisions. The union leadership's position was to simply demand a job security clause which would protect workers for the two years of the contract, but accept the possibility of a change of employer and contracting out of work. Any acceptance of these attacks, even with a no layoff clause in the contract, would only serve to prepare workers for future slaughter.

The Committee for a New Leadership also prepared various demands to insure no cut in staff in the reorganized centers. The demand for a 60:1 ratio of workers to cases, over and above the workers involved in the Bureau of Child Welfare functions will be key. Such workload and job security demands, as well as a fight to make the 40% and full cost of living wage increase demands non-negotiable, can mean a real victory for labor.

## Working Class Upsurge Behind Trenton's Black Youth Rebellion



Black students and youth were targets of organized assault by racists in Trenton.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

TRENTON, N.J.—"It was like Mississippi up north." That was the way a young black worker we talked to in Trenton's ghetto described the outbreak of racism that preceded the recent rebellion by black youth. A mob of whites, mainly older suburban residents, were whipped up into a racist frenzy against the school busing plan for integration of two elementary schools.

Behind this racist outburst was not only the complicity with the racists of Mayor Holland who opposed the busing plan to begin with, but the "patriotic" demagoguery of Nixon, Agnew and Wallace who seek to use racist poison to divide and weaken the working class.

The rebellion by black high school students and young workers which centered on the main street in the ghetto was sparked by anger over the racist anti-integration frenzy. But behind it lay the frustration and resentment over the mountain of oppressive conditions that face working class youth, black and white—dead end jobs or no jobs at all, deplorable housing, overcrowded schools (there is only one public high school in all of Trenton), and the bleak prospect of being shipped off to fight for imperialism in Indochina.

### CURFEW

The vicious actions of the police and city authorities were aimed at maintaining racial tensions at a high point and were directed against all youth, black and white. A 6 p.m. curfew for anyone under 21 was declared; the sale of gasoline was halted amidst rumors that black youth were buying

it in large quantities with the "possible intention of making fire bombs."

The high school was shut down and kept closed long after any visible signs that there had even been a riot had disappeared. Every attempt was made to feed the fires of racism among youth, even though the organized opposition to busing did not involve any white youth at all.

### REVOLUTIONARY

The rebellion of black youth in Trenton follows similar rebellions of predominantly black youth in Asbury Park and New Bedford last summer. But the rebellion in Trenton, a heavily industrialized city, is more than an outburst of youth facing massive unemployment. It represents the stirrings now rising throughout the working class toward a political confrontation with the capitalist system. As the black youth take to the streets of Trenton, the 4,000 youth march under leadership of the Young Lords against imperialism in New York and new layers of high school youth come into the anti-war demonstrations.

The events in Trenton underline the need and the potential for the organization of working class youth into a revolutionary youth movement to fight for socialism.

# Montreal Labor Leader Framed In New Attacks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, P.Q., Nov. 8—A new so-called "modified" version of the War Measures Act was passed by Parliament almost unanimously two days ago.

Meanwhile the Montreal labor leader Michel Chartrand, along with four other people arrested under the War Measures Act, has been charged with "seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government."

The new "modified" act was designed to replace the more severe War Measures Act. It was brought in by the government in response to rising opposition to the War Measures Act. But this new act is a fraud. It gives the government all the powers it had under the old act, and moreover it gives the government these powers up to April 30, 1971.

The only difference is that the new act is in a new nicer looking package. This, the government hopes, will stop the opposition to its policy of police terror against the working class. But even the government knows it cannot hide this fraud so easily. All this week in preparing the introduction of the new bill into Parliament, Trudeau and his ministers have been circulating rumors about how certain so called "influential people" were planning to take over the Quebec government and form a provisional government. (These influential people being people who have opposed police terror tactics.) And also how the FLQ is planning an armed insurrection to take over the government.

## LIES

Both these stories are lies, designed to directly smash opposition to the police terror and to create a climate of fear by which the government can pass its reactionary act without opposition. This is exactly what happened. In the end even the members of the New Democratic Party, many of whom had opposed the War Measures Act, all voted for this new act this time, exposing their betrayal of the Canadian working class.

This new witchhunting by Trudeau follows upon Montreal Mayor Drapeau's successful slander campaign for re-election. It is the capitalist class' reaction to opposition to its reign of terror. All across Canada and especially in Quebec, opposition from the working class has been increasing. The three largest Quebec trade unions—The Quebec Federation of Labor, the Quebec Teachers Corporation, and the Confederation of National Trade Unions—have united together in a common front to oppose the new act and the continuing police terror against the working class.

This common front represents a growing

awareness in the working class about the true nature of the government policies. Yet it is not enough, as the trade union bureaucrats would have us believe, to peacefully protest the growing repression of the Canadian working class. The working class can expect nothing from the capitalists but deceit and greater acts of repression.

## UNITED

The working class must actively defend itself against this terror. It must unite to stop the police from destroying its



Michel Chartrand, head of largest union in Montreal, was jailed under martial law.

organizations and arresting working class militants. It must fight to free all jailed political prisoners. This fight must be based on an all out attack on the capitalist class which instituted this terror in the hope of smashing the working class.

This means the fight for socialism in the Canadian working class, and the fight for Marxist leadership to lead the class in this crucial fight. All this is even more sharply pointed out by the recent charging of Michel Chartrand, the leader of the largest and most militant trade union in Montreal, along with four other people arrested under the War Measures Act, with seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government. The maximum penalty for this charge is 14 years imprisonment.

## CHARTRAND

This charge against Chartrand is an open and vicious attack on the working class. There can be no question what the government and capitalist class means by this. They intend to whip the working class into submission. This vicious attack is the latest in a whole series of police terror tactics.

The fact that the new act is in effect up to April 1971 can only mean that the capitalist class has more of the same in store for the Canadian working class. The fight for Marxist leadership in the working class now more than ever is vital if the working class is ever to unite and destroy the capitalist system.

## PHILADELPHIA

THE WORKERS LEAGUE PRESENTS:

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FRED MUELLER

SATURDAY NOV. 21

7:30 pm RM. 309

STUDENT

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While a strike wave sweeps France, 700 workers at Hurel-Dubois aircraft parts plant at Meudon, France occupied factory, formed strike committee to press forward demands.

# Strikes Sweep France As Ranks Occupy Plants

BY MELODY FARROW

A new wave of strikes has been spreading throughout France in response to rising inflation and the Pompidou government's plans to throw millions of workers out of work.

A miners' strike which began on Oct. 25 has now spread to three-quarters of the coal fields in Lorraine. The workers are demanding a guaranteed wage of 55 francs a shift while the bosses want to make changes in the shift system and make overtime compulsory. Production has been speeded up tremendously and the bosses have used the threat of layoffs to weaken the strikers.

Department store workers in Paris have been on strike for two weeks in the second action of October. These workers are among the most exploited workers in France and have waged a militant struggle for a minimum salary of 1,000 francs a month and a 10% increase for everyone. The CGT union leadership has attempted to separate the struggle store by store despite the unity of the workers which has been expressed in the strike. As yet none of the demands have been won.

## OCCUPIED

At the "Nouvelles Galeries" department store in Saint Etienne, where workers have struck repeatedly in the past six weeks, but management still refuse even to meet them, workers have occupied the administration offices since Tuesday.

The 700 workers of the Hurel-Dubois aircraft parts plant at Meudon have occupied the factory, electing a strike committee to lead the struggle for a wage increase.

Their decision follows management attempts to split the factory by offering raises to the minority of temporary workers, but refusing them to the established workers on the same jobs.

But all sections of the factory have supported the action virtually unanimously and the workers—against union advice—are now organizing the occupation on a common claim.

## DOCKS

Dockers in the port of Marseilles have been refusing overtime and Sunday work during the last week of October in protest against the changes in working practices on the docks and for an increased wage. Elsewhere in France the bus drivers in Lille (the Northeast) are on strike and 60 steelworkers in the Moselle region were locked out for demanding a higher wage.

Space workers at the Space Research Center near Paris and Toulouse are also on strike. On Oct. 26 postal workers began a five day strike to press their demands in the new postal bill which is coming up for a vote. Dispersed actions have taken place throughout the country against layoffs and speed up as the French government seeks to make the workers pay for the crisis of French capitalism.

The Pompidou government has stepped up its repression of socialists and has recently sentenced Alain Geismar, leader of the banned Proletarian Left group, to 18 months in jail and has arrested all its members who sell its paper. This step is an attempt to intimidate the working class and prepare its repressive arsenal for battle with the unions.

The government has encouraged physical attacks, condoned by the Stalinists, against the Trotskyist youth group, AJS. Two of its members were attacked on Oct. 9 in Grenoble, a girl was beaten on the head with an iron pipe and suffered a skull fracture and another member's nose was broken by a bottle. These attacks reflect the fear of the French bourgeoisie of the French working class as it renews the struggle it left off in May-June 1968.

# British Army Seeking Excuse For Mass Arrests In N. Ireland

BY MARTY JONAS

Only one day after the rock-throwing demonstrations against Nixon by students and unemployed workers in San Jose, new street fighting broke out in Belfast, North Ireland.

For the first time in Ulster, gelignite bombs and machine guns are being used against the troops. This was the answer the troops got for the renewed use of water-cannon and CS gas against Belfast crowds and the shooting of a civilian in the leg in the Ardoyne area. There two hundred workers tried to break down an army barricade on the Crumlin Road.

The response to both of these new upsurges of working class militancy is new threats by the ruling class to "take the gloves off" and institute new repression.

In Ulster, the Tory government and the British army's "get tough" policy means "shoot first and parley later" and mass arrests.

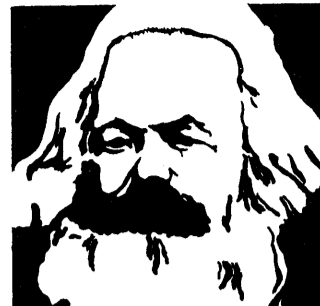
## ARRESTS

The British government is looking for any excuse to start the mass arrests. They have started raising the spectre of the I.R.A. directing the fighting in the streets, in the manner that Trudeau raised the spectre of the FLQ in order to start the mass arrests in Quebec.

Major-General Tony Farrar-Hockley, land forces commander, claimed that the army in Northern Ireland is for the first time facing "organized terrorism."

Major Peter Spurgeon, acting Commanding Officer of 41 Commando told reporters:

# MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM



A Series of Lectures by  
Tim Wohlforth

THE FIRST QUESTION I want to address myself to, and in many ways this will be the theme of these lectures, is why do we study philosophy? Why at this particular point do we propose that it becomes critically important to turn to questions of philosophy in order to be able to build a party, a revolutionary party in the United States, in order to be able to take part in the whole international struggle for socialism?

Throughout these lectures I am going to be referring to a book by George Novack, who is the main person in the Socialist Workers Party who concerns himself with questions of philosophy, called *Empiricism and its Evolution*. In answer to this question and in fact to a more specific question, more directly related to what we are doing here—why it is important for socialists, militants and workers at this point to study empiricism—Novack states: "First of all for practical reasons." Then he notes that "the current influence of empiricism upon the organizations of the working class give immediate point and political purpose to a

study of its characteristics."<sup>(1)</sup>

This in a sense, of course, is correct. He then goes on to point out by example that the trade union leaderships, the social democrats, and in particular, Atlee and Wilson, use the empirical method, and that the empirical method is the basis for opportunism. It is the method of opportunism; it is the method which says we just seek within the given existing situation to do what we can. It is the

these lectures we will see that even clearer—he sees this opportunism as expressed outside the party itself. In other words, he sees the question of philosophy as a way of arming the party to fight the enemy, and the enemy is seen as somewhere outside the party in the form of the labor bureaucracy and the right wing social democracy. By posing it that way, the whole central meaning and thrust of philosophy and its role within the party gets pushed aside, and philosophy becomes

inside the Trotskyist movement itself, in the most important section of the world Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Workers Party, a fundamental struggle which Trotsky explains represented a class struggle, a clash of classes within the party itself. At the very heart of that struggle was the question of philosophy and the Marxist method. At the very heart of the opportunist opposition, the petty-bourgeois opposition which developed in the SWP in 1940, the very core, the central meaning of it was the question of philosophy, method and pragmatism.

We would pose the question of why study philosophy in a sharper form. We pose it in this way. We would say that the question of philosophy is the question of the party. They are not separate questions. They are essentially the same question. In the world today there is no philosophy, there is no development of philosophy outside of the revolutionary party. And in the world today there is no revolutionary party outside of the development of philosophy.

#### PRACTICAL

We see philosophy not as something to fight empiricism with some place else, but as the very heart of the question of the party itself. We see that basically the party, and the construction of the party, is a philosophical question. To the extent that the construction of the party is a philosophical question, philosophy therefore is a practical task. We can see this if we ask two additional questions which are necessary for an understanding of why we study philosophy.

First of all what is philosophy? Philosophy historically has centered around the question of human knowledge and its validity, of the relationship of idea to reality. All philosophical schools from the origins of philosophy in Greece have to one extent or another confronted this basic question, and have posed one or another solution. Philosophy has always been an attempt to relate the thinking of man to the material world. Therefore at the heart of any philosophical position or system is where the philosopher stands on that question of the relationship of knowledge, of thought to reality, of how knowledge takes place, how one can know, how one learns, how knowledge can develop.

#### LOGIC

The form of the theory of knowledge is logic, which is the science of cognition, or the scientific approach toward the thinking process. So when we are dealing with philosophy, we are really dealing with two related things. One is what is the relationship of thought to the material world. The second is, what are the processes of thought, how does thought take place, how do we organize our thinking in order to be able to understand?

Lenin writes as follows in the *Philosophical Notebooks* about logic:

"Logic is the science of cognition. It is the theory of knowledge. Knowledge is the reflection of nature by man. But this is not a simple, not an immediate, not a complete reflection, but the process of a series of abstractions, the formation and development of concepts, laws, etc. and these concepts, laws, etc. embrace conditionally, approximately, the universal law-governed character of eternally moving and developing nature."<sup>(2)</sup>

He is saying several things here. First he says that logic, which we will be dis-

These lectures were given this Fall at Workers League Weekend Schools in the Catskills and at Monterey. The material is presented here essentially as they were given except that Lectures Three and Four were originally one lecture. This material has been expanded to include material originally given as part of the Trotsky Memorial Lecture Series under the title: "Trotsky's Struggle Against Revisionism."

## Lecture One--The Social And Philosophical Roots Of Pragmatism

philosophy of "bread and butter" politics. You get a little bit here; you patch together something there.

#### PARTY

But what Novack misses is the main and central point. While he sees empiricism as the philosophy of opportunism—and as we develop the discussion through

just simply an educational activity at best within the party, to arm party members to fight the opportunists somewhere else.

In so doing he misses the main, the real central meaning of Trotsky's in many ways most important work and certainly his last major contribution, that is *In Defense of Marxism*. Right on the eve of World War II you had breaking out



Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, presents lecture on pragmatism at a Weekend School in the Catskills. The same basic lectures were also given at a West Coast school at Monterey, California this fall.

cussing as we go along, is the science of cognition, that is, the scientific approach to the question of thinking. He says it is the theory of knowledge, that is the theory of how thinking takes place and how it relates to the external world. This knowledge is a reflection of nature by man. This is the materialist stand on the question of knowledge. What we know is a reflection in our mind of the external world. But it is not a simple reflection. It is not just simply putting a mirror up to the external world. It is a complex process. It is reflecting nature in your mind through a series of abstractions, through the formation and development of concepts and laws which embrace in part and to a certain degree, the universal material world around us.

He further notes that thinking, cognition, contains at its heart an active element. It is not just simply a mirror which reflects reality. Lenin says:

"Marx clearly sides with Hegel in introducing the criterion of practice into the theory of knowledge, see the 'Theses on Feuerbach.'"(3)

It wasn't Marx who discovered the conception of practice and the role of practice in thinking. Hegel, in particular, introduced the conception of practice, of the active element of practice into the theory of knowledge, and through this conception in an idealist way broke down the dualism between your own subjective thinking, the thinking of a particular individual, and the whole world around us.

Marx said, in the Theses on Feuerbach: "The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question."(4)

#### CHANGE

On this point, what Marx is saying is that the question of whether the world exists is not a question which can be understood, can be coped with analytically, that is, by the relationship of one thought to another thought in your mind, but is a question which can only be resolved in actual practice, that is, in your actual participation in the world. In other words ideas are a reflection of reality and the proof of this is in the fact that you change reality.

Or as Lenin puts it: "Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it."(5)

Let us summarize what we are saying about philosophy. Philosophy is the theory of knowledge. That is at the heart of what philosophy is—how you relate your thinking to the objective world. The relationship of your thinking to the objective world has two aspects. First is thought as a reflection in your mind of what is around you, though that reflection is not a simple thing like a mirror where you just see a picture of a tree. It is a more abstract thing—you have a conception of a tree. You don't just see a picture of a thing which is green and has a certain shape. You have a conception of a tree. When you see something which is green and has that kind of shape, immediately you think "tree."

In other words, the reflection of reality in your mind takes an abstract form. You have a conception, thought. The second aspect of knowledge is your participation in the material world which you are a part of and your struggle to change it. Or as Lenin puts it, man not only reflects the objective world, he creates it.

#### PROGRAM

Now we turn to the second question, what is the party. The party, we are talking now about a revolutionary party, is a voluntary organization. There is no compulsion to be a member of a revolutionary party. One chooses to be a member of a revolutionary party. At heart, what the party is is its program. It is nothing else. The apparatus, the forces, the people, the equipment, the paper, are all expressions of what? A program, and it is the program around which it is all organized. It is all organized to implement that program and a program is an idea. So at its heart you could say that the party is an idea.

But we can say something more than that. But we begin with that conception. The party is an idea, it is a conception, it is a program, it is a series of positions or conceptions, abstractions if you like. This idea in turn reflects the interests of a social class, the working class. Not directly, like a mirror, but in a more complex way. But it reflects the material interests of a material body, of a specific social class, organized in a material way, representing specific economic interests and desires and motivations in the actual material world.

So the party is an idea which reflects material reality. It is also composed of



Hegel (above) exposed the real relations of the material world through his dialectics but covered this with a sheet like a ghost. Lenin (below) searched for this in Hegel.



materiality; it is composed of people organized around that idea. It is that idea which selects the people, the people don't select the idea.

The task of the party is to change reality. Not just change it in the sense of influencing it here and influencing it there, but to fundamentally change the very nature of society. Through the changing of the nature of the society the party opens up a new stage in the changing of reality itself, the whole material world we know. Because only to the extent that man triumphs over society, controls his own society can we really leap forward in man's control and development of nature.

#### SAME

If we understand the party in that sense, if we understand philosophy in this context, we see that they are the same question, are they not? They are the same question. The party is the organization of material forces around an idea for the changing of material reality. This means at heart the party is the question of the relationship of thought to practice, of theory to reality through practice in order to change reality. That's what the party is.

Therefore the development of the party is a philosophical question. The party cannot develop if it cannot relate idea to reality in such a way as to change reality. It cannot relate idea to reality if it is going to be obtuse and refuse to look at the question of how ideas are related to reality. That is the question of philosophy.

We must struggle against all those conceptions which take our thought processes from a real reflection of reality into something that is alien to reality, into something which is an impediment for changing reality. At the heart of philosophy is the question of the party. There is no philosophy, there is only the degeneration of philosophy outside of the party.

Thus Marx states: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it."(6)

This has two meanings. First, the rise of the working class marks the end of classical philosophy. It means on the one hand that philosophy outside of the party is dead, there is no philosophy any more in the sense of interpreting the world in various ways. That is a past period. After Marx there has been, as we shall see, no philosophical development, there has only been degeneration. But it also means that in order to change the world you need a philosophical understanding and you cannot build a party unless you take the question of philosophy and make the question of philosophy at the center of the party.

#### ROOTS

In this lecture we are going to deal with the question of the social and philosophical roots of pragmatism. We will not get to pragmatism in this lecture. We are probably not even going to get to the United States. We will get to these questions in the next lecture. What we are going to do is very briefly sketch the development of philosophy and put it in its social context since the birth of empiricism, that is, what is known as philosophy of the modern world, philosophy since the birth of capitalism.

We will be sketching briefly the philosophical development of thought and the social development of society and we will see from the materialist point of view that the two are related, to put it in Marx's terms, as superstructure is to base. But I want to issue a warning at this point, and this is a point that Plekhanov goes in to in his pamphlet that has recently been republished, *Fundamental Problems of Marxism*.(7)

The relationship of the superstructure to the base is a complex relationship, and

at every moment every specific philosophic conception does not specifically relate to some specific material interest. It is just that the general trend of thought reflects social classes. Only through an understanding of that can there be any understanding of thought, and why people think what they do.

Second, to say that a particular philosophical conception has a social root does not answer the philosophical conception. For instance, if we say that empiricism is the philosophy of the bourgeoisie, that does not remove from us the obligation to take the conceptions of empiricism and to answer the philosophical points the empiricists make. Unless we understand that, we will be approaching the questions of philosophy in an extremely anti-theoretical way. We won't be understanding the first point we made, that is, the importance of philosophy to the party.

#### BOURGEOIS

Empiricism was born with the bourgeois revolution. It is the philosophy of the bourgeoisie. It had its greatest strength and it developed its most profound and powerful philosophers precisely in the period when the bourgeoisie found itself in a struggle with feudalism. When the bourgeoisie was seeking to break itself free, break the productive forces that had already begun to develop within the old society, these productive forces were constantly running up against the old judicial, legal and land relationships of feudal society.

Empiricism was formed in a struggle against the philosophy of feudalism known as metaphysics. This philosophy was largely devoted to argumentation to prove the existence of God developing from an analytical and complex system, what is known as scholasticism. Scholasticism is based on the development of analysis, logical analysis. It doesn't begin with reality; it is not related to reality. It is not related to the material world, but it is concerned with the relationship of an idea to an idea.

It always proceeds like this: If you accept A then it follows that B is true. Then if B is true, we must conclude that C must be false. Having already agreed to all that we can then proceed to D. It is on that level that scholastic philosophy develops.

#### FEUDAL

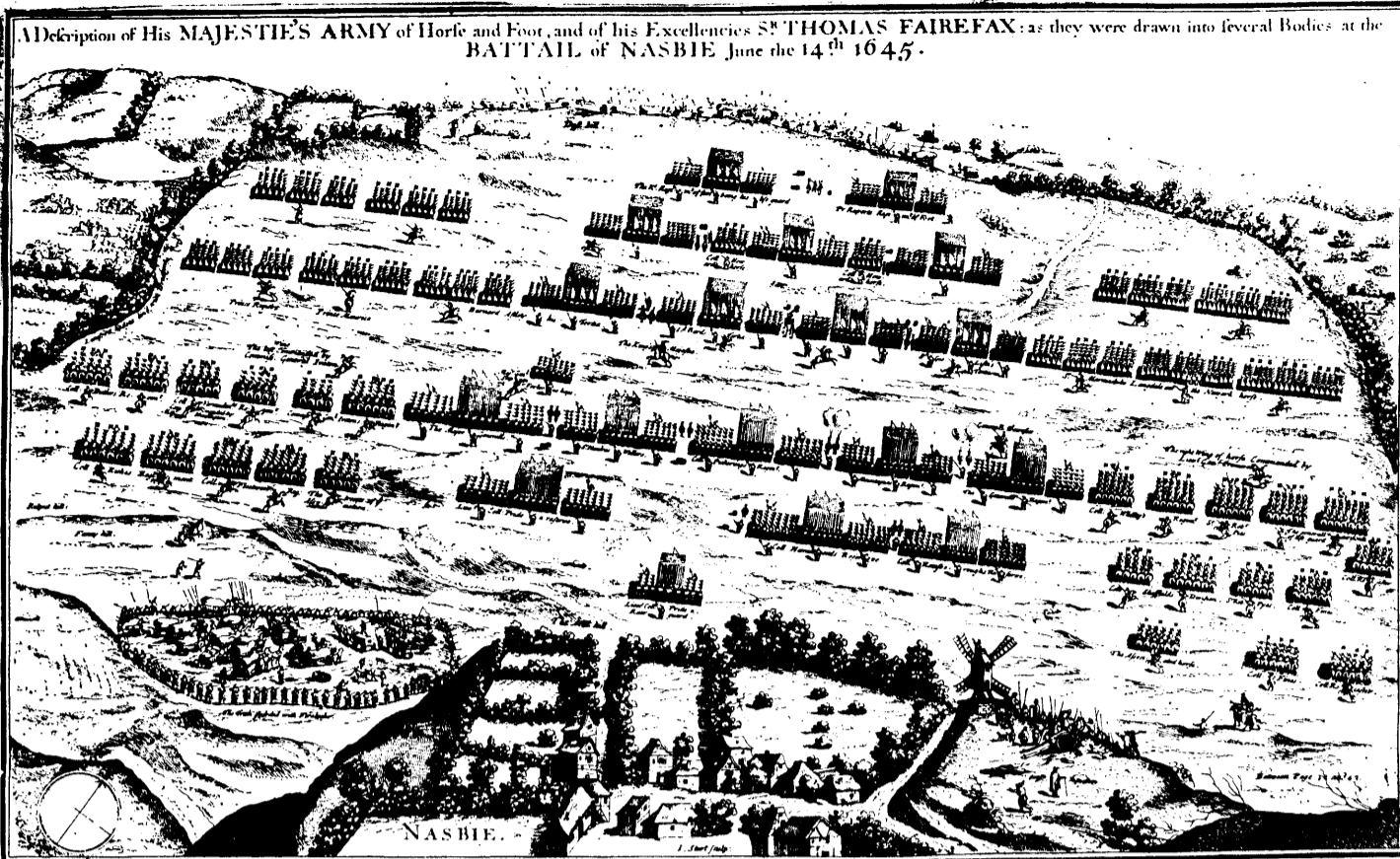
It represents essentially a justification of the feudal order which as we know was an order based on an extremely static set up, a hierarchical set up. Religion was very much a part of it, and the Catholic Church in particular was not only at the heart of the feudal system in the sense of defending the feudal system but was part of the feudal system. In most countries of the world the Catholic Church represented at least a third and sometimes as much as a half or more of the feudal class itself. In other words they owned a third or half of all the arable land, they were the largest employer of serfs, and they had the largest estates and so on.

Now, what the empiricists did was say that the fundamental question is not the relationship of an idea to an idea through analysis, but the relationship of an idea to experience through what is known logically as synthesis. Or as Novack puts it: "The primary principle of empiricism is that all knowledge is founded on experience of the senses."(8)

The early empiricists like Bacon and later the most influential of all empiricists John Locke, based themselves on this conception. With the conception that knowledge is based on the experience of the senses, that truth means correspondence of ideas to sensory information, they attacked feudal conceptions: metaphysics, scholastics and all these justifications for the old order.

#### SCIENCE

At the same time, obviously, this philosophy was not only used to break down the power of the church and religion and all the justification for the old feudal order, which had become economically at that point reactionary and holding back the development of society, but it also reflected the very necessary development of science. That is, for capitalism to develop technology had to develop so that the machinery of the productive forces from which the capitalists made profit would develop. Only with the development of the mechanistic science in its early stages were they able to develop the beginnings of manufacturing technique. With the later development of chemistry and of physics you had a tremendous industrial development in the productive forces. Empiricism was also a reflection of the development of science and was very much to free science from questions of religion.



Cromwell's New Model Army, shown above, played a critical role in English bourgeois revolution. Empiricism was born as a philosophical defense of this bourgeoisie in its struggle with feudalism with its metaphysics and scholastic thinking.

The early empiricists posed questions similarly to what is known as pragmatism, in the sense of emphasizing the question of practice, the practical meaning of theory. Bacon for instance said: "What is most useful in practice is most correct in theory. For truth is shown and proved by the evidence of works." (9) This was written in the 16th century and represents a very good statement of what we will see later became the basic philosophy of the pragmatists.

#### ENGLAND

At the same time it should be recognized that the home of empiricism was England. England was the first capitalist country, the first country in which capitalism really developed. The English bourgeois revolution was the earliest of the bourgeois revolutions.

It is also important to note that because of the early development and power of the British bourgeoisie, and the fact that it emerged as the dominant world force, the British bourgeoisie was in a position to carry through a compromise with the old feudal class. This produced what we know now as the British system of constitutional monarchy. The bourgeoisie through the House of Commons dominated Britain politically but at the same time you still had the House of Lords which over a period of time lost its power. You still had a king.

#### IDEALISM

In philosophy, the early empiricists were never fully and completely materialist. They always held open a door to idealism and religion. For instance, to say that all knowledge is founded on experience of the senses does not necessarily mean that the experience of the senses is founded on a material world. In other words the empiricists were what is known as sensationalists. They based themselves on the conception of sensation; they recognized sensation as what hits your eye, and your ears and so on. They recognized sensation as the basis of knowledge. But when it came to the question of what the basis of sensation is, they had a question in their minds.

Locke, for instance, said that the world is made up of "independent self-determining unchangeable substances" (10) but he said that we cannot know "the secret abstract nature of substance in general." (11) In other words he had a position which we shall see later was actually developed by Kant into a whole system. The idea was that our perceptions, our sensations, must be caused by substance. Locke says they are caused by substance. But sensation we know; substance we cannot know. Substance is like a First Cause; something which causes sensation. We only can infer that substance exists because we get sensations. But we cannot know substance.

#### SENSATION

Knowledge is thus completely based on sensation, but sensation is not based on anything really knowable. You are not really sure what sensation is based on. Well then you have to come to the conclusion that your knowledge is not only imperfect, in the sense that it is not

complete but is also unreliable. In other words you develop a skeptical attitude toward knowledge. This is seen when he says: "We may be convinced that the ideas we attain to by our faculties are very disproportionate to things themselves, when a positive clear distinct one of substance itself which is the foundation of all the rest, is concealed from us." (12)

What he is saying is that our ideas are very much unrelated to the material world. They have some relationship but it is a very imperfect relationship to the material world and how could it be otherwise since the basis of the material world, substance, is unknown to us. We cannot know it. It is unknowable.

Empiricism, like the bourgeoisie it represented philosophically, accepted those aspects of materialism necessary to fight the idealists, the old feudal order, and to make it possible for a certain material development of industry. At the point where what was required was confronting the complete and absolute material stand—at that point they pulled back. As Marx pointed out in particular at a later point in his writings on Germany, Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany, and Trotsky pointed out in his theory of the permanent revolution which based itself on Marx's writings on Germany, as capitalism developed it began more and more to confront not just feudalism on the one side, but the working class on the other. It is this that constantly forced capitalism in its later development to compromise with feudalism and to hold back from precisely what had been the most progressive features of capitalism in its earlier period. This is what is reflected here in this compromise with idealism which is at the heart of empiricism.

We must understand therefore that when we are talking about empiricism we are not talking about a consistent materialist outlook. We are talking about an outlook which simply says that the knowledge we have is based on experience. We cannot get knowledge from any other source.

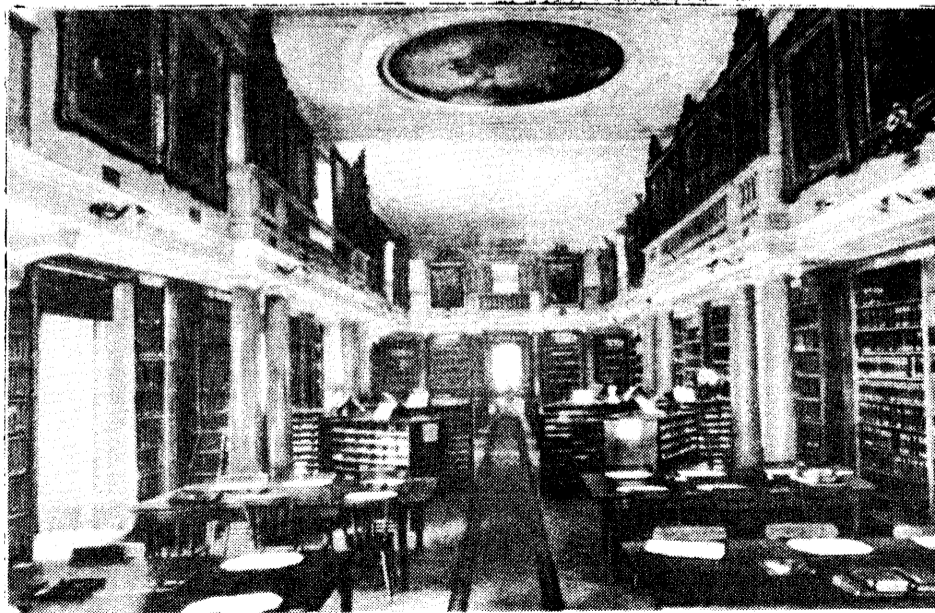
The empiricists do not even necessarily mean that. They say that whatever knowledge we can get from any other source comes to us in a religious way and that we cannot judge it. We just have to accept it. Because all these people are religious men and they all believe in faith. In other words, you do not necessarily have a material world, you do not know substance. What can you say if someone says that on the basis of faith he has communicated with God? Well why not? If you are not a materialist you cannot deny the existence of a non-material world. All you deny really is that there is any rational way of explaining God, reaching God, defending God.

#### DECAY

With the development of capitalism, and its maturity, which in the U.S. came in the era of the Robber Barons, the late 19th century, we have the emergence of pragmatism. In the period of the maturity and decay of capitalism, and corresponding to this the rise of the working class and the beginning of its political maturity, you had the decay of empiricism and the rise of idealism. This has been the general characteristic of modern philosophy, particularly since Hume.

The point here, and it is a particularly devastating point about capitalism, is that the strength of capitalism in its thinking for the thinking of man, was the extent to which it related ideas, at least in part, to the real world. It did this through the conception that experience is the source of knowledge and turning to experience and sense perception as a real basis for the understanding and development of thought.

With the development of capitalism, its maturity and decay, you have developing and growing inside capitalist thinking and philosophy precisely the conceptions which the early empiricists fought. That is, the development of even what is called empirical schools of thought since the days of Locke, have been a development



It was in this library room in Switzerland that Lenin studied Hegel's Logic and wrote what is known as his "Philosophical Notebooks" during World War I.

back in the direction of idealism. Those ambiguities that existed in Locke's system on the question of materialism were grabbed hold of. That side of John Locke which said, "I don't know what substance is really composed of" became developed and that side of John Locke that said, "Well, anyway, the main thing is that we have knowledge and knowledge is real and is based on sensation," was pushed aside.

It appears in philosophy as if this took place on the basis of argument. It is as if Locke came up with a certain problem on this question. No one would deny that knowledge comes from sensation, but since he was ambiguous on where sensation came from all you needed was a very sharp and intelligent man to come along and to probe it philosophically and the whole system would collapse. It is many times posed that way by philosophers. They act as if the decay of philosophy took place completely unrelated to the development of capitalism.

#### HUME

What Hume did was to take the method of empiricism and ruthlessly apply it to empiricism itself. He came to the conclusion of what is known as solipsism and skepticism. A solipsist view is the view that nothing exists outside yourself for the moment. Solipsism is the dead end of thought because you say that you can only project your own existence. You are therefore not sure that you existed before the word "existence" came out of your mouth, you have no way of knowing you exist after words come out of your mouth, and you have no way of connecting the word which came one millimeter of a second after one word with the word that came before. In other words, only the moment for you is real.

#### CASUALITY

Hume developed his view by applying the limited conceptions of empiricism to the conception of causality. As we know, all scientific knowledge is based on causality. In other words, you conduct an experiment to find out something. You try to find out what was the cause and what is the effect: that one effect comes from a certain cause. You learn something and you have an expansion of knowledge. You learn that if you light a match and put it to a piece of paper the piece of paper burns up. Hume stated:

"Objects have no discoverable connection together. Nor is it from any other principle but custom operating upon the imagination that we can draw any inference from the appearance of one to the existence of another. This skeptical doubt with respect to reason and the senses is a malady which can never be radically cured." (13)

Basically what he is saying is that the relationship of the cause of something to the effect cannot be from the point of view of simple perception alone. You can perceive no more than a time relationship. You can only perceive that prior to the paper bursting into flame, a match was held underneath it. You cannot perceive that the match caused the paper to burn. The conception is in your mind. It cannot be perceived. You do not therefore perceive, as Hume pointed out, any of the logical categories.

Since you cannot perceive these things, then we cannot state really that we have any knowledge of anything. This is because all the perceptions that one has, we order in our mind according to cause and effect, according to time sequence, according to spatial relationships. Time, space, cause, effect, contradiction, identity—all these things cannot be perceived as such and therefore we cannot be sure that the world has time in it, that the world has effect in it, that the world has cause in it, or that the world has space in it. All this may very well be what we add from our own mind.

Since Hume, these statements have remained to this day questions that have not been answered outside of the Marxist movement. Shocking as it may seem, this business as to whether cause and effect exist in reality is still the mainstay of modern philosophers.

#### RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, for instance, had the following to say about Hume:

"He represents, in a certain sense, a dead end: in his direction, it is impossible to go further. To refute him has been, ever since he wrote, a favorite pastime among metaphysicians. For my part, I find none of their refutations convincing; nevertheless, I cannot but hope that something less sceptical than Hume's system may be discoverable." (14)

Basing himself on Hume he has the following to say about logic, his speciality: "What these arguments prove—and I do

not think the proof can be controverted—is that induction is an independent logical principle, incapable of being inferred either from experience or from other logical principles, and that without this principle science is impossible.”(15)

The empiricist said that deduction is nothing. You just cannot simply prove something by relating it to something else.

In inductive thought, your thinking is dependent on experience. What Russell is saying is that we cannot prove that our experience is valid on the basis of experience. We certainly cannot prove that it is valid on the basis of simple logic, because the whole logic we have is open to question. But we cannot have any scientific understanding without logic, without the principles of induction, causality. So what is his conclusion from that? He does not like to do it, it makes him unhappy, he has difficulty sleeping sometime, but basically he has to assume the existence of causality as a matter of faith. Since we have to think with logic, we will just accept that we have to think with logic, and then we will proceed, as did Russell, to take logic abstracted from reality, and analyze it, work it out in a mathematical way, the most complicated ways of relating word to word. Most important, we give up, because of what Hume said, relating word to reality and thus seeking to change reality.

#### KANT

Kant is in my opinion very much the central figure in the development of modern bourgeois philosophy. We can say that all modern philosophy, with only the exception of the most extreme of Hegelians, today bases itself on Kant. All of it. No one outside of Marxism and Hegelian idealism really represents any different position than Kant on basic philosophic questions. Pragmatism as a philosophy is essentially Kantian, even though, as we will see later, Novack sees it as a simple development of empiricism.

Kant began with Hume's skepticism, Hume's question of how to relate the thinking in our heads with the material world and the fact that the logical categories cannot be proved. Confronting these questions, Kant created a dualist system.

Kant agreed with Locke that knowledge is based on sensation. He said that sensation is caused by things. He went on to say, however, that things are not knowable. We know sensation, we know the effect of things in themselves, but we cannot know things. The reason for this is that the things we perceive are organized because we have in our minds as an a priori the conception of time, space and logic, cause and effect, contradiction, etc. In other words, we simply must accept this a priori on faith. We simply cannot think without it. It is there. It organizes the sense perceptions. We have no way of knowing whether the world is organized by time and by space, and has any identities or contradictions within it.

So Kant was a dualist, he was an idealist in the sense that he considered the basic conceptions of thought were unprov-

able, immaterial, and he was a materialist to the extent that he considered the origin of experience and perception something materially that exists that he called "thing in itself." This material world he did not consider really knowable. We could only therefore get a sort of approximate idea of things. Lenin said about Kant:

"The principal feature of the philosophy of Kant is an attempted reconciliation of materialism and idealism, a compromise between the claims of both, a fusion of heterogeneous and contrary philosophic tendencies into one system. When Kant admits that something outside of us—a thing-in-itself—corresponds to our perceptions he seems to be a materialist. When he, however, declares this thing-in-itself to be unknowable, transcendent, 'trans-intelligible'—he appears to be an idealist. Regarding experience as the only source of our knowledge, Kant seems to be turning towards sensationalism and by way of sensationalism, under special conditions, toward materialism. Recognizing the apriority of space, time, and causality, etc., Kant seems to be turning towards idealism.”(16)

#### HEGEL

The whole Hegelian system and dialectics was really developed as an answer to Kant. Lenin, basing himself on Hegel, summarizes the critique of Kant as follows:

"In my opinion the essence of the argument is (1) in Kant, cognition demarcates (divides) nature and man; actually it unites them; (2) in Kant 'the empty abstraction'

master the material world. Because he cannot master his own social system, you have developing within that social system as its main philosophers people who begin to move back and to compromise with the very mystical conceptions of the middle ages.

Hegel represented a resolution of that compromise in favor of idealism. The only thing that was real to Hegel was thought and idea, and therefore the only thing that exists is God; everything is a reflection of God. Hegel represented the most extreme retreat back toward the Middle Ages. This is what we must conclude if we see Hegel in a one sided way. What we would thus miss is that cloaked in the form of a retreat back to the Middle Ages, bourgeois philosophy only developed under Hegel.

#### KERNEL

The only philosopher who contributed to human thought after Locke was Hegel. Only covered with mysticism could a kernel of truth develop. What Hegel did was to say that reason in effect is God. Having said that, and that only reason exists, he then took reason and rational cognitive process and developed an understanding of the laws of rational development. Since reason is a reflection of the real world Hegel developed the laws of the real world far beyond anyone before him.

#### MARX

On this level Marx changed very little of Hegel. He simply, as he put it, tore off

curved, circular, etc.—upwards, downwards. The sum of the movement. Concepts, as registration of individual aspects of the movement, of individual streams, etc. There you have approximately the picture of the world according to Hegel's Logic—of course minus God and the Absolute.”(20)

If you see the world as a river, the dialectic allows you to see the river, to see each drop in it, to discover the position of each drop, the relationship of each drop to every other drop, the connection of the drops, the direction of the movement of the whole, the speed of the movement of the whole, the line of the movement of the whole—is it a curve, a spiral—is it up, is it down, the exaggeration or the abstraction of particular aspects of this movement, each aspect, each stream of the river. Then put all that together. That is human knowledge, as Hegel saw it and as Marx saw it. Another way that Lenin put it, basing himself on Hegel is that understanding is the universal, yes, the general conception, but the universal enriched with all the detail of the particular.(21) That is human knowledge.

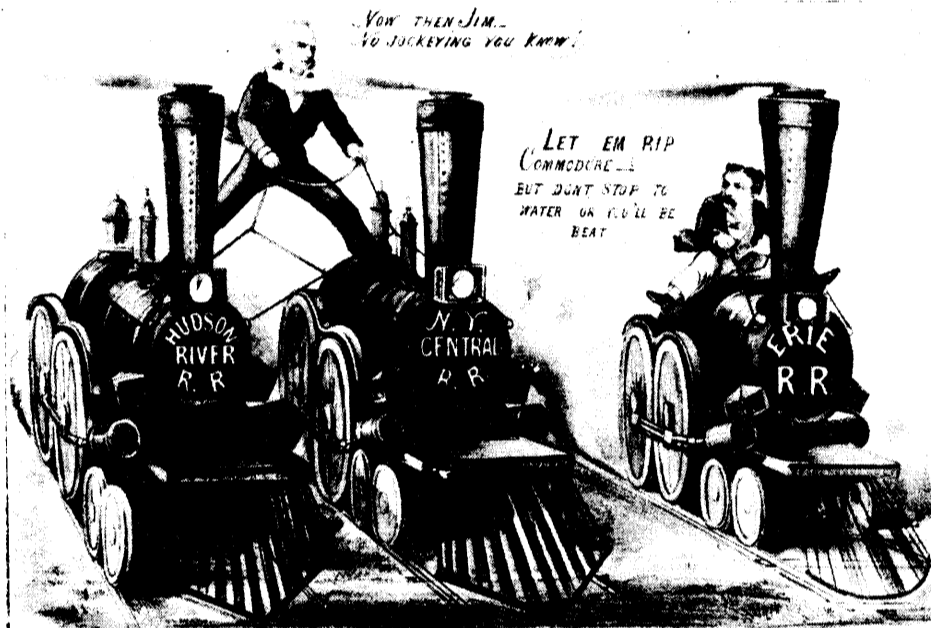
Pragmatism and positivism, linguistic theories, etc., all the so-called modern philosophies, represent really a degeneration of philosophy within the framework of Kant. Everyone of these schools agrees with Hume and agrees with Kant on the unreality of logic. All of these philosophers hold this position, all these philosophers stand opposed to the question of the objective reality of the material world.

#### COVER

To the extent that the working class developed and the bourgeoisie confronted its own inability to develop, the great technical forces began to bang up against the social way those productive forces were organized. The world began to turn into the period of imperialism, and war and chaos, and atomic bombs and all the rest. To that extent the role of philosophy became not to fight metaphysics, but to defend metaphysics, God, religion, mysticism, to defend all that and cover it with a superficial look of empirical materiality.

The very thrust and heart of pragmatic and empirical philosophy since the 19th century, since Hume, has been not to fight idealism, but to bring idealism into the thinking of man and particularly the working class.

Our fight with the pragmatists will be to develop the materiality of logic for a particular purpose. The purpose will be to enrich our understanding of logic not to just simply defend a principle of materialism. To the extent that logic is removed from reality by the idealists and by pragmatists, logic withers and dies, and the real world and the changing of the real world becomes impossible. This is because we become blinded to the real forces and movement of the real world and how change takes place in the real world. Our task will be to put logic back into the material world so that we can develop logic in order to make it possible to develop the party.



THE GREAT RACE FOR THE WESTERN STAKES 1870

It was the era of the Robber Barons, which had its start with the railroad empires of Vanderbilt (left) and Jim Fisk (right), that produced in philosophy pragmatism.

of thing-in-itself instead of living progress, the movement deeper and deeper, of our knowledge about things.”(17)

Lenin bases his criticism of Kant on Hegel. This was why Engels said that very little needed to be said about Kant because most of it had already been said by Hegel.(18) The difference between Kant's approach and a dialectical approach is that in Kant the thought process actually separates out man from nature because his thought is structured by aprioris, which are unrelated to nature, so that thinking, rather than bringing man and nature closer together, separates man and nature. It is a dualist system. The thought is unrelated to nature. We organize nature according to some internal system for some reason that is not explained.

Second, in Kant because of this separating out of thinking of man and nature, you have a conception of nature which is an empty abstraction, dead. Thing-in-itself is unknowable, it is there but it is dead, you can learn nothing about it. It has no movement, it cannot have movement because it does not have space and it does not have time, it is simply an empty abstraction. Therefore the whole real world as we know it is transformed into an empty abstraction. With dialectics the real world is seen as a living movement, as a development, with our knowledge at every point developing a deeper and deeper understanding of that movement.

Hegel wrote his logic essentially in answer to Kant, to destroy his dualism and inconsistency. This presents us with a tremendous paradox: we have Kant representing a compromise with the very idealism of religion and feudalism which original bourgeois empiricism had fought. So to that extent Kant represents a step back toward the philosophy of an earlier period, of feudalism, of an earlier stage in the development of man despite the great development of modern society and technique, with man's tremendous beginning to

the cloak. The capitalists could only develop philosophical thinking by covering themselves up with a white sheet like a ghost. Marx said: "Thus it happened that the active side in opposition was developed by idealism.”(18)

The active role of man, that should have been developed by the materialists, the active participation by man in thinking, and in life and in reality, was developed not by the materialists but by the idealists. Lenin said this about idealism:

"Philosophical idealism is only nonsense from the standpoint of crude, simple, metaphysical materialism. From the standpoint of dialectical materialism, on the other hand, philosophical idealism is a one-sided, exaggerated development of one of the features, aspects, facets of knowledge into an absolute; divorced from matter, from nature, apothoedised. Idealism is clerical obscurantism. True. But Philosophical idealism is a road to clerical obscurantism through one of the shades of the infinitely complex knowledge of man.”(19)

Philosophical idealism particularly in the form of Hegel, developed one shade of reality, that is the reflection in mind of the real relationships of the world. It developed that one shade of reality to deny all the rest. But it developed that one shade. Our task is not to throw it all out. Only by seeing it as a development of that shade, a very critical shade, and only by putting it back into the material world where it belongs, turning Hegel on his head, as Marx put it, can development in philosophy take place.

#### RIVER

Lenin describes Hegel's dialectic as follows:

"A river and the drops in this river. The position of every drop, its relation to the others; its connection with the others; the direction of its movement; its speed; the line of the movement—straight,



Bertrand Russell, "...assumes the existence of causality as a matter of faith."

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# Rubber Workers Taxi Drivers Demand Parity With Transit Workers In New Haven Set For Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 8—At this morning's "regular" monthly union meeting, members of URW Local 338 who work at Seamless Rubber Company packed the hall with standing room only to learn definitely that an attempted sellout of their contract was approaching.

With the strike deadline only days away, the union leaders came into the meeting with empty hands and mouths full of lame double talk. To them the whole situation boiled down to waiting until the company offers its chicken feed on Thursday, then trying to get the members to accept it as the best offer they could hope to get.

Three years ago the leadership forced the rank and file to accept a contract which contained a miserly wage hike of 10 cents a year for each year of the contract. Today these same leaders put forward the "Big Four" wage pattern as their demand. (About 80 cents over three years.) But this mechanical action itself means little, since they hope to accept whatever the company offers anyway. This policy can only lead to disaster.

The ranks can no longer afford minimal wage hikes, but must demand and win enough to make up for the paltry gains of the last three years and prepare for the inflation that is eating away at their wages.

## SURPRISE

The union leaders are expecting the ranks to accept the company's offer Thursday. But they will be in for a surprise. Despite the savage attempt by the company to split up the workers by boosting the pay of the maintenance men recently, by trying to pit the older women workers against the younger, more militant workers, sentiment runs high in favor of a strike.

The actions of the union leadership will only aid the company's efforts to keep these workers among the lowest paid factory workers in the state.

This must be stopped immediately. The ranks must take up a fight now to put forward demands which are necessary to beat back inflation, and win this strike: \$1.00 an hour wage increase the first year, \$1.85 total over the three years of the contract, full cost of living escalator clause.

# Hundreds Of G.E., Olin Workers Join Unemployed In Connecticut

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—The effects of the deepening economic crisis are acutely felt by the workers in New Haven and Bridgeport, Connecticut, where unemployment is now nearing 8% and over 8%, respectively.

At the GE plant in Bridgeport, the entire fan department will be shut down for the month of December. This temporary lay-off of a few hundred workers is coming hard on the heels of several hundred permanent layoffs during the past few months. In conversations with the workers at GE, this reporter asked a worker what the union leadership was doing about the layoffs in the fan department. He said, "They're helping us out—out of GE!" Another young worker of IUE, Local 203 said that as far as he knows the union has taken no stand on these layoffs.

In New Haven, at the Olin Corporation's Winchester Western Arms Division, over 700 workers will be "given" three week furloughs. The furloughs will begin November 22 and December 20, and continue through New Years. Except for four days of paid holidays, the workers will have to file for unemployment. Instead of putting up a fight against this rotten proposal, Louis Romano, President of Local 1604 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, actually collaborated with the bosses by fighting for the acceptance of this proposal at the last union meeting.

## PERMANENT

What is becoming clearer every day to the workers at GE and Olin is that these so-called temporary layoffs are but warnings of permanent layoffs. This understanding has to be taken forward with a fight in the union against the policies of the labor bureaucracy.

The fight in the union against the layoffs must be fought with the demand for a 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay for full employment. The only answer to infla-



Harry Van Arsdale, head of taxi union and New York Central Labor Council.

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—This Sunday, November 15, the contract between New York City Taxi Drivers' Union, Local 3036, and the fleet owners expires. The central union demand is wage and pension parity with other city transit workers.

This means a wage increase to an average of \$200 a week for a 40 hour work week, paid holidays, sick days, and a pension at half pay after 20 years, and full pension after 30 years.

At the semi-annual membership meeting last month Van Arsdale outlined parity with transit workers only as a goal, and was careful not to present it as a demand over which the union would strike if necessary. When ranks demanded from the floor to know what were the specific demands of the union, he responded typically that if the owners found out their demands, the union's bargaining position would be weakened.

It is very significant therefore that with the contract deadline less than a week away that Van Arsdale should still present parity as the union's position in negotiations. Van Arsdale knows that the ranks have taken his "goals" to be real demands and on which they expect some action. But every Local 3036 member should be very suspicious of this Van Arsdale leadership which keeps the ranks in the dark and which expects to sell them

any deal negotiated as the best possible under the circumstances.

The only way to insure victory is to take negotiations out from behind closed doors, where only top bureaucrats and management are privy to what is going on, to the entire membership for discussion and preparation for possible strike action. This is why the ranks must fight for an immediate emergency meeting of the entire membership. At this meeting the entire membership should discuss and vote on the contract demands and commit Van Arsdale to fight for them. The membership must also authorize and prepare for strike action.

Since many of the owners have pleaded they would be bankrupted by the union demands, Van Arsdale has requested a subsidy from the city to meet the demands. The union must demand that if the owners cannot meet the necessary demands of the drivers, then the city should take over the operation of those fleets, without compensation to the companies and no subsidies to them. Definitely, the money cannot and should not come out of a general increase in fares.

## SAFETY

In addition to the demands related to parity, there are some key demands related to safety and job security. First, every cab must be equipped with a completely bullet proof partition, like in the

# BRAC Negotiators Carry On Secret Talks With Northwest

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, November 8—Top leaders of the Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) are still keeping their striking members at Northwest Orient Airlines in the dark as to the real progress of negotiations.

Northwest management is still demanding the right to decide who it will take back and who it will not, thus leaving all militants without jobs.

And on November 4, Northwest tried to get over 400 mechanics to report for work, something Nyrop hasn't tried in over a month. Although no machinists reported, Nyrop was able to do this precisely because BRAC leaders Dennis and Bacon have kept their members in the dark about negotiations.

These secret negotiations mean that only the BRAC strikers have no knowledge of what is going on at the bargaining table. Northwest management and the federal mediators know all they need to.

BRAC negotiators claim that only the lack of a back to work agreement prevents the settlement of the strike. But what they are leaving unsaid is just what else this contract would contain.

What rank and file clerks must demand to know is just what is going on at these bargaining sessions. What about their demand for parity wages with the other airlines? For a cost of living clause? For a stronger grievance procedure?

Every clerk has the right to know exactly what their leaders are proposing to give up to get the back to work agreement. As an essential part of the fight to build a new leadership in BRAC, clerks will have to hold their present leaders to their pledge of no concessions on their major demands.



Teamsters from Local 688 in St. Louis display ballots used in vote on new contract. They charged that some members had voted several times for the contract, which union officials announced had been approved by the membership.

new Checkers. Any losses to the driver due to robbery should be compensated for by the company. A driver should be compensated for down time for repairs at the rate of \$5.00 an hour, the average hourly rate based on the \$200 a week average.

At the meeting last month Van Arsdale reported that while there are about 10,000 cabs on the street there are some 80,000 active hack licenses. This not only poses a danger of scabbing in the case of a strike, but also presents another more long range danger in relation to job security. Because of the increased danger of hacking and its insufficient pay scale, thousands of steady drivers have left the industry to be replaced by temporary and casual workers. At the present time there is no shortage of jobs but with unemployment on the rise and with a victory over the new contract, there will be mounting job competition.

Local 3036 must fight for union control over the issuance of hack licenses and for union control over hiring.

All drivers, full time and part time, should understand the importance of winning their demands, and consequently the dangers involved in a sell-out.

The ranks must: Call for an immediate emergency membership meeting! Don't settle for less than parity!

# OHIO WORKERS CONTINUE STRIKE OF HILTON-DAVIS

BY F. TOLL

CINCINNATI—Close to 2,000 chemical workers, members of ICWU Locals 61 (Rensselaer, N.Y.) and 342 (Cincinnati) are now heading for the sixth month of their strike against the Hilton Davis division of Sterling Drug.

The company's latest offer early last month was a wage increase of 18% over three years (8%-5%-5%). This is exactly a one percent improvement over their mid-July offer. They are insisting on an eight cent limit on the cost of living.

Company officials are insisting on total management control of seniority, health and safety. Strike committeemen report some 36 other issues still on the table that Hilton Davis is refusing to discuss.

With local, state and federal officials looking the other way, an unholy alliance of Cincinnati police, scabs, the courts and company goons are operating against the strikers. Police are continually taking photographs at the plant to enable them to manufacture distorted evidence so they can pull strikers into court.

Cincinnati's union leaders are long overdue in backing up their pledges of solidarity and support for the ICWU strikers. Strikers should now demand that the Central Labor Council leaders, from President Oscar Lee and Secretary-Treasurer Bill Sheehan on down back up their words by mobilizing the Cincinnati labor movement to bring out the mass picketing necessary to keep all scabs out of the plant and bring Hilton Davis to terms.

And in view of the obvious collusion between government officials and Hilton Davis management, no trust must be placed in any state or federal mediators.

# 'Daily World' And The Auto Strike

BY DAN FRIED

As the UAW strike against General Motors passes the two month mark, the UAW leadership under Leonard Woodcock enters what both GM, the White House and the UAW bureaucracy alike hope is the final stage of negotiations.

Out of the top secret negotiations now covered up by a mutually agreed on "news blackout," out of the "round the clock" bargaining now under way in Detroit, they are desperately trying to reach a sellout agreement.

The strategy of the top UAW leaders is to pressure the local leaders into helping the International "sell" a compromise contract to the rank and file. In this effort their major support within the labor movement comes from the Communist Party.

The U.S. Communist Party, publishers of the Daily World, covers up for the Woodcock leadership. Its "criticism" of the UAW bureaucracy is strictly "for the record"—a fig leaf to cover up their real program which is to do a public relations job for Woodcock. Their interview with UAW Vice President Douglas Fraser (Daily World, October 22, 1970) is no more than an open platform for Fraser to justify himself and his mentor Woodcock while the UAW ranks are being sold down the river by this bureaucracy!

## UNCRITICALLY

Currently, the Daily World uncritically quotes Woodcock's statement that "Newspaper and other speculations about an imminent settlement are currently without foundation," to make it look as if there is no danger that Woodcock will compromise on every issue, especially on the wage package.

When the "news blackout" covering the "hard bargaining" was announced last week, the Daily World had not one word to say about the danger of a sellout. All they could do was reprint without comment a UPI news release, which simply stated that "traditionally a news blackout has preceded the down to the wire bargaining leading to agreement. . . In the 1967 negotiations when Ford Motor Co. was struck for seven weeks, a news blackout was called about two weeks before agreement was reached."

Now, perhaps we do not expect UPI to include in its release the small fact that the 1967 contract sold out the full cost of living escalator by establishing an 8 cent per hour yearly "cap." But for "communists" who supposedly fight for the interest of the rank and file, to omit this fact and to refuse to warn about the obvious attempt to repeat the 1967 pattern, that is another matter. This can only be the result of a conscious policy of betrayal in order to ingratiate the CP with Woodcock, Fraser, et al.

To read the Daily World coverage of the auto strike, one would think that the Detroit office of the Daily World is in Solidarity House itself. The Daily World rushes to get Woodcock's press releases into print while the ink is still wet. When the bureaucracy launched its campaign, under prodding from GM, to stampede local settlements in order to develop a "back to work fever," the World rushed into print with the banner headline, "Auto Strike Wins Victory at Diesel." They quoted a top UAW official who saw the Detroit Diesel settlement as "a possible breakthrough which indicated a change of attitude. . . that extended also to national issues." This settlement which reportedly has been threatened by rank and file talk of wildcat action, was no "victory." It was the first step in the unfolding strategy of the bureaucracy to counteract the danger that unsettled local contracts might lead to rank and file opposition to ratification of the national contract and blow sky-high a sellout national agreement.

## CONVENTION

On the same level, the World followed up their treatment of the Diesel "victory" three days later with another banner headline, "30 and out at \$500 a month—Auto Pickets Ring GM Headquarters" with a page five UPI news release on the demonstration carefully organized by officials at Detroit's Cadillac local. The World simply echoes all the propaganda of the International leadership around the 30 and out demand. They do not point out that this demand will only cost GM 5 to 10 cents an hour and that Woodcock is attempting to use a victory on 30 and out to cover up his horsetrading retreat on basic wages over which GM is taking the toughest stand.

We wonder if the Daily World even bothered to move out of Solidarity House

to attend the Oct. 24 Special Convention. Once again, it looks like their article might have been ghosted by Leonard Woodcock himself. However, it was not Woodcock, but the World's Detroit Correspondent, William Allan, whose report on the Oct. 24 Convention read: "With practically no discussion although the floor was wide open, the delegates voted to increase their dues as recommended." Not one mention is made of the many, many delegates at

more restrained—use whatever word you want—because we too want to get back, for the sake of our country, to economic sanity."

Consistent with the entire approach of the Communist Party, Allan's "report" stretches and strains to make Woodcock look good, to cover up the treacherous role of the labor bureaucracy. What a farce is the Communist Party's demand, point number one in their "program" for auto workers: "Wage increase of \$1.50 per hour this year, and \$1.50 per hour additional for each succeeding contract year."

While the Communist Party puts out this program, containing many fine demands,

workers both to the bureaucracy and to capitalist politics. Their role is to fight against the independent mobilization of the working class, both within the unions and through their support of "liberal" Democrats and Republicans.

## "PREMATURE"

At the National Rank and File Action Conference held last June in Chicago, and organized and run politically by the Communist Party, the leaders of the Conference bitterly opposed the Workers League demand for a labor party. In the Declaration of Labor Political Independence, the leadership of the conference stated, "... we recognize that there are individual Democrats and Republicans who are pro-labor, pro-peace, anti-racist and anti-repression who merit labor's support, few as they are. . ." and went on to state that the organization of a labor party "would be premature in 1970."

The CP put this policy into effect in the pre-election period when it put forward its formula for support of Democratic and Republican candidates: "The Daily World urges. . . intensive organized work, particularly by trade unionists, to insure the defeat of every candidate whom Nixon is supporting, or who is supporting Nixon. We urge a nonpartisan effort to rebuff sharply the foray of reaction."

The CP's program to tie the working class to capitalist politics is of course the same as that of the UAW leaders and is spelled out in the Daily World interview with Douglas Fraser who says that labor must pursue its goals by entering "into a national coalition with people of all walks of life. . ."

In its acceptance of Woodcock's program, his political outlook, and his way of running the strike, the CP represents in its most consistent form, the program of all those other revisionist groups who see their role NOT as leading a struggle of the ranks against Woodcock's sellout policies, but simply organizing the best possible "support" among other workers and students for the Woodcock demands.

The Progressive Labor Party which falsely equate the UAW with General Motors, does no more than attempt to organize "support for the auto workers" among students. Never once do they offer any alternative to the Woodcock demands. The advice to the auto workers offered by Progressive Labor, is to turn their backs entirely on the UAW and not to bother with a fight in the union against Woodcock. So, PL, from a "left" position arrives at the same point as the Communist Party by opposing any real struggle against the bureaucracy.

## LESSONS

The lessons of the auto strike are not only that the ranks must fight Woodcock, but also, that Stalinism must be fought down the line as the number one apologist for Woodcock in his efforts to make a deal acceptable to GM and the White House.

Despite all the efforts of the bureaucracy and the Stalinists, the potential among the UAW ranks for a fight to reject any sellout settlement is tremendous. Since the beginning of the strike the Workers League has been warning and campaigning against a sellout.

Including Weekend Magazine

## DAILY WORLD

15¢

Vol. 11, No. 28 New York, Saturday, October 3, 1970 Daily except Sun., Mon. and major holidays

# AUTO STRIKE WINS VICTORY AT DIESEL

See page 5

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Vol. 11, No. 29 New York, Tuesday, October 6, 1970 Daily except Sun., Mon. and major holidays 10 CENTS

## '30 and out at \$500 a month'

# AUTO PICKETS RING GM HEADQUARTERS

See page 5

The Daily World supported Woodcock's efforts to push local settlements to get a "back to work" fever. They headline "30 and Out" to cover Woodcock's retreat on wages.

the convention who desperately wanted to speak and waved their arms and shouted against the motion to close debate after less than one hour of floor discussion. Not one mention is made of these delegates who WERE able to speak and spoke for a REAL assessment which could sustain the strike and fight GM to the finish. Not one mention is made by Mr. Allen of Woodcock's statement at the convention that "we do not want to inflict on General Motors a defeat," or his offer to GM, "if we can be guaranteed the purchasing power of what we bargain in years two and three by proper cost of living protection, then, obviously, we can be more realistic, more sensible, more positive

including the wage demand, the shorter work week, no compulsory overtime, this program is not worth the paper it is printed on! Not only have they refused to issue or support so much as one leaflet calling for a struggle for this sort of wage increase, but have uncritically supported every demand and maneuver of Woodcock. This "program" is window dressing—a cover behind which Stalinism carries forward its real program of betrayal of the working class.

The Communist Party not only apologizes for the Woodcock bureaucracy, in the pages of the Daily World, but attempts to use the formation of "rank and file" committees and conferences, to tie the

## YWLL, Servicemen's Union Support Farinas Defense

BY FRED MUELLER

In the last week many new sponsors of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee have been signed up. The new sponsors include the American Serviceman's Union and the Young Workers Liberation League. Also the Latin Unity and Hermanidad Clubs at New York City Community College have joined in sponsoring the Committee.

The Northern Illinois University chapter of the Student Mobilization Committee has sent the Farinas Defense Committee a strong statement of support, which says in part: "Such political repression against a single anti-war activist is an attack against the whole anti-war movement; therefore, we support your defense of Juan Farinas and his civil liberties, as well as, in defending against political repression of the whole anti-war movement."

A group of trade unionists and college faculty in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area have agreed to sponsor the case. These include Lois Rosen of Machinists Lodge 459, Intl. Assn. of Machinists; Orin Doty of Teamster Local 970; Shirley Krogmeier of the Minnesota Fed. of Teachers, Local 59; Jean Brust, Instructor at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minn.; Lee Oliver, Black Studies Advisor at Hamline Univ. in St. Paul; and William Z. Brust, Pro-

fessor at Carleton College in Northfield, Minn.

Farinas is fighting against frameup charges that he violated the Selective Service Act and refused to report and submit for induction, because of an incident over two years ago in which he attempted to distribute leaflets opposing the war to fellow draftees at the induction center.

A mass meeting was held at Columbia University on Thursday, November 12, in defense of Farinas. The meeting was sponsored by the Columbia chapters of the Workers League, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Labor Action Committee and the Labor Committee. Speaking in addition to Farinas was Victor Martinez, who played an important part in last month's prison rebellions in New York. Farinas has also been interviewed by the Columbia

Spectator and by WKCR, the Columbia radio station.

## SSEU

The biggest task confronting those who are fighting to defend Farinas is to take this case into the labor movement and the Spanish-speaking community. This will be critical in fighting back against this prosecution.

A leading example of the kind of support that can be received has been given by the Social Service Employees Union-Local 371 of the State, County and Municipal Workers. The President of this local, Stanley Hill, is a sponsor of the defense committee. At a membership meeting of the union on November 5, President Hill made a brief presentation on the facts of the case, introduced Juan Farinas, and urged union members to contribute to the costs of the legal defense. A large collection was taken up at this meeting. All of this shows what can be done.

We urge all readers and supporters of the Bulletin to join this fight and help to build broad support for Farinas in the labor movement and among Spanish-speaking workers and youth.

# Pentagon Tries To Crush GI Rebellion In W. Germany

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon and Agnew are taking their racist witchhunt campaign into the armed forces. For the past few months the U.S. army in West Germany has been shaken by GI rebellions. At the center of these struggles have been a number of black GI organizations which have taken up a fight against racism and the conditions the GIs face.

In September when the Pentagon tried to placate these militants by holding a meeting in Heidelberg to discuss "racial conflict" in the service, the black GIs showed their contempt for U.S. imperialism by boycotting the meeting.

Now the Pentagon is cracking down with the trial in West Germany of black GI James Earl Hobson. Like the vicious frame-ups of the Panthers and Angela Davis in the U.S., Hobson is being charged for attempted murder, arson and "conspiracy" and faces 195 years in jail. The charges stem from an incident last spring at a training area in Bavaria in which a grenade exploded in a mess hall.

The Pentagon is growing more and more worried about the opposition which is growing inside the army from West Germany to Vietnam as the youth take up the fight against the war and the army. The militant black GI organizations are being joined by thousands of black and white soldiers, who see the system as their enemy and who do not want to fight for Nixon or capitalism.

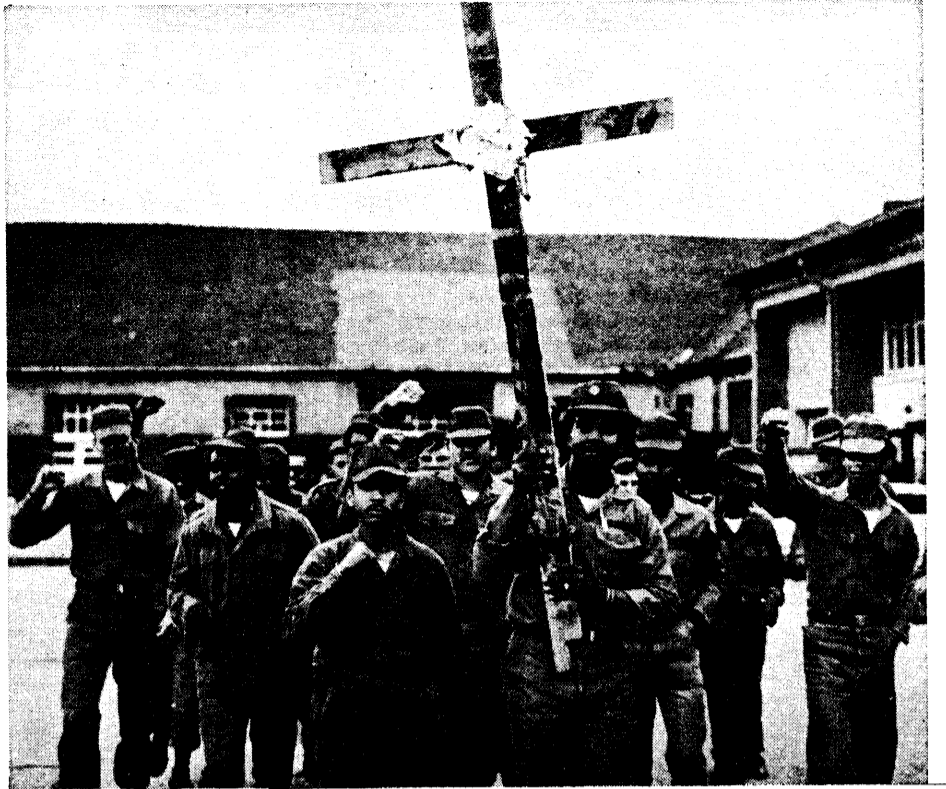
This is what the army brass fears as more and more it becomes impossible to maintain discipline and morale and as GIs even on the front lines in Vietnam flaunt their hostility to imperialism's war in uniforms decorated with anti-war paraphernalia. This is what lies behind the attacks on militants like Hobson.

The struggle of the working class youth at home is finding a sharp reflection

within the armed forces. One of the GI papers, *What Next...*, published among U.S. soldiers in Germany puts it this way:

"The struggle of the working people is important to enlisted men because they are the working class in uniform...most enlisted men will be returning to the working force on the outside...to jobs that are dwindling in number, to paychecks that won't stretch, to debts, bills and mortgages up to their necks...Only the collective might of the American working people, black and white, in uniform and out, can ensure that the military is withdrawn from every country in the world, its present command disbanded and its arms placed at the service of the united working people to wrest control of society from its present rulers..."

The key task must be to unite the courageous struggles of the GIs with the struggles of the unemployed youth, the youth in the high schools and the trade unions. The struggle to build a revolutionary youth movement which will unite all youth in the fight for socialism is central to advance the fight in the army.



The Pentagon is terrified of the growing militancy in the Army, against both the war and racism. Here black GIs in Germany protest against KKK cross burning on base.

## Massive Support Grows To Free Angela Davis

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, N.Y.—A legal lynch mob of Rockefeller, Reagan, Nixon and Agnew and Company, is on the loose and one of their main targets is Angela Davis.

But the opposition to her imprisonment grows more massive each day. The hysterical racist witchhunt which was launched against Angela Davis by the government and the bourgeois press cannot conceal the fact that thousands upon thousands oppose her imprisonment and demand that she be set free.

Demonstrations have been held in major cities across the country and a major rally is scheduled for November 20 here. Support for Angela Davis is so widespread that even the YWCA has taken a stand, demanding her freedom.

Angela Davis is being held in the

Women's House of Detention here, and is fighting extradition to California. If extradited, she will face charges of murder and kidnapping, and a possible death sentence.

### FEAR

The government's fear and hatred for Angela Davis and all she represents was shown by the fact that she was put into solitary confinement in the House of Detention, to isolate her from fellow prisoners. She was placed in a special cell under close observation, isolated from other prisoners, forced to eat and to exercise alone, deprived of normal visiting rights and her mail was restricted. After a 14 day hunger strike and a court fight, she was just this week placed in a regular cell and allowed to mingle with other inmates.

The prison authorities contend that she was placed in solitary "to protect Miss Davis from the other prisoners." But it is clear that there was no danger of any harm from the other prisoners—over 50 other inmates were interviewed by two members of the Board of Corrections and not only showed no hostility to Angela,

but respected and admired her. But it is clear that this is exactly what the government fears. Following the prison rebellions which swept New York City prisons last month, they are terrified to allow a political prisoner to mix with the other prisoners.

A petition for a habeas corpus hearing was filed by supporters and lawyers for Davis, and she was granted a hearing for November 20. This hearing could bar extradition until it is over and all appeals stemming from it are exhausted.

In the petition for hearing, it is charged that Angela Davis "has been and is the subject of persecution by the Governor and authorities of the State of California whom, because of her membership in the Communist Party and her political opinions and beliefs, caused her to be ousted from her post as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California, and have now caused her to be charged with murder and kidnapping."

The petition demands that she be set free, and not be returned to California.

Angela Davis must be set free! The Soledad Brothers must be set free! The Panthers in prison across the nation must be set free! These political witchhunts and legal lynch gangs are not aimed only at black militants, but at the working class as a whole.

## Victims Of Bloody Beatings Charged In Prison Rebellions

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

QUEENS, N.Y., Nov. 10—Inmates who rebelled against prison conditions and political repression in a wave of revolutionary struggles which swept New York prisons last month were in court here today for bail arraignment hearings.

Last week indictments were brought down against 28 inmates, charging them with "vandalism, destruction of property, kidnapping and conspiracy to incite riots."

Today four of these inmates appeared at the hearings on their case and bail was set at \$15,000 to \$20,000 each.

The prisoners who were in court today include Robert Carlos Drake, James Capers, and Ken Cender. Each of them has been severely beaten since the end of the rebellions in the prisons. Cender was in critical condition for internal injuries for over a week; one of the inmates had a broken jaw, and one had both of his arms and a leg broken. These prisoners have been brutally and systematically beaten. The guards worked them over one by one, picking a spot on their body and beating until they collapsed.

At the time of the prison rebellions, Mayor Lindsay and Corrections Commissioner McGrath publicly promised that there would be no reprisals against the inmates if the hostages they held were freed unharmed. The politicians, the prison officials, and even the hostages admitted that prison conditions were unbearable and unjust. But immediately after the hostages were released unharmed, the prisoners were savagely beaten by guards with broom handles, billy clubs, boots and fists.

The fear that the capitalist class has of the working class, and the brutality which they seek to use on the working class to drive them down is expressed in these attacks on the inmates.

The situation of these prisoners, who are isolated, subjected to the most vicious physical and legal attack, must be understood in this light.

The Young Lords Party and the Inmates Liberation Front have been actively organizing the defense of these inmates and further information can be had from them at 427-7754.



Victor Martinez speaking at a press conference to build support for inmates.

## LABOR COMMITTEE MEMBERS FACE FRAME-UP TRIAL

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—Two members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (formerly SDS Labor Committee) were arraigned in Philadelphia on November 4, charged with four counts of "conspiracy to possess and store explosives with intent to use."

Steve Fraser and Dick Borgman, both of Philadelphia Labor Committee, were indicted on these charges on September 15, 1970, and each face a maximum of 12 years in prison if convicted.

Fraser and Borgman were arrested on April 9, 1970, after being politically active in the Philadelphia area. Police came to their apartment equipped com-

pletely, right down to local television coverage, made a quick search, and reached behind the refrigerator and held up planted dynamite for the cameras to photograph.

The case is clearly a political frameup by the police, who have gained new notoriety since then, under Police Chief Rizzo for their brutal and vicious attacks on the Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

This attack must be seen as part and parcel of the new vicious crackdown by the Nixon-Agnew Administration on the working class. The frameup of Borgman and Fraser, like the judicial lynching of the Panthers and Angela Davis, and the attacks on Juan Farinas, is part of the government's strategy to silence political opposition. All militants must support the defense of Borgman and Fraser as part of the fight back against the rising tide of government repression.

## Vicious Sentence For W.U. Student

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Nixon and Agnew's openly proclaimed policy of "taking off the kid gloves" when dealing with student protesters and other militants was put into action here last week.

Howard Mechanic, a student at Washington University, has just been convicted and sentenced to five years in federal prison for allegedly throwing a cherry bomb at a policeman!

He was convicted of violating the 1968 Civil Rights Act on the night the Washington University ROTC building was burned during the spring student strike against the invasion of Cambodia.

Specifically, he was convicted for "in-

terfering with policemen and firemen defending a federally funded project during a civil disorder." He was charged with throwing a cherry bomb (firecracker) at a policeman on that night!

The prosecution produced firemen, policemen and ROTC officers to testify. Their testimony consisted of verifying that there was indeed a "civil disorder" on that night. The prosecution were unable to produce even one witness who saw Mechanic commit the act for which he is going to prison!

This is the first prosecution under this particular section of the Civil Rights Act, and could well mean that anyone present at a "civil disorder" could be prosecuted.

This attack must be fought. It is one more example of the new rash of frame-ups and judicial lynchings that are taking place. When a student can be thrown into prison for five years for supposedly throwing a firecracker at a policeman, it should be clear to all that Nixon and Agnew mean business when they say they are "taking off the gloves."

But what should be even clearer is that they are taking off the gloves not only to crackdown on student protesters and on black militants, but on the working class as well. The blood thirsty savagery of the government toward the Panthers is extended to the students as well, and as in Canada, will be extended to the working class as a whole. The fight against this attack on Howard Mechanic must be a political fight against the government's policies.

Mechanic is planning an appeal and funds are needed for legal defense. Contact: Washington University Legal Defense, c/o Left Bank Books, 559 North Skinker, St. Louis, Missouri.



## San Jose Labor Leader Charges Government With Conspiracy Against Workers

BY MICHAEL DUNN

SAN JOSE—Stung by the anger of thousands of workers and students at the San Jose anti-Nixon demonstration, the Santa Clara county Grand Jury has been enpaneled to investigate and possibly bring indictments against those persons or groups involved in the demonstration.

The jury which has already met several times in its investigation of the incident has recently asked the San Jose police department to supply a complete narrative summary of the entire demonstration. This investigation by the Santa Clara Grand Jury comes on the heels of the recent acquittal in Santa Barbara of student leaders and residents of Isla Vista for conspiracy to riot and commit arson.

### RAIDS

What may be a prelude to the San Jose investigation was the manner in which Santa Barbara Grand Jury conducted the investigation. The jury brought forward indictments against a large number of student leaders and political activists on felonies. Warrants were immediately issued and raids were conducted to round up those indicted. The indictments and trial however were carried out without the least bit of evidence.

Over half of those indicted were not even in the area when the Bank of America was burned. What became clear to the defendants as the trial progressed was that the purpose of the trial was the intimidation and destruction of any opposition to the police and business interests of Santa Barbara.

As one defendant put it: "The trial became a reinforcement for the original reasons some persons had for the burning of the bank." What is now becoming clear is that the same type of trial is being prepared in San Jose.

### "CONSPIRACY"

Louis Bosco, President of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council has said that what took place was not a riot, but "there was a conspiracy."

"Considering the fact that Nixon, Murphy, and Reagan had to have some kind of violence, and the fact that students and unionists and other older people among the protesters had been warned against playing into their hands by providing it, it is obvious to me who caused a few

broken windows and minor damage to a few cars."

Bosco continued:

"There is a conspiracy at the highest level of government in this country to mislead the American people into abandoning their hard won rights and living standards, constitutional protections and the right to fight for the changes that must be made in our domestic and foreign policies if we are to survive."

Mr. Bosco quite correctly points to the real conspirators. What is now required is a campaign in the labor movement to insure that neither workers nor students go on trial for the anti-Nixon demonstration.



Nixon stands on his car and gives the "V" sign to enraged workers and students.

## Los Siete De La Raza Acquitted --Still In Jail On New Frameup



Los Siete de la Raza have been acquitted on charges of killing a cop, but are still jailed. They now face new charges of armed robbery and car theft invented by cops.

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 10—After 18 months in prison, Los Siete de la Raza have been judged innocent of the killing of policeman Joe Brodnik on May 1, 1969.

From the start, the newspapers attempted to create a lynch atmosphere. The headline of one area paper at the time of the death read "Latin Youth Shoot Cop." The press and the media decided Los Siete were guilty before the trial even started.

### ACQUITTAL

Despite this acquittal, Los Siete—Gary Lescallet, Mario Martinez, Tony Martinez, David Melendez, Jose Rios, and Nelson Rodriguez—are still behind bars. They are being held in jail now while an "investigation" into charges of armed robbery and car theft in San Mateo county is taking place.

These charges of armed robbery were never made before or during the trial, and are designed to keep Los Siete in jail as long as possible, one way or the other. If tried and convicted on the armed robbery charges, they could get sentences from five years to life.

### YOUTH

The campaign in defense of Los Siete had a tremendous effect among Latin and Chicano youth in the Mission area. Every

youth in the high schools, in the hang outs, in the neighborhood was made to understand that they were on trial. Rather than a moralistic defense appealing for liberal support, the case was brought among working class youth, and they were mobilized in defense of the six defendants.

The acquittal of Los Siete is a legal victory accomplished by the mobilization of support for the defendants primarily among working class youth, in the face of a wave of repression sweeping across the country.

### FORWARD

But the battle is far from over. The government and the cops have shown that they intend to try to keep Los Siete behind bars. The fight must go forward to defend Los Siete against the new frameup charges. This doubly vicious sham, this fraud, must be exposed for what it is.

The case of Los Siete de la Raza must be taken full scale into the labor movement with the understanding that the capitalist class is sharpening its teeth on minority youth and students in preparation for taking on the working class full scale. Los Siete must be set free.

## Woodcock Plan To Sell Out Strike—Faces Angry Resistance Of Ranks

BY A FREMONT UAW MEMBER

FREMONT, CAL—Many signs of the economic impact of this eight week auto strike are beginning to make themselves felt in all segments of the economy. At the same time there are growing indications that Nixon's chief economic advisors' confidence in their ability to "fine tune the economy" so as to encourage General Motors to "hang tough" in their bargaining stance for at least three and a half months has gone astray.

Their slide rule calculations are in error to the extent that they must hide the fact of mounting unemployment, inflation and business slowdown even in unrelated industry, which feeds the flame of discontent and generates pressure for government intervention to turn off this crucial contest in auto.

The mass media has set about its task of creating the proper atmosphere by speculating about an imminent settlement and what the news blackout means from the top table in Detroit as they enter into marathon sessions. This is all calculated to produce an air of expectation, as well as confusion among these determined auto workers as to whether an acceptable contract is near.

### COUNCIL

This is the first step in their scheme to disarm the workers of their militancy and determination to hold out for a good settlement. Right on cue, President Woodcock summons the 350 members of the union's GM council to meet in Detroit November 11 and to be prepared to stay awhile. This completes the scenario and lends credence to all the speculation, and heightens expectation that something is about to happen.

These 350 members of the union's chief council comprise all the local presidents and chairmen of shop committees who have the power to recommend acceptance or rejection of an agreement to the union membership. This is where the rub comes in. These top local officers are caught in the middle and come under the guns of the membership who somehow expect their elected officials to represent their best interests. Woodcock in order to sellout the strike must convince this elected body to go along with his schemes, of recommending the settlement to the membership.

### DETERMINATION

These "leaders" had better be reading the signs right. The ranks are in no mood for another sellout. We have invested eight weeks in this struggle and are unanimous in determination to make GM pay. The ranks must hold firm for \$1.65 over the three year contract, not one cent less; restore full cost of living cost; immediate payment of all contract money as well as full retroactive pay; 30 and out.

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