

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER THIRTY THREE 242

APRIL 24, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



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PROTESTS SWEEP CAMPUSES

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BY THE EDITORS

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Reports from Hanoi indicate that the air attacks, the most systematic in the history of the war, caused hundreds of civilian casualties.

The intensified bombings follow a conscious decision by the Nixon Administration to begin an openly genocidal war against the Vietnamese people. Government spokesmen have admitted that the new targets have not been chosen for their military significance alone. The attacks on Haiphong were aimed not at the harbor, but at those areas most populated by civilians.

With this latest brutal escalation, Nixon has expressed American imperialism's arrogance and

hatred of the working class. With each murderous bomb, Nixon is telling the international working class that he is prepared to level any part of the globe in defense of capitalism.

SHARP WARNING

The saturation bombing is a sharp warning to American workers, in particular, whose resistance to the Administration's wage controls and productivity demands has "angered" the President no less than the new NLF offensive.

Never before have B-52's been used against major population centers. The use of these giant bombers, which were designed

for nuclear warfare, can leave no doubt that Nixon is prepared to order the murder of millions of Asian workers and peasants.

"We'll play it day by day," was the answer of a Defense Department official to a question about plans for future bombings.

Nixon ordered the bombing raids as the military position of the imperialists continued to deteriorate. Besides the rout of the Saigon troops in all sections of the fighting, an open mutiny within the ranks of the American Army has jolted the Government.

The hatred of this war by the American working class was expressed with unprecedented vehemence last Wednesday when 50 soldiers refused to go into combat and staged a sit-down strike in defiance of the commanding officer's orders.

"We're not going!" shouted the soldiers. "This isn't our war. We're not going into the bush."

Another soldier declared: "Man, this war stinks. It's a damn waste of time. Why the hell are we fighting for something we don't believe in?"

Contrary to reports which stated that the soldiers finally submitted to discipline, interviews with the men involved revealed that the sit-down ended only after the officers, in the words of one soldier, "talked to us and almost guaranteed that nothing would happen to us."

EXPLOSIVE

Aware of the explosive situation in the Army, the high command promised that no disciplinary action would be taken against the soldiers who participated in the sit-down strike.

The fighting in South Vietnam has assumed the character of a rout. Around the city of Anloc, where the National Liberation Front is expected to establish a

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The UAW Convention

Declare For Labor Party!

To the National Policy Convention of the United Auto Workers:

This convention is being held at a most critical time in the history of American labor. It is now that all the gains made by this great movement of American labor are being threatened by Nixon and the large corporations he represents.

The UAW has always played an important leading role in the American labor movement. It was the great sitdowns of the 1930s of auto workers which laid the basis for the organization into the CIO of millions of workers in many industries. It was the UAW which led the postwar strike wave which in turn established the working and living conditions workers today enjoy.

Now the UAW must once again assume its historic responsibilities and take a lead in the struggle of American workers against attacks whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the trade union movement itself and the driving back of American workers to conditions worse than the 1930s.

We write this as Nixon sends B-52 bombers over

Haiphong and Hanoi, dropping bombs on homes of defenseless workers killing their families. This bloodthirsty act of genocide, which serves no military purpose, must be a warning to all American workers. NIXON WILL DO THE SAME HERE IF NOT STOPPED.

Nixon is determined to destroy everything that stands in the way of the profits of the large corporations he represents. The offensive of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and now the determination

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Demands Labor Party
Auto Workers Battle
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Pages 14-15

200,000 Quebec Workers Stage General Strike

BY JAN ROSLYN

MONTREAL—The Common Front of Quebec Public Service workers answered the attacks of the Bourassa government this week with full strike action in all sectors of the public service.

This comes in defiance of the retreat of the Common Front leaders who began first by calling off the strike scheduled for March 24 because of a storm, then limiting the strike of March 28 to 24 hours.

At the same time this leadership, Louis Laberge (QFL), Marcel Pepin (CNTU) and Yvon Charbonneau (QTC) had retracted one of the three original major demands, equal pay for equal work.

Now they have knocked the demand for an eight percent increase a year down to seven percent and have stated that the \$100 weekly minimum is to be negotiated for the third year.

Even these treacherous attempts to compromise could not pacify the crisis-ridden Liberal regime. It has declared that it has no capacity and no intention of budging from its original bargaining position of 4.8 percent.

FORCED

Despite these tremendous obstacles, the determination of the Quebec workers to win their demands forced the union leadership into declaring an all-out

U.S. Hints New Deal For Castro

BY ED SMITH

Hard on the heels of news of one of the most disastrous Cuban sugar harvests in years, the U.S. government let it be known that it would "let bygones be bygones" with the Castro regime, if it winds up the remnants of any anti-imperialist foreign policy in Latin America.

Speaking at an Organization of American States conference in Washington, Under Secretary of State Charles Meyer stated that if Cuba stops its policy of "interventionism" in Latin America, the U.S. would be prepared to "go along" with its allies in the OAS, if they adopted the policy of reconciliation with Cuba.

Meyer made it clear that any such move would be strictly on the basis of the complete domestication of Castroism and the removal of any threat whatsoever to imperialism.

Whatever his feelings may be, Castro is under the greatest pressure now with the collapse of the sugar harvest and the continued deterioration of the Cuban economy. He will certainly be given a big push along the road of capitulation on his forthcoming visit to Moscow.

Cuban Communist Party Secretary Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and CP representatives are already visiting Russia. Castro is expected to visit his mentors at the beginning of May.

strike of an unlimited duration. The strike was launched Tuesday morning, April 11, and is continuing in full force.

Hospitals, schools, court houses and liquor boards all across the provinces remain closed despite the mounting threat of injunctions and strike breaking by the government. The government lost no time in issuing an injunction against strike action by the hydro workers on the first day of the strike, seeking to cut off the area of public service which would be crucial in the strike.

GAINS

They deemed hydro an "essential service" and were not fought on this by the Common Front leaders who had instructed workers to disregard all injunctions. Despite this workers have wildcatted in the hydro sector. Injunctions against the hospital workers were disregarded by strikers.

The strike continues to gain forces each day. Protestant school teachers and sections of nurses previously outside the Common Front have been won to strike action by the picketers.

Meetings have been held all this week discussing the possibility of 200,000 unionized and non-unionized workers joining the 210,000 in the Common Front. A similar meeting was held this week of 500 city workers of Montreal who had an injunction issued against them during their last strike.

The crisis of the bankrupt and vicious government has enabled the working class to feel its own power and to understand more clearly its class position.

Common Front picketers are approaching hospital workers whose union leadership is purposely excluding it from the Common Front.

Leaflets have been distributed to hospital workers saying that if they have changed their position in the past two years they have

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Rightists Hold Anti-Allende March

BY ED SMITH

Encouraged by the weakness and vacillation of the class collaborationist Popular Unity government, the forces of ruling class reaction in Chile have opened an offensive they hope will sweep out the Allende regime and open the way for massive attacks on the Chilean workers and peasants.

At a massive rally of over 200,000 right wingers in Santiago, speakers called for a "restoration of democracy," against "statist socialism" and "rule by the Communist and Socialist Parties."

The rally coincided with the opening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which Allende is hosting in Santiago. Speakers spoke for a bill Allende had vetoed which would restrict the President's right to nationalize companies without approval of Congress. They also demanded that Allende submit the constitutional questions to the country in a plebiscite.



Civil Service workers of Montreal Courthouse in Quebec picket Courthouse in driving rain and snow after riot police forced them away from building to try to keep court open.

Nixon Tells Trudeau: Pay For U.S. Crisis

BY DAVID NORTH

None of the economic issues that have caused the marked deterioration of relations between the United States and Canada were solved last week during President Nixon's talks with Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Besides signing a vague agreement that binds the United States—in principle only—to making the Great Lakes less polluted, both men agreed only to disagree on future trade policy between the two countries.

Nixon has been insisting that Canada undertake a revision of earlier agreements, especially the 1965 Automobile Trade Pact, in order to slash the three billion dollar trade surplus that Canada has built up over the last four years.

In an unusually blunt statement to the Canadians, Nixon declared: "It is time for Canadians and Americans to move beyond the sentimental rhetoric of the past. It is time for us to recognize that we have separate identities; that we have significant differences; and that nobody's interests are furthered when these realities are

obscured."

In other words, the "Great Neighbor to the North" speeches are to be put in the garbage pail as Nixon demands that Canada—along with Europe—bear its share of the brunt of American capitalism's crisis.

Trudeau responded to Nixon's threats with continued insistence that Canada's economy would be defended against the dictates of foreign interests. But the reality of the situation is such that he really will not be given a choice in the matter. What is known as the Canadian economy is actually a subsidiary of the various American industries.

According to statistics published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the United States owns 51% of Canada's mining industry, 43% of its manufacturing industry, 76% of its petroleum refining industry, and 84% of its rubber products.

For this reason, Nixon must have felt like yawning when Trudeau called on foreign corporations to be mindful of Canada's "interests and aspirations."

The only consolation Trudeau might have found during the past week was in the remark by one American spokesman that the United States does not "always want a surplus trade balance with Canada."

Trudeau has attempted to meet the demands of the American bourgeoisie with sharp attacks on the living standards of the Canadian working class. But the tremendous power of the trade unions—as expressed in the growing strike movement in Quebec—has made Trudeau more dependent on winning concessions from Nixon.

But concessions will not be forthcoming. Nixon is not particularly concerned if he loses friends among the Canadian bourgeoisie; for as the *Wall Street Journal* editorialized Monday:

"There's really not much Mr. Nixon, or any other American for that matter, can do to ease the anti-Americanism that has been fermenting in Canada. Nothing, that is, short of subordinating U.S. economic interests to those of Canada."

The Stalinist Canadian Communist Party is presenting Trudeau's policies as a struggle for Canadian independence. It describes the Prime Minister, who only last year attempted to incite a massacre of Quebec workers, as a leader of a progressive section of the "camp of monopoly" that "reflects the views of a growing body of Canadian people who are beginning to see that the path to real national independence for Canada lies in friendship and closer political and economic relations with the...Soviet Union."

VIOLATION

The U.S. has stated that confiscations of its property were in violation of international law and that it "never engaged in improper activities in Chile."

The imperialist message is getting through loud and clear,

not only to its reactionary friends in Chile, but also to Allende's bourgeois allies inside the Popular Unity coalition.

Recently, two members of the Radical Party quit the coalition to be replaced by two other Radicals. One of them is a general whose previous job was managing the Chuquicamata copper mines. And the Democratic Radical Party marched in the giant right wing demonstration against Allende.

The whole foundation of the Popular Unity "Chilean Road to Socialism" is being undermined. Imperialism and its agents are now preparing for a decisive challenge.

Pay Board Threatens To Slash 15% Increase For N.Y. Phone Workers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The 15.3 percent wage increase won by New York phone workers following a bitter seven month strike has been held up by the government's Pay Board.

Although the settlement for the New York locals of the Communications Workers of America did not exceed that already granted phone workers in the rest of the country, Pay Board Chairman George Boldt insisted that the prolonged strike of the workers in this state provided the grounds for depriving them of their wage increases.

BOLDT

In the words of Boldt, a "tandem" relationship between the CWA locals in New York and the rest of the country no longer exists. 38,000 New York phone workers voted last February to end their strike and accepted a contract despite tremendous opposition within the ranks.

SABOTAGE

The strike of the New York locals began last July 14 as part of a national walkout. However, following national ratification of the pact negotiated by CWA President Joseph Beirne, the New York phone workers—who had voted down the settlement—continued the strike for more than half a year.

The national leadership of the

CWA did all it could to sabotage the New York strike; and finally forced a vote on an unpopular contract in February when a movement was developing among the rank-and-file nationally to rejoin the New York phone workers. This movement was expressed in the success of out-of-state picketing during the

late stages of the strike.

Morton Bahr, vice-president of the New York region of the CWA, said that he expected that the Pay Board would ultimately accept the 15.3 percent increase. He declined to state what actions the CWA would take if the increases were rejected.

FIGHT

Ricky Carnavale, president of New York's largest local, 1101, plans to fly to Washington to plead the CWA case before the Pay Board. He is refusing to take forward the fight posed by the AFL-CIO abandonment of the Pay Board.

Like Harry Bridges of the ILWU, the CWA leadership continues to accept the legitimacy of the Pay Board even though millions of trade unionists forced George Meany to walk off the Board.

With an understanding that the defense of their contract requires a political fight against the government, which is determined to break the living standards of all workers, the CWA ranks must demand that its leadership fight for the formation of a labor party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans responsible for the attacks on the unions.

Strikers Arrested At Fedders

EDISON, N.J.—Thirteen workers, now in the sixth week of their strike against Fedders, were arrested Monday morning on charges of "disturbing the peace" following an egg-throwing incident. Among those arrested was Marcial Tarrats, president of IUE Local 483. All the workers were released upon paying \$25 bail.

Tarrats told the Bulletin that the union will begin talks with the Fedders Corporation Thursday with a Federal mediator present. Tarrats said that the IUE would not accept less than a seven percent increase.

Van Arsdale Uses Goons To Bust Up Taxi Meeting

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Faced with a wholesale rejection of his entire contract strategy, President Harry Van Arsdale adjourned the semi-annual general meeting of Local 3036 at New York's Manhattan Center last April 12th after only 15 minutes.

Chairman Pancaldo had refused a request for a handcount on a motion from the floor, which would have suspended the rules and agenda, in order to allow a 45 minute report from President Van Arsdale on the status of negotiations. This was to be followed by an open floor discussion of future strategy for winning a decent contract.

GOONS

The motion had clearly carried. It was at this point that Van Arsdale, realizing he and his policies would be outvoted throughout the meeting, adjourned the gathering and launched physical attacks against protesting drivers.

One goon brandished a ten inch knife at the throat of the militant who made the original motion. Another well-known union thug clubbed several drivers over the head with a metal chair.

But cabbies retaliated quickly,



N.Y. Taxi Union president Van Arsdale ended general meeting on April 12 after 15 minutes when ranks demanded talk on contract.

driving Van Arsdale's entire goon squad back up on the stage. It was only when the police came into Manhattan Center, some with guns drawn, that the hall was finally cleared.

The present Local 3036 leadership allowed the present agreement to be implemented a year ago December. And it has consciously fought to ratify the agreement for over a year.

42%

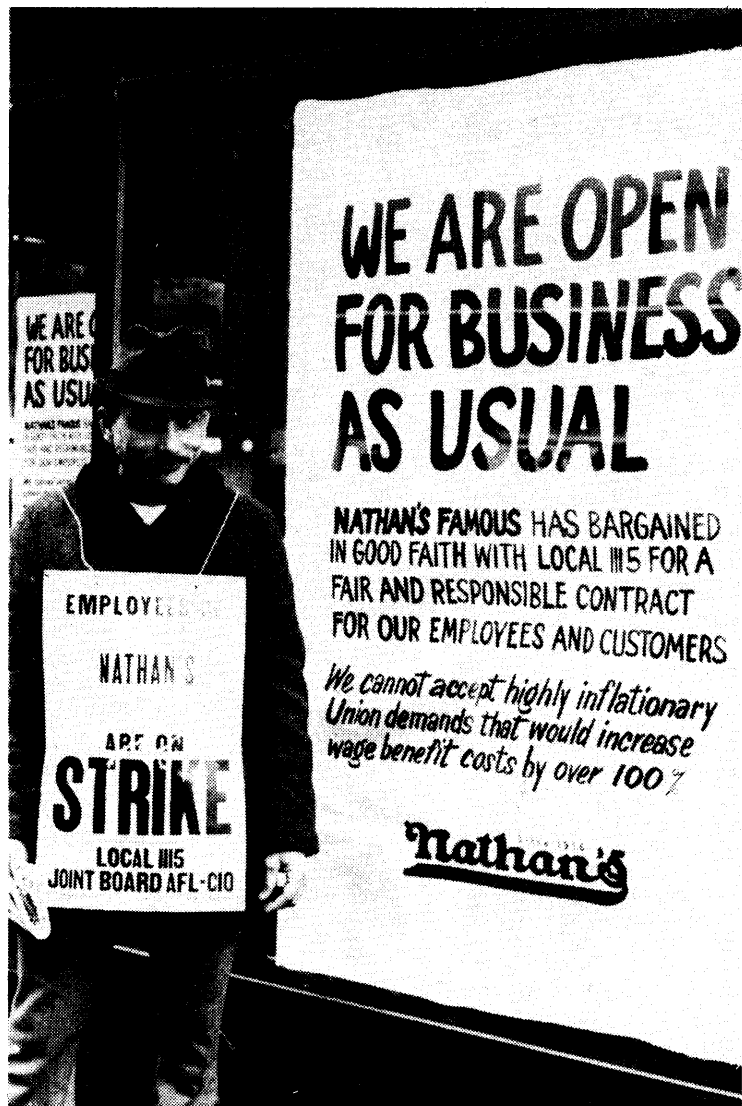
It was only when the men fought back against this sellout that Van Arsdale began a minimal protest of selective strikes over the issue of 42 percent.

Cabbies have been without a

contract for eighteen months. And they have seen the City Council, the Taxi Commission, and the fleet owners come down hard on every single driver in the city.

PARITY

It is now clear that the preparations and call for a city-wide shutdown must be taken into every garage. At the same time a fight must be waged with Garage Chairmen and Committeemen to force the entire Local 3036 bureaucracy to take up this contract fight, and to win for taxi drivers their long overdue "parity with transit workers."



Workers picket Nathan's in New York in strike for higher wages.

Corporation Heads Get Fat Pay Hikes

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

As Nixon's Pay Board proceeds daily to slash wage increases for American workers, the bosses are padding their pockets with fat salary hikes.

While Nixon and all the Democrats and Republicans alike are blaming inflation on the "greed" of the unions, they cast a kindly and sympathetic eye on the real greedy ones.

Top corporate officials last year averaged pay hikes of 27%! This is a far cry from the 5.5% Nixon and his Pay Board are demanding for the working class. This 27% tops salaries that run in six figures. The yearly salaries of these big corporation heads are already more than the average worker makes in a lifetime.

Feeling the "squeeze" of inflation, Henry Ford the II, chairman of the Board of Ford Motor Company, demanded and got \$689,000 last year in salary and "bonuses." His salary was raised \$189,000 from the previous year—a 37.8% increase.

Ford president Lee Iaacicca, who has been one of the most arrogant and labor-hating spokesmen for big business, demanding that the employers open a campaign under the slogan "Union Power Threatens America" because of their wage demands, got a 48.3 percent increase last year bringing his salary to \$675,000.

Then there was James M. Kerr, President of Avco Corporation who managed a 78 percent increase, bringing his salary to \$214,933. Bendix Corporation head A. Paul Fontaine got a 130 percent hike to \$170,644 plus a big bonus of \$100,000.

General Electric chairman Fred Borch raised his pay 19 percent to \$300,103 this year. It was GE that funded Pay Board



Henry Ford II

Judge Boldt's night on the town in New York a few months back.

Chairman Willard F. Rockwell, head of North American Rockwell pulled in \$249,167, a salary up 12 percent. Raymond C. Firestone of Firestone Tire and Rubber got \$275,000, up 10 percent.

It is these bloated millionaires who are reaping the benefits and profits under the wage freeze while the working class is being reduced to poverty.

They arrogantly cry out at the mention of union demands for higher wages and with the stroke of a hand shut down plants throwing thousands onto the unemployment and welfare lines. They are the men behind the Democratic and Republican parties.

New Haven UE Strikers Face Jobs Phase Out

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—As the strike by United Electrical Workers Local 298 enters its fifth week against MB Electronics, a division of Textron, the company has just announced that it is up for sale and if not sold, will be phased out.

MB Electronics was once recognized as the world's leading manufacturer of vibration test systems for the aerospace industry. If a purchaser is not found it will mean the loss of about 200 jobs—110 salaried employees and 72 union workers. When the firm was first located in East Haven during World War II, it employed as many as 1300 men and women.

The picket captain for the local told the *Bulletin*: "We don't know where we're going now that they've announced MB will be phased out possibly. But we're certainly not going to give up this strike until the end. It is possible that the company is just saying this to put pressure on the union to scare us into accepting what they want to give up—which we could never do. We always have to fight them all the way—even for a measly 10 or 12 cent raise. We have to go on strike to get it. They don't give a damn, let's put it that way."

CONTEMPT

G. William Harrison, President of MB issued a statement expressing his utter contempt for the workers.

"Until the sale is completed, MB Electronics must be operated at a reduced level of production...If we are unsuccessful in finding a purchaser, we will in all possibility have to phase out this operation. I know the above statement gives rise to many questions concerning your future...My advice to each of you is not to panic. Many times new opportunities become available which could not take place without changes such as this."

The workers are well aware that the "new opportunity" Williams is talking about is the ever-growing unemployment line.

The UE is demanding that the parent firm Textron require the purchaser to retain all employees and keep the company at its present location. In the event a purchaser is not found, the union is demanding that the workers be given preferential hiring rights at other companies in Connecticut owned by Textron.

In spite of the threatened closure, the workers are firm on the main issues in the strike which are seniority rights standing and pensions. These questions are particularly important as there are no young workers left in the plant.

As one worker said:

"The company is trying to pick their own skilled crew and the only way they can do that is to break the union by taking away our seniority rights. As long as seniority is threatened we won't give in because this is our job, our life. If you give up seniority you're giving up everything!"



Youth and workers gather outside Harlem Muslim mosque after riots against police assaults on mosque.

Youth Fight Cops After Invasion Of Mosque

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

NEW YORK—Angry workers and youth battled police in the streets of Harlem following an invasion of a Black Muslim mosque. Without any warning, police entered the mosque with drawn guns claiming to answer "an appeal for help."

The police were beaten back by angry Harlem residents; and in the course of the three-hour battle, five police and three residents were injured.

One policeman was shot, but evidence revealed Monday indicates that he was struck by a bullet fired from the gun of another cop.

Minister Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the mosque, discounted the police reports about having been called to the area by a threatened cop. "I would like to ask," he stated, "if an officer or detective were in distress on the second floor of our building, how could he have gotten to a telephone to call about his distress?"

Muslim official Yussuf Shaw challenged police assertions that they had fired into the ceiling when they entered the mosque. Pointing to bullet holes in the walls less than six feet above the floor, he said, "That's not high—that's right to your mid-section."

With incredible arrogance, deputy police commissioner for public affairs, Robert Daley, ignored the clear evidence and claimed that one of the cops "wasn't shooting to get anybody." As for shots fired into the mosque through a window, Daley stated that they were only "a means of shocking the people."

Newark City Workers Demand Shutdown

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK, April 13—Nearly 500 Newark city employees attended a joint meeting at the Robert Treat Hotel here this evening.

The meeting was called to discuss a plan of action by the unions to force the Newark City Council and Mayor Gibson to approve funds for the 5 percent raise negotiated in a contract 10 months ago. This raise was due all the city workers on Jan. 1.

The unions represented were Teamsters Local 945, (Sanitation, public works, parks), several locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the Civil Service Employees Association.

All of the leaders of these unions who spoke emphasized the tremendous step forward that the unity of these unions represented. But they conducted the meeting as a rally, without allowing any discussion from the floor, and refusing to pose anything more than getting as many city workers as possible to jam next week's City Council meeting, and threatening the politicians with non-support in future elections.

Every militant statement by the speakers against Gibson and the Council, against the threat of layoffs and in defense of the wage increase, was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm by the workers.

REFUSED

But the leaders refused to say what they would do if the Council tabled the question of the increase or rejected it. All they would commit themselves to was to get in touch with the members again if that happened.

The feeling of the workers the *Bulletin* spoke to after the meeting was that the Council "has had 10 months," and that if the raise wasn't granted, they could, and should, shut down the city. One of the workers, a member of the Teamsters, said that he had come down to the meeting ready to go out right then and there.

"I don't even look at it as a

raise, it's an adjustment," he said. He explained that in addition to the 5 percent across the board, the workers should get additional increases based on grade, on difficult work, and on skill.

The struggle of the city workers for their increase also requires an agreement by the City not to lay off one single city worker.

Workers began to see that the refusal of their leaders to "commit themselves" to strike action means they are still looking for a

way out—for a compromise. This is the surest way to defeat.

The strike-breaking attack by TNJ and Governor Cahill against the bus drivers is a sign of what Gibson has in store for the city workers. New Jersey AFL-CIO President Charles Marciano has already threatened a general strike if Cahill goes ahead with his proposal to liquidate TNJ and bring in independent bus lines and drivers to replace the strikers.

The city workers must demand
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Boyle Implicated In Killing

BY FRED MUELLER

The Yablonski murder case has been blown sky high with the introduction of the confession of Mrs. Annette Gilly. The new confession shows the depths of the corruption of the trade union bureaucracy.

The finger in the murder of Joseph Yablonski is now pointed squarely at the top officials of the United Mine Workers, above all President W. A. (Tony) Boyle.

Yablonski, the insurgent candidate for President of the UMW in the fall of 1969, was murdered, along with his wife and daughter, on December 31 of that year. Several weeks later three men were arrested and charged with being his hired killers.

After a long delay this trial has led, through Annette Gilly, wife of one of those originally indicted and since found guilty, closer to the actual source of the murder conspiracy itself.

The latest development in the case, along with the confession of Mrs. Gilly, is the arrest of William J. Prater, field representative of UMW District 19. Prater is being held in \$200,000 bail on conspiracy charges.

Mrs. Gilly's confession was offered in exchange for a government pledge to recommend life imprisonment rather than a death sentence for her part in the assassination plot. It states clearly that the murder plot originated in the top levels of the bureaucracy.

According to the confession, the murder had the approval of "the big man." To Mrs. Gilly, "that meant Tony Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers." Also named in the confession, in addition to Prater, were George Titler, vice-president of the UMW; John Owens, secretary-treasurer; and Albert Pass, secretary-treasurer of UMW District 19.

Mrs. Gilly claims she was told that "the union would take care of me...with the union, the sky was the limit, unless I talked, then the grave was the limit."

"My father and I went to Bill Prater's house for the specific purpose of asking Prater whether or not, in the event someone additional to Yablonski were killed, the union would still pay...Prater replied that he didn't care if the whole family or the whole town (of Clarksville, Pa.) was killed, as long as the job was done.

Prater said they could run Yablonski down with an airplane, if necessary."

It appears that time may fast be running out on Tony Boyle. But it would be the most dangerous mistake to fall for the line

of the liberals and the government that this is just a matter of union tyranny and corruption. The special prosecutor for the murder trials states "this was a straight union killing."

Gangsters like Boyle are the products of years of the closest collaboration with the bosses and the government. They are nothing but the agents of the bosses and the government in the labor movement.

LESSON

The lesson of the disgusting story now being revealed is that the rank and file miners must take up the fight to replace Boyle as part of the fight for a revolutionary leadership in the unions and a labor party to take on the attacks of the government and the bosses.

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1700 YOUTH ATTEND 12th CONFERENCE OF BRITISH YS

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

SCARBOROUGH, ENGLAND—Seventeen hundred youth packed the Grand Hall of the Spa here on April 8th and 9th to attend the twelfth annual conference of the British Trotskyist youth movement, the Young Socialists.

This was the largest conference ever held by the Young Socialists. The development of the Young Socialists, expelled from the Labour Party eight years ago, is above all a product of the principled struggle against the Tories and its refusal to compromise with the reformists.

The conference was convened at a time of the sharpest confrontation between the capitalist class and the working class in Great Britain.

Only days before the conference opened the Tory government through its Industrial Court moved to implement the vicious anti-labor law, the Industrial Relations Act, by fining the Transport and General Workers Union \$120,000.

The draft resolution outlined the situation facing the working class since August 15th in which the ruling class throughout Europe is preparing for civil war. This is what Prime Minister Heath threatened in his speech over a year ago to the United Nations—that capitalism was entering now a period of wars within nations.

The draft resolution stated:

"The crisis within world capitalism drives the employers to attack all workers' rights and living standards and to move increasingly towards dictatorial and fascist forms of rule.

"At the same time it must intensify the trend towards war—above all war to recapture the markets and territories lost to capitalism following the Russian and Chinese Revolutions.

"The alternatives before the working class are very sharply posed in the world—either to go forward to socialism or to barbarism."

The resolution concluded with the central task facing the YS:

MARXIST

"To build the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement is to lay the foundations for the greatest transformation in human history. This task is impossible without the corresponding development in consciousness to the highest level yet achieved—in the Marxist method of dialectical materialism and its application to a scientific study of society."

The conference brought forward all of the rich lessons of the historic Right To Work marches which were begun by the YS on February 5th culminating in the rally of 8,500 at Empire Pool on March 12.

John Simmance, National Secretary of the Young Socialists,



Gil Gonzalez of U.S. Young Socialists greets British Young Socialists National Conference. Over 1,700 delegates and observers attended the two day Trotskyist youth Conference at Scarborough.

opened the conference by saying:

"This 12th annual conference is the proudest weekend in the history of the YS because none of our opponents have done anything comparable to what we have achieved."

Exposing the role of the reformist, revisionist and Stalinist opponents of the YS Simmance said:

"They confine their action to protest, we call for the mobilization of the working class industrially and politically to make this government resign.

"Against these betrayers the YS has continuously endeavored to prepare the working class and the youth to face the serious implications of the economic crisis of world capitalism..."

It was this preparation which was at the heart of the Right To Work marches. Two hundred and fifty unemployed youth marched from five places in Britain to London. Many of these youth were new to politics but developed politically through their struggle on the march. The march which occurred in the midst of the miners' strike posed

the key question of building an alternative revolutionary leadership in the labor movement.

MARCH

At every point in their march the youth had to confront the traitors in the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress who aided by the Stalinists sought to ban the marches under pressure from the Tory government. The marchers, however, received tremendous support from the rank and file of the unions and the Labour Party.

Clive Norris, National Secretary of the Right to Work Campaign said at the conference:

"It is the intention of the Tory government to push the working class into poverty and starvation..."

"We must all make a commitment to go forward from this conference to become fighters like the marchers. We must strike capitalism from the face of Britain."

Comrade Norris moved a composite resolution defending the right to work which was passed unanimously. The resolution read:

"We must transform the YS into a movement which unites tens of thousands of youth to provide the basis for transforming the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party, to defend the basic rights of the working class through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist society."

The perspective expressed in this resolution and the main resolution to the conference separates the YS from all those who seek to construct a youth movement on the basis of centrism, apart from the training of youth in Marxist theory and the building of the revolutionary party.

The second day of the conference opened with international greetings from the U.S., Germany, Ceylon, Australia, and Greece.

Resolutions were put forward from the YS branches on the program of the YS for the mobilization of the working class in Britain and internationally. These included resolutions on the Common Market, Ulster, Bangla Desh, Juan Farinas, Angela Davis, and George Jackson.

The resolution on Juan Farinas said in part:

"Juan Farinas is a prisoner of the class war..."

"This is not an attack on an individual but an attack on the entire U.S. working class. As the crisis of imperialism deepens and the U.S. ruling class heads for defeat in Vietnam, they are determined to smash every democratic right and all the trade union gains of the American workers.

"We demand the release of Juan Farinas.

"We call upon the international working class to fight for his release."

EMERGENCY

This conference was to prepare the YS and the working class for the next stage of the fight against the Tory government in a period of tremendous dangers to the working class. The responsibilities were sharply posed in the emergency resolution presented to the conference by the YS National Committee on the present state of the class struggle and the fight against the Tory government.

The resolution issued a sharp warning to the youth and the working class movement:

"Behind the scenes, and dominating everything, the world capitalist economic crisis is plunging into deep recession, all-out trade war and mass unemployment.

"The capitalist class can answer this crisis only by preparing counter-revolution and reaction against the working class. Entry into the Common Market is to join hands with the reactionary and neo-fascist representatives of the big monopolies of Western Europe..."

The resolution pointed out the two forms of the Tories' attacks. The Tories are creating mass unemployment. This will increase as big capital moves to Europe through the Common Market. Second, the Tories strengthen repression by the state. This is expressed in the changes in the Criminal Justice Act, the internment without trial of militants in Ulster, the raids on the homes of members of the International Socialists and most importantly the implementation of the Industrial Relations Act.

As the resolution pointed out, the capitalist class seeks to pre-

(Continued On Page 18)

YOUNG SOCIALISTS, WORKERS LEAGUE

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Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

May Day Honors Working Class Solidarity

America's rulers are becoming increasingly fearful of the political development of working class youth and students. Article after article is appearing in the capitalist press about the rise of youth gangs and the hostility of the youth to the capitalist system.

Now the New York Times writes an editorial stating: "The overwhelming majority of youth's moderate center are losing hope in the workability of the system..."

The concern the capitalists now express in the youth lies not in any fear of what youth can do on their own. It is precisely because the student protest movement is over, current protests even over Vietnam bombing are feeble compared to the 1968 period, that the capitalists are worried. The capitalists now face the full strength of the labor movement. They fear confronting this movement under conditions in which working class youth and students are turning to Marxism to develop a program to lead the working class as a whole in a fundamental battle against capitalism.

It is this situation which makes the celebration of May Day of such critical importance this year. For the Young Socialists it will allow us to establish our connection with the whole history of the American labor movement, and on this basis carry forward the political fight of the working class as a whole for the construction of a labor party right in the midst of this election year.

Contrary to what we are taught in school, the gains that exist today for working people were not given to us by the democracy of this system. They were fought for bitterly and blood was shed until we won. This is, in fact, how May Day originated.

In 1886, the workers took up a struggle to win an eight hour day and to organize unions to represent them against the bosses. For weeks workers went on strike and held demonstrations around this demand.

Then the police moved in, beating and clubbing workers, in order to defend the capitalists. It all came to a head at Haymarket Square in Chicago where workers gathered to protest these police attacks. Seeing this tremendous movement, the ruling class through its government had to move to destroy it. So 200 cops were moved in to break up the demonstration. When a bomb was thrown by a police provocateur which killed six cops and injured 70 people, the government launched a massive witchhunt of all revolutionaries and socialists in order to head off this movement.

Despite this heroic movement of American workers and the constant agitation of the revolutionaries, it was only in the 1930s that the mass of American workers organized into unions forming the CIO. It was at that time, under the impact of the Great Depression, that the mass of American industrial workers formed class organizations separate from and against the capitalists.

Severe as the crisis of the 1930s was for capitalism, the new crisis now developing internationally is far deeper. It was in the 1930s that the dollar was set at \$35 an ounce which gave a certain stability to capitalism. Today Nixon removes all gold backing from the dollar.

Now the capitalist class must try to destroy the great class organizations, the trade unions, constructed in the 1930s in order to take back from the workers what has been achieved in working conditions and living standards. The workers, in turn, must now fight politically to construct a labor party to defend the unions against these attacks.

All of this is of critical importance to the youth. While the youth feel most directly and first the attacks of unemployment, the war, cuts in education and all the rest, it is only as part of the labor movement that the youth have the strength to fight back.

It is this understanding which motivates the fight of the Young Socialists to build May Day meetings this year different from any ever held in this country.

These meetings will bring forward the lessons of the history of the American labor movement to a new generation of working class fighters.

These meetings will express the solidarity of American workers and youth with workers in every country of the world cutting across all national, racial barriers.

These meetings will center on the necessity of American workers to take the first step towards political independence from capitalism by constructing a labor party based on the trade unions.

These meetings will bring together on the same platform, trade unionists, young workers and students around a common perspective dedicated to a common goal of a socialist America and a socialist world.

Anti-War Protests Sweep Campuses

BY A YS REPORTER

Campuses throughout the country erupted this week with strikes and massive demonstrations as thousands of students protested the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. While a national strike of all colleges has been called for Friday, academic activities on scores of campuses have already come to a halt.

Students at Columbia University defied President McGill's refusal to suspend classes, and set up picket lines around all campus buildings Tuesday. Close to 2,000 students had marched down Broadway the evening before demanding that Columbia be closed for the duration of the war.

At Harvard University, more than 200 students stormed through the campus and ransacked the Center for International Affairs. Police were called in to disperse the students and impose a curfew.

Four thousand students at the University of Wisconsin marched on the ROTC building on campus and smeared it with red paint.

These developments were representative of events now occurring in every part of the country as the post-Cambodia lull came to a decisive end. Not since the student demonstrations that followed the May 1970 invasion of Cambodia have there been widespread campus antiwar demonstrations.

In May 1970, students virtually controlled their campuses for weeks. However, because their

antiwar actions were dominated by protest politics and remained distant from the labor movement, the May 1970 actions accomplished nothing.

CLASSES

The strike movement now developing on the campuses is not merely the continuation of the protests that petered out in the late Spring of 1970. What is now expressed in the campus actions is the sharp struggle of social classes in this period, and the tremendous offensive of the working class.

Nixon's open declaration of genocidal war against the North expressed his fear of this movement which has nearly toppled the Saigon puppets and shattered his own plans to punish the American working class for the economic crisis.

Although it is the bombing of the North which has triggered the campus upheavals, this new movement of student youth comes after a long series of attacks by the government against their fundamental rights in the forms of unemployment and budget cuts.

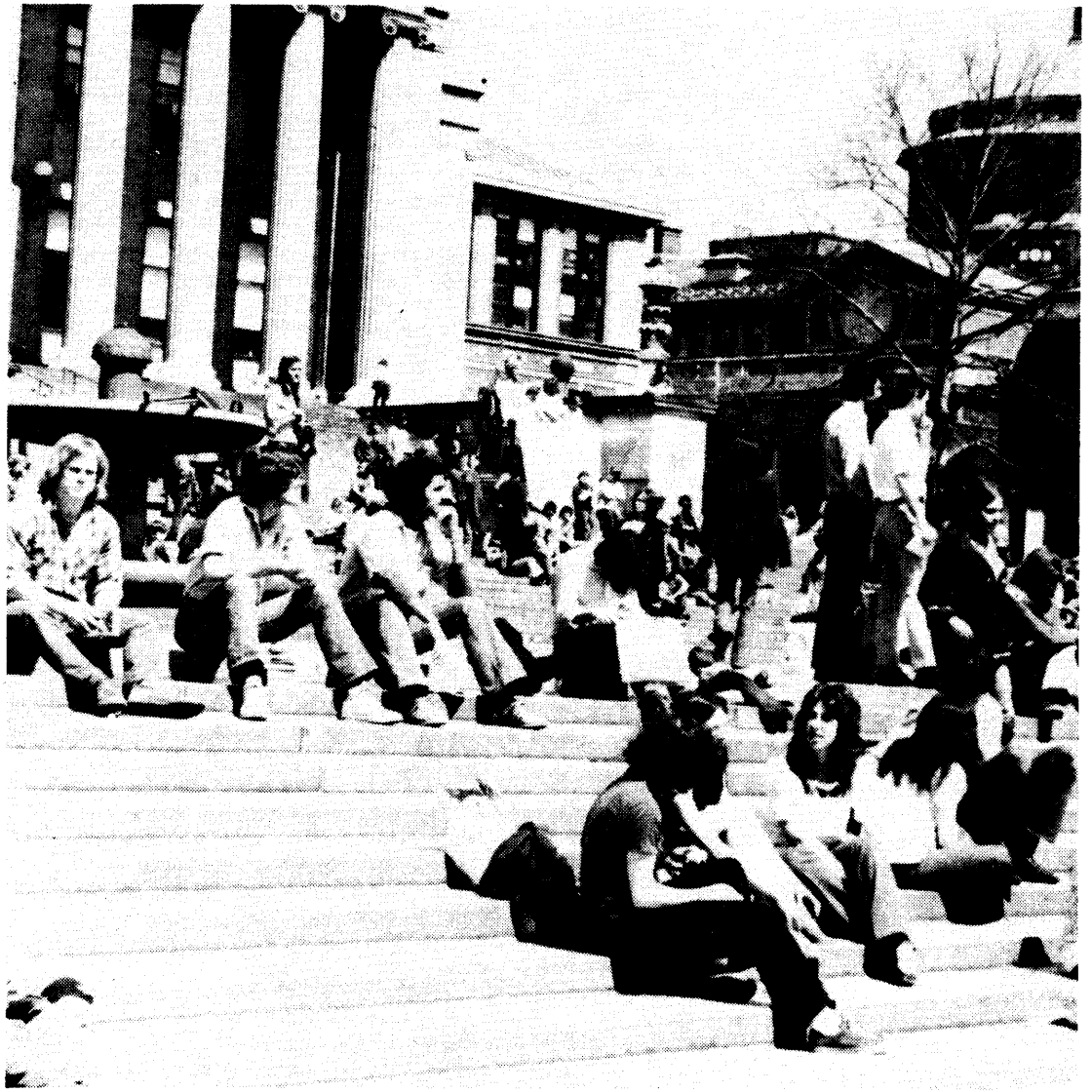
At this point, the revisionists and Stalinists seek to contain the

movement of students within the framework of protest politics, raising the bankrupt perspectives of student power.

But it is the position of the Young Socialists that the situation now requires a sharp turn to the political questions raised by the struggle of the working class against capitalism. None of the issues posed by the government's genocidal bombing and economic attacks can be met outside of the fight to construct a leadership which can bring the working class to power and establish socialism.

APRIL 22

It is in this light that the participation of the Young Socialists in the April 22 demonstrations takes on such a critical importance. It is calling on youth to march with the Young Socialists contingents on Saturday to take up the fight against the war through the construction of a labor party based on the trade unions in opposition to the capitalist parties—the Democrats and the Republicans—responsible for the war and all the attacks on the workers and youth.



Students at Columbia University in New York are striking against Nixon's escalation of war in Vietnam.



Young Socialist in San Francisco paints banner for April 22nd rally.

Young Socialist

YS To Honor Class Battle Of Teamsters

BY LEO BRUST

MINNEAPOLIS—On April 22nd the Midwest YS will hold their march against the war and for jobs at the site of the famous Battle of Deputies Run. By this choice they have demonstrated their determination to build the Young Socialists on a firm Marxist foundation and in the best tradition of the American working class.

In 1934, Minneapolis was the most notorious open shop town in the Midwest. It was run under the iron fist of the Citizens Alliance, the organized face of big business, which was dedicated to the unlimited profits of the bosses, and their "God-given" right to fire any worker who dared sign a union card.

In February of 1938 this solid front began to crack up from the blows of General Drivers Local 574 (later 544), led by the Dunn brothers and Carl Skoland, founding members of the American Trotskyist movement.

A three-day coal strike by the coal drivers' section won the right to a union, and launched an organizing movement within the truck drivers. It was this strike

which invented the roving picket line of cars, or the flying squadron, which added a new weapon to the arsenal of the working class in its later battles in the '30s and '40s.

But February only started the struggle. The bosses still refused to deal with the union and the drivers struck again on May 15.

As the Citizens Alliance, which controlled the city, prepared the businessmen to attack the strikers, thousands were deputized. The Mayor doubled the police force. Thugs were hired to shoot the leaders of the strike.

On Friday and Saturday there were defeated attempts to bust the lines. That Saturday night the police corralled a truck full of pickets including women and beat them unsparingly, sending

(Continued On page 18)

Two Youth Sentenced To Electric Chair For Robbery

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

QUEENS—On Tuesday Cornelius Butler and Lawrence Hayes both of Brooklyn, N.Y. were convicted of first degree murder. On Thursday April 13th in the Queens Supreme Court the two 19 year old youths were given the death penalty.

Butler and Hayes were charged with the death of a policeman in an August 20th holdup. The death penalty was given despite the established fact that neither youth fired the shots that killed the patrolman.

The prosecution conceded that Rudolph Graham, who was killed in the exchange of bullets, was the triggerman but insisted on the death penalty for Butler and Hayes.

defense on establishing that the cop was not shot in the line of duty.

EXECUTION

The execution of Butler and Hayes will be the first since 1963. It comes at a time when youth are forced to turn to the streets because of the lack of jobs.

The demand for the death penalty by the prosecution expresses the intent of the government to attack working class youth. The call for the death penalty by the New York prosecutors comes only a short time after Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia called for the electric chair for youthful offenders convicted in gang murders.

Both Butler and Hayes lived in Bedford Stuyvesant, one of the many slums in Brooklyn. The population is mostly Black and

Puerto Rican and opportunities for youth from these areas are nonexistent.

The government, seeing the rebellion of the youth against such conditions, is now moving forward to jail and execute youth in an attempt to save themselves.

This brutal sentence must be seen as part and parcel of the government's attacks on the working class and youth and the preparations for war against the unions. Their defense must be rooted in the working class.

Brooklyn College YS Runs Against JDL

BY JORGE PABON

BROOKLYN—The Brooklyn College Young Socialists is the only revolutionary organization that is taking up the question of the attacks now being brought down upon the working class and youth.

With rising unemployment, inflation, higher tuition and cutbacks, the rise in fascist organizations such as the JDL come into play. In Brooklyn College where such attacks are coming down increasingly, the JDL emerges whipping up the most backward sections of the middle class in a racist, anti-communist, and nationalist hysteria, in an attempt to break up any move by the workers and youth to end these conditions.

Understanding this, the YS at Brooklyn College is running for student government for the fall term. Last term the student government was dominated by

the fascist JDL. The JDL suspended any type of funding of socialist, anti-war, and even liberal organizations. They also tried to cut off the Third World Edition.

REACTIONARY

Other groups such as the Young Socialist Alliance are also running for student government. Last term we offered critical support to them on the basis of waging a struggle against the JDL and the cutbacks. They responded with complete capitulation to the middle class, and even a reliance on reactionary forces.

The YSA has shown where it stands. It seeks to construct a middle class movement compromising every struggle. Every move they make is to sell out the working class and youth to the liberal capitalists.

It is with this understanding that the YS say that the battle against the JDL and the government is not a matter of student politics or power, but a struggle going beyond the campus and the construction of an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats, a labor party. It is this perspective that the YS-WL are bringing into the elections as well as the April 22 anti-war march.

CCNY Defends JDL In Case Against YS

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—On April 11 the City College Young Socialists had a preliminary hearing with the college administration to discuss the charges of disrupting a Jewish Defense League meeting in which Meir Kahane spoke.

The principal plaintiff was the JDL was did not appear at the hearing. The administration was also charging the YS.

The administration sought to change the charges, since their only two witnesses admitted that the YS was not inside and at no point disrupted the meeting. Professor Harvey, the mediator, then sought to demand that "all organizations in the college family subscribe to the principle of allowing anyone to speak without being disturbed." He stressed that he realized he would lose in a court of law, that his recommendation had nothing to do with the actions of the YS, but that protesting Kahane's presence "could at some time lead to a disturbance."

This recommendation opens up a new precedent against socialist organizations. It serves to smokescreen the JDL's role at this meeting. In the JDL's hearing, witnesses testified seeing the JDL carrying brass knuckles, clubs and attacking

students. The administration wishes to cover up these testimonies. Its purpose is to witch-hunt the working class tendencies.

SDS REJECTS CLASS FIGHT FOR POWER

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON—The political bankruptcy and the danger of Stalinism and reformism was sharply expressed at the SDS National Convention against Racism held at Harvard University the weekend of March 29 and attended by close to 1000 students.

The movement of the working class is now tearing apart the material basis for class compromise established in the boom. The capitalist class, aided by the labor

bureaucracy and reformists, prepares a fundamental and desperate assault on the working class to save capitalism itself.

It is within this context, as class relations reach the breaking point, that PL-SDS puts forward student power protest and reformism to tie the working class and youth to capitalism.

The main perspective put forward at the convention was that of middle class protest against racist ideas. Proposals and resolutions to ban racist textbooks; protest racist professors like Jensen, Herstein and Shockley; to fight lobotomies which are used to deal with "troublesome" prisoners and rebellious youth; and to fight

military recruitment on campus in order to stop "racist genocide" in Vietnam dominated the plenary sessions and workshops.

Behind this perspective lies a theory that the main division in capitalist society is not the irreconcilable material conflict of

classes which can only be resolved by the working class taking power and establishing socialism.

The main division is seen as racism which is a matter of "bad ideas" rather than as rooted in

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Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

UAW Must Declare For Labor Party!

(Continued From Page 1)

of American workers organized in the trade unions to defend conditions won through difficult struggle stand in his way.

On August 15th President Nixon made a series of decisions affecting the future of every worker in the United States and every other part of the world. He spoke, not for himself, but for the large corporations and the profit system to which they are dedicated.

First in importance, Nixon removed the gold backing of the dollar transforming the hoards of dollars held abroad into so many pieces of paper. He did this for the simple reason that the United States no longer possessed the gold to back up these dollars.

This means that capitalism as a world system is now bankrupt and can only be preserved if the working class, the source of all wealth in the world, is forced back into destitution. The bosses must now seek to increase the amount that workers produce while reducing to a pittance what they receive in return for their labor.

Second, and flowing from this first decision, Nixon imposed a surcharge on foreign goods and took other steps to push as much of the burden of capitalism's crisis onto Europe. This means that Nixon and Connally are driving the rulers of Europe—the men who sent troops against workers in Malaya, in Aden, in Indochina, in Ireland—to turn now against the workers in Europe.

Third, Nixon set up the Pay Board for the purpose of robbing American workers of their living standards, of holding down wages while prices continued to soar and profits reached all-time highs. At the same time, Nixon, Agnew, and Connally, in speech after speech, goaded on big business to step up its ruthless speedup drive to sweat every penny of profit possible out of American workers.

In seeking to carry out this aim of preserving the crisis-ridden profit system Nixon confronts the strength of the working class in every country. It is this which has driven Nixon to his bombings. In the United States he knows he will need more than a Pay Board to break American labor. This is the meaning of George Wallace.

George Wallace emerges, using racist demagoguery to whip up sections of the middle class and workers for one purpose only—to destroy the American labor movement. His task is to prepare the way for the completion of the task Nixon has begun with his Pay Board.

Wallace must be answered and he must be answered by the labor movement. Only the labor movement can stop Wallace and his anti-labor cronies.

The UAW membership has felt the brunt of these attacks. Aerospace workers have been robbed of their fair wage settlement, arrived at in good faith through the collective bargaining process. The aerospace contract has simply been ripped up and tossed into the wastebasket destroying the very process of collective bargaining and taking from unions their central purpose—the right to battle for and achieve gains for their members.

Now the GMAD management team goes through assembly plant after assembly plant firing workers, changing job classifications, speeding up workers beyond human endurance, arrogantly disregarding the union and its contract. The GMAD is the spearhead of Nixon speed-up attacks on all workers and is part of his campaign to increase unemployment using unemployment as a weapon to reduce the wages and working conditions of employed workers.

These attacks are not the attacks of the man Nixon or even of his party. They are the attacks of a whole class, the capitalists, who take these steps to preserve their profit system. This is why not a single candidate of the Democratic Party supported the AFL-CIO and the UAW when labor correctly walked off the Pay Board refusing to front any more for its anti-labor decisions.

It is good that the UAW convention does not invite any of the Democratic Party candidates to speak before it this year. The disarray of the Democratic Party is not a matter of the personalities of the various contenders for the nomination, but the inability of the Democrats to differ in any fundamental way with Nixon.

The Democrats, too, stand for the profit system and stand in defense of big business. Some of the largest big businessmen contributed equally to both parties. Wallace emerges not from the Republicans but from out of the Democratic Party! It was this party which initiated the war in Vietnam, and it has been leading spokesmen of this party which have advocated wage boards and compulsory arbitration for years.

The UAW must now take a bold step, a step in line with its formation out of the sitdown strikes of the 1930s and its leadership in the postwar strike wave. It must decisively break from the Democratic Party and call upon the whole labor movement to create a labor party based on all the trade unions, the youth, the students, the minority peoples and representing their interests. Only a party of the workers can represent the workers. Only a political struggle can now save the trade union movement itself.

This is the only answer to George Wallace!

In the 1930s we organized from out of nothing great trade unions comprising millions of workers. They said it would never happen but the American workers did it. Now we can take the strength of this union movement forward and construct a new party, composed of millions, and destroy the political power of the large corporations.

Such a party can end the war in Vietnam and all wars against the working people of other countries. Such a party can end unemployment establishing a shorter work week so all can work and make a decent living. Such a party can nationalize the great corporations under workers' control so that the tremendous productive power of the United States can be put in the service of the people of this country and world rather than serving only for the profit of a few.



"Carry on Mr. Nixon—see you in May!"

What we think

The Impressionism Of L. Marcus

The acute sharpening of class tensions now developing out of the profound crisis of capitalism in the United States—and on an even more advanced scale in Western Europe—sends shock waves through the middle class.

The panic and hysteria of the growing ultra-right wing Wallacite movement, of the fascistic tendencies expressed recently by middle class mobs in Forest Hills and in the rise of the Jewish Defense League, also finds its expression among the middle class radicals in reaction to the offensive of the working class and the preparations for civil war against the workers by Nixon and the ruling class.

This panic, this attempt to dissolve the reality of the class struggle through mental gymnastics, is now put forward in the activity and articles of one of a number of middle class tendencies that has emerged from the Socialist Workers Party, the "Labor Committee."

This is spelled out in an article in the Labor Committee's newspaper New Solidarity by L. Marcus. Reflecting all the pessimism and defeatism of middle class impressionists, Marcus concludes that the American working class has been "routed," that it is fundamentally defeated and paralyzed by "depression psychology," as Labor Committee members insisted at a recent SMC meeting.

Having abandoned the fight to grasp reality on the basis of a fight to develop Marxist theory, this tendency projects its own subjective cynicism and demoralization onto the working class and the trade unions, blinding themselves to the actual

movement of classes.

Impressionists always interpret the "facts" in such a way as to justify their capitulation before the power of the bureaucratic apparatuses. This is the essence of Pabloite revisionism, which first took the form of the theory of "centuries of degenerated workers' states," and the "immanence of war-revolution" used by Pablo and Mandel to justify their attempt to liquidate the Fourth International and their cringing before Stalinism.

In the same way, all the "working class" rhetoric in the world cannot cover up the position of the Labor Committee that since the working class is defeated and "routed," it is incapable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism.

No wonder, therefore that the Labor Committee opposes the fight for revolutionary leadership in the unions against the bureaucracy, opposes the struggle to construct a labor party—in short, opposes the construction of a Marxist leadership that can lead the working class to power.

Instead, having consigned the working class to defeat, they look to alliances with the labor bureaucracy, as do the Stalinists; devote much of their newspaper to the problems of "ecology" and "urban problems," and base themselves on the liberal perspective of "restructuring the economy," through "radical" tax reform schemes. This they call socialism.

In saying that the U.S. working class is "routed," Marcus and the Labor Committee, proceeding on impressions, in effect say that fascism

has already come to power in the U.S. The Labor Committee, which likes to purchase the writings of Trotsky on Germany, tramples on the theoretical understanding that Trotsky brought into the struggle against fascism in Germany in 1931 and 1932.

In his article written in 1940, "Some Questions on American Problems," Trotsky wrote: "In the countries where fascism became victorious, we had, before the growth of fascism and its victory, a wave of radicalism of the masses...In Italy after the war and before 1922, we had a revolutionary wave of tremendous dimensions; the state was paralyzed, the police did not exist, the trade unions could do anything they wanted—but there was no party capable of taking the power. As a reaction came fascism."

In Germany, Hitler came to power only after the defeat of the third wave of revolutionary struggle by the workers in the post World War I period. In the third wave, 1929-31, "There was a tremendous power in the Communists and in the trade unions, but then came the fascist policy (on the part of the Stalinist movement) of social fascism, a policy invented to paralyze the working class...There are no exceptions to this rule—fascism comes only when the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society."

To say the working class is already defeated or that fascism is already here, or to say that Wallace is simply a fascist, is to repeat the disastrous mistake of the Italian and German Communist leaders. In What Next?, Trotsky wrote of the Italian Communist leadership: "In its eyes, fascism appeared to be only 'capitalist reaction.' The particular traits of fascism which spring from the mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat the C.P. was unable to discern..."

In Germany, to the Stalinist leaders in 1932, "...the differences between diverse types of capitalist reaction are meaningless...To insist that fascism is already here, or to deny the very possibility of its coming to power, amounts politically to one and the same thing. By ignoring the specific nature of fascism, the will to fight against it inevitably becomes paralyzed."

In its picture of the "rout" of the working class as an accomplished set of facts which provides good material for radical propaganda and "exposes" in the pages of New Solidarity, Labor Committee really surrenders before the danger of Wallace, just as does the SWP when it complacently snickers at the mention of the danger of Wallace and fascism.

Extend Sub Drive

As of press time we have received 3,358 subs on our goal of 4,000. Some 624 subs have come in over the last two weeks. The New Haven, Hartford, Minneapolis, Northfield, Bethlehem, F. Greene, Brownsville, East New York and Newark branches have completed their quotas on time.

However, a number of branches got started late in the drive and for this reason it is necessary to extend the drive until May 1st. This is particularly true of the Bay Area branches which are now at the half way mark in their drive for 600 subs. We are also asking all branches who have met their quotas to set new ones to go over the top in the remaining two weeks of the extended drive.

The \$40,000 Spring Bulletin Expansion Drive has gotten off to an excellent start with \$14,757.51 received by April 15th. This puts us over the one-third mark. However, the fight to raise the next one-third by May 15th will definitely be much more difficult as a number of comrades have contributed their entire pledge already.



The OCI & The International Committee

New Documents

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

In this and the next two issues of the *Bulletin* we will be printing the response of the OCI to the reply of the IC Majority together with a new reply to this response from the IC Majority. This material is reprinted from the *Workers Press*, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League of Britain where it appeared as part of the preparation for the Fourth Conference of the International Committee.

Declaration of the Central Committee of the International Communist Organization (For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International)

Reply to a Splitting Act: For the Defence of the International Committee!

For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International!

Workers Press, the daily paper of the Socialist Labour League in the November 5 issue, and the 'Bulletin' weekly organ of the Workers League of the USA, dated November 8, published a document entitled 'Declaration of the International Committee of the Fourth International' (Majority).

This document was adopted on October 24 at the end of a meeting attended by, according to the signers, representatives of the following organizations: Socialist Labour League (Great Britain), The Workers League (USA), League for a Workers Vanguard (Ireland), International Workers League (Greece), and a German group 'Sozialistische Arbeiter Bund' formed by elements expelled from the German Trotskyist organization, IAK, for refusing to obey in action the discipline of the organization.

The title of this document is in itself a flagrant political falsehood. There cannot be any 'majority' of the International Committee any more than there can be a 'minority' since there was no meeting of the International Committee.

The factional meeting of October 24 was held in fact without informing the OCI, the League of Revolutionary Hungarian Socialists (LSRH), the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia (POR), and the Workers Marxist League (LOM) of Mexico. The document which came out of this meeting was not sent to the sections of the International Committee before being made public.

The purpose of this document is to break up the framework of the International Committee, to break up the discussion and not to provide the basis for a serious discussion. Therefore, as such, it is not so much a question of an answer, but a clarification: this is the purpose of the present declaration.

All the same this document represents by itself an element of the very discussion that it wants to prevent: this discussion will be carried out and the Central Committee of the OCI will publish next a text which will answer the basic questions posed by the present stage of the fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Who wants to break up the International Committee?

The first chapter of the text adopted on October 24 is called 'A New Period for the Trotskyist Movement'.

A flamboyant headline for such a pitiful attempt to break up the International Committee founded in 1953 to defend Trotskyism, the programme of the

Fourth International against the liquidationists.

The whole argument of this chapter is dictated by the following conclusion:

'There is the International Committee of the Fourth International resting on the foundations laid down by Trotsky in 1938, the first four Congresses of the Third International and all the work of the IC since 1953, particularly the decisions of the 1966 conference. And there is the bogus "IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International", represented by the OCI and the Hungarian section, who want to regroup with centrists against the Fourth International. This split, and not the Bolivian revolution and the Bolivian POR is the basic issue.'

To believe the authors of this document, the OCI and the LSRH have thus created the split by publicly attacking the SLL and the Workers League in company with Lora (whose organization is supposedly not affiliated with the IC) and in holding a meeting where comrade Stephane Just abusively designated himself the title of Secretary of the IC, etc., all in able to avoid discussing the 'fundamental questions'. What terrible crimes!

Suppose for a minute that the formal excuses used by the signers of the October 24 Declaration are well founded: OCI and the LSRH committed a splitting act in relation to the IC. What then was the duty of the other sections and especially of the most important among them, the SLL? To propose a plenary meet-

ing of the IC as soon as possible, to place those who threatened the unity of the IC before their responsibilities, to force them to make a retraction or else make a clear break. The way to proceed was certainly not to hold a secret meeting with four sections of the International Committee and then to try and make it appear that the others had taken the initiative to split.

But it only seems to be illogical. The strange method used by the leadership of the SLL who initiated the October 24 meeting can be explained by the inane of the excuses and by a panicky flight from 'fundamental discussion'.

Let us re-establish the facts, the best way to give politics its proper rights.

For more than two years—and especially since the pre-conference of the July 1970 of the International Committee—the leadership of the SLL has been multiplying its efforts to prevent any discussion on the 'fundamental question', that is, on the concrete content of the present stage of the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

In September 1969, the OCI submitted a political text, 'For the Reconstruction of the 4th International' for discussion. In July 1970 a pre-conference of the IC sections and groups associated with it was held, a step towards an international conference regrouping organizations, groups and militants who base them-

selves on the Transitional Programme.

The OCI text was the only document submitted to the discussion. The SLL delegation began by affirming that the heart of the problem was 'Marxist philosophy'. Then they declared that the OCI text was correct in its overall line, but needed some amendments. Then they declared that the text was unacceptable. Finally, they asked, due to 'lack of preparation' (when it meant taking a stand on a text in their possession for nine months) that the vote be put off until the second session of the pre-conference. They proposed that this session take place in October.

The OCI delegation, fighting to preserve and strengthen the International Committee, accepted this report, taking into account the political difficulties of the sections. But—by a common proposal of the OCI and the SLL—a statement was voted on which provided a framework to continue the discussion and which characterized the OCI text as a basis for discussion in line with the principles of the Fourth International.

Since July 1970, the leadership of the SLL has refused to call the second session of the pre-conference. Instead it appealed to the leading centre of the liquidators of the Fourth International, to the 'Unified Secretariat' of Mandel and company to propose a common conference in terms not only opposed to the decisions of the pre-conference but contrary to the meaning of

the whole battle of the International Committee, proof of which is the article of its general secretary Gerry Healy in the September 8 issue of the *Workers Press*.

At that point a clear and rapid reply by the OCI Central Committee retarded the development of this dangerous tendency. But that it was able to reveal itself to this extent shows the seriousness of the oscillations of the SLL leadership which has led the SLL today, with the document of October 24, to become the vehicle of conceptions close to those of the Pabloites to the point where the Pabloites run out to distribute it as widely as possible.

Since this episode, the SLL leadership intensified its obstructionist attitude, only to come out of it in order to launch a deliberate offensive against the unity of the International Committee, with a disloyal and slanderous attack against the POR of Bolivia: Tim Wohlforth's article in the August 30 issue of the 'Bulletin', reprinted by the *Workers Press* September 8, and in the October 24 document 'Our Statement on Bolivia'.

The OCI replied publicly to this public offensive, explaining its estimation of the revolutionary struggle in Bolivia (declaration of the Central Committee of the OCI September 17) without mentioning the SLL or the Workers League.

Then, after Comrade Lora wrote to the sections of the IC to ask that the IC hold a meeting as soon as possible to discuss a report prepared by the leadership of POR; the Lambert comrades (OCI), Nagy (LSRH), and Lora (POR), signed a public declaration which said:

'What is more natural than for all the difficult problems of the whole international class struggle to be reflected and concentrated within it? What is more natural than for the gigantic world struggle to be expressed in the crisis of all the organizations of the working class?

'Today, the leadership of certain organizations of the International Committee, like the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, lacking clarity precisely on the strategy of conquering power and on the reconstruction of the Fourth International, have given in to enormous pressures by attacking the POR.

'The three delegations, meeting in Paris, believe that the discussion is a legitimate one, between the sections of the IC as well as within each of these sections, but that the method used by the Workers League and the SLL must be condemned, as they, without even studying the reports from the POR leadership, undertook to publicly condemn the Bolivian section of the IC.

'This is why the OCI delegation and the Organizing Committee of E Europe support the demand of comrade Lora that the International Committee meet in plenary session as soon as possible to take a position on the report of the POR on the Bolivian revolution and on the

(Continued on Page 12)



Bolivian miners (above) armed themselves to defend their political movement. Stalinists and revisionists diverted their struggle into a defense of Torres' bourgeois military regime. At Essen Youth Conference (top of page), the OCI defended the centrist method which led to defeat of the Bolivian workers.

WHAT MANDEL SAID TO 'DER SPIEGEL'

On March 6 this year the W German weekly magazine 'Der Spiegel' published an interview with Ernest Mandel, a leading figure in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Here we reproduce that interview, plus a comment by Cliff Slaughter of the Socialist Labour League Central Committee.

Spiegel. Mr Mandel, are you a revolutionary?

Mandel. Yes.

Spiegel. And yet as a revolutionary you wanted to become a professor, and consequently a lifetime functionary, in Germany?

Mandel. I didn't want anything. The Berlin students and assistants in economic sciences approached me and invited me. I accepted their offer. The W Berlin Senate's rejection of my professorship testifies to their renunciation of the principles of constitutional government.

Spiegel. You were rejected on the basis of the German regulations for officials because of your political activities. Can Marxist science be carried out only from the lecture podium? A Marxist professor would certainly not be just a faculty hack but would also use his teaching for political practice.

Mandel. Neither can a Marxist physician separate his profession from his political convictions. Nevertheless, in the operating theatre he does not practice the permanent revolution. It was not my intention to give lectures on the permanent revolution at the Berlin university. There is a certain difference between teaching and political activity.

Spiegel. For a physician, of course. There is no such thing as a Marxist, as opposed to a bourgeois, appendectomy. But you wanted to teach social politics, in which for a Marxist there is a unity of theory and practice.

Mandel. No, a Marxist realizes no political practice through teaching school. I am no Utopian. A socialist revolution cannot be made by college students. It was also not my intention to lecture on the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party at the Free University.

Spiegel. Then wherein lies the revolutionary practice of a Marxist scholar?

Mandel. Simply in the merciless criticism of reality. Unlike bourgeois scholars, we have no need to defend or protect the existing society. For Marx and all real Marxists, the severe, objective, scientific analysis of society is a precondition for conscious revolutionary action. We do not deny facts just because they may not fit into our models.

For that reason I am also in favour of plurality of opinion at the university. Neither bourgeois nor revolutionary scholars should be excluded. Beyond that, I have my political convictions. I belong to a revolutionary organization, and along with my professional activities I want to extend my political action—the two are not identical.

Spiegel. Which organization?

Mandel. I work for the building of the Fourth International.

Spiegel. You are a member of the Secretariat, the highest body of this Trotskyist Fourth Inter-

national. What are your activities?

Mandel. I write articles, take part in meetings, draft resolutions and submit them for votes. I hold open meetings and educational classes. The Fourth International is not a conspiratorial organization. I am not a weapons-dealer; I am not a bomb-carrier; nor am I a counterfeiter. Our activity is not secret.

Spiegel. Doesn't the Fourth International also work secretly?

Mandel. Only in countries where there is no democratic freedom for the workers' movement.

Spiegel. In the Federal Republic...

Mandel.... our work is absolutely open, because this freedom for the workers' movement exists.

Spiegel. The Federal Ministry of the Interior, which declared you a dangerous subversive and barred your entry into German territory, charges that you have worked in conspiracies. For example, that you have been repeatedly active in Germany under fictitious names.

Mandel. This is complete nonsense. Until now I was allowed to enter legally. For several years I wrote some newspaper articles under the name Pierre Gousset, that's all.

Spiegel. Just a pen name?

Mandel. That's all.

Spiegel. That was not the only one. You also published under another name...

Mandel. Not any more.

Spiegel. Germain?

Mandel. Yes, yes. Also a pen name. But in any case, I never travelled under this name.

Spiegel. Did you intend to transfer the Secretariat of the Fourth International to Berlin after your appointment?

Mandel. No. That is a fabrication from start to finish. The Secretariat is composed of many people, not just me. I did not even intend to move to Germany myself.

Spiegel. When you wanted to give a speech to the business managers of the Duttweiler-Gesellschaft in Switzerland last year...

Mandel.... even former Chancellor Erhard was invited...

Spiegel.... you were not allowed into Switzerland on the grounds that in classes you gave earlier in Lausanne you had called for revolution.

Mandel. Nonsense. The official charge was that I had held a closed lecture that had not been previously announced. I replied that I did not realize that the innumerable bankers, for example, report to the police before they come to Switzerland to hold their evening chats about important political questions. The themes of my lectures were purely historical.

Spiegel. Mr Mandel, in your books you claim that 'the bourgeois state must be overthrown through centralized political action...' and replaced by a workers' state. Is that still analysis, or is it practical direction?

Mandel. Naturally I don't confine myself solely to scientific analysis.

Spiegel. As a scholar, or are you now a political activist again?

Mandel. Those are two completely different things.

Spiegel. This schizophrenia...

Mandel.... this is not schizo-

phrenia, but a question of method. You cannot equate the moon-landing with astrophysics, which created the scientific prerequisites for it. If you analyze the universe, it doesn't mean you have the conspiratorial intention of landing on the moon.

Spiegel. Back to the earth. What does Mandel the revolutionary do in order to bring down bourgeois society?

Mandel. An interesting question. Now we come to the neurotic attitude of defenders of the present society toward people like me. The socialist revolution will not be set in motion by conspiracy or agitation, but is possible only through the conscious participation of the masses of wage-earners, who in the Federal Republic are the absolute majority of the population.

Unless neo-capitalist society is crisis-free. In that case the activities of people like me, whether in education, propaganda, or daily political action, will be limited, and could not go beyond the framework of this society.

Spiegel. Then the revolutionary would be a Social Democrat?

Mandel. No, Social Democracy is the attempt to strengthen the existing society through reforms. We want to alter society fundamentally, even if in the far future. Thus, when objective revolutionary crises break out, like May 1968 in France, or fall 1969 in Italy, the revolutionary organization must create the preconditions for the workers to use this crisis to alter society.

Spiegel. And you want to lead the proletariat as a vanguard?

Mandel. We cannot set the workers in motion to change society or the state. We see ourselves as the yeast in a dough that must be there to start with...

Spiegel.... but you hope to stir it a little. As a member of the conscious vanguard, how do you prepare for the overturn?

Mandel. Given an existing mass revolutionary movement, our task is only to lead it to success. Thus, in the factories, in the universities, we must broaden consciousness, so that the masses will be prepared for the decisive act.

Spiegel. And then what should the masses do?

Mandel. In the midst of a broad mass movement, hold general meetings and elect democratic collective bodies, like councils, to take state power.

Spiegel. Employing parliamentary democracy?

Mandel. Ah, you know I am a more consistent democrat than the advocates of the bourgeois-parliamentary state order. There is a contradiction in the bourgeois constitution between the guarantee of private property and the general rights and freedoms—freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of opinion, freedom of movement freedom to organize. So long as private property in the means of production exists, the majority of people can exercise these rights only in a limited way. Therefore, I am indeed for bringing down capitalist property...

Spiegel. Private property is not a constituent element of the Federal Republic. If anything, even full socialization is compatible with the basic law.

Mandel. Well in that case my political activity is not in con-



Ernest Mandel (above) was interviewed by German capitalist magazine "Der Spiegel" and fascist "National-Zeitung" (right), in which he defended his right to be a professor in Berlin by appealing to reactionary capitalists' demands for "integration of Europe".

tradition with the basic law.

Spiegel. Doesn't the soviet republic for which you propagandize mean a restriction of political freedom?

Mandel. On the contrary. For the masses of people, only then would these rights become really meaningful.

Spiegel. Would you say that the soviet system is compatible with the liberal-democratic basic order, being even more free and democratic? In the soviet republic, for example, would the principle of division of powers still hold?

Mandel. Sure, that is in our programme.

Spiegel. Not at all. Your programme calls for the unity of the executive and the legislature.

Mandel. That has nothing to do with the principle of division of power. We think of it much more broadly.

Spiegel. It is not a question of breadth. Division of power means separation. Should judges be independent or—as in the model of the Paris Commune—be subject to recall on any occasion, if they make an unpopular decision, for example?

Mandel. Not on every occasion, but from time to time.

Spiegel. Over what intervals?

Mandel. Not every ten days, but also not every ten years. We would rather let that be determined by the practical work of the German soviet republic. We have worked out a model for the division of powers in a soviet republic. We are, to give just one example, in favour of written, as opposed to arbitrary law.

Spiegel. Who isn't?

Mandel. We are for the independence of the unions, and naturally for the right to strike, even in a workers' state; and we are for full separation between party and state institutions.

Spiegel. Should the people's representation flow from general, equal, free, secret, and direct choice?

Mandel. On that we are agreed. The question is how this choice should be carried through, how this representation should be put together.

Spiegel. Indeed it is. Should only workers have voice?

Mandel. In the W European countries it would be senseless to exclude the bourgeoisie from elections.

Spiegel. In your soviet Utopia... **Mandel.**... in the soviet model...

Spiegel.... is there room for democratic essentials like people's sovereignty, accountability of the regime, legality of the administration... **Mandel.**... all granted.

Spiegel. Are you for a multi-party system? **Mandel.** Absolutely.

Spiegel. Would non-socialist parties be permitted in your soviet republic? **Mandel.** No party would be banned because of its views. But if we could prove in court pro-

ceedings that people had violated the law, that conspiracies had been organized, weapon-stores accumulated, and alliances made with foreign powers, then we would ban such a party.

Spiegel. That's just how Husak argues in Czechoslovakia.

Mandel. And also just how the constitutional court of the German Federal Republic argued when it banned the Communist Party.

Spiegel. You make it sound like the Trotskyists have become completely domesticated—they no longer want a conscious overturn, but a parliamentary majority.

Mandel. We have always held the view that under the existing socio-economic relations, parliamentary bodies cannot (or can only in exceptional cases) give expression to the interests of the wage-earning population. The possibilities of choice are small, the differences between the big parties that support this state have lessened so much that parliamentarism increasingly degenerates into an empty formal mechanism. Real democracy is direct decision-making by the masses, and thereby is nearly identical with what I mean by revolution.

Spiegel. Revolution is the application of violence.

Mandel. What do you mean by violence?

Spiegel. Doors broken down, people beaten, barricades built, machine guns posted.

Mandel. For a long time now there has not been a revolutionary mass mobilization in a western country that did not begin peacefully. Violence has come from the other side, being used to suppress the movement. Against this we must protect ourselves.

Spiegel. As counter-violence you consider violence legitimate?

Mandel. If by violence you mean the occupation of factories—good, then I say, right on, I'm for violence. Only I call it something else: the workers taking their own rightful property—that which they have built themselves. That is the affair of the workers themselves. We will not lead a revolution behind the workers' backs, and we will also not make them happy against their will. We are not conspirators. I am not a putschist. But my ideas are feared. I am not allowed to present them to Berlin students.

Spiegel. As a champion of a soviet republic could you take the official oath of the liberal-democratic order?

Mandel. I would probably make an additional statement. Never in my life have I disavowed my convictions.

Spiegel. Either you take an oath or you cannot be a professor in Berlin. You cannot attach a letter containing reservations to the oath.

Mandel. Must I then read the basic law before I can be a professor? **Spiegel.** Mr Mandel, we thank you for this interview.

Revolution in Deutschland?

Interview mit Professor MANDEL,

Chef der IV. Internationale s. 3/4

Deutsche

National*Zeitung

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COMMENT BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

Ernest Mandel is one of the leading spokesmen of an international tendency (Pabloism) which broke from the basic programme of the Fourth International in 1952-1953. This tendency now goes under the name of the 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' and is supported by the US Socialist Workers Party.

Mandel is always presented by his own supporters as an eminent expert on economic affairs, a 'well-known' exponent of Marxist theory, a man of impeccable academic qualifications.

He appears at innumerable international seminars and colloquia and his articles are published in journals of the 'new left' type which like to appear very open-minded by having an occasional 'Marxist' flavour to their general revisionist output.

Indeed, Mandel's political identity is nowadays entirely a matter of his impact as some sort of celebrity descending on various capital cities and university campuses. This is undoubtedly connected with his own theory that capitalism has been replaced by 'neo-capitalism', requiring a very different political 'style'.

Essentially, it is a matter of appealing to the middle-class intelligentsia and not to the working class.

As imperialism (not 'neo-capitalism') moves rapidly into its worst-ever economic and political crisis, it must desperately suck away these middle-class elements to some centrist political force to deal with that phase of the crisis when new masses are thrown into political struggle.

Such centrist forces cannot be sucked out of nothing as it were. Mandel is hatching out the kind of politics to fit the bill. Of course, imperialism uses the centrists in this way only as a short step on the road to the eventual fascist and dictatorial repression.

Mandel's latest moves show how far Pabloism has gone in this rightward process from revolution to bankrupt reformism. Pabloites everywhere are campaigning against a decision by the W Berlin Senate which bars Mandel from taking up a professorial chair in Economics at the

Free University of W Berlin. He was invited to take up this post by the students and assistants there. Further, they are campaigning against the action of the W German authorities in refusing Mandel permission even to enter W Berlin when he recently tried to attend a 'teach-in' there.

Now, of course, the Socialist Labour League is for the defence of the rights of all persons to travel without restriction, and against all arbitrary actions by the authorities in excluding individuals from universities. But we attack these infringements of elementary democratic rights by mobilizing the working class, behind whom the support of other elements can be rallied.

Mandel and his friends approach the matter quite differently, and in a manner with reactionary implications.

For example, Mandel has, since his exclusion, given interviews to the German capitalist magazine 'Der Spiegel' (March 6) and even to the fascist 'National-Zeitung' (March 17).

The latter is particularly despicable. The issue of 'National-Zeitung' concerned has a front-page banner headline: 'Revolution in Germany? Interview with Professor Mandel, Leader of the IV International' and on the back a full-page call to a 'March on Bonn' under the slogan 'Unity against Communism!' organized by the 'German People's Union'.

Quite apart from the fact that Mandel does not use this interview to expose those who interview him, nor does he give the slightest analysis of the policy of the W German government and its relation to the struggle of the working class in Germany, it is an abomination that the interview should ever have been given. Its purpose is only to confirm the anti-communist hysteria of its few thousand readers in the 'Volksunion'.

We can see from Mandel's agreement to give this interview what is his conception of a struggle on democratic rights. For him, it is only a question of 'maximum publicity' and speaking to as many individual 'citizens' as possible, and not of making the issue one on which the organization and consciousness of the working class can be advanced in a revolutionary way.

Perhaps a 'public relations' expert would be a good idea for this 'celebrity'.

One of Mandel's answers in the interview, however, is extremely informative, and forms the background to the opinions expressed in the 'Der Spiegel' interview also:

National Zeitung: Herr Professor, you have been prevented from entering the W German Republic. How do you understand this action by the Minister

of the Interior?

Mandel: I consider this action by the Minister of the Interior as an attack on the basic democratic rights and freedoms of European citizens, and as a blow against the preparations for the political integration of Europe.

Here we have Mandel apparently wanting to defend his democratic rights, but at the same time accepting the main strategy of the European monopoly capitalists—the 'political integration of Europe', i.e., the development of the Common Market, entry of Britain, etc.

The very development of the European monopolies, which constitutes the threat to the democratic rights of all workers, is appealed to by Mandel as something which will suffer if he continues to be attacked. We can only assume that the 'preparations for the political integration of Europe' would be enhanced if Mandel were to become Professor of Economics in W Berlin!

No doubt this is at one with his remark in the 'Der Spiegel' interview: 'We want to alter society fundamentally, even if in the far future' (my emphasis, CS). In other words: no challenge to the present development of monopoly capitalism (Mandel's 'neo-capitalist society'), but simply a general demand for the democratic right to advocate some far-off socialist solution.

Here we have the true content of the Pabloite attack on Trotskyism. General lip-service is paid to the idea of a workers' revolution and socialist solutions, but there can be no question of the working class today having any revolutionary significance.

In this context Mandel tries to persuade his readers that really the Fourth International (i.e., his own spurious 'United Secretariat') is not revolutionary vanguard at all but simply a missionary society.

Spiegel: And you want to lead the proletariat as a vanguard?

Mandel: We cannot set the workers in motion to change society or the state. We see ourselves as the yeast in a dough that must be there to start with...

Spiegel: ...but you hope to stir it a little. As a member of the conscious vanguard, how do you prepare for the overturn?

Mandel: Given an existing mass revolutionary movement, our task is only to lead it to success. Thus, in the factories, in the universities, we must broaden consciousness, so that the masses will be prepared for the final act.

Pabloism's political essence has always been to reject the Trotskyist theory of the need to build independent revolutionary parties which can defeat the existing leadership of the workers and lead the masses to state power.

This relationship of struggle, the central notion of the crisis of revolutionary leadership as the key to mankind's crisis, is entirely missing from Mandel's interviews.

On the whole fundamental question of state power, Mandel unashamedly distorts the positions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We see it summed up in his sentence:

'Real democracy is direct decision-making by the masses, and thereby is nearly identical with what I mean by revolution.'

Mandel, seeking bourgeois-democratic support for his campaign to travel and work freely in Germany, makes a complete continuity between bourgeois democracy and workers' power!

Marxism, however, insists first of all that the bourgeois state must be smashed, as an organ of capitalist oppression, and that parliamentary democracy is a deception and a fraud, an essential part of this oppressive state machine.

No wonder, having thrown out these basic Marxist concepts, Mandel can mouth the complaint—impossible for a Marxist—that his exclusion from Germany contravenes 'the rule of law! What law? Whose law?'

So concerned is Mandel about his respectability in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and its law that he proposes to allow bourgeois parties complete political freedom under a proletarian dictatorship.

'In the W European countries [why only there] it would be senseless to exclude the bourgeoisie from elections.'

So Mandel has finally come round openly to the Stalinist 'parliamentary roads to socialism'.

The nature of the campaign of Mandel and the Pabloites on this question fits in with these political conceptions. Against the reactionary tendencies flowing from the interests of the monopolists, Marxists fight in the working-class movement on a programme of socialist expropriation of these monopolies. Only the boldest initiatives against capitalist property can stem the reactionary tide. In such a period, it is fatal to make the appeal to democracy in general.

The middle class who are fondly supposed to respond to such a 'democratic' programme (as in the Popular Fronts of before World War II) are in fact being shaken out of their democratic illusions by the same crisis which pushes the monopolies to the right. They will respond only to the strongest and most resolute lead from the working class... or to the fascists.

Instead of building support around such a workers' mobilization, the Pabloites are distorting the Marxist tactic of united front by talking about a united front

of all those who will defend democracy.

Such an alliance of protesters is nothing to do with the Leninist united front, but is very similar to the Stalinist 'popular fronts' of the 1930s, behind which the murder of Trotskyists and the betrayal of the working class were prepared.

Let us return, finally, to one point we made earlier in passing. Mandel nowhere attacks Stalinism, and has only a historical rebuke for the Social-Democratic majority party in the German government.

Quite apart from anything else, the present division of Germany, and of Berlin, and the restoration of German capitalism after Hitler's fall, let alone the earlier victory of fascism, were the consequences of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic betrayal. Mandel wants to campaign on 'democracy' in Germany without conflicting with the Stalinists!

He will not find it so easy! Brandt, the Social-Democratic Chancellor of W Germany, has staked his whole future in the service of the bourgeoisie on his 'Ostpolitik', i.e., agreement with the USSR and E German Stalinism.

If Mandel's previously unhindered travels in W Germany have suddenly been stopped by the Social-Democrats, it is because even the mention of Trotskyism is too sensitive an issue for the Stalinists, and the Social-Democrats do not wish to offend them.

Behind this sensitivity is the fear of the resurgent working class of Germany and all Europe. Mandel's conduct of his campaign without any reference to this working class and its independent interests is a capitulation to the Stalinists and Social Democratic apparatuses.

Brezhnev went out of his way in March to make overtures to the European Common Market, i.e., to the monopolists of W Europe. Instead of exposing this treachery, Mandel falls in with it, bemoaning 'blows against the preparations for political integration of Europe'.

The fact that he himself is in a small way the victim of the measures flowing from these latest Stalinist manoeuvres produces in him only an even more craven and cringing subservience that he had already shown in his work for Pablo in 1952-1953 and in the Belgian General Strike of 1960-1961.

The principal requirement of the working class today is the building of a party which will win for the class its political independence. That means an implacable struggle against counter-revolutionary Stalinism and reformism. Mandel and the United Secretariat are moving rapidly in the opposite direction.

tasks of reconstructing the Fourth International.'

No political reaction to the political problems raised, no answer to the proposals put forward, no attempt to set up a discussion, but suddenly October 24, the declaration of a split by a factional meeting, held secretly by four sections of the IC and abusively baptized 'IC Majority'.

In fact, in addition to the fact that we do not see how a majority could be created within the IC without a meeting, we must bring up the strange manner in which the SLL built this 'Majority'.

As it is well known, the activity of the IC to reconstruct the Fourth International led to the formation of new groups which did not automatically become members of the IC. There was unanimity on this question as on others. Thus, for example, the German Trotskyist organization, IAK, a sympathizer of the IC, is not a member.

The International Committee is thus composed at the present time of the following eight sections: OCI (France), SLL (Great Britain), LSRJ (Hungary), POR (Bolivia), Revolutionary Communist Party (Ceylon), Workers Marxist League (Mexico), League for a Workers Vanguard (Ireland), and Workers League (USA).²

There is presently no Greek section, because the latter, which participated in the 1966 Conference split into two groups on the eve of the 1967 coup d'etat and conditions have not allowed a study of the motives of this split and an analysis of each group's policies. Therefore, on Comrade Slaughter's suggestion, the IC decided to treat the two groups as sympathizers of the IC.

As for the POR in Bolivia the issues are clear: an old Trotskyist organization, section of the Fourth International before the split of 1951-1952, the POR rejoined the IC in 1970 on the basis of its experience and its fight against Pabloism in Bolivia itself. It joined after a meeting of the IC which Comrade Lora personally attended. Moreover this was officially announced in 'La Verite' (No. 547 March 1970) and was not denied by anybody.

The legitimate status of the POR in the IC was not challenged in the slightest by the SLL who wrote in No. 545 of its daily paper, Workers Press, August 28, 1971, on the death of a Trotskyist student leader at La Paz during the struggle against Banzer's troops that: 'the POR is the Bolivian section of the International Committee'. It would be inconceivable to think that the POR is a member of the IC when its militants are felled by fascist bullets and that it is no longer a member when an analysis of its policies must be discussed. In any case these are procedures alien to Trotskyism.

Thus, the efforts of the SLL to create, by adding and rejecting, a fictitious majority in the IC do not change the facts: There are only four member organizations of the IC among the organizations which signed the October 24 text.

Moreover, and on the question of 'reconstruction of the Fourth International' since the October 24 document alludes to the decisions of the 1966 Conference, let us remember that the fundamental texts of that conference (general resolution manifesto and resolution on tasks) were essentially elaborated by the OCI and that they politically legitimize the use of the word 'reconstruction'.

The resolution on tasks (adopted unanimously) is more entitled 'Resolution on the Reconstruction of the Fourth International' and states among other things that:

'The international conference declares that the Trotskyist movement, in the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, must build the centralized leadership of the world party of socialist revolution in a fight organically linked to the fight in each country for the construction of revolutionary parties leading the revolutionary struggles of the masses. The construction of these parties and of the International must be conducted on the basis of the experience and the pursuit of an incessant battle against revisionism.'

The IC is composed of representatives of sections designated by it. At the present stage, the decision of the IC can only be taken by unanimous vote. At

this stage, the IC is not proclaiming itself the centralized leadership of the Fourth International which must still be constructed.'

Finally, concerning the Secretary of the IC, let us simply recall that in light of the difficulties the SLL faced in assuming responsibility for this post, it was agreed to institute a co-secretariat composed of Comrades Slaughter and Just.

We have insisted at length on aspects which may seem secondary and judicial in order to give a clear place to the political aspect and to show that the formal excuses have nothing to do with reality, but are only traps aimed at covering up an organizational break without political debate.

The essential thing is of course this 'fundamental discussion' that is spoken of and which naturally includes the experience of revolutionary struggle of the Bolivian proletariat and the policies of the POR for they are at the heart of the debate: the meaning of the 'imminent revolution' the question of the struggle for power and the way in which the working class can approach this problem (the United Front, a workers' and peasants' government, the institutions of dual power and the dictatorship of the proletariat).

This discussion only has meaning for Trotskyists in light of the problems of the reconstruction of the Fourth International which the leadership of the SLL seeks to avoid by wanting to break the frame-work of the IC. We must seek out this discussion, beyond the manoeuvres, the falsehoods and the amalgamisms a criticism of the October 24 document.

1. It must be noted that this German group is only mentioned as a singer in the 'Bulletin' of the Workers' League. It is omitted in the Workers Press.
2. Organization in political solidarity with the IC, the Workers' League politically has the status of a section, although as an organization it is not affiliated to the IC because of reactionary laws in the USA.

Split at Essen?

'Split at Essen'; this is the dramatic title of the second chapter of the October 24 document. A split which is supposedly expressed by the fact that 'the delegates of the OCI, the Hungarian section, and the LOM of Mexico voted with the centrists and even right-wing organizations (they refer here to the National Students Association of the USA) against an amendment proposed by the majority of the sections of the IC (Ceylon, Ireland, SLL, USA, Greece). We have already explained what this 'majority' is. What then happened at Essen? First, we must remember, because some seem to forget it, that it was an international gathering of revolutionary youth which brought together 5,000 participants and representatives of 32 countries. This gathering was called on the basis of an appeal written by the AJS and taken up by the Young Socialists at their January, 1971 Conference at Scarborough. This call, initiated by youth organizations working together with the International Committee was also signed from the beginning by youth organizations which did not consider themselves Trotskyist (like the JCI, youth organization of the POUM).

The incontestable success of the Essen meeting was a political success in which the International Committee and its organizations raised the level of the fight for the construction of a Revolutionary Youth International. In this sense, Cliff Slaughter, speaking in the name of the Central Committee of the SLL, correctly hailed this gathering as 'a step forward in proletarian internationalism'.

The international meeting was preceded by a conference of delegates where a resolution was presented and adopted unanimously (including by the Young Socialists delegation) and ratified the next day by the 5,000 youth present.

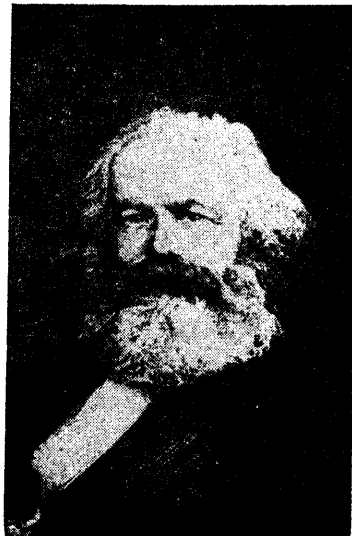
Right at Essen, the International Committee met to determine its political intervention. Amendments were proposed —

moreover, several by the SLL were accepted.

But during the conference, the delegates of the SLL and the Young Socialists, breaking with the agreement passed by the IC, presented a new amendment that the OCI delegates considered deeply false.

The chairman, Comrade Berg, proposed to consider this amendment and to refer it to the Liaison Committee established at Essen, in order to prevent the SLL and YS delegates from being politically crushed. This solution would allow the question to be taken up within the sections of the IC without a public battle before making a final decision. The YS delegation refused. The majority of the Conference adopted the proposal of the AJS. We must point out, in the interests of historical truth, that the NSA delegates who were only observers, did not take part in the vote.

In any case, this is not the essential point. There was not the shadow of a political concession by the OCI, the LSRH or by the POR to centrist elements. Nonetheless the amendment was



Karl Marx

inadmissible for the OCI.

'There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind each opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially Stalinism, stands revisionism.'

'The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this gathering and for the struggle to construct a revolutionary youth international.'

'Everywhere, revolutionary youth must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory in the fight against bourgeois ideology and all the forms that it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combating the dangers of adventurism, of "pure" activism and militancy with which the revisionists and the Maoists misled the youth and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class.'

Why? Above all, because of the section expressing the idealist position, the abandonment of Marxism, in the name of an ideology which it baptizes as 'Marxist philosophy'.

'When the French delegation opposed the SLL amendment on the struggle for Marxist theory, it sealed an opposition to dialectical materialism which is not in the least new,' explains the October 24 document. 'One year earlier, in June 1970 at the pre-conference of the IC these differences had become explicit.'

At the 1970 pre-conference, the OCI and LSRH delegations had warned the SLL of the serious political risks of any tendency which transforms dialectical materialism into an ideology (philosophy), a system of ideas developing within itself which breaks with the very essence of dialectical materialism; the unity of method, of form and content. They emphasized that a discussion on the Marxist method was a serious vital discussion for it concerns the foundations of the programme and it should thus be approached with caution.

The correctness of this warning has been revealed by the Essen amendment. The babbling about 'Marxist philosophy' has led, we repeat, to a fall into ideology.

No, behind each development of opportunism in the workers movement, there is not 'ideology', in the form of a revision (aban-

donment) of Marxism, there is the reality of social forces in struggle, the class struggle expressed within the workers' movement itself which is the arena and outcome of this fight, and which gives rise to justifications in the form of a revision of Marxism.

It was not Bernstein's 'mis-understanding' of Marxism which lay behind reformism, it is the class collaborationist practice, resting on the situation of the workers' aristocracy in the period of the development of imperialism, which creates the necessity of ideologically justifying this practice. This doesn't mean that Bernstein is only a 'reflection'. In his political activity, he is an expression and at the same time an integral element of the struggle within the workers' movement. The defence of the proletariat's class interests imply a 'defence of Marxism' through an implacable theoretical criticism of revisionist ideology, a criticism which itself is an integral element of the proletariat's class consciousness in his organized struggle for emancipation.

Marx explains that we must go from the arms of criticism to the criticism of arms: but the arms of criticism is itself a moment in the development of the class struggle and in this sense is a criticism of arms. Also, the theoretical struggle is always an expression of the class struggle; it does not exist outside of it.

Neither does the limited character of Stalin lie 'behind' the theory of 'socialism in one country'. This expresses the interests of the bureaucratic caste which took hold of political power. Does this mean that the theoretical struggle is 'secondary'? No, on the contrary, Marxist theory is the concentration and generalization of all the determinations of the class struggle, of its historical movement, and in this sense the class struggle 'does not permit a single theoretical mistake'. But theory, Marxist method, is not an abstract system of ideas of social reality, existing in and of itself and which only needs to be 'applied'. The Marxist method only exists through its content which integrates all the moments in the proletariat's struggle for his emancipation. In this sense, the programme of socialist revolution concentrates Marxism and the defence of Marxist-theory can only be the defence of the programme, that is, the struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership.

It is not by fighting against 'bourgeois ideology' in isolation, on the level of ideology, that the International, revolutionary parties, and of course a revolutionary youth organization will be built. It is by organizing the youth in a political fight for the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat.

The formulation of the astonishing Essen amendment means that the youth organization is a substitute for the party and not a part of the struggle to construct it. Theoretical elaboration comes from the programme, and thus from the party and the necessary relationship between the theory and the construction of the youth organization is the formation of young communist cadres, a task which unites the assimilation of the programme to the political fight.

Programme, Consciousness, Revolutionary Party.

But the Essen amendment goes further. In a fraudulent way — since it only deals with youth organizations — it makes the ideological struggle the basis of the construction of revolutionary parties.

'Revolutionary youth,' we are told, 'must devote themselves above all to the development of Marxist theory.'

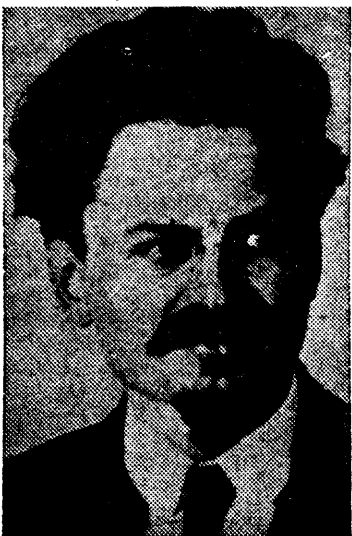
At this point, we have the right to ask a question: is or is not the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International the highest expression of Marxism, that is, the theoretical generalization, on the basis of the Marxist method, of the experiences, struggles and gains of the world proletariat, of the whole movement?

On this point, at least the October 24 text is absolutely clear. The answer is no and thus the content of the Essen amendment is perfectly revealed.

'What became the most important thing in the preparation of sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a fight to understand and the working class under objectively changing conditions. This means the assimilation and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of Marxist knowledge. Reflecting the attacks on dialectical materialism by the petty bourgeois intelligentsia in the advanced countries, particularly in France and Germany and in the Eastern European countries; the French and Hungarian delegations declared that dialectical materialism was not a theory of knowledge and defended the position that only the programme forms the basis of building revolutionary parties.'

'This is the very essence of revisionism which opens the way to liquidation of the party into centrism.'

So you say! We are so naive that we thought that the method of the Transitional Programme was the revolutionary mobilization of the



Leon Trotsky

working class, beginning with its present level of consciousness, against the bourgeois state, a mobilization indissolubly connected to its organization, whose movement towards accomplishing its tasks was its consciousness, or as Marx and Engels said in 'German Ideology'.

'A massive transformation of men is necessary for the mass creation of this communist consciousness as well as being a prerequisite for its success; but such a transformation can only take place by a practical movement, by a revolution; this revolution is necessary not only because it is the only way to overthrow the dominant class; it is equally necessary because only a revolution will enable the class which overthrows the other to sweep away all the garbage of the old system which hangs on to it and enable it to build a society of new foundations.'

But no, to 'transform' the consciousness of the working class is a specific task, possible when one 'undertakes' this consciousness, an understanding which is gained on the condition that one wants to 'develop' dialectical materialism (which means precisely what? If one understands how a muscle is developed with exercises it is difficult to conceive the 'development' of dialectical materialism.)

What that means in any case, is that the programme is not enough. There is more, above that, in actuality up in the sky, as an independent factor, whose 'development' undoubtedly depends on the intellectual gymnastics of the thinkers of the SLL, Marxist philosophy as a 'theory of the knowledge of Marxism'. But what then is the programme if not the most complete expression of dialectical materialism in our epoch? A recipe book?

It will be necessary to carry this discussion through to its end and no preventive 'splits' sanctioned by trumped up majorities will prevent it.

Profound disagreements were revealed at Essen. By themselves do they make a split? Proof of the contrary was demonstrated by the leadership of the SLL who after Essen, invited Comrade Lambert to give the last presentation at the SLL's educational camp... on dialectical materialism!

(Continued Next Week)

Lessons Of October

LESSONS OF OCTOBER. By Leon Trotsky. New Park Publications, 1971.

This new edition of *Lessons of October* is of burning importance today. This book deals with the lessons of revolution, the greatest test of all for the revolutionary party.

Lessons of October was written in 1924, as the introduction to Trotsky's *Collected Writings of 1917*. The immediate background for the book was the events in Germany in 1923. The defeat of the German workers and the Communist Party could only be understood, and new defeats prevented, in the light of the lessons of 1917.

Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev were the Bolshevik leaders under whose guidance the German party met disastrous defeat in 1923. These were the very same men whom Lenin fought in order to take the power in 1917. Trotsky insists on an objective assessment of this history of the Bolshevik Party.

At this time the Stalin faction was beginning to consolidate its power as the spokesman for the rising privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. It sought at all costs to hide and falsify the history of the revolution. *Lessons of October* was one of the first blows in the battle against the bureaucracy integrally connected to the fight to prepare new Octobers.

REVOLUTIONARY

The German Communist Party in 1923 faced a tremendous revolutionary situation, unparalleled in scope and intensity. The German economy was in ruins after the defeat in the World War and the humiliating Versailles peace imposed by the Allied capitalist powers. When the German bourgeoisie decided on a policy of resisting reparations payments, the French occupied the Ruhr and an enormous social crisis rapidly developed.

Inflation soared to heights never seen before. The working class and middle class were attacked with ferocity. Millions turned to the Communist Party for leadership.

But the CP leadership refused to meet its responsibilities. Never had the objective conditions for proletarian revolution been so favorable, but the decisive subjective factor, the revolutionary party, was lacking.

The CP entered a coalition ministry with the left Social-Democrats in the province of Saxony, but this state government did absolutely nothing to challenge the rule of the bourgeoisie. The Brandler leadership absolutely refused to prepare for insurrection, on the grounds that the enemy had superior military forces.

In return for this cowardly conservatism the CP leaders received a kick in the teeth. Precisely because of their vacillation the bourgeois government was able to take back the political initiative after nearly losing all control of the situation. The government dissolved the coalition in Saxony, outlawed the Communist Party and temporarily restabilized its rule.

This was the clearest example of what Trotsky meant when he wrote that revolutionary opportunities can be lost for years in the space of a few days. A successful revolution in Germany would have been a mortal blow for world capitalism as a whole. Instead the German and world bourgeoisie were given a new lease on life.

Victory would have changed the course of history. Defeat made possible the victory of Fascism ten years later.

LEADERSHIP

Defeats like the one in Germany could only be prevented by absorbing the lessons of successful revolution, by building what the Russian proletariat had but what was

missing in Germany, a conscious revolutionary leadership.

This leadership was only constructed in bitter struggle against the philosophy and ideology of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement and above all inside the revolutionary party itself.

This was the struggle waged by Lenin from the founding of the Bolshevik Party and especially in 1917. This is the struggle documented by Trotsky with deadly accuracy in this book.

"A revolutionary party," writes Trotsky, "is subjected to the pressure of other political forces...the party which does not keep step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes."



Soldiers of the Red Army in Russia in 1917.

The party must be a constant battleground for the correct elaboration of the correct tactics and strategy for the working class, against, at each point, the tendencies reflecting the pressure of the class enemy.

In the course of the struggle in 1917, Lenin denounced the "old Bolsheviks," experienced party leaders like Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, as leaders who "on more than one occasion played a lamentable role in the history of our party, repeating senselessly formulae they have learned by rote instead of studying the peculiarities of new and living reality."

Those sections of the party which are hostile to theory inevitably transmit the pressures to adapt to the existing order. At critical moments these forces in the leadership coalesce in order to attempt to hold the party back from the seizure of power.

TREACHEROUS

This treacherous opportunism disguises itself in the form of Marxist formulas. Unless the party is able to surmount the crisis by exposing the opportunists, the revolutionary opportunity is lost.

Trotsky sums up the struggle in 1917 in the following passage:

"The fundamental controversial question, around which everything else centered, was this: whether or not we should struggle for power; whether or not we should assume power. This alone is ample proof that we were not then dealing with a mere episodic divergence of opinions but with two tendencies of utmost principled significance.

"The first and principal tendency was proletarian and led to the road of world revolution. The other was 'democratic,' i.e., petty bourgeois, and led, in the last analysis, to the subordination of proletarian politics to the requirements of bourgeois society in the process of reform.

"These two tendencies came into hostile conflict over every essential question that arose throughout the year 1917."

This battle began even before Lenin's return from exile. *Pravda* under the editorship of Stalin and Kamenev in March

1917 took an openly defensist line of the imperialist war. Lenin, still in exile, thundered against the Provisional Government and all those who even toyed with the idea of supporting it.

Pravda called for peace in the abstract, and meanwhile wrote: "Let everyone remain at his post." Lenin answered: "To turn to this government with a proposal of concluding peace is equivalent to preaching morality to the keeper of a brothel...No support whatever to the Provisional Government!"

At the April Party Conference, during the July days, during the struggle against Kornilov, and at all points in between, Lenin continued this struggle. The opposition became more and more intense as the crisis deepened. It exploded in the

When members of the Central Committee and the Council of Peoples' Commissars publicly condemned the party's attempt to stay in power after the successful insurrection, the majority of the Central Committee expressed itself unequivocally in a statement written by Lenin:

"Shame upon all men of little faith, the waverers, and the doubters! Shame upon all those who have been scared by the bourgeoisie or the shrieks of its direct or indirect servitors!"

UNITED

"There is not a shadow of doubt among the masses of workers and soldiers in Petrograd, Moscow and elsewhere. Our party stands united and firm as one man to guard the Soviet power and to defend the interests of all toilers, above all the workers and the poor peasants."

Trotsky discusses "two types of leaders who incline to drag the party back at the very moment when it must take a stupendous leap forward. Some among them generally incline to see primarily difficulties and obstacles in the way of revolution; and to estimate each situation with a preconceived, though not always conscious intention of avoiding any action.

"Marxism is turned in their hands into a method for establishing the impossibility of revolutionary action. The purest specimens of this type are the Russian Mensheviks. But this type as such is not confined to Menshevism, and at the most critical moment, it suddenly manifests itself in responsible posts in the most revolutionary party.

"The representatives of the second variety are distinguishable by their superficial and agitational approach. They never see any obstacles until they come into head-on collision with them. The capacity of surmounting real obstacles by means of bombastic phrases, and the tendency to evince lofty optimism on all questions is inevitably transformed into its polar opposite when the hour for decisive action strikes..."

The German party had its share of both types of leaders. The whole purpose of the revolutionary party is to determine the moment for an insurrection and to assume the leadership of it. This means surmounting the "real obstacles," not capitulating to them and not ignoring them.

NEW OCTOBERS

It is the crisis of capitalism, deeper than at any time in its history, which makes *Lessons of October* so critical today. Either there will be new Octobers, or all of humanity will be plunged into the darkness of fascism and barbarism.

That is the meaning of the tremendous movement of the working class, the inspiring new offensive of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the insoluble economic crisis, and all of Nixon's economic and political moves, developing so rapidly and ominously on both the national and international scale.

At the same time, the struggle against capitalism comes together with the fight to overthrow the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. The counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, without which capitalism could not maintain its rule for a day, gained strength from every defeat like that in Germany in 1923.

Today the movement of the working class prepares the grave of Stalinism, but in order to accomplish this the lessons of October, the real history of the revolution as told in this book, must be brought to the workers and youth in the countries ruled by the bureaucracy.

Today the revisionists, and particularly the Socialist Workers Party, ridicule the Workers League "preoccupation" with dialectical materialism, and with the fight against the revisionists. They only expose themselves even further through this. When the WL takes up the battle against the revisionists, it is fighting against those who try to lead the working class to defeat. The WL deepens the fight against these same tendencies within the revolutionary party itself.

letter of Zinoviev and Kamenev, "On the Current Situation," issued on October 11 and published in the non-party press one week later.

STRIKE-BREAKING

In this open strike-breaking act, Zinoviev and Kamenev warned against the insurrection then being planned. They marshalled every argument they could to overestimate the strength of the bourgeoisie and underestimate the forces of the working class. "All shades of opportunism," writes Trotsky, "are, in the last analysis, reducible to an incorrect evaluation of the revolutionary forces and potentialities of the proletariat."

Kamenev and Zinoviev argued as follows, only two weeks before the successful insurrection:

"The prospects of our party in the elections for the Constituent Assembly are excellent...With correct tactics, we can win a third, yes and more than a third, of the seats in the Constituent Assembly...The Constituent Assembly itself can base its revolutionary work on the Soviets.

"The Constituent Assembly plus the Soviets—that is the combined type of state institutions toward which we are travelling."

As Trotsky points out, these so-called revolutionists openly called upon the party to prepare, not for power, but for loyal opposition. The call for combined bourgeois-Soviet forms of rule was actually used in Germany in 1919 by the Social Democrats in order to strangle the proletariat and rescue the bourgeois state from destruction.

Lenin showed that the dynamic of the revolutionary situation meant that the party had to seize the moment—that it was now or never. The revolutionary party and the situation did not and could not develop in a straight line. The party must seize the moment when the political relationship of forces is most favorable.

This relationship is constantly changing. If the masses are demanding revolutionary leadership and this leadership is not provided the favorable relation of forces can quickly be lost and give way to pessimism and demoralization.

UAW Ranks Call For Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—Bulletin reporters talked to auto workers, members of UAW Local 629 from the Baltimore Chevrolet Assembly plant, asking them specifically: "Do you think the UAW should go on record at its upcoming convention for a labor party?"

"When I went into the Army," said one worker, "I believed all that stuff about my country and that stuff. But what I saw while I was there and then the trouble I had getting a job when I got out changed my mind. Some of my buddies can't find work except for stuff that pays peanuts."

"I think that the unions have to go on record for a labor party. Like you said, when they walked off the Pay Board not one Democrat came out and said that what we did was right. And if they're not on our side then we just have to run our own men."

An older worker said: "They say that the Democrats are labor's friends. Don't you believe it. You know what they say about friends like that. You read where the Mayor is laying off the city workers for two days without pay and then we're supposed to believe that he's a friend of labor just because he's a Democrat?"

"Of course after four years of Nixon some people might think that anything is better. Maybe they are right but losing two days pay doesn't sound like any improvement to me."

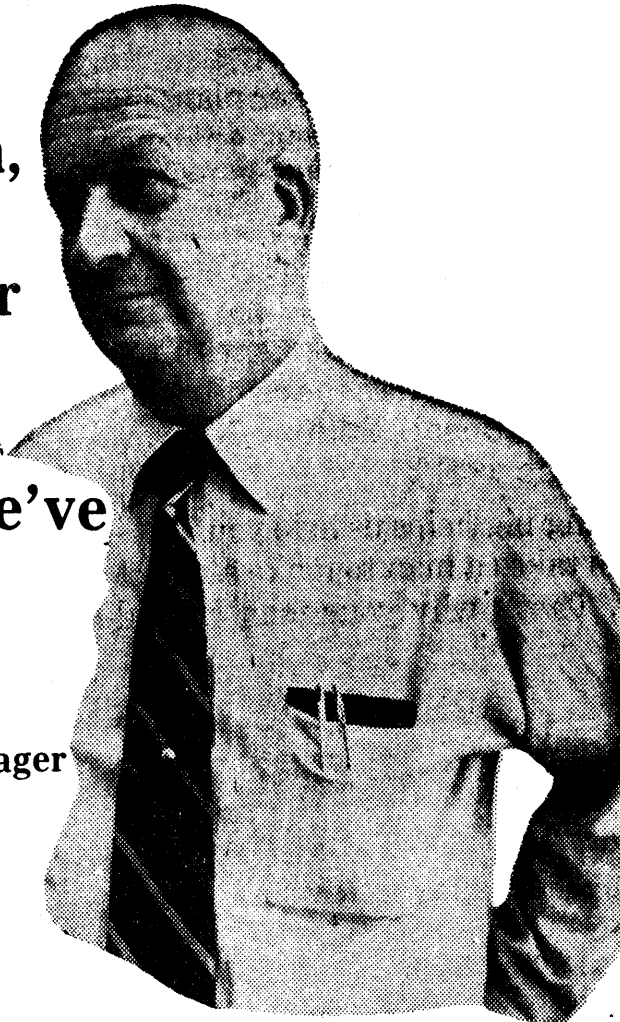
A young worker said: "I think that a labor party is an absolute necessity. I guess I've always been a sort of a socialist but it's no good just to talk about it. A lot of the men saw what happened at Lordstown but they just don't seem to think it can happen here."

"It can happen here! And it's not just a question of a strike solving the problem anymore. Nixon hates the workers and the Democrats are scared of us."

"I think that if the convention doesn't call for a labor party and fight to build it they ought to be held accountable."

"Within reason, and without endangering their health, if we can occupy a man for 60 minutes, we've got that right."

Joseph E. Godfrey,
GMAD General Manager



In a conscious and determined drive to break down and smash the UAW, General Motors is on a collision course with the auto workers. Lordstown is only the first skirmish. This drive is spearheaded by GMAD, under its head man, Joseph E. Godfrey.

Mr. Godfrey is cocky and arrogant, a modern-day robber baron surrounded by computers and insulated, he hopes, in his plush Detroit office from the wrath of thousands of auto workers for whom the "efficiency" of the GMAD operation means the mind bending, back breaking nightmare of speedup.

Just as arrogant as Mr. Godfrey's statement (above) justifying his "right" to enslave the workers, is his display of a Lordstown picket sign in his office as a "souvenir"—a trophy of the strike.

Mr. Godfrey, however, may be counting his trophies a little bit too soon. He got away with round one only because the local and International leadership of the UAW handed him a sell-out at Lordstown. They had to do everything possible to get Lordstown out of the way, to separate it from the rest of the 18 GMAD plants and from General Motors as a whole. But the battle still lies ahead.

Since August 15, Nixon and Connally have led the over-all attack of the capitalists for productivity and wage freezing through the Pay Board. Godfrey is an expression of the drive to extract surplus value out of the labor of the working class—the essence of capitalism—which Nixon and Connally must now step in to direct.

Godfrey says he has the "right" to "occupy a man for 60 minutes" in any way he can. Karl Marx could not have written a more accurate description of the aim of the capitalists. But Marx also wrote that capitalism creates its own gravedigger—the working class. Watch out, Mr. Godfrey.

Ranks Say Extend GM Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, OHIO, April 16—Pickets at the General Motors plant here, who have been on strike since April 8, are seriously raising the question of a GM-wide strike which the forthcoming UAW convention must take up.

"One plant isn't going to hurt them any," said a young worker, who added: "Of course it's not up to us." But other workers on the picket line argued against placing "faith in our leaders," at a time when the policies of the leadership have to be changed sharply. One of them stated:

"You don't hurt a company like G.M. by just striking one plant. They'll just shift the work somewhere else. When a plant goes down, all the plants should shut down. They should have kept Lordstown out. Everytime a local goes out all plants should shut down just like the baseball players."

"Last year Woodcock said: 'We're not going back until we're all going back,' but then he left locals out on a limb to fend for themselves," said another picket.

Referring to G.M.A.D. as the "Gestapo of GM," this worker pointed out that: "In every plant

G.M.A.D. moved into there has been a strike. It's strictly an efficiency outfit. Twenty-four plants have 'gone G.M.A.D.'"

Almost all the pickets expressed an agreement for the need of a Labor Party. When asked about Wallace and his candidacy, a worker shot back: "They talk about Wallace but what did he do for the people in his own state? They have nothing down there."

One worker said: "Gilligan (Democratic Governor) came down here to the plant before elections and spoke to us promising everything and then he gave us a second state tax. Yes, we sure need a Labor Party."

A committeeman said: "We should have a Labor Party. Definitely that's what we need."

He said the other issues facing the UAW convention are: "Bilaws, conditions, and support to the locals with a general strike of all G.M....they should have walked off the Pay Board long ago."

Ford Workers Denounce Woodcock

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—As the UAW prepares for its National Convention next week, rank and file auto workers are displaying a determination to accept from the convention nothing but a real fight back against the union-busting campaign of the Big Three.

Top on the demands for the convention by workers at Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit is the calling to account of the Woodcock leadership for its collaboration with Nixon's Pay Board.

The strongest criticism however is reserved for UAW President Leonard Woodcock. Auto workers here will not readily forget the fact that Woodcock resigned from the Board a day after Meany and the other AFL-CIO leaders, and only at the urging of the secondary leadership and a meeting at Solidarity House. One committeeman at Rouge put it this way:

"Meany had the right idea about walking off the Board. And Woodcock was dragging his goddamn foot when he didn't walk out with him."

The question of the Pay Board and Woodcock's participation in it is an extremely sharp one for the auto workers here. Along with the longshoremens, the UAW has been one of the hardest hit unions by the Pay Board.

PRODUCTIVITY

However, the Pay Board slash of the aerospace contract is only half of the intensive movement aimed at breaking the back of the UAW. The other half is the drive for productivity throughout the industries. The Rouge worker pointed out that this productivity drive was prepared by the 1970 UAW contract:

"After they ratified the 1970 contract they took all stops out as far as automation was concerned. When General Motors was struck, one of the conditions in the contract was that the company could 'improve conditions' as much as they wanted to. That's what they did. When you say that they can improve conditions, you're saying that they can automate as much as they want, and automation means elimination."

The local leadership has cooperated with the corporation bosses in holding back speed-up-connected grievances and in allowing these layoffs. Many auto workers here complain of never being able to find committeemen or stewards and that many stewards consciously avoid the filing of grievances at all.

At the same time, Rouge foundry work is being transferred to an automated plant at Flat Rock, Michigan, where men are now working under the supervision of Local 600 committeemen without any contract at all. These are the conditions which face not just Rouge workers but UAW workers all over the country.



Workers leave Norwood UAW headquarters before strike began.

“With the massive amount of unemployment which has existed for the past four years or so, the entire working class has suffered nothing but indignant losses. The Democrats and Republicans are not capable of handling the leadership of this country.

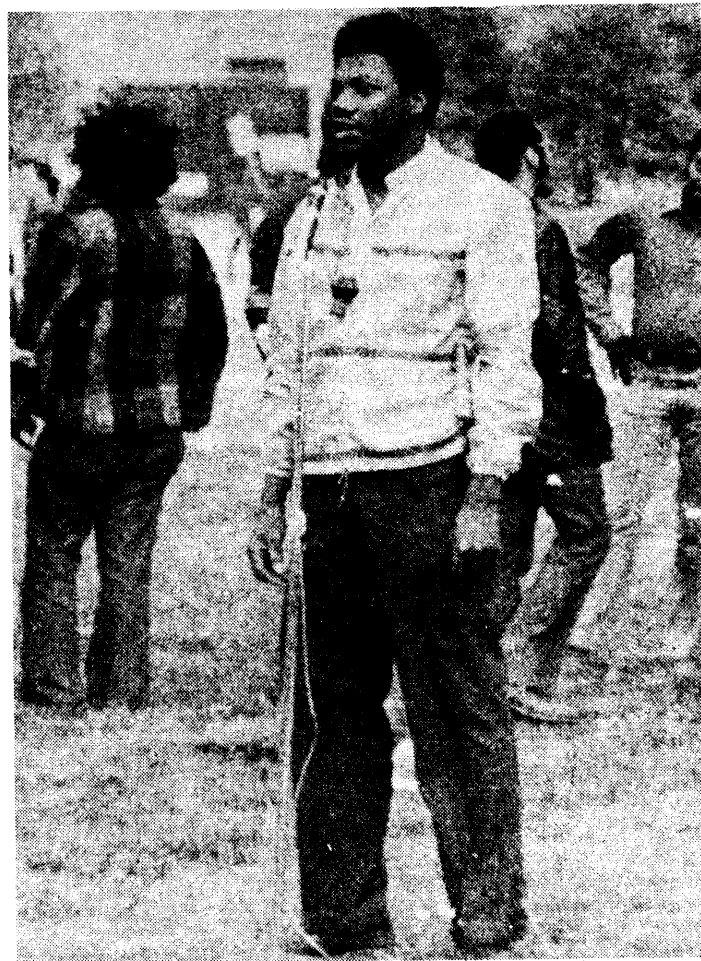
“I would enthusiastically encourage workers everywhere to come together and promote the following issues: jobs for all; seven hour work day, 40 hours pay; retirement after 25 years at any age and a minimum of \$750 a month.

“I believe that the establishment of a labor party under control of the workers would alleviate the massive unemployment. Under the leadership of such a party none of the bureaucrats would sell out the working class any more.”



Above, workers leave union meeting of St. Louis UAW Local 25. Right, a member of the St. Louis UAW Black Caucus spoke at the Workers League rally in Washington on April 24th, 1971.

Auto Worker Demands Labor Party!



In this interview, *Bulletin* Labor Editor Dan Fried discusses the situation facing the auto workers at the St. Louis General Motors plant (GMAD), with Nat Mosley, Chairman of the Black Caucus in UAW Local 25, in St. Louis.

Bulletin: The GMAD management at your plant is conducting the same sort of attack on the workers through layoffs and speed up as at Lordstown. What is the situation now?

Mosley: Well, last March there were 9500 men here. Now there's 8500. They just moved the blazer truck line out which meant 215 men were laid off.

These layoffs and speedup got started with GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) which began at Fremont, California. They came here on Oct. 1, 1971, and immediately there were massive layoffs, Paragraph 78s (speedup grievances) piled up. Would you believe it that 5000 grievances were settled in March and there are still 6000 open?

They produce 57 cars per hour. One thousand men were eliminated. The remaining men take up the work at no reduction of line speed—it's still 57. Sometimes they try to sneak in an extra car per hour.

In my plant, on the Corvette line, the line speed is seven per hour. You have 8.4 minutes per job. But it's hell. A lot of guys think, well, 7 per hour is nothing, but this car is almost all hand made.

The work is nothing but chaos and confusion, and you can't transfer. Plantwide transferring according to seniority is allegedly in the contract but you cannot do it.

Bulletin: What have you heard about the Lordstown settlement?

Mosley: They kept it hush-hush. We know there was a big

rebellion there against it. The Chairman of the Bargaining Committee at Lordstown sent a letter to the Bargaining Committee Chairman here, and said that the International 'had pressured them into accepting a bad deal.' Before that six plants were supposed to go out together, including Lordstown and St. Louis. The International put pressure on, and our local leadership went along.

They appeared militant about a strike, but when the time came—we're still waiting. There was an 87% vote in favor of a strike.

Now the leadership says in the union paper: 'Although bargaining is slow, things are much improved since the strike vote. Our committee is trying hard to avoid a strike.'

They announced that in the month of March GM gave us \$230,000 in cash settlements. Well, if a man is willing to pay \$230,000, then he must think he's going to get off easy—it could cost them a lot more.

The local leaders have caved in to the International. The International just comes in and settles the grievances over their heads, even though last March we defied the International with a wildcat strike.

Bulletin: What happened last March?

Mosley: We shut down the entire plant for one day in a wildcat strike against speedup and racism. Ninety-three percent of the workers participated—all of the Black workers together with the militant younger white workers. We were demanding a

35 hour week (at 40 hours pay), unlimited transfer rights based on seniority, retirement after 30 years at any age, and a fight against work overload.

This goes back to the General Motors strike. In September, 1970 we went to Detroit to talk to Woodcock and Bluestone. They wined us and dined us and said they would put all these demands into the bargaining. But none of these demands were met in the settlement.

They came back down here in February, Bluestone, Douglas Fraser and Bill Oliver, to talk us out of trying to void our local contract.

An FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) man was sent down from Washington to meet with 13 men over the charge of racial discrimination. They tried to buy off the 13 men by offering to get them \$1.00 an hour wage increases—just for them, of course. They said, 'Be patient, give us time.'

Then, we had interference from representatives of the Black bourgeoisie—the representatives of the middle class, CORE, as parasites on the workers' struggle. During the strike, they totally disregarded the strike as a strike of the working class, but stressed the racial aspect only. Their purpose was to separate the white from the Black workers.

After the wildcat strike began on March 23, the top leaders of management were sent down from Detroit because we were on the verge of breaking the local management. They brought in \$17,000 worth of camera equip-

ment to identify the strike leaders. Then, after we returned they disciplined 203 men—gave them DLO's (Disciplinary Layoffs). Twenty-three were dismissed outright.

My reinstatement was filed as a grievance. I constantly kept on the backs of the UAW officials. On March 10, I was reinstated with \$3,000 back pay—only one third of what was owed me.

It was part of a deal—I got back in exchange for 900 grievances. This is the kind of horse-trading going on. The conditions of reinstatement contained special conditions to try to shut me up. If I violate any shop rule at all, or I'm late, at any time during the next 5 years, I cannot only get the maximum penalty of 60 days, but even be fired.

But now I'm running for Committeeman in the Corvette body shop, to represent my shift, where there are 170 men. About 60% of the men are Black, and 40% white in the shop. My program is to unite all the workers. My position on unemployment is a fight for all the workers—Black and white. These workers are now being forced to think and that's what I want to get them to do even if I'm defeated.

Naturally the leadership is doing everything to try to stop me because of the program I'm running on, especially against unemployment. I call for a pension of \$750 per month after 25 years, regardless of age; for a 35 hour week, with time and one half after seven hours.

Not this baloney about four ten hour days, that the International is for. Thirty-five years ago they were demanding the 8 hour day. Now they want 10 hours a day with no overtime.

Instead, with a 35 hour week.

we can put on a third shift at seven hours per shift and have a lot more jobs.

Bulletin: What do you think should be done about plants and businesses that close down and throw men out of work such as in the auto industry in Detroit and at the Ballantine brewery in Newark?

Mosley: One of the demands of all national contracts is that the workers should have control over this issue.

Bulletin: But isn't the only way to do this through nationalization of these plants and industries?

Mosley: Yes. If we come to realize that we, as workers, can control the entire economy, then we can take care of unemployment.

Capitalism is the basis of the Vietnam war. They are there trying to indoctrinate everyone with bombs. The Stalinists are helping them. Nixon was trying to make a deal in China, while Ford wants to put a truck plant in China.

Bulletin: What are your relations with the local UAW leadership?

Mosley: They talk with a forked tongue. But they must be afraid of me. Two days after I came back to work there was a huge fire in the Fisher body building. They tried to blame me. They're worried about the election. They were trying to stir up racism and anti-Communism in order to divide the workers. What they were trying to say was, 'Mosley's been away one year and he still ain't stopped.'

Son in the *Bulletin*—a new history of the UAW. Be sure to read all the installments. **SUBSCRIBE NOW.**

Common Market Referendum

Pompidou Prepares Showdown With Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

In his campaign to win a Yes vote in the April 23 referendum to admit Britain, Ireland, Norway and Denmark to the Common Market, Premier George Pompidou has revived all of the demagogic Bonapartist rhetoric of his predecessor, General DeGaulle.

In a televised message April 10th, Pompidou said that the enlarged Common Market would make Europe "a zone of privileged prosperity in the world."

"At the summit conference which will meet in Paris this fall, everyone will know that the French people have given us a solemn mandate to speak in their name..."

In his message to Parliament, Pompidou referred to himself as "the elected of the whole people that I am."

Taking his campaign to the working class area of Lorraine in the North, Pompidou told the steel and mine workers:

"Have confidence in yourselves and confidence in the motherland. France needs you and you need France. Let worry yield to hope and Lorraine's tenacity and patriotism win out once again."

TENSIONS

Pompidou calls this referendum at a time when class tensions are at their highest since 1968. Pompidou's campaign is geared to bolstering his role as the embodiment of France, as the supreme arbiter of all the people no matter what class they belong to.

To divert the poor peasants and workers from rising unemployment and inflation, he seeks to whip up nationalism and patriotism. He seeks a Yes vote as a mandate to carry out his plans to destroy the jobs and rights of the working class and take him a step closer to a one-man dictatorship.

The campaign to win over the Lorraine workers was a complete fiasco. At the town of Bar-Le-Duc workers greeted his pompous speeches with boos and signs that read: "Jobs, not Words." At Forbach where the big Faulquemont mines are due to close, miners shouted him down and at Nancy and Metz plainclothes police hauled off youth who heckled him.

The Lorraine workers have seen the real meaning of Pompidou's policies as the closures of coal and iron mines and steel plants is wiping out their livelihood.

In France unemployment is already at 800,000. A report prepared last year by the Organization of Development and Economic Cooperation openly recommends unemployment as the only solution to inflation.

The Communist Party paper, *L'Humanite*, published a "semi-confidential" letter from Mansholt, Vice President of the Common Market Commission, which reveals a plan to cut the number of farmers in the six Common Market countries, now at 10 million, in half by 1985.

EXPLAIN

The explosive situation in the French working class is most clearly seen in the month old strike in Saint Brieuc. The company Joint Francais has refused to concede to the strikers' demand for the same wage level as the other workers in the area. The workers, 60 percent of them women, make only 980 francs a month.

The strike has taken on the character of a virtual insurrection. Workers occupied the plant and were only forcibly expelled by the CRS armed with tear gas and bayoneted guns. The strikers locked up representatives of management and are being supported and supplied food by the farmers in the area.

The real aim of the Common Market is the consolidation and strengthening of the European bourgeoisie spearheaded by the



Georges Pompidou

reactionary and neo-fascist representatives of the big monopolies of Europe in preparation for civil war against the working class.

With the Communist Party the only mass party to call for a No vote, Pompidou is counting on the support of the middle class together with a substantial number of abstentions to win a majority.

The referendum has placed the Communist Party in an embarrassing position. The class instincts of the French workers and their hatred of Pompidou has forced the CP to denounce the Common Market as the "Europe of trusts and monopolies" at the very moment when Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet CP leader, is saying that the Soviet Union can no longer ignore the reality of the Common Market.

At the same time, the Stalinists are pushing for a European Security Conference to reach peaceful co-existence with the very European monopolists that

the French CP has denounced.

The position of the CP has completely disrupted its attempts to form an electoral coalition with the Socialist Party, led by Francois Mitterand who has called for abstention and the Radical Party which is enthusiastically campaigning for a Yes vote. The credentials of these parties which the CP has depicted as progressive left forces to the working class is now totally undermined.

Pompidou has seized on this situation to break up the left and denounce and isolate the Communist Party. Declaring that the CP aimed to "establish in France a totalitarian system," Pompidou consciously directed his fire at the Socialist Party by openly declaring that the SP is in fact for the referendum and by refusing to vote Yes that they are only helping the CP.

Knowing full well that the Socialist Party has long been a faithful defender of capitalism, Pompidou hopes to force them to show their hand.

This is in fact just what Mitterand has done. In his reply to Pompidou, Mitterand stated:

"Yes we are for Europe for a long time—you know it very well and you don't doubt our sincerity but we think that the Europe that has been defined is not a good Europe."

Pompidou's overtures to the PSU is an open invitation to join the capitalist class

and take on and defeat the working class.

The Socialist Party has absolutely no opposition to the Common Market but it cannot call for a Yes vote without breaking all its ties with the French workers. These ties are still necessary to lead French workers into a Popular Front coalition with the bourgeoisie.

STRENGTH

The split between the Socialist Party and Communist Party, which Pompidou seeks to exploit, in reality expresses the strength and power of the French working class.

The position of the CP places the question of power and the formation of a workers' government on the agenda. The CP seeks at all costs to avoid this while conducting behind the scenes negotiations with the Socialist Party to maintain unity.

The fight for a No vote on April 23rd must be the fight to expose the CP and win over French workers in the CP to Trotskyism.

The campaign for a No vote must raise the demand that the Communist Party break with the reformists and the bourgeoisie and begin the fight for new elections, for a socialist government.

The referendum and the break-up of all the old relations and alliances is a prelude to civil war throughout France and all of Europe.

Argentina

On The Verge Of Civil War

BY ED SMITH

Thousands of Argentine army troops have been sent into the industrial cities of Mendoza, San Juan, and Cordoba with fixed bayonets against the rebellion of a working class now fighting for its very survival.

At a meeting of the National Security Council on April 11, President Lanusse proclaimed martial law. Leaders of the armed forces, including the navy and air force, were also conferring on measures to beat back the working class.

Earlier, ex-President Frondizi, who had been deposed by the military regime now headed by General Lanusse, declared the country "on the verge of civil war."

While the troops were reported to have "retaken" the northern part of Mendoza by force of arms, thousands continued to march in demonstrations against the Lanusse regime. Planes and helicopters flew low over the streets. The armed forces have killed at least four people so far. The government is now concerned that the violence will spread to the auto center of Cordoba.

Sections of the Argentinian bourgeoisie are now talking of an extreme right-wing coup, if the Lanusse junta does not get the situation under control soon.

The most alarming development for the capitalists is the fact that the working class uprising has forced the leaders of the main Argentine union federation, the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), to call a general strike against the government.

Over the past few years, the real living standards of the Argentine workers have been cut in half. The position of Argentine capitalism has become so severe that, following Nixon's August 15 speech, Lanusse had to impose a 90-day freeze on imports to prevent the country from being bankrupted completely.

IMPOTENT

However, since the Argentinian capitalists are impotent to fight the measures of Nixon and the capitalist crisis in any real way internationally, they have directed their main fire to destroy the living standards of the workers at home.

This was accomplished through an incredible rate of inflation on the one hand, and massive repressions and persecutions of the union movement on the other. There are estimated to be at least 500 political prisoners in Argentina, many of them tortured severely by the military.

A sure sign of the fundamental nature of the upsurge and one of its most important effects is the fact that it is exposing the role of Peronism inside the Argentine working class. The masses of workers have supported Peronism, retaining illusions in this Bonapartist demagogue as some sort of alternative to Lanusse and the capitalist politicians in general.

In fact the organized labor movement has always been dominated by Peronism through the CGT.

On the same day martial law was proclaimed, the last legal barriers to the return of Peron from exile were removed by Lanusse. Peron has urged his followers to "abjure violence" while election discussions with Lanusse were proceeding.

At the same time his policy is being confronted by: the working class rising in revolt, the bank accounts of the trade unions and their leaders being impounded, and leaders of the Peronist CGT being imprisoned for putting the blame for the violence on the government and urging earlier elections.

BONAPARTISM

Peronist Bonapartism has always stood on the basis of capitalism and it was for this reason that the Argentine military has been reaching for a reconciliation with Peron, as a brake on a working class that is getting beyond control. Peron himself is only too willing to play this role. But he is being exposed before millions of Argentine workers.

The great working class upsurge in Argentina, posing directly the questions of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the taking of power by the working class, has put a withering light on



Argentine police search for Italian businessman Sallustro captured by guerrillas.

the activities of the Pabloite revisionists. The urban guerrillaist activities of the ERP, dominated by adherents of the Pabloite United Secretariat, were exposed as completely adventurist, diversionary, and anti-Marxist.

The activities of the ERP are those of a group that has broken every last connection with Bolshevism, with the strategy of fighting for the revolutionary leadership of the working class by the Trotskyist movement. Instead, the Argentinian Pabloites have taken the reactionary perspective of middle class protest against capitalism to its logical, dead-end conclusion.

Even while the revisionists were attempting to extract concessions from the ruling class through the kidnapping of Fiat executive Sallustro, thousands of workers in the Fiat plants of Cordoba were occupying their factories as one of the preparatory events before the great explosion that erupted in Mendoza.

This, of course, is the furthest thing from the minds of these revisionists. Here is the logic of Castroism, declared by all the Pabloites to be the alternative to the construction of Trotskyist parties inside the working class.



A whole shift has been laid off at the Scullin Steel Corp. (above) in St. Louis, destroying 150 jobs.

Lindsay Seeks Destruction Of Civil Service Protection

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—A new wave of attacks has hit the SSEU-371 as part of Lindsay's drive to break the union and bust civil service.

Effective May 1, 400 workers are threatened with layoffs as part of an eight million dollar cut in the Regional Manpower program. Two hundred workers in the Community Service Agency will be laid off.

These cuts involve some of the lowest paid titles in the union, and titles which have the least civil service protection, because most of the workers are provisionals.

Furthermore, in the Department of Social Services, after the City's announcement of a procedure holding workers accountable for negligence and fraud in cases of overpayment to clients, the City moved in on 18 center directors and had them removed from their posts. They were replaced with, for the most part, clerical line titles.

This means the beginning of a massive onslaught on all civil service titles in the union.

Workers are being moved around from job to job without any consultation with the union. The City attempted to move 100 workers from Social Services into the Bureau of Child Welfare, Bureau of Social Services and Legal Division, without any consideration of title or seniority.

The Verification and Review section was dissolved without any prior consultation with the union as to where workers would go, or what guidelines would be followed. The General Services section, once viewed as the answer to freeing caseworkers from monetary functions, so that they could handle only social service problems, is being completely stripped.

It is becoming clearer each day that the City intends to push all social service staff off the payrolls by whittling down all civil service protections, using every opportunity to further bend and break all past procedure, practice and guarantees.

The last Delegates Assembly meeting was one delegate short of a quorum, and thus Hill's proposal for a one day-long demonstration of all staff, as preparation for a protracted strike, could not be voted on.

It is no accident that the City's renewed attacks come on the union at a time when the right-wing challenge to Hill in the election by Cohen goes on the offensive to have Ozzie Edwards

removed from the Hill ticket, on technical grounds. Hill has done nothing about this attack, and there is a great danger that Hill will use this as an excuse to retreat from the whole fight.

The Committee for a New Leadership will propose a protracted strike at the next membership meeting scheduled for April 26. There must be absolutely no cooperation with any movement of staff until the City agrees to fully negotiate all aspects of the reorganization with the union.

Further, the walkout must be aimed at the fight for enough staff to bring the workloads down to 750 in the income main-

tenance units, as well as meet schedules set for movement of social service staff out of income maintenance and into services.

Staff is now responding to the dangers they see posed by this right-wing, especially in the context of the threat to civil service. After an election debate at the Jamaica Social Service Center, where Cohen's position in relation to cops and clubs on clients was exposed, all the delegates and activists voted to support Hill in the elections.

The attack on civil service means that the union must take up the political fight against the City. That means that the question of the labor party must be taken forward in the union.



Nestle Company plans to shut down its "unprofitable" Crosse & Blackwell plant in Baltimore (above) and lay off the 300 workers. They intend to transfer operations to other facilities.

Nestle Plant Shuts Down

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE—The Crosse & Blackwell Baltimore plant will be closing in July, according to the Nestle Company, the owner of the plant. About three hundred men will lose their jobs when the Eastern Avenue plant shuts down its operations.

The company issued a statement which said: "Despite repeated efforts to increase operational efficiency, the plant's operation continues to be unpro-

fitable in relation to other market needs.

"The only solution to this problem as our studies have shown, is to close the plant and transfer the manufacture of the Crosse & Blackwell line of products to other manufacturing facilities."

One worker the *Bulletin* spoke to had the following to say about the closing: "There are going to be a lot of people hurting because of this. With jobs so hard to find it's all you can do just to survive."

"They (Nestle) say that it isn't profitable for them to keep run-

City Labor Gets Pay Cut In Baltimore

BY MARY GREGORY

BALTIMORE, April 12—On April 11, Baltimore Mayor Donald Schaefer announced that all city workers, except police and firemen, would be laid off for two days without pay.

These layoffs, affecting 35,000 city workers, are intended to eliminate a three million to four million dollar deficit in city finances. For most workers, the two days will be May 1 and May 30.

In the words of city finance director Charles Benton, these layoffs are the most drastic economy move undertaken by the city since the Depression, when all city workers suffered a 10 percent pay cut. The administration today tries to blame this most vicious attack on the workers themselves.

Schaefer explains that in order to pay the back wages owed the workers from the wage freeze, he must first take money away from these same workers.

Eight thousand of the workers affected are members of AFSCME Local 44. Union President Ernest B. Crofoot has announced his intention of seeking a court injunction against the layoffs. The union has stated that they have no plans of strike action.

Last fall, in face of Nixon's

wage freeze, Crofoot negotiated a rotten 2.5 percent wage increase.

One city worker affected by the layoff had this to say: "I just couldn't believe it. We've been wondering what the union leadership is going to do. I think we should strike, and get the rest of city labor to back us up."

"Things have gone far enough! After several days of no city services, no garbage collection and such, they'd be forced to give us our money."

Kleindienst To Reverse Integration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Richard Kleindienst, Nixon's nominee for Attorney General, declared last Thursday that Nixon's legislation to halt all court ordered busing would permit the re-opening of every school desegregation case in the country.

This move is aimed at winning over those Southern members of Congress who have opposed Nixon's legislation.

Nixon's proposal states that: "On application of an educational agency, court orders or desegregation plans under Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in effect on the day of enactment of this act, and intended to end segregation of students on the basis of race, color or national origin shall be reopened and modified to comply with the provisions of this act."

In questioning before the House Judiciary Committee Kleindienst firmly declared that the legislation would allow the reopening of all desegregation cases.

Kleindienst added that Nixon would agree to a provision in the proposed moratorium on busing to have a quick review by the Supreme Court to decide the constitutionality of the move.

Kleindienst knows that the Supreme Court, now packed by Nixon with right wing racists would promptly declare the legislation "constitutional."

Through these measures Nixon is cementing his ties with the most reactionary political forces. His goal is to foment an atmosphere of fear and racism to attack the unions.

Heading this drive is Kleindienst, the very same man who is at the center of the ITT scandal and one of Nixon's most outspoken proponents of repression.

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

capital only 60 miles from Saigon. ARVN troops are surrounded and in desperate straits.

Nguyen Huu Tho, the president of the Provisional Government, called upon the workers and peasants of Vietnam "to fight and rise up and call enemy officers and servicemen to return to the revolution."

With the Vietnamization program in a shambles, the Nixon Administration is dropping hints that it will halt the withdrawal of American soldiers. A Government spokesman recently stated that Nixon now confronts "a different set of circumstances."

In this most critical hour for imperialism, Nixon is relying on Stalinism to rescue his position in Vietnam. In a speech before the Canadian Parliament Friday, he called on the Kremlin to exercise its "special responsibility" to stop the offensive of the NLF.

The capitalist press has been trying to portray Brezhnev and Kosygin as the architects and strategists of the NLF offensive. Nothing could be further from the truth. While the workers and peasants were preparing these blows against the Saigon army, the Kremlin bureaucrats were engaged in intensive preparatory negotiations for the upcoming Nixon visit.

The NLF offensive, which the Soviet bureaucracy did not want and cannot control, and the renewed American bombings have thrown the Stalinists into a

severe crisis. Their formal protest against the attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong suggest that the Kremlin, whatever it desires, may be forced to cancel the Nixon trip.

All the liberal "doves" in the Democratic party whom the American Stalinists are praising as "anti-war" are wringing their hands over the latest bombings; but not one of them can say one word without defending imperialism.

Hubert Humphrey, fearful of the movement of the American working class, advised Nixon Sunday that the escalation is "very dangerous in our own country because it stirs up the country." In a similar vein, Edmund Muskie says it could cause a "wider war." And George McGovern continues to urge a coalition government to buy capitalism some time in the South.

The position of these men flows from the necessities of capitalism. All of them have supported the Vietnamese War. It was their political outfit—the Democratic party—that plotted the slaughter that Nixon is now taking to a new level.

American workers, understanding that these attacks on the Vietnamese workers—prepared and carried out by both the Republicans and Democrats—are a dress rehearsal for civil war in this country, must take the decisive step forward toward defending themselves through the formation of a labor party.

SDS . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

class society and which can be destroyed under capitalism by fighting these bad ideas.

Everything is turned around the question of racism, with the slogans of "Fight racist unemployment; fight racist firings; fight racist speed-up" in order to obscure the class divisions in society and in order to put forward reformist "solutions" to racism.

The essence of this is that capitalism can be reformed, that racism as the central way of oppression by capitalism can be fought and destroyed outside of the fight for socialism. While PL-SDS attacks Black nationalism, they have fundamental agreement with the very nationalists who are today running headlong into the Democratic Party—that racism can be alleviated and destroyed under capitalism, that capitalism can be reformed.

Just as the nationalists and the Communist Party bolster up the Democratic Party and its candidates to try to hold back the independent movement of the working class, PL-SDS fights to keep the working class tied to the capitalist parties by absolutely refusing to fight to break the class from the Democrats and Republicans.

The whole perspective of PL-SDS, their zigs and zags from hysterical and demagogic ultra-leftism to the most blatant reformism, is rooted in the same Stalinist school as the CP. PL

attempts to take this even further today with wholesale attacks on Lenin. It is the inability of SDS to confront its history and the role of Stalinism which give it its bankrupt and rotten character today.

The Stalinists are completely hostile to the movement of the working class and the fight to bring that movement forward in a conscious, political struggle for power. All of the talk of the fight against racist ideas becomes a cover for refusing to take up the only fight which can break down racial divisions in the working class and destroy the system which creates racism.

The fight for a labor party—for jobs for all, the shorter work week, nationalization of basic industry under workers control—poses the objective needs of

the working class today faced with its very destruction.

It is not a question of winning these demands under capitalism, and thus reforming the system, but of mobilizing the working class in a revolutionary struggle for power.

The middle class hostility to and distance from the working class of SDS-PL was equally expressed by the Spartacist League at this convention. They walked out of the convention protesting the "turn to liberalism" expressed in the "fight racist textbooks; fight lobotomies" perspective.

But what they are protesting is that PL-SDS, in the face of the new situation, is dropping its "pro-working class" cover that has allowed Spartacist to capitulate to Stalinism and reformism within SDS for so long.

QUEBEC . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

no job security. Layoffs reaching 50% are expected.

DANGER

At every point Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau endanger the whole strike movement by refusing to link it up politically with the struggle of all Canadian workers against the capitalist governments, provincially and federally. They insist on maintaining their nationalist, reform-

mist perspective saying that workers must "pressure" Bourassa to win their demands.

The Bulletin asked one hospital worker what he thought was now necessary to win these demands. He said: "We need a new government for the working class with a consciousness toward the working class. I'm sure we're not going to get it through Pepin and Chartrand. What's more important than anything else is an NDP government for socialist policies."

NEWARK . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

that Marciante prepare to bring out the rest of the labor movement in a general strike if any action is taken by the City or State against the municipal employees.

FED UP

Black workers were completely fed up with Gibson whose administration unemployment has increased. They saw that the attack on their jobs

and wages by Gibson was a continuation of the attempt to break the union that Gibson was pushing during the teacher's strike.

The experience of the working class of Newark, both Black and white with Gibson and Cahill and with the nationalists and Stalinists who supported Gibson makes the struggle for an independent labor party the number one issue for the New Jersey AFL-CIO in 1972.

DEPUTIES RUN . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

five to the hospital.

The next day, 35,000 building trade workers declared a strike in sympathy with the truckers. The Central Labor Union voted in support and many workers from unorganized plants left work to join the pickets. On May 21 and 22 they waged a two day battle at the scene later to be named the Battle of Deputies Run.

The strikers learned that the bosses were planning a big offensive to move the trucks. In response, pickets were moved in from the outlying areas to the market place. A strong detachment met the deputies and police, and wedged themselves between the police and deputies. Thousands more then marched from strike headquarters and encircled the police.

SHOWDOWN

When the cops drew their guns a truck full of determined strikers drove right into their midst. Casualties that day for the strikers were a few broken bones. On the other hand, thirty cops or so were sent to the hospital, and no trucks moved.

The next day the showdown came. Hundreds of cops and

special deputies roved the streets. A picket was plugged down while attempting to stop a scab truck. From the whole Central Labor Union and strike call, thousands of workers surrounded the police and hired thugs. The cops raised their riot guns but the fight went on. The workers won; the market was theirs.

TROTSKYISTS

Because they were trained and led by Trotskyists, who understood the class nature of the state and educated their members to depend on nothing but their own organized strength and the solidarity of the working class, the bosses' front was broken and the union firmly established.

Out of this victory came the transformation of Minneapolis into the leading union town in the Midwest, and laid the basis for the organization of the over-the-road truck drivers and the basis of the present strength and gains of the Teamsters today. In addition this strike helped spearhead the upsurge of the working class and the organization of the CIO in later years.

By holding its march at this

place now, when all the gains won by the workers in the '30s can only be defended by learning the lessons of this fight and by establishing the independence of the working class through a fight for the labor party, the YS is going back to claim its rightful heritage and assert its continuity with the founders of American Trotskyism.

SCARBOROUGH . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

pare for these attacks by creating illusions in the working class. The Tories, the resolution stated, "use the reformist leaders to create the maximum political confusion before the big battles, by reviving momentarily the old reformist pipe-dreams: regional development, state subsidies to industry, 'peace' moves in Ulster, a Cabinet reshuffle which appears to replace reactionary ministers with Tory nonentities but is in reality a preparation for battle."

STALINISTS

At the same time the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists seek to disarm the working class opposing the campaigns of the YS

and the SLL to create the conditions for forcing the Tory government to resign. They leave the way open for the Tories to call a snap election when they consider the situation favorable. "They tail behind the spontaneous militancy of the working class in order to avoid the and obstruct the political struggle."

The resolution pledged "to redouble the efforts of the YS in the fight for the right to work, around the central aim of forcing the Tory government to resign and returning a Labour government which will be forced to nationalize without compensation and with workers' control."

The resolution pledges to work for the transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party in the fall of 1972.

The warning in the emergency resolution passed unanimously by the conference was sharply confirmed less than a week after the conference as Anthony Barber, the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer viciously lashed out at the trade unions.

Faced with a strike of the rail unions and the support pledged by the miners union, Barber accused the unions fighting against the attacks of the Tory government of "industrial blackmail." Trying to whip the middle class into line behind the reactionary policies of the Tories against the unions, Barber said:

"Is our country to be governed by the democratically elected government on behalf of the

whole nation? Or is it to be blackmailed by sectional groups seeking their own self interest? That is the question that the British people ultimately have to decide."

CHALLENGE

Barber issued a veiled threat to call a quick general election if the unions refused to capitulate. Barber is speaking for the "self interest" of big business that now seeks to drive the British working class into poverty to protect its profits. The Tories hope to use a snap general election to mobilize the middle class against the unions. After Barber's speech commuters trying to run the trains themselves attacked rail men on a slow down.

Barber's speech blackmailing the unions and the implementation of the Industrial Relations Act against the Transport Workers Union and General Workers Union are the most direct challenge yet to the trade unions. This is the real face of the Tories.

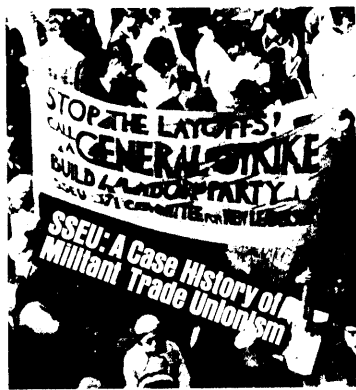
The tremendous danger in this crisis is raised by the treachery of the trade union leaders who in the face of Barber's threats refuse to prepare the conditions for bringing the Tory government down.

The urgent need of the hour is the mobilization of the working class to bring the Tories down and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

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by
Dennis O'Casey

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West Coast News

Stalinists Attack Call For Labor Party At TUAD Meeting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The Communist Party, prodded by the crisis of capitalism, is seeking to divert the working class from a fight for political independence by revitalizing its trade union front, the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy.

TUAD, tailored to the backwardness of trade unionism, calls for reforms within the unions around such issues as grievance procedure, but seeks to avoid the political questions facing the working class.

Amidst the swelling sentiment for a labor party and action against the wage board among the rank and file in all unions, in LA, the very city where dockers' wages and jobs are being sold down the river by Bridges' refusal to fight, Rafael Moony, national leader of TUAD, shows up to try to herd the working class here back into the Democratic Party.

Speaking at a meeting called by the CP, Moony was a study in Stalinist equivocation. After listing various statistics on population and land that he felt proved that racism was rampant in California, he stated outright: "I don't know whether busing is good or bad."

On the program of TUAD, he was entirely evasive. Behind a lot of small talk about problems in this industry or that, laid the real perspective of TUAD and

the CP: pressure on the Democratic Party.

Moony stated that: "We don't care who we talk to—Humphrey or Wallace—we mean to talk issues."

The last thing the CP wanted to do was discuss their perspectives. When a Workers League member got the floor, he posed the necessity for a labor party and a general strike to bring down the Pay Board as a life and death question before the working class.

Moony did not answer him. The chairman found the question inappropriate and told the WL'er to bring it up in his union meeting. Another CP'er, knowing full well the threat that the Workers League's program and Trotskyism presents to class collaboration, attacked the Workers League with slanders saying we call for Red Unions and are the radical rhetoric mongers.

When we denied these slanders and restated our position on the labor party, the CP'er said "a labor party is divisive to the working class."

Dockers Challenge Longshore Retreats

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO, April 16—An important opposition is developing among the rank and file of San Francisco ILWU Local 10 against the refusal of the Bridges leadership to seriously fight the cutting of the ILWU wage agreement by the Pay Board.

At a Local 10 meeting a few weeks ago, longshoremen raised the question of why the ILWU was not on strike and pointed out that Bridges had stated that there would be a strike if "as much as one penny" were cut from this contract. These questions were not answered.

At last week's meeting, a fight around the cutting of the number of gangs sharply posed the unemployment on the docks. Over one third of those attending the meeting voted against the Executive Committee's proposal to reorganize the gangs, which would cut many out altogether.

In the fight against the opposition, the bureaucracy is propped up with the help of the Communist Party. The CP helped to turn the discussion of the gang cut into one around the playing of cards and checkers in the Hiring Hall.

The latest move by the ILWU leadership to extend the contract well past the April 17 deadline for the Pay Board to look at the East Coast's contract, makes it clear that he has no intention of fighting.

Up until now the leadership has

used the fact that the ILA contract still must come before the Pay Board and that the ILWU must wait and see what happens before they could call for a strike. This has been used to break up any opposition and reinforce the fear and knowledge that an isolated strike could not win against the government.

Now, even Gleason finds a ready tool against his ranks on the East Coast if the Pay Board refuses the ILA's contract. The leaderships on both coasts try at all costs to keep their ranks separated. This is the real reason the bureaucrats separate their contract expiration dates and accept Taft-Hartley.

Instead of fighting to break up the Pay Board with strike action by the ILWU and bringing the ILA out, Bridges is taking the employers to court in an attempt to get the PMA to place the money cut from the contract in escrow until the Pay Board is broken up. He relies on the very federal courts that helped to stop the strike against the government's Pay Board!

It is no accident that at the time an opposition begins to form, the Bulletin salesmen are

thrown out of the hall, even though sales have been going on there for over a year. At meetings Harry Bridges attempts to prevent the ranks from taking up Trotskyism, and attacks the Bulletin by saying to the men that they should not be led from the real fight by these radicals.

Bridges is deathly afraid that the opposition to the extension of the contract might form on the principled basis of Trotskyism and he is joined in this with the Stalinists of the CP who are using all of their slanders and slime against the Bulletin.

What many men are saying about the extension of the contract is that Bridges will try to get the men to accept the contract as passed by the Board by using an upcoming 40¢ raise in June.

Gleason's hope that the Pay Board will rule favorably on the ILA settlement is a fraud. While the Pay Board postpones its decision on the ILA agreement for another month, it prepares to punish the New York telephone workers for their seven month strike by considering slashing their 15% wage settlement.

SF Workers Fight Alioto Speedups

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 100 caseworkers in the AFDC (Family) Program here are solid in their continuing work action refusing to handle food stamps.

Support has spread to include Old Age workers who are also hit with speed-up, where nearly 50 workers signed a petition endorsing the work action and promising support in the event of any reprisal.

The Social Services Commission was put on the spot last Thursday when caseworkers testified that the workload was impossible and that much work including food stamps was simply not being done. They demanded that the Commission seek an emergency meeting with Mayor Alioto in order to hire enough workers to allow caseloads to be reduced to 75 per worker. This would mean an additional 125 workers plus clerical back-up and supervisors.

The Social Services Commission voted to seek an emergency meeting with Mayor Alioto which was obtained the following day. According to the San Francisco Chronicle:

"Even then, however, the spokesman could not definitely say how many jobs will be filled. It appeared that Alioto, who has frozen some 140 jobs in the Social Services Department, would allow the hiring of about 16 persons—including two super-

visors, two account clerks and 12 clerk-stenographers—for the Food Stamp program."

None of these proposed new workers would handle carrying cases and this "solution" will do absolutely nothing to reduce any caseload. There were also vague allusions to looking into the Emergency Employment Act funds which would only offer a few temporary positions paid by a special Federal project in lieu of what is needed—125 new permanent civil service Eligibility Workers.

At the Local 400 membership meeting last Wednesday, a member in the Social Services Section made a motion that a Steward's Council be formed to have an emergency meeting within two weeks in order to plan a city-wide strategy to defeat management's Employee Relations Ordinance, and to win a contract guaranteeing no layoffs, adequate staffing and fringe benefits.

The bureaucrats moved to refer the motion to the Executive Board. Such action means confronting Alioto, and these bureaucrats who endorsed him last November refuse to consider any strategy but friendly attempts to pressure city government.



Angela Davis studied trial proceedings intently with her defense attorneys Branton (left) and Moore.

DAVIS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

with an in-chambers meeting between Judge Arnason and lawyers for both sides. The discussion centered on Carr's assassination. Following his murder, the press has linked Carr to an array of conspiracies focused around the Davis case.

WITCH-HUNT

In fact, in an attempt to justify their witch-hunt, the police raided Carr's home and confiscated two rifles belonging to people living there. Of course, all these press reports are designed to prejudice the jury and bring in a conviction against Davis.

Before the trial continued, the

jury was questioned to determine whether the news reports had any effect on their "impartial" judgement. However, the judge's method of interrogation was clearly calculated to cover the actual effect of the news.

The chief prosecutor, Albert Harris, dragged in all the gruesome evidence of the murders themselves, including photographs of the dead bodies sprawled inside the van, to insure that an emotional hysteria and fear would be instilled in the jury.

The testimony from one after another eyewitness has shown that most of the shots were fired

by San Quentin guards and that it was the guards who are responsible for the deaths of Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas, James McClain and Judge Haley.

MURDER

The testimony of the guards themselves regarding their policy towards hostages has revealed that the State will even murder one of their own servants in order to destroy those who take up a fight against this system. Thus, one guard stated that:

"We don't regard hostages as a means of escape. Even if hostages are taken, there will be no escape."

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Prosecution Evidence Crumbles In Davis Trial

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The trial of Angela Davis is entering its seventh week here with the prosecution making a desperate attempt to link the murder of Judge Haley to Ruchell Magee and thereby to Davis, through the framed up conspiracy charge.

Davis is on trial on charges of murder and kidnapping, as well as conspiracy, stemming from the August 7, 1970 shootout at the Marin County courthouse.

The prosecution is attempting to prove that the gun that killed Haley was the sawed off shotgun which was taped to Haley's neck when he was taken hostage. Davis has admitted buying the gun for her self-protection.

However, no testimony has been introduced to indicate that she had any knowledge that Jonathan Jackson planned to smuggle the gun into the courtroom.

The prosecution hopes that if they can prove that the fatal wound was inflicted by Magee, they can then prove, by "inference," that Davis was a conspirator to the murder.

However, all the testimony introduced to date exposes the complete contradictions in the prosecutor's case. In fact, the state's own expert witness, Dr. John Manwaring, the pathologist who performed the autopsy on Haley, could not make any determination as to which bullet proved to be the fatal one.

Manwaring stated that the judge suffered two wounds, one from a shotgun blast and the other from a single bullet that pierced his chest. Under cross-examination, he said that either could have been fatal.

Throughout all the contradictory evidence presented, one clear picture has emerged. It seems likely, as the defense contends, that Haley was already dead before he was shot in the head and that the shotgun fired involuntarily only after Magee himself had been wounded.

The ruling class is using the murder of James Carr, who was a leader of militant prisoners and a member of the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee after his release, to construct a picture of all Black militants as crazed, gangland-type individuals.

As the events of the Davis trial show, they are clearly carrying out this policy in preparation for her legal lynching. This is the first step in the capitalists' campaign to literally wipe out all militants.

Last week's session opened

(Continued On Page 19)



Teamsters picket San Francisco City Hall to protest arrest of a picket at one of Mayor Alioto's restaurants. They are on strike against Coca-Cola and other soft drink companies.

1,000 Cal Workers Rally; Set Deadline For Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY, April 14—Over 1,000 angry university employees walked off their jobs to attend a mass meeting called to plan action against the continuing attacks on wages and conditions on the University of California campus.

The meeting was billed as "open negotiations" and was sponsored by the Alameda County Central Labor Council. The meeting was called by the bureaucracy in a last ditch effort to get the Board of Regents to grant a small part of the union's demand for an increase in wages.

The University has stated that it couldn't give an increase in

wages because it is going broke. But speakers at the meeting were able to use the university's own figures and expose this fraud.

The State is trying to break the unions on the university campuses throughout California.

For the last two years no pay raises have passed the State Legislature. Last July the University broke all of its agreements with the unions at all the

University campuses. These agreements had tied employee wages to the prevailing wages in private industry.

When the University attempted to cut the Building Trades pay scales by 40 percent last March, through a reclassifying maneuver, the question posed was the union's right to exist at all.

The result of the stop-work meeting was a strike call for the beginning of the next week. The sentiment for a strike has been growing for a long time. All other unions on the Berkeley campus have stated that they will not cross picket lines.

What is most dangerous is the reliance of the union bureaucrats on local Democratic party politicians and the attempt to beg Governor Reagan for a "fair deal." The union leadership has had strike sanction for months but has refused to use it until it was forced to by the militancy of the ranks.

STATE-WIDE

The central question is the spreading of the strike to every campus in a state-wide strike. Only through a state-wide strike can the massive speed-ups, layoffs and resulting grievances be settled.

The attempt to split the strike by sections of the UC San Francisco union leadership is absolutely criminal. All the UCSF unions must immediately call for a strike.

The university hopes that by dividing the campuses the unions can be defeated and any capitulation to this means the destruction of all the unions on all the UC campuses.

La Raza Convention Attacks Socialism

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—At the statewide convention of the La Raza Unida Party held in San Jose on April 8 and 9, the LRUP, posing as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, voted to boycott the Chicano Political Caucus, to be held here April 21-23.

The Chicano Political Association (MAPA) after is being organized by the the model of the Black Mexican-American Political convention in Gary, Indiana.

Its purpose is to divert the struggles of Chicano youth and workers against capitalism back into the Democratic Party, using nationalism to divide up and disarm the working class.

The La Raza Unida Party is, however, equally reactionary and perhaps more dangerous, precisely because it covers its reformist politics with utopian visions of Aztlan. But the real face of nationalism was exposed by the convention's inability to pose any solution to the life-and-death questions facing Chicano workers and youth.

The convention demonstrated that nationalist formations such as the LRUP not only cannot maintain any independence from the capitalist class, but must rally to its defense by attacking socialism and any tendencies which call themselves socialist.

RED-BAITED

The SWP, in particular, was viciously attacked and red-baited by the leadership. One delegate from Los Angeles stated that the LRUP did not want anyone to

think they were a communist party.

In the general assembly a resolution was passed barring from decision-making power members of other organizations. This resolution was proposed by a delegate from Los Angeles who specifically directed it against the SWP, the CP, and the Maoists.

The revisionists could only register a feeble protest, calling for more discussion on the resolution. They have played the most reactionary role in touting and publicizing La Raza Unida as the way forward for Chicanos and a model for Blacks.

But it was precisely the SWP's perspective of separate Black and Chicano parties with their own candidates which was adopted by the convention.

The Stalinists have nothing to say about the anti-communism expressed at the convention. The People's World simply reports the split between LRUP and the Chicano Caucus, hoping to resolve the differences in the interests of constructing a new popular front betrayal.

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